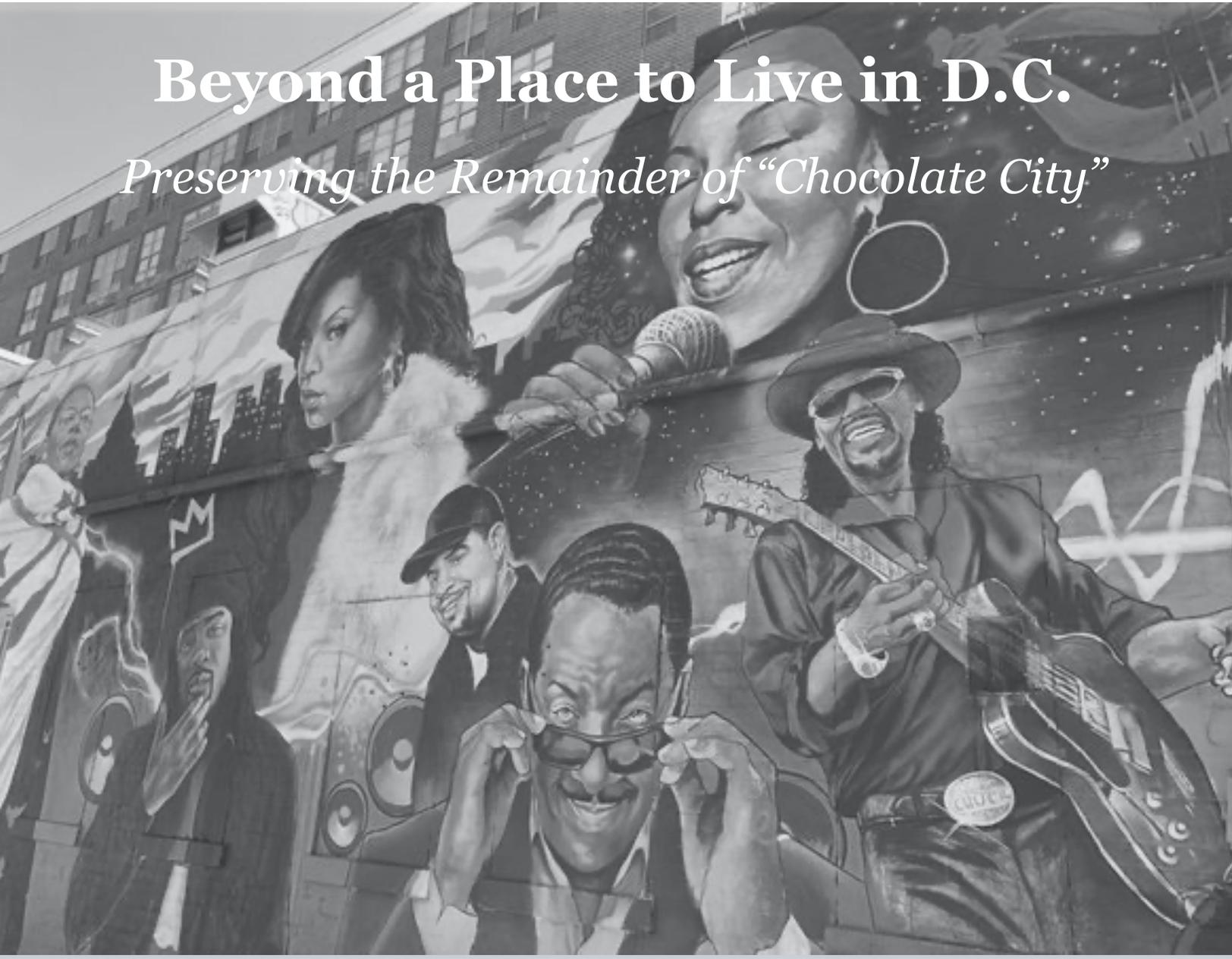


Beyond a Place to Live in D.C.

Preserving the Remainder of “Chocolate City”



Author

Andrea Barnes, Master of Public Policy Candidate

Faculty Advisor

Dr. Deondra Rose, Assistant Professor

Sanford School of Public Policy | Duke University

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Executive Summary

Once known as “Chocolate City” for its prosperous Black residents, businesses, and communities, Washington, D.C. today is in many ways a contrasting image. The City continues to lose its Black residents and remaining majority Black communities are at elevated risk of displacement. Intensive development and gentrification further increase the cost of living in D.C., subsequently making the City too expensive for many. Further, as newcomers integrate into communities, existing norms, spaces, and traditions valuable to long-term residents are erased. The District’s majority Black Ward 8 is at increased risk of erasure through physical and cultural displacement. As long-term residents’ needs go unaddressed and housing costs increase, alongside the elimination of critical community assets, impactful solutions are increasingly decisive to the longevity of Black communities. This report explores the impacts of development and gentrification in the District. Through comparative historical analysis of both Ward 6 and Ward 8 and interviews with long-term residents and field experts, the report provides insights and recommendations for how local leaders can prevent cultural displacement in Ward 8. Recommendations include long-term resident covenants, a DC Council Committee on Preservation, the expansion of grocery store access, community land trusts for small businesses, and additional research on cultural displacement and preservation. To better serve and preserve Black D.C. communities, District leaders must prioritize swift, effective solutions in Ward 8.

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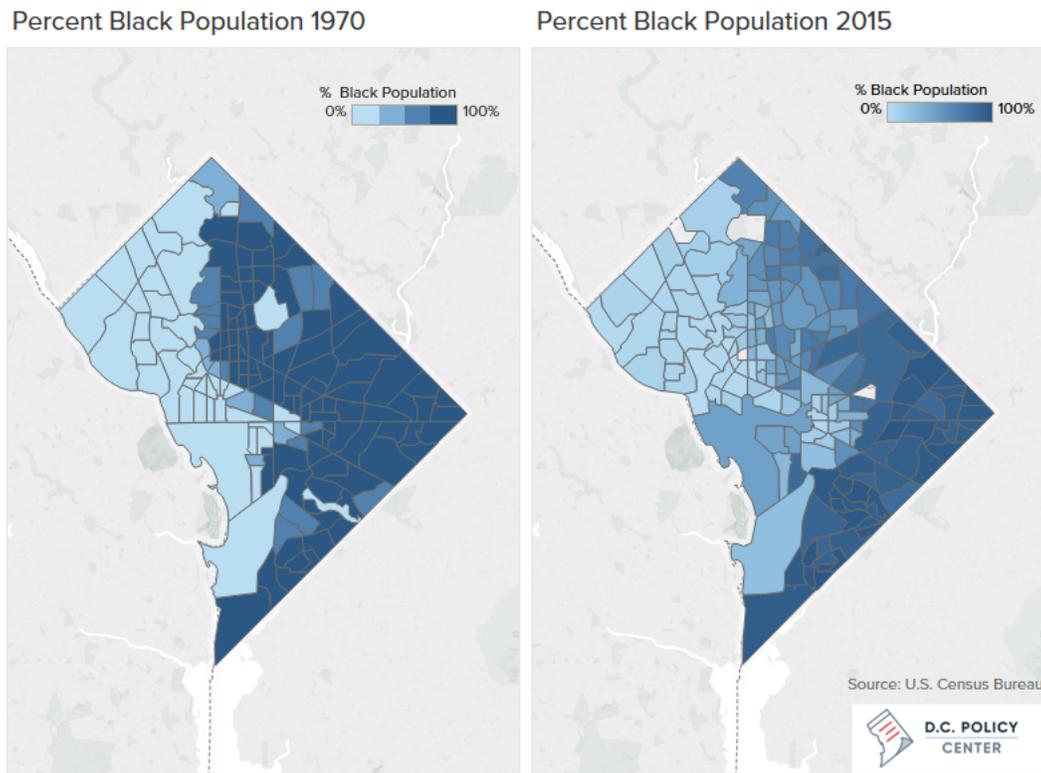
Thank you to the loved ones and friends who pushed and strengthened me to move forward.

I want to thank my parents for their unwavering support, motivation, and understanding throughout my degree. Their stories and my early childhood, in connection with the experiences of those in my neighboring communities inspired this project. In 1996, I was born in Ward 6 on L St SE. A few months after I was born, my parents were pushed out of their home by violence and predatory developers eager to purchase in a neighborhood that would soon be redeveloped and transformed in its entirety, pushing many residents out. Soon, my parents sold their home and left for Prince George's County, MD. Today our L Street home in D.C. is a dog daycare center.

Policy Question

As impending gentrification in the nation’s capital spreads, the livelihood of remaining Black residents is at risk. Once heralded for its home to “Black aristocracy” and monopoly on Black leadership (Carlson 1996), the nation’s capital, previously referred to as “Chocolate City,” lost a significant portion of its African American population over the last 40 years (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Change in Black Population in Washington, D.C. from 1970 to 2015.



Source: D.C. Policy Center. *Goodbye to Chocolate City*. 2017consent

Black people and Black neighborhoods have been displaced as a result of urban renewal and gentrification, among other factors. As depicted in Figure 1, this shift has resulted in significant displacement of Black residents across the District of Columbia. The dominant policy approach to neighborhood preservation has focused on affordable housing but neglects the complex cultural infrastructure akin to neighborhoods that is often destroyed with demographic shifts. Understanding this infrastructure from the perspective of current residents is a key component of neighborhood preservation and racial equity. Over the last few years, the District’s Ward 6 has experienced notable gentrification and a significant decrease in the number of Black residents.

Other Wards are at risk of similar phenomena given impending economic development efforts. There is an urgent need for resident insight and critically reimagined approaches to cultural preservation in the District’s historically Black Ward 8 as gentrification threatens long-term residents’ collage of *home* and community. To inform local leaders on how to navigate these issues, this report will answer:

How can policymakers in D.C. protect and preserve Ward 8’s Black communities from cultural displacement due to gentrification in the District? Further, how does cultural displacement manifest in Black communities and what steps can policymakers and advocates take to combat cultural displacement?

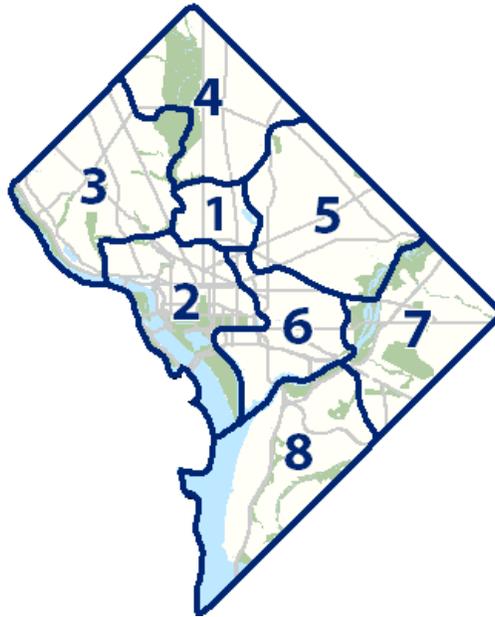
Background

As a result of the back-to-the-city movement, which occurred between the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, and the effects of gentrification, the District has experienced intensive displacement of Black and low-income residents. According to the Census, 71.1 percent of the District’s residents were Black in 1970, compared to 50.7 percent in 2010 (Census 1970, 2010). Data from 2019 ACS 1-year estimates indicate that D.C.’s black population has continued to fall in the twenty-first century, citing a 45.4 percent population share in 2019 (ACS 2019). Gentrification in the city is a driving factor in the displacement of not only Black residents, but also low-income residents in general. Between 2000 and 2016 “about 36 percent of [the] population lived in areas that have experienced economic expansion and low-income displacement” (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity 2019). As gentrification becomes widespread in the District, low-income residents are pushed out of economically thriving neighborhoods to those that are struggling financially. The share of low-income, poor, and extremely poor residents increased by 50.2 percent, 62.1 percent, and 31.1 percent, respectively within D.C. neighborhoods experiencing strong economic declines between 2000 and 2016 (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity 2019). Displacement patterns in the District raise concern for remaining black and low-income residents.

Wards 6 and 8

The District's Ward 6 (Figure 2), located just above the Anacostia River in the District's Southeast (SE) and Southwest (SW) quadrants has experienced major demographic changes as a result of gentrification over the last decade, notably a decrease in the Black population.

Figure 2: Washington, D.C. Wards, Situating Wards 6 and 8



Source: DC.Gov Office of Planning

Between 2009 and 2018, the share of Black residents in Ward 6 decreased by 7.4 percentage points (ACS 2018). While not the majority in 2009, the share of Black residents decreased from 36.8 percent in 2009 to 28.5 percent in 2018 (ACS 2018). As a contributing risk factor, Ward 6 has experienced significant economic expansion between 2000 and 2016¹ (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity 2019; Lang 2019). These same thriving communities are also associated with displacement of low-income residents. Data indicate that “Ward 6 – which includes Capitol Hill, Navy Yard, the Southwest Waterfront and parts of downtown—has had

¹ Researchers define economic expansion as “if a tract has a +10% change in middle-high-income population and a -5% change in low-income population share, respectively” (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity 2019).

some of the most dramatic changes in the District...in portions of the Kingman Park and Capitol Hill neighborhoods, nearly 75 percent of the low-income populations have vanished” (Lang 2019; Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity 2019). As a result, neighborhood culture has shifted in relation to these demographic changes. Understanding exactly how these changes occurred and how they have impacted long-term residents who remain in Ward 6 can provide valuable insight into preservation efforts for surrounding Wards.

Major developments over the last 20 years in Ward 6 include the “Anacostia Waterfront Initiative,” fundamental redesigning of the Navy Yard’s function, “which has changed from being a center of ordnance production to one producing some of the most advanced naval research and scientific studies in the country,” the creation of The Yards, relocation of the Washington Nationals Ballpark stadium, and development of Audi Field, among others (Figure 3) (District of Columbia Office of Planning 2018). While historic preservation has been a major focus in the ward, both physical and cultural preservation in the ward falls behind. The DC Office of Planning notes that, “another preservation dilemma is how to treat long-standing traditions and informal cultural landmarks that have heritage value but no official status” (District of Columbia Office of Planning 2018). Without progressive solutions, these cultural elements remain at risk of displacement. As these elements subside, so too do the norms and spaces of long-term residents. Specifically, in reference to “frame houses” and “churches,” the Office of Planning shares:

“[they] are also at risk, particularly because they may not meet the standards for official historic designation. Their cultural connections may no longer survive the cost it takes to stay in a community whose value has risen and become unaffordable to the small business owners or long-term residents. In such ways, the changing demographics of Ward 6 – along racial, income, and longevity lines – are affecting the continuity of established cultural traditions and institutions.”

- District of Columbia Office of Planning 2018

Figure 3: Ward 6 Developments



Source: District of Columbia Office of Planning, "Ward 6 Heritage Guide," 2018.

https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/page_content/attachments/Ward%206%20Heritage%20Guide%20Final.pdf

The District's Ward 8 (Figure 2), located in the District's Southeast (SE) and Southwest (SW) quadrants presents a unique case apt for extended study because of population demographics, economic trends, and vulnerability for gentrification. The majority of Ward 8 residents are African American. According to American Community Survey (ACS) 2018 5-year estimates, African Americans make up 90 percent of Ward 8 residents. Within all other Wards, African Americans make up less than 70 percent of all residents, with three out of eight Wards containing less than 30 percent. While it is unclear exactly where displaced District residents from other Wards are going, data indicate an increase in the share of low-income residents within Wards 7 and 8 and neighboring Prince George's County, Maryland, following the trend for "neighborhoods experiencing strong economic declines" (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity 2019; Lang 2019).

Economic development plans for Wards 7 and 8 are on the rise and plans for new retail establishments, grocery stores, restaurants, and public parks, are well underway. Advocating for ongoing multi-million dollar investments like the 11th Street Bridge Park and Skyland Town Center, local leaders promise investment and jobs for long-term residents that have long been left out of D.C.'s economic gains (Koma 2020; Muller 2017; Salih 2020; Skyland Town Center n.d.; Hickman 2020; Bogle, Diby, and Cohen 2019). With Ward 8 and surrounding Ward 7 having the lowest economic and labor force outcomes in the City and concentrations of Black and low-income residents, these plans open the door to gentrification and pose the detrimental effect of displacement – both physical and cultural. Gentrification research points to the highest levels of low-income and black displacement in communities that are "economically expanding neighborhoods" (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity 2019). As development plans offer

widespread economic opportunity in “the only area of D.C. experiencing any decline...the historically segregated and impoverished 7th and 8th wards” these neighborhoods stand the risk of intense gentrification similar to that experienced across Wards 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6 and in fact, are already demonstrating “signs of displacement” (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity 2019, Washington Post). Ward 8 noted a decrease in its Black population share since 2014 of 3.7 percentage points (ACS 2014). With much of D.C.’s historically Black communities having been gutted by urban renewal and gentrification, development plans in Ward 8 have implications for the viability and sustainability of existing Black neighborhoods.

Recent concerns about the impacts of cultural and political displacement highlight issues of community loss beyond housing (Hyra 2015 and 2016). Loss of tradition, cultural spaces, and businesses harms residents’ mental health and sense of community (Hyra 2015). The value of home for many residents goes beyond housing and is interlocked with relationships, between residents themselves and residents and their neighborhoods. This work aims to uncover the manifestation of culture through residents and their relationship with their community. In gaining these perspectives, this study will provide recommendations that promote cultural preservation in Ward 8 in the midst of economic development and future gentrification.

Literature Review/Landscape Analysis

Issues of displacement center gentrification and neighborhood changes that occur as a result of major demographic shifts within communities. Simplifying Ruth Glass’ initial definition from 1964, the Brookings Institution defines gentrification as “the process of neighborhood change that results in the replacement of lower income residents with higher income ones” (Eldredge 2016; Kennedy and Leonard 2001). Some argue that gentrification is the process through which land in “disinvested” communities is acquired at low rates and flipped for extreme revenue, “due to the influx of wealthier wage earners willing to pay higher rents” (NLIHC 2019). Others question the cause of gentrification, citing geographic shifts following the year 2000 to cities for better paying jobs that require higher levels of education and/or specialized skillsets (Hwang and Lin 2016). Regardless of the definition or causes of gentrification, the dominant policy approach to preservation has focused on housing affordability and countering physical

displacement, but has failed to consider other harmful forms of displacement that occur as a result of gentrification.

Understanding the distinction between different types of displacement is critical to selecting an efficient policy response. Direct displacement describes the traditional relationship between an increase in housing cost and/or restoration of a housing complex resulting in a residents' involuntary relocation (HUD 2018). Exclusionary displacement occurs when the supply of affordable housing in an area does not meet the demand from low-income residents (HUD 2018). Displacement pressures are the complete overhaul and reshaping of communities along with the loss of existing protective structures, social or otherwise, that push low-income residents out (HUD 2018). This definition most aligns with cultural and political displacement, which I define in the following sections. Slater (2009) claims that "direct displacement (last-resident and probably chain forms) is suffered by poor households in non-gentrifying neighborhoods, and exclusionary displacement is suffered by poor households in gentrifying neighborhoods, where low mobility is also to be expected." However, HUD researchers note that other research, does not support a strong connection between "direct displacement" and gentrification (HUD 2018).

Nonetheless, rapid economic development, decreases in available affordable housing, and increases in cost of living, nonetheless, raise concern for low-income residents. (HUD 2018). According to the National Low Income Housing Coalition (2017) the existing shortage of "affordable and available rental homes" for "extremely low income" families is 7.4 million. Data indicate that "transition in the economic status of neighborhoods often occurs along racial lines, as incumbent low-income black and Hispanic residents move and are replaced by higher-income white gentrifiers" (Richardson, Mitchell, Franco 2019). Agencies, budgets, and policy knowledge link clearly to issues of housing and related displacement, despite the need for improvements. Community loss in other forms, however, presents a unique social, political, and equity-based challenge.

Political Displacement

Community loss transcends neighborhood boundaries, with negative impacts for African Americans and low-income people. Researchers draw connections between community loss

through political displacement as a result of the back-to-the city movement. Hyra (2015) defines the back-to-the-city movement as “population influx to the city, regardless its origination, that is associated with neighborhood revitalization” relevant mainly between the years 1990-2010. The movement led to neighborhood changes, one being political displacement. Political displacement describes the impact of “when long-standing racial or ethnic group[s] ‘become(s) outvoted or outnumbered by new residents’ leading to the loss of decision-making power by the former group” (Martin 2007). Political displacement harms long-term residents’ wellbeing, redirects future neighborhood composition, and decreases democratic participation among existing residents (Hyra 2015).

While housing issues link with specific agencies and programs, political displacement is largely unclaimed by political leaders and its impacts potentially, under-explained. Hyra (2015) compiles four political displacement effects in neighborhoods experiencing gentrification, across scholarly research:

- (1) Existing neighborhood residents (present prior to gentrification) are less likely to engage in politics as a result of gentrification (Knotts and Haspel 2006, as cited in Hyra 2015).
- (2) Decreases in participation can strain connections between existing residents and neighborhood transplants, potentially limiting positive gentrification effects for existing residents (Chaskin and Joseph 2011; Granovetter 1983; Putnam 2000; Tach 2009; as cite in Hyra, 2015).
- (3) New developments may conflict with existing residents’ wants or needs (Curley 2010 as cited in Hyra 2015).
- (4) Political effects are in connection with a broader range of cultural displacement effects (Hyra 2015).

These effects appear in cities across the nation and have implications for leaders. Hyra (2015) notes the impact of gentrification and resulting political displacement in Washington, D.C. “From the mid-1970s through most of the 1980s and 1990s, African Americans held almost all of Shaw/U Street’s formal and informal political positions,” but gentrification pushed many of these leaders out for others, solidifying the wants and needs of incoming transplants (Hyra 2015).

Despite political displacements' major effects, counter practices exist. One study explores how community members joined together through neighborhood organizations to counter political displacement (Martin 2007). Martin (2007) finds that groups with existing residents prioritize political displacement more than their counterparts. Further, "neighborhood organizations with strong track records of providing benefits for neighborhoods and that adopted accepted organizational forms were more likely to mobilize effectively to protect the political participation of long-term residents" (Martin 2007). These results suggest the importance of local approaches and understanding of a neighborhood's history and dynamics.

Cultural Displacement

Preserving Black neighborhoods most critically relies on countering and preventing cultural displacement. Cultural displacement refers to "a change in the neighborhood norms, preferences, and service amenities" (Hyra 2016). As a result of gentrification, neighborhoods shift in culture and pieces of a neighborhood's identity are reconstructed by new residents, reshaping, and at times, destroying community for long-term residents (Hyra 2015). Hyra (2015) highlights the displacement of the Metropolitan Baptist Church, "founded in the Shaw/U Street area during the Civil War" and the perpetual silencing of go-go music, created and maintained by native Black D.C. residents. These issues remain unresolved as long-term Black residents and primarily newly immigrated white residents debate ownership over historically Black spaces like Howard University (O'Neal 2019; Delgadillo 2019). Logan and Molotch (2007) offer rationale behind a cultural preservation approach to discussing gentrification and displacement. They claim, "places achieve their reality through social organization in the pursuit of use and exchange values" (Logan and Molotch 2007). This concept helps drive the approach to rooting people, culture, and value at the center of economic development and preservation.

Neighborhood gatherings, led by Black long-term residents continue today that embody resistance against cultural displacement in gentrifying cities. For example, in Summer 2019, efforts to preserve historically black D.C. culture, heightened into the "Don't Mute D.C. Movement" and "Moechella" protests, following new residents' complaints, resulting in the silencing of go-go music outside of a Metro PCS (Williams 2019; Ward 2020). Coinciding with Hyra's (2015) claims about the back-to-the-city movement, "go-go was heavily policed in the

early 2000s by the media for being synonymous with the increase in violence around the city...the fight to continue playing Go-Go music...was about making sure that how people express their power was not taken from them, and degraded as simply noise” (Ward 2020). As historically Black neighborhoods across the nation face the risk of extinction, by way of housing, political, or cultural displacement, black residents’ livelihoods remain on the line. Preserving Black neighborhoods requires a more comprehensive and localized approach than housing plans alone can address. Therefore, leaders will need to examine the dynamics of cultural and political displacement in order to preserve neighborhoods and prevent community loss.

Data and Methods

The study relies on a two-part methods approach: (1) historical analysis and (2) semi-structured interviews. Part 1 contextualizes the environment in Wards 6 and 8 by highlighting relevant demographic and economic data and serves to inform the discussion on the effects of gentrification, displacement trends, and inequity. The bulk of the data will focus on part 2, the semi-structured interviews, intended to provide and synthesize experiences from residents and experts.

Part 1: Historical Analysis

To characterize Wards 6 and 8 in comparison to the rest of the City, I provided a brief descriptive analysis, highlighting key socio-economic data across the Wards, such as median household income, poverty rates, unemployment rates, etc. The goal in providing this descriptive analysis is to highlight who was and/or might be impacted by gentrification and displacement and help frame the magnitude of this impact in Wards 6 and 8. Without such framing, preservation and equity related recommendations would be too broad to meaningfully research and provide. Descriptive data will rely on the U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey (ACS), using 5-Year Estimates for years 2006-2010, 2010-2014 and 2014-2018.

Part 2: Semi-Structured Interviews

Lastly, the bulk of this study relies on semi-structured interviews with residents and field experts. Interviews are critical to this work for the following reasons: (1) conversation allows for the development of rapport and trust between the researcher and the respondent that are necessary when sharing intimate personal details of someone's experience, (2) interviews create opportunities for the researcher to follow up in real time on noteworthy responses, (3) interviews allow researchers to understand people's lived experiences in ways that do not easily translate with quantitative data alone. The semi-structured interview approach allows me to guide conversations with similar subject areas for all participants and provides flexibility for the respondent to share their relevant insights without the confines of overly prescriptive questioning. Interviews lasted between 20 minutes to an hour and were conducted via phone call, zoom video, and email from late March until mid-April 2021. All interviews were conducted during the global COVID-19 pandemic. As a result, recruitment occurred entirely online and participant responses are informed by the pandemic's effects. I prompted participants to share their experiences pre-pandemic only when their responses were clearly in sole reference to or emphasized only experiences that are COVID-19 specific.

Data Review and Security

I provided all interview participants with a consent form for participation and recording prior to the interview (Appendix A, Figures 2 and 3). All interviews were recorded with consent on Zoom and Otter.ai. I analyzed resident interviews for themes and streamlined findings based on trends. I analyzed each expert interview separately, pulling findings on similar general questions across interviews. Further details on interview subjects and recruitment strategies can be found below.

Interviews and Recruitment: Residents

The purpose behind resident interviews is to gather data on (1) how and what long-term residents value about their neighborhoods and why, (2) the traditions and/or norms that are associated within the community space, (3) the strengths and challenges that the neighborhood face from the resident perspective, (4) the needs of long-term residents, and (5) the cultural and physical changes that have occurred from a resident perspective amidst gentrification. I interviewed a

total of 6 residents. To gather sufficient data, I followed up with some residents for responses via email to address further questions.

For recruitment, I posted a virtual flyer on Facebook groups (“The Original Great Ward Eight (District of Columbia)” and “We are Ward 8”), on Twitter, Instagram, and asked ONE DC to share my flyer and description on their listserv. Further, I relied on convenience sampling by prompting interview subjects for referrals. Sample interview questions can be found in Appendix A, Figures 4 and 5.

The target population for resident interview subjects are Black, long-term residents of Ward 8, that fall into three age categories: 18-34, 35-64, and 65+ years. Long-term resident is defined here as having lived in Ward 8 for 10 or more consecutive years. However, due to recruitment difficulties, I adjusted this requirement for few respondents and some participants have lived in the Ward between 5 and 10 years.

This working definition of long-term resident draws upon the distinction made between long-term residents and “newcomers” in McGirr, Skaburskis, and Donegani’s 2015 study on resident satisfaction and gentrification in Toronto. McGirr, Skaburskis, and Donegani (2015) distinguish “the gentrifier group [newcomers]... as people having lived in the neighborhood five or fewer years and the long-term residents, ten or more.”

Interviews and Recruitment: Experts

The purpose behind expert interviews is to gather data on (1) dynamics between residents and neighborhoods from a high level, (2) early implications for displacement in Ward 8 (3) existing and prior advocacy and policy efforts to counter cultural displacement, (4) changes in these issues/related work over time and (5) advocacy/policy needs for preventing displacement over the next 5-10 years. I conducted 4 expert interviews and received emailed question responses from 1 additional expert. The experts include:

- Dr. Marla Dean, Chief Executive Officer; **Bright Beginnings** | **Nonprofit Organization**

- Steve Glaude, President and Chief Executive Officer; **Coalition for Nonprofit Housing and Economic Development (CNHED)** | **Nonprofit Organization and Advocacy Coalition**
- Patrick McAnaney, Project Manager; **Somerset Development Company** | **Housing Developer**
- Dr. Eva Rosen, Assistant Professor; **Georgetown University’s McCourt School of Public Policy** | **Professor and Researcher**
- Nechama Masliansky, Senior Advocacy Advisor; **So Others Might Eat (SOME)** | **Nonprofit Organization**

I also relied on referrals for expert interviews and recruited all participants via email.

Sample interview questions can be found in Appendix A, Figure 5.

Historical Analysis

The historical analysis provides comparisons between Ward 6 and Ward 8 on key demographic, socioeconomic, and services-oriented data over time. These comparisons demonstrate not only inequities present between Black and White residents in the District, but also highlights inequities between Ward 6 and Ward 8, as well as Ward 8 and the District. Providing these data comparisons helps contextualize and explore at a larger scale, the findings from individual resident interviews. The data points on racial composition, income and poverty levels, housing costs, social service use, unemployment rates and grocery stores provide insight into some the effects and change over time as a result of gentrification.

Race Trends

Ward 6 – African American or Black Population (*Appendix B, Figures 1 and 2*)

Ward 6's African American population has steadily declined over the last two decades. Coinciding with economic development changes and gentrification in the early 2000s, Ward 6's once majority African American population dropped drastically from 64 percent to 43 percent between the years 2000 and 2010, respectively. Since 2010, this decline has continued, although at a slower rate of decrease. Recent data from 2018 show that African Americans make up just about one-third of Ward 6, roughly half the population share from the year 2000.

Ward 8 – African American or Black Population (*Appendix B, Figures 1 and 2*)

Ward 8 has remained an overwhelmingly majority-Black community over the last two decades, with slight decreases occurring over the last 6 years. In 2000, African Americans made up 93.3 percent of the ward. Between the years 2000 and 2010, African Americans increased in population share to 95.0 percent, the latest growth point in the last 10 years. Although the total number of African Americans increased in the ward between 2010 and 2018, their total population share dropped to 90 percent in 2018, indicating a potential new downward trend.

Socioeconomic Trends

Ward 6 – Income Levels – Appendix B, Figure 3

Income levels in Ward 6 have continued to rise significantly, following District trends over the last 10 years. The median household income for all Ward 6 residents jumped from \$78,449 per year in 2010 to \$108,976 per year. While District rates also rose, income levels in Ward 6 started at a higher level and remain higher than the District, in general. Median household income for all DC residents rose from \$58,526 in 2010 to \$82,604. Disaggregated by race, income levels in the District are drastically disparate, especially between White and Black residents. White Ward 6 residents have consistently earned over \$70k higher than Black Ward 6 residents. Median household incomes for White residents' increased from \$109,089 per year in 2010 to \$138,406 in 2018. In comparison, median household incomes for Black residents rose from \$36,726 per year in 2010 to \$43,609 per year in 2018. These rates not only fall behind White residents, but are also far from both the Ward's and the District's median household incomes across all residents.

Ward 8 – Income Levels – Appendix B, Figure 3

While income levels in Ward 8 have increased over the last 10 years, they have remained far from District levels. The median household income for all Ward 8 residents increased from \$30,653 per year in 2010 to \$34,034 per year in 2018. The Ward's 2018 levels are less than half those of the District overall at \$82,604 per year. Although income levels for White Ward 8 residents fall far below those in Ward 6, racial disparities are still prevalent. White Ward 8 residents experienced about a 30k increase in income over the last 10 year, on average. In 2010, median household income for White residents in Ward 8 was \$56,741 per year and rose to \$86,364 per year in 2018. Black Ward 8 residents were left behind in these major income jumps during the decade. Median household income for Black Ward 8 residents increased incrementally from \$29,764 per year in 2010 to \$31,972 per year in 2018. These income levels fall behind District levels overall.

Ward 6 – Poverty Levels (*Appendix B, Figure 4*)

Poverty levels overall in Ward 6 have consistently been lower than the District's levels and have fallen over time. In 2010, about 15.9 percent of the ward's population was below the poverty level, compared to 16.3 percent of the total DC population. The Ward's share of residents living in poverty has also fallen further than the District's share overall. In 2018, 11.2 percent of Ward 6's population was living below the poverty level, compared to 15.10 percent of the District's total population. Despite remaining below the District, poverty levels in the Ward have consistently been racially disparate. While very few White residents are living in poverty, Black residents make up an overwhelming share of the Ward's poor residents. In 2010, 6.8 percent of White residents were considered poor, compared to 33 percent of Black residents. Despite improvements for both groups in the last decade, today poverty rates for Black residents (28 percent in 2018) is a staggering 7 times the amount of White residents (4.3 percent in 2018), that have maintained rates half those of the Ward overall.

Ward 8 – Poverty Levels (*Appendix B, Figure 4*)

Poverty levels in Ward 8 have remained high over the last decade, with only slight decreases, and consistently been about twice District levels. In 2010, 30.5 percent of Ward 8 residents were living below the poverty level compared to 16.3 percent of DC residents overall. Poverty levels have not changed much over the last decade, with 29.8 percent of Ward 8 residents living below the poverty level in 2018. Racial disparities between are significant and persistent, with Black poverty levels roughly three times the levels of White residents. This ratio has not changed much over the last 10 years. In 2010, 12.8 percent of the Ward's White residents were living below the poverty level compared to 37.8 percent of Black residents. With slight improvements for both groups over time, disparities remain with 10.3 percent of White residents living below the poverty level compared to 35.3 percent of Black residents in 2018. Both racial groups also have a higher share of residents living below the poverty level than their respective groups at the District level. Poverty in Ward 8 while persistent, is notably racially divergent.

Ward 6 – Median Monthly Housing Costs (*Appendix B, Figure 5*)

Housing costs in Ward 6 have consistently risen over the last decade, outpacing the District. Between 2010 and 2018, median monthly housing costs in the Ward increased by 42.8 percent, compared to the District’s overall increase of 31 percent. In 2018, median housing costs in Ward 6 rose to \$2,093 per month from \$1,466 in 2010. For comparison, in 2018, median housing costs in the District rose to \$1,657 per month from \$1,126 in 2010. As income levels in the Ward have increased, so too have housing costs increased. Further, as housing costs have risen, the share of Black residents have continuously decreased in the Ward.

Ward 8 – Median Monthly Housing Costs (*Appendix B, Figure 5*)

Housing costs in Ward 8 are consistently lower than the District overall, but have followed cost increase trends over the last decade. Between 2010 and 2018, median monthly housing costs in the Ward increased by 29.3 percent, compared to the District’s overall increase of 31 percent. In 2018, median housing costs in Ward 8 rose to \$1,104 per month from \$854 in 2010. These housing costs have risen (29.3 percent increase) roughly three times the rate of median household income increases (11 percent) in the Ward during the decade. This difference is more prominent for Black residents, who experienced only a 7.4 percent income increase overall during the decade. As increases in housing prices outpace increases in Black income, without significant action, displacement threats become increasingly probable for Black Ward 8 residents.

Ward 6 – Food Stamps/SNAP Recipients (*Appendix B, Figure 6*)

The share of food stamp/SNAP recipients in Ward 6 is racially disparate, similar to the District overall. The small share of White Ward 6 residents receiving these supports has decreased by 36 percent, from 1.5 percent to .07 percent between 2010 and 2018. A staggering comparison, rates for Black residents have increased by 9.2 percent from 21.9 percent in 2010 to 24.7 percent in 2018. At the district level, rates have increased for both racial groups, from 1.3 to 1.4 percent for White residents and 19.6 to 27.8 percent for Black residents. As poverty levels rise in the District overall, so too does the share of residents that receive food stamps/SNAP benefits. However, Black residents both in Ward 6 and in the District overall continue to suffer at higher rates, while White Ward 6 residents experience improvements.

Ward 8 – Food Stamps/SNAP Recipients (*Appendix B, Figure 6*)

Just as the share of Ward 8 residents living below the poverty level is higher than that of the District overall, so too is the share of Ward 8 residents that have received food stamps/SNAP benefits. Racial disparities are persistent, as well. A sizeable share of Black Ward 8 residents receive food stamps/SNAP benefits and the share has grown over the last decade. In 2018, 40.9 percent of Black Ward 8 residents receive these benefits, compared to 31.7 percent in 2010, demonstrating a 46.10 percent. Rates have also increased for White residents (8 percent in 2010 to 8.2 percent in 2018), but still remain much lower than that of Black residents. Both racial groups in the Ward are also overrepresented in receiving these benefits compared to the District level. 2018 rates for White residents are 8.2 percent in Ward 8 and 1.4 percent in the District overall, while the rates for Black residents are 40.9 percent in Ward 8 and 27.8 percent in the District overall.

Ward 6 – Unemployment Rates (*Appendix B, Figure 7*)

Unemployment in Ward 6 has continued to fall over the last decade and remain below overall District rates. Between 2010 and 2018, the Ward's unemployment dropped 27 percent from 8.6 percent to 4.7 percent. The District's rates have fallen from 9.4 percent in 2010 to 7.4 percent in 2018. Racial disparities in the Ward are still present, but have decreased during the last decade. In 2018, 13.9 percent and 2 percent of Black and White Ward 6 residents, respectively, were unemployed, whereas in 2010 19.5 percent and 2.8 percent of Black and White Ward residents, respectively, were unemployed.

Ward 8 – Unemployment Rates (*Appendix B, Figure 7*)

Similar to poverty levels, unemployment rates in Ward 8 have consistently been over twice the rates of the District. Between 2010 and 2018, the Ward's unemployment changed from 20.4 percent to 18.2 percent, compared to the District's 9.4 percent and 7.4 percent, respectively. Unemployment is higher for both Black and White residents in the Ward than in the District overall. 2018 rates for White Ward 8 residents were roughly twice that of White District residents as a whole. The number of Black Ward 8 residents increased (15.4 percent increase) over the last decade, while the number of Black District residents overall fell (10.6 percent decrease) in the same time frame. Despite absolute changes, unemployment rates for Black Ward residents fell from 26.2 percent in 2010 to 19.10 percent. The last decade, Black Ward 8 unemployment rates have moved closer to overall Black District unemployment rates.

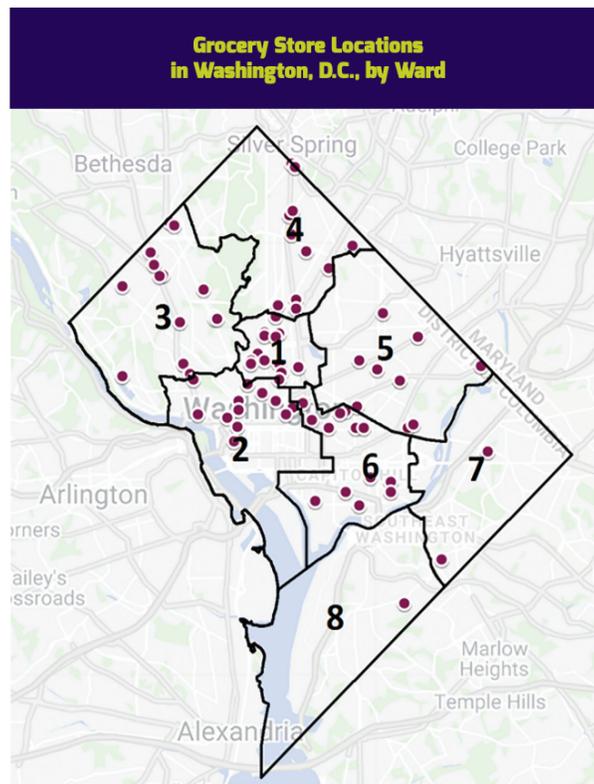
Ward 6 – Grocery Stores (*Appendix B, Figure 8*)

The number of grocery stores in Ward 6 has more than tripled in the last decade from 4 in 2010 to 14 in 2020. There has been progression over time, with four of these stores being added to the Ward between 2016 and 2020. The 2020 number accounts for about 20 percent of all grocery stores in the District.

Ward 8 – Grocery Stores (*Appendix B, Figure 8*)

The number of grocery stores in Ward 8 has decreased in the last decade from 3 in 2010 to 1 in 2016. There has been no change in the number of grocery stores between 2016 and 2020, leaving the number of grocery stores at 1.

Figure 4: Grocery Store Locations



Source: D.C. Hunger Solutions, *Still Minding the Grocery Gap in D.C. 10th Anniversary Grocery Store Report*, 2020. <https://www.dchunger.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/StillMindingGroceryGap.pdf>

The historical analysis demonstrates broadly socioeconomic growth for residents in Ward 6, subsequently driving overall growth across the Ward along economic measures. These changes, paired with a decrease in the share of Black residents over time help demonstrate both the presence of gentrification and its impacts on displacement. In contrast, the analysis depicts major socioeconomic inequalities between Ward 8 residents and the rest of the District. Data show widespread and long-lasting financial hardship in Ward 8. Findings indicate unmet needs for the Ward's residents, who are most often Black and the arena for current residents. Based on the data, increased gentrification would likely displace many Black Ward 8 residents, further emphasizing the need for action. Interview findings help strengthen trends within the historical analysis and provide additional insights at a qualitative level about individual experiences that are not easy to capture through widescale quantitative data.

Interview Findings

Resident Interviews: Themes

Resident interviews are used to highlight how cultural displacement manifests in Black communities, specifically Ward 8. Further, they provide insight into steps policymakers and advocates can take to further meet residents' needs and combat cultural displacement.

Resident interviews revealed common themes around community pride, resident needs, and challenges related to displacement and gentrification. Interviews indicate that gentrification and the arrival of newcomers in the District can and often does result in the erasure of valuable resources and spaces for long-term Black residents. Findings across interviews are explored in further detail.

Neighborhood Change and Gentrification

Residents shared their experiences with neighborhood change thus far and any impacts of gentrification that they have experienced. In some areas of Ward 8, there are two massive neighborhood changes occurring concurrently. First, members of other communities, often those experiencing homelessness are being pushed or moved into the Ward. Secondly, middle or higher income residents are transplanting into the Ward at the same time. For one resident, these dynamics have created neighborhood tensions, leading to challenges for existing, long-term residents. She shared how roughly 15 + townhomes were developed across from her apartment

complex. The townhomes are occupied by mostly White residents and homeowners, while the apartment complex is mostly Black and renters. This new group within the neighborhood has led to a number of changes for the apartment complex occupants. The resident shared,

“People come into communities and want things the way they want it because perhaps they pay more rent or because they think they’re entitled to have things a certain way...the things that bring me pleasure don’t really matter perhaps because people...are entitled.”

- Ward 8 Resident

Concurrently, those occupying shelters and homeless encampments have now moved into the complex. The resident shared how the townhome occupants created judgments about the tenants and made assumptions about crime activity occurring in the complex. As a result of their complaints and monitoring, the apartment complex occupants are now subject to greater surveillance, including 24/7 cameras, intensely lit lights on the complex, and decreased hours for their laundry room. In reference to these changes and the townhome owners’ behaviors and judgements, the resident shared:

“Here it is again...once again people have come into our community and not understanding what’s happening and made decisions because they are who they are and we are who we are. So therefore, once again, here we go. Here it is again, once again, they come they make decisions. They change our way of life. They don’t understand us. They don’t understand what our lives are like or how we live or how we do or how we survive.”

- Ward 8 Resident

These types of changes that long-term residents experience as a result of new residents’ wants are not rare. For some long-term residents, these changes impact their daily lives and create new barriers for them. One resident shared how the laundromat that was once located across from her property was closed because others who had access to greater resources viewed the laundromat as an “eyesore” because of loitering and new condos that were soon to be built. The laundromat was a key resource for her, not having access to a car nor an in-unit washer and dryer. She shared the impact that the closing had, stating,

“The laundromat was heaven to me. Right across the street! Are you kidding me, that was a gold mine for anyone in my demographic...many people talked about how ‘these people’ were a problem. Oh, how the people with cars rejoiced online. Oh, how the people who have washers and dryers inside their homes rejoiced. Sure, how uppity of them to only think about what they didn’t want to ‘see.’ So, now I have to wash clothes once a month...I have to catch an Uber to get back and forth so it’s once a month.”

- Ward 8 Resident

For others in Ward 8, change looks different. One long-term resident shared her experience watching the neighborhood change from predominantly White, to predominantly Black and now moving yet again, in another direction. She shared the loss of key community staples like movie theaters, dine in restaurants, and delivery drug stores, stating, “the neighborhood I grew up in is destroyed now. Even though I live here, I’m still kind of scared to go outside at night now.” One such staple that was lost in part was St. Elizabeths, a hospital for those experiencing mental illness. At its peak, the hospital had 8,000 patients (Stamberg 2017). However, in the late twentieth century the hospital’s campuses split off, leaving East Campus to continue as a hospital, which today has 250 patients and leaving the West Campus to absorb into government space for the Department of Homeland Security (Kelly 2019). Further, part of the campus has been developed into mixed-income townhomes. (Flaherty & Collins Properties n.d.). The resident shared how critical St. Elizabeth’s was to the community through job opportunities and activities. She shared what a key “landmark” the hospital once was to Ward 8 residents. Some residents also say that they have not yet experienced major changes in their neighborhood.

Community Pride

Residents shared common sentiments around the aspects of their community that foster pride, which helps highlight cultural elements within Ward 8. In reflecting on what makes their community unique and what about their neighborhood brings them comfort, residents centered **relationships and kindness**. Across varying neighborhoods in Ward 8, local residents were said to greet one another and check on each other’s’ wellbeing. One resident shared that since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic this behavior has increased, highlighting that her

neighbors assist one another by ensuring that everyone has groceries. These sentiments reflect the supportive and intimate nature of many relationships in Ward 8. Non-familial relationships are integral to the neighborhood, with residents building strong connections outside of their individual homes and professional circles. One resident shared that relationships amount “young people” are particularly strong and mimic familial connections. She shared how their resiliency and commitment to one another amidst difficulty impacts her, stating:

“I love that even though most of these young people have been through way more than I have, they still smile, they still find a way to remember the close friends that didn’t make it, they also form a family within each other that clearly you can tell most (not all) didn’t get in their younger years. They are strong. I get strength from seeing and witnessing not only my resilience but the energy of my neighbors and the neighborhoods I’ve lived in.”

- Ward 8 Resident

Beyond relationships, residents also highlighted physical elements of their neighborhood that they found enjoyable. Among these, included outdoor locations like **local parks, basketball courts for youth, and trails**. These spaces serve as not only social environments for residents to connect, but also opportunities for physical exercise. Notably, these spaces contribute to residents’ wellness, that are and should be accessible to residents of all ages. Many shared the importance of activities for children and open space adults and elderly residents. Sentiments around the value of outdoor space point to critical conversations around wellness. Studies find that green space is connected with positive mental health outcomes for adolescents (Zhang 2020). While the research is not yet robust, Zhang et al.’s analysis of existing studies suggest that green space can enhance moods and decrease depression in adolescents (Zhang 2020). Considering feedback from residents alongside existing literature, physical environment plays a significant role in communities. As gentrification continues in the District, policymakers and advocates should be informed about how residents see their neighborhood in order to better engage in cultural preservation.

Neighborhood Concerns and Needs

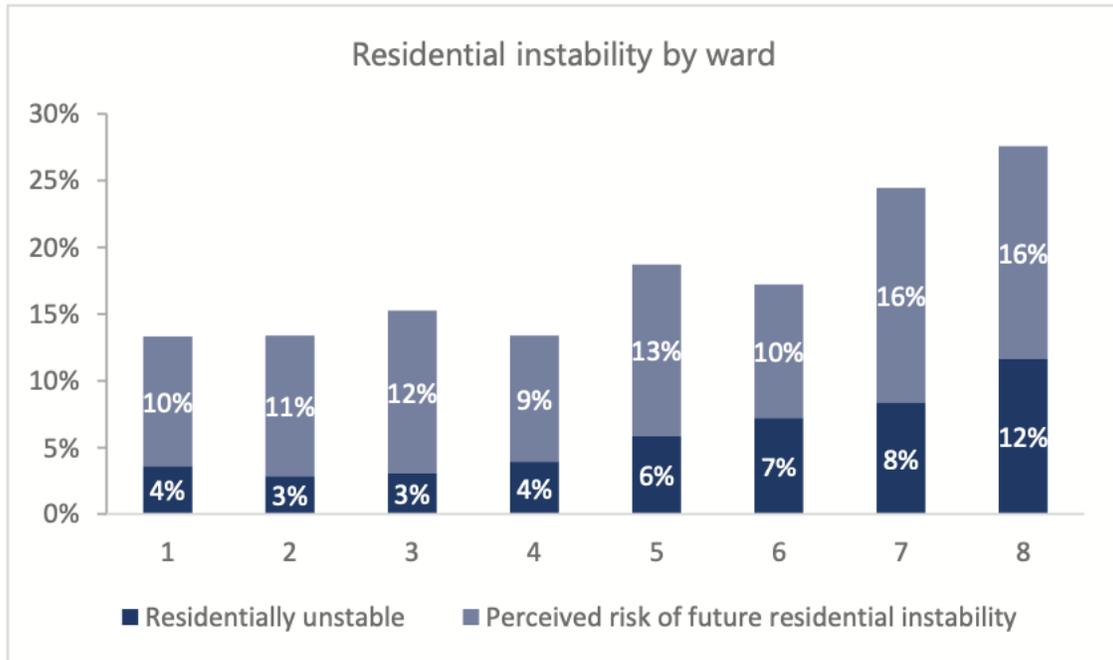
Residents shared concerns around **availability of affordable housing, housing costs, housing quality, and homelessness**. These sentiments reflect much of the District’s growing issues with gentrification. As intense development continues and the District overall becomes wealthier, long-term residents experience housing pressures. While these changes occur at scale, not all Ward 8 residents are facing the same magnitude of being priced out. Some residents shared that this was not a present threat, while others spoke to housing as one of their major concerns. There is a recognition that more affordable housing is needed and that Ward 8 is not adjusting fast enough to meet residents’ wants and needs. Where housing developments are taking place, there is the potential for an increase in affordable units in the District, whether the units are incorporated or not. One resident shared, “you go across the bridge...by the [Washington Nationals Park] stadium, they build nothing but high rises, apartments...why they couldn’t do that over here?”

Resident insights about both the changing affordability of housing and increasingly minimal availability of affordable housing map alongside existing research. The 2019 DC Housing Survey Report found that 16 percent of Ward 8 residents were considered “residentially unstable”² and 12 percent of Ward 8 residents “perceived risk of future residential instability” (DMPED 2019). With the exception of Ward 7, a greater share of Ward 8 residents are residentially unstable or believe that they will be unstable in the future than all other Wards (Figure 5).

² The 2019 DC Housing survey defines residential instability in connection to “repeated moves due to housing costs.”

https://dmped.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/dmped/publication/attachments/Formated%20DC%20Housing%20Survey%20Report_FINAL%206-24_1.pdf

Figure 5: Housing Instability



Source: DC Housing Survey Report, 2019.

https://dmped.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/dmped/publication/attachments/Formatted%20DC%20Housing%20Survey%20Report_FINAL%206-24_1.pdf

Two residents spoke to living in rapid rehousing and planned communities, where they were able to maintain secure housing. Outside of affordability, interviews revealed insights about poor housing conditions and neglectful landlords.

Additionally, residents raised concerns about **access to basic necessities and key resources/support programs**. Almost every interview highlighted the fact that Ward 8 has only one grocery store, Giant Food. **Limited grocery store access** poses a challenge for residents, especially if they have limited transportation options. The Giant Food is located on Alabama Avenue in the Shipley Terrace neighborhood. For those who rely on the DC bus systems and the metro, traveling to Giant is not only expensive, but often impractical. One resident shared that some residents in Ward 8 utilize “riders,” a designated person who will bring them back home with their groceries after taking the bus or another form of transportation to the grocery store. She highlighted this practice and shared the difficulty of bringing groceries on the bus.

Beyond this, interviews also revealed that bus routes are not always convenient around the grocery store, leaving residents to walk long distances to the stops or the stores. For some residents, mobility is a challenge, further emphasizing the need for more grocery stores dispersed throughout the ward. According to MapQuest, someone in the Bellevue neighborhood (a Ward 8 neighborhood) would have to drive roughly 9 minutes or walk for about an hour and 11 minutes to reach the Giant. There are similar distances for other neighborhoods, like neighboring Washington Highlands, which would require a roughly 8 minute car ride or approximately a 42 minute walk. According to Jensen et. al., 2020 Ward 8 has the lowest median walk score of all Wards in the District (Figure 6) (Jensen et. al. 2020). With 100 being the highest score possible, “points are awarded based on the distance to amenities in each category. Amenities within a five-minute walk (0.25 miles) are given maximum points...no points [are] given after a 30-minute walk.”³ Ward 8 received a median walk score of 48.5, compared to the City’s overall 76. Further, “D.C. is ranked as the seventh most walkable large city in the U.S.” (Jensen et. al. 2020).

³ Following definition pulled from Jensen et. al.. “Still Minding the Grocery Gap in D.C.” *D.C. Hunger Solutions*. 2020. <https://www.dchunger.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/StillMindingGroceryGap.pdf>

“Walk Score measures the walkability to any address in the U.S. using a patented system. For each address, Walk Score analyzes hundreds of walking routes to nearby amenities. Points are awarded based on the distance to amenities in each category. Amenities within a five-minute walk (0.25 miles) are given maximum points. A decay function is used to give points to more distant amenities, with no points given after a 30-minute walk. More information can be found at <https://www.walkscore.com/methodology.shtml>.”

Figure 6: Grocery Stores and Transportation

TABLE 3:
Number of Full Service Grocery Stores in D.C. and Transportation Indicators (Median Walk, Bike, and Transit Scores, and Percentage of Car Ownership), by Ward

Ward	Number of Full Service Grocery Stores, 2020	Median Household Income, 2017	Median Walk Score	Median Bike Score	Median Transit Score	Percentage Car Ownership, 2020
Ward 1	10	\$93,284	93.0	79.0	88.0	54.4%
Ward 2	11	\$104,504	97.0	89.0	92.0	53.5%
Ward 3	16	\$122,680	73.0	54.0	60.0	77.6%
Ward 4	11	\$82,625	67.0	66.0	58.0	76.1%
Ward 5	9	\$63,552	71.0	63.0	58.0	70.0%
Ward 6	14	\$102,214	92.0	78.0	91.0	67.3%
Ward 7	2	\$40,021	57.0	63.0	48.5	58.1%
Ward 8	1	\$31,954	48.5	63.0	43.0	57.8%
D.C. Overall	74 (avg. 9.3 per ward)	\$90,695	76.0	71.0	69.0	64.1%

Source: D.C. Hunger Solutions, “Still Minding the Grocery Gap in D.C., 2020,
<https://www.dchunger.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/StillMindingGroceryGap.pdf>

Outside of increasing the number of groceries, residents also expressed that Giant’s food quality was often substandard and that hoarding behaviors during the COVID-19 pandemic have further limited supplies in the store. Two residents also shared a desire to see a greater amount of fresh food items in local corner and convenience stores. For those with transportation, traveling to other areas like Maryland for a grocery store is not unheard of.

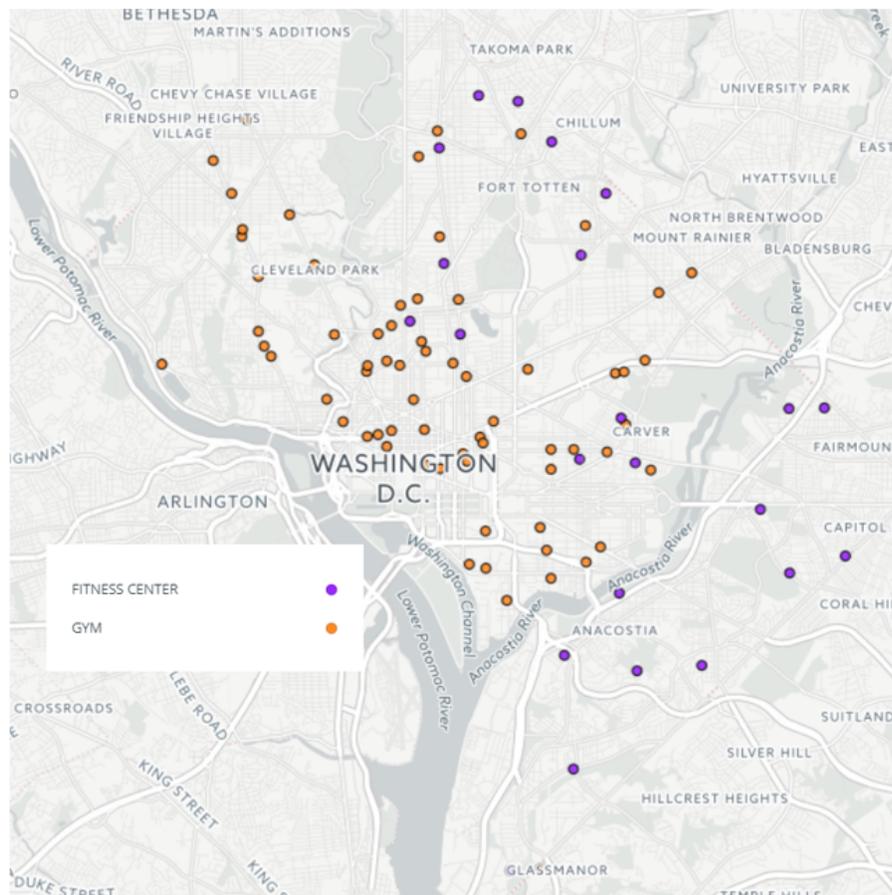
Residents expressed the need for **supportive programs and opportunities that address physical and mental health and wellness**. Many residents highlighted concerns about unaddressed mental health challenges among Ward 8 residents. This was also brought up as a major concern for those experiencing homelessness. Further, interviews revealed concerns about opportunities for physical wellness. Many shared a desire to see additional spaces and activities.

According to the DC Policy Center, as of 2019, while other Wards in the District have many options for physical activity facilities, “there are no commercial gyms located east of the Anacostia River” (Figure 7) (Smith 2017). Instead, residents in these neighborhoods have access to “fitness centers” run by the District’s D.C. Department of Parks and Recreation (Smith 2017).

Source 7: Gym Locations

Commercial gyms are clustered in central D.C., while the only facilities east of the Anacostia River are DPR Fitness Centers

Department of Parks and Recreation-run Fitness Centers are identified in purple, and commercial gyms are in orange.



Sources: Yelp (Gyms) and DPR (Fitness Centers)
D.C. Policy Center | dcpolicycenter.org



Source: Smith, Randy, “Physical activity and gym access by neighborhood in D.C.” *D.C. Policy Center*. 2017, <https://www.dcpolicycenter.org/publications/gym-deserts/>

Residents appreciated existing parks and basketball courts and expressed interest in seeing even more of these sorts of spaces like recreation centers with activities, yoga, and Zumba for Ward 8 residents which would increase access across the w\Ward. One resident shared a desire for positive developments:

“What I like to see new development and I like to see things thriving cause where you have that then you have people in happy places and people are being prosperous and getting what they need to be successful.”

- Ward 8 resident

Interviews revealed a gap in **job and family support opportunities** for local Ward 8 residents. Some residents stated that it was difficult to find jobs in Ward 8 and in response they sought opportunities in other Wards and in neighboring Virginia and Maryland, which highlights another barrier for those without personal transportation. One resident also emphasized the need for 24-hour day care that integrates and is inclusive of children with disabilities and sensory needs.

Residents also expressed concern around **violence, safety, and general infrastructure improvements**. Some shared about persistent gun violence and drug use in the Ward. These occurrences, in addition to intensive loitering, have made some residents feel uncomfortable and unsafe outside in the neighborhood. Additionally, interviews revealed unaddressed infrastructure concerns, like poor road quality and unfixed potholes.

Desired Change and Preservation

During interviews, residents shared what types of changes they would like to see in their communities and what preservation looks like to them. Many expressed a desire to see increased affordable housing, improved grocery store access and accessible fresh foods, activities and social spaces, mental health support services, job opportunity support, financial support and developments that would directly support and meet the needs of existing Ward 8 residents. One resident shared,

“I like to see new development and I like to see things thriving cause where you have that then you have people in happy places and people are being prosperous and getting what they need to be successful.”

- Ward 8 Resident

Having resident needs drive new developments is key to preservation. Further, interviews revealed the importance of managing developments and their impacts to prevent displacement of long-term residents. As the pressures exist currently, new developments and gentrification in the District contribute to both physical and cultural displacement. One resident shares, “preserving the community means keeping that vibe while incorporating some new changes.”

- Ward 8 Resident

Resident interviews helped reveal existing needs within communities and further provided insight into 1) what residents value about their communities (i.e. what does culture look like in Ward 8?), 2) what cultural preservation might look like, and 3) what the effects are on long-term residents of gentrification without effective cultural and physical preservation.

Expert Interviews

Expert interviews are used to reveal how policymakers and advocates can combat cultural displacement by highlighting relevant actors and their work across fields. I interviewed 4 experts and received email responses from 1 expert from nonprofit organizations, housing development companies, advocacy coalitions, and academia. Insights from these interviews are organized by expert.

Dr. Marla Dean, Chief Executive Officer; **Bright Beginnings** | **Nonprofit Organization**



Bright Beginnings is a nonprofit organization located in Ward 8 that supports children and families that are housing insecure or homeless. The organization takes an interconnected approach to support by using a needs assessment to identify family needs and then providing families with resources (financial, housing, jobs, etc.). One major role of their work is to educate children and support their academic growth and progress (Bright Beginnings n.d.). During the interview, Marla shared more about their client population. Those served by Bright Beginnings tend to have the following common needs: housing, income, food assistance, job training and jobs in general, as well as “mental health and legal support,” which she shared are usually visible after time when working with a family.

Marla shared that the organization and its leadership navigated issues around displacement and gentrification early on when switching locations from Ward 6 to Ward 8. She shared that residents were apprehensive about the organization and the potential harms that it might bring to local residents and their sources of income. In describing how she navigated not only those apprehensions but also how she maintains strengthened connections and trust with local neighborhood residents, she shared:

“If there’s a community meeting going on that I don’t know about, to some extent, it causes me a little bit of angst. Again, we have a good relationship but it’s fragile, all these relationships. You cannot take for granted, right, and if you’re not invited to the table by the community, you need to be concerned as to why.”

Marla shared that she makes an intentional effort to participate in local meetings, but that she also integrates community connection into the organization’s decision making, by having the ANC commissioner sit on their policy council, and into outreach through listservs and social media. As both the CEO of an organization based in Ward 8 and a resident of the general area, Marla had multilayered reflections about the current developments in the Ward and their effects on long-term residents. Many of her reflections aligned with those shared in the resident interviews. She discussed how the desires of new residents and changes have often been in direct conflict to long-term residents’ wants and results in the destruction of their agency in having a community that reflects their wants and needs. In discussing this impact on long-term residents, she shared,

“Other people start to find it [the neighborhood] and then the very things that’s long standing like the lady across the street from me...who’s been in this community for 60 plus years, like the reasons why she bought the home that she bought is no longer seen as important. Nor is it valuable, right, as these new people who are coming into community. They’re like, ‘Well, I want this....’ You want cute caches, restaurants, yeah...there’s not a good density and then you get into this cycle and now the community that you purchased in doesn’t look like the community.”

Marla also stressed the particular harms that gentrification has on elderly residents and their agency. She shared, “people who’ve been here the longest seem to have less and less voice in this process...the longer you’ve been there, the less voice you have in the way that your community is changing. There’s like an inverse relationship between the two.” Not only does this apply to new, potentially unwanted changes to their neighborhoods, but also to the unsuccessful attempts to bring changes that long-term residents want, like additional grocery

stores. Marla shared that the excess requirements for the development of grocery stores around income and density are major barriers and they exemplify “a new type of red lining.”

In thinking about Bright Beginnings’ history, Marla shared a lesson that is applicable to most nonprofit or service based organizations. Even organizations with strong potentially positive missions designed to provide supports within a community can harm community members as well and leadership needs to understand and navigate this. Reflecting on when the organization arrived to Ward 8, she shared, “you often think you’re a solution, but you don’t think about what problems you’re creating...proper boards often want to see themselves as do-gooders. They just can’t hear the part like you are creating disruption for other people.” This highlights the complex nature of displacement, both physical and cultural, given that there may be multiple actors or forces contributing to the displacement.

For Marla, equitable preservation requires intentional approaches and change, along with evaluation and accountability. Specifically, she prioritizes, “homeownership for original residents [and the] ability to maintain [homes].” She believes that developers should be required to include metrics around homes for long-term residents during projects. Marla emphasizes that plans need to include these requirements and move beyond solely resident engagement early on in the process as is a typical approach to development plans. She notes the impact that this would have by saying, “When ‘these people’ actually matter...you have to include in your plan, not in just engagement...you come to the table differently than if they’re just barriers and obstacles that you got to, you know, figure out a way to move them out the way.”

Steve Glaude, President and Chief Executive Officer; **Coalition for Nonprofit Housing and Economic Development (CNHED)** | **Nonprofit Organization and Advocacy Coalition**



The Coalition for Nonprofit Housing and Economic Development (CNHED) is a nonprofit organization and coalition with over 100 organization members geared toward promoting equity in the District (CNHED n.d.). CNHED houses leaders from various sectors including “nonprofit and for-profit affordable housing developers, housing counseling and service agencies, community economic development organizations...lenders...and government agencies” (CNHED n.d.).

Steve Glaude, the President and Chief Executive Officer of CNHED shared the dynamic impact that the organization has had on the District’s work around housing and displacement. Roughly ~20 years ago, the District prioritized increasing its resident size by 100,000. As a result, naturally, there was greater funding present in the City through property values and taxes. However, these changes resulted in an unanticipated pressure for those that rely on affordable housing. Steve claimed, “overnight the District had an affordable housing crisis.” At this time and over the course of its existence, the organization led a “Housing for all Campaign” geared toward raising the importance of affordable housing and advocating for government spending to address related concerns. As a result of this advocacy, the Housing Production Trust Fund was created, which Steve shared, “is the primary vehicle that cities use to finance affordable housing” and that compared to other cities, is “the largest per capita in the United States” with the exception of New York. Steve also shared the major impacts that their advocacy had on establishing housing and displacement as major issue areas in the District over the last few years

and that this impact continues today with City leadership prioritizing these issues on their agenda. He shared, “in the last three Council elections, affordable housing has been the number one priority of most of the Council candidates.” Similarly, the Mayor has also publicly focused on affordable housing.

This interview shed light not only on improvements within the City over time, but also growing struggles that the City has in addressing affordable housing and preventing displacement. Steve’s insights reveal that the landscape is worsening. He attributes the root of the problem to the lack of investment on the City’s end in comparison to the market’s growth. As a result, the City has become more polarized. Steve shares, “the City is becoming a city of the very rich and the very poor...meaning you got so much money you can afford the cost or you’re getting your existence subsidized through all these public investments.”

To improve these circumstances, Steve believes that the City should invest more money and that the City should eliminate developer exceptions around building affordable housing. Additionally, he views collaboration across sectors as critical in making progress. He believes that these relationships need to be ongoing and emphasizes that, “you can’t get people to compromise when there’s a specific proposal in front of them. You have to do it when there’s not.” In the past, he led a gathering with industry leaders (“for-profits, non-profits, local government, philanthropy, financial sector, and professional services”). He received positive feedback about the gathering and hopes to lead one again to further bridge relationships across the sectors and help them work together in the future.

Steve’s perspective on preservation is focused on investment in resources and opportunities. He is not a proponent of government benefit programs and instead believes that high quality resources should exist for families to take advantage of and gain stability. He states, “it shouldn’t be because of poorly designed programs, policies that suck and a lack of political will to invest in the things that help, there should be a path for me that is not laden with tricks and traps that keep me from getting out.” Specifically, he hopes to see investment in non-welfare based, childcare, health care, and intervention services.

Patrick McAnaney, Project Manager; **Somerset Development Company** | **Housing Developer**



Somerset Development Company is a housing developer that centers “expanding affordability and revitalizing communities” (Somerset Dev n.d.). The company has 9 properties in DC and 8 properties in Baltimore, MD. Of their 9 DC properties, one is located in Ward 8 and has 83 housing units (SomersetDev n.d.). Patrick, a Project Manager for Somerset, shared that to preserve affordable housing, the company seeks out properties to purchase and then builds in an affordable housing covenant followed by making improvements to the properties. Beyond development work, the company also helps support residents within their properties through a residents resources program. They “invest 15 percent of the income from the property” into needed services and activities for families and children.

This interview revealed insights about the challenges of displacement from the developer side. Patrick shared the pressures of rising land prices and the difficulty of getting funding to acquire properties. He shared one potential solution, which involves increasing the zoning of existing properties to include additional affordable housing units and maintain those already present. This model also includes market rate units. This approach eliminates the challenge of acquiring City financing and supports affordable housing costs with market rate units. Somerset hopes to influence developers in this space to try similar approaches to maintaining and building new affordable units. Those within the company believe that while this approach is useful, it is important that they “lead by example” to show that it is viable and feasible for others to take on as well in multiple spaces.

Somerset works to be collaborative with its property residents, as mentioned prior. One way that the company supports the community is by highlighting local opportunities and working with local organizations to, “[collaborate] instead of competing to provide different programming.” This definitely speaks to a wraparound approach to support and preservation that goes beyond housing affordability. In addition to collaboration, Somerset also provides direct support to families through counseling, interventions, and by providing payment plans for those to afford rent according to their specific situation.

Patrick’s perspective on preservation highlights the need to be more proactive within the housing development space and to take long-term approaches to maintaining affordable housing. He shared that affordable housing covenants are typically legally required for roughly 30 or 40 years. Patrick believes instead that affordable housing covenants should have no deadline and that they should maintain affordable units indefinitely. Relatedly, some of their work involves finding properties with affordable housing covenants nearing termination and renewing these covenants. Patrick also shared that moving forward, affordable housing should be integrated into “exclusively very wealthy predominantly white areas.” He also confirmed the difficulties of the market that Steve discussed. He noted the cyclical nature of the problem that the District is facing. While increased revenue can lead to greater investment in affordable housing, so too does it contribute to increasingly expensive housing prices. He shared that, “even if the City has more money, the need grows proportionately” and to address these needs financing should not rely on government subsidies and that taxing land may also be useful.

Dr. Eva Rosen, Assistant Professor; **Georgetown University's McCourt School of Public Policy** | **Professor and Researcher**



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
McCourt School of Public Policy

Eva Rosen is a professor and researcher focused on landlords and evictions in both D.C. and Baltimore, MD. Her insights are most applicable to understanding some of the housing trends in the District and how the City can counteract their harmful effects. Eva shared the disproportionate impact of evictions east of the river, stating that “50 or 60 percent of all filings and evictions take place in Ward 7 and 8, even though they don’t have substantially larger renter populations than the other wards...it’s really affecting residents that are east of the river, to a much larger degree, and in particular renters of color obviously...which really makes it a racial justice issue, as it is all over the country but I think especially in DC where you see such a sharp divide between race and class in geographic terms.”

As far as addressing these issues, Eva discussed expanding ERAP, the Emergency Rental Assistance Program, that provides financing once in a year’s timeframe for those that are delayed on rent payments. She also discussed the STAY program and expanding legal support for those who have to go to court for an eviction. In the long term, she highlighted vouchers and subsidies as important tools. Eva’s work does not directly track or address displacement, neither physical nor cultural. However, when asked about how she sees affordable housing and related issues moving forward, she shared similar sentiments as other experts. She noted the importance of focusing on the pandemic’s impact on evictions and housing issues. She also shared that while

leadership has indicated that housing and displacement are important concerns, there has not been sufficient energy or action to actually address these issues and Eva does not necessarily believe that things will improve. In discussing leadership she states,

“like in a lot of cities if the people in power aren’t ready to step up and actually implement these changes, we will see continued displacement... given what I study, right, there are tools. It’s not like we don’t know what the tools are. It’s not a big mystery. We have the tools, we know what they, are we willing to use them? And you know, unfortunately, it’s not up to people like you and me.”

She notes the importance of government investments. She shares, “we’ve seen a trend of displacement in DC of longtime residents, especially residents of color over the past 10, 20 years and um, you know, I haven’t seen anything to think that that will stop, and if anything, the pandemic could accelerate it so that’s definitely something to look out for.” These reflections highlight the potential for both the physical displacement of long term residents and the cultural displacement of their community and neighborhoods to exponentially increase not only due to the market issues discussed prior, but now including the pandemic as well.

Nechama Masliansky, Senior Advocacy Advisor; **So Others Might Eat (SOME)** |
Nonprofit Organization



So Others Might Eat (SOME) is a nonprofit organization located in the District that focuses on providing support to those “experiencing homelessness and extreme poverty” (SOME n.d.) through providing free meals, clothing, healthcare, job support, financial management support, skills trainings, and housing, among other critical services (SOME n.d.). Nechama Masliansky,

the Senior Advocacy Advisor at SOME answered a few questions, similar to those asked within the interviews, via email. She shared similar insights as the other experts about how the pressures of the market have impacted the organization's work and continued to pose as a barrier around affordable housing. Housing provided by SOME "is affordable to persons at 0-30% of Family Median Income; the residents cannot afford market rents, and the buildings require heavy subsidies both for capital investments and operating expenses." Nechama notes a major barrier includes increasingly expensive price of land. Further, there are additional developers in the market. As a result, SOME has struggled to acquire space and create more affordable units. An additional issue that the District faces is a large amount of public housing that is in poor condition without sufficient funding to address it.

Nechama also shared how SOME works to integrate community voice into its work. She shared that not only is their constant communication when services are provided, but that the organization provides training and "[supports] Constituent Committees in the Fair Budget Coalition in the DC Interagency Council on Homelessness," as well as communicates with Program Directors for constant input. Nechama noted how important it is for community members to be a part of the decision making process in putting forth improvements and new developments for long-term residents. Residents may have differing wants and needs and neighborhood changes should be informed by the perspectives of long-term residents.

Lastly, Nechama shared the importance of coalitions and other key actors in moving forward progress. She noted committees within CNHED, as well as the following organizations, "Jubilee Housing, N Street Village, Friendship Place, Bread for the City, Housing Up!, Miriam's Kitchen, Community of Hope, and Pathways to Housing." She noted that having multiple actors and the diversity in approach are critical. Nechama stated, "collectively, we may use different housing and service-delivery models, but by and large we cooperate on seeking and advocating for large-scale systemic solutions." It is important to note that with integrating community voice and needs into organization's work may not only help prevent physical displacement but also cultural preservation.

Existing Policies

D.C. Council leaders recently put forth local initiatives to promote affordable housing and small business preservation. While this study is not focused on housing, some of the referenced policies provide preliminary insights into effective solutions to curbing cultural displacement and preserving community norms and values. The recent focus on resident voice, ownership, and protection in policy is relevant to future recommendations. A few recent policies are explored below.

In June 2019, Councilmember Trayon White proposed the “East of the River High-Risk Displacement Prevention Services and Fund Establishment Act of 2019” (Giambrone 2019). Designed to protect local, low-income residents, the Act would establish a budget used to support renters’ rights to affordable and quality housing. It would also invest in local “tenant associations and advisory neighborhood commissions” to uplift residents’ voices in housing decisions (Giambrone 2019). Councilmembers Kenyan McDuffie and Charles Allen proposed three bills in September 2019 to help local businesses afford rental fees in gentrified neighborhoods. These bills include the “Protecting Local Area Commercial Enterprises Amendment Act,” the “Small and Local Businesses Assistance Amendment Act,” and the “Longtime Resident Business Preservation Amendment Act.” The new bills would provide business owners with rent support and loans for renovations, as well as incentives for landlords to maintain relationships with native DC owners (Schweitzer 2019). These bills also set a precedent for policymakers advocating for long-term residents and establishing policies to preserve culture and space.

Recommendations

Cultural preservation is a complex and rather unaddressed issue on a major scale, such as a city level. It is important to note that preserving cultural norms and the essence of neighborhoods for long-term residents cannot occur without concurrently prioritizing physical preservation structures. The following recommendations serve as a starting point for integrating, strengthening, and sustaining long-term residents’ power and perspectives within government and other policy systems.

1. Long-Term Resident Covenants for Public Facilities

Interviews revealed how often newcomers to the Ward resulted in the destruction of existing services, spaces, and resources critical to the livelihoods of long-term residents. Often newcomers' needs, which at times conflict with and/or are extraneous to those of long-term residents', are prioritized, resulting in long-term residents losing access to necessary and valuable amenities, and even basic necessities.

To combat this erasure, the D.C. Council should pass legislation requiring that all new and existing public facilities both directly serve and are linked to the wants and needs of residents that have lived in Ward 8 for over 10 years. This legislation will institute a preservation covenant, similar to those used for affordable housing, that indefinitely requires new and existing facilities to engage in ongoing outreach efforts to long-term residents and to maintain service populations with at least 20-50 percent as residents who have lived in Ward 8 for over 10 years. The exact percentage can be adjusted by neighborhood, depending on the share of long-term residents still living in the neighborhood and should be reassessed every 5 years. These covenants will be useful in creating and preserving existing parks, basketball courts, and other outdoor activities desired by long-term residents. Additionally, these covenants will institutionalize and strengthen long-term residents' power and influence in receiving much needed supports like health care and mental health services in Ward 8. The D.C. Council should consider collaborating with local residents through the Ward 8 Community Economic Development (CED) Planning Process. Ward 8 CED "will engage local residents in data collection, goal-setting and planning, to create a comprehensive development plan for Ward 8" (Walz 2021). Ward 8 CED prioritizes "community ownership," "cultural enrichment, [which the group defines as] recognition that the history and culture of the community is one of its greatest strength and should be embraced and promoted," among other values (W8 CED n.d.).

2. D.C. Council Committee on Preservation

Local government should not only be assessing long-term residents' needs at scale, but also investing in and sustaining changes needed to meet their needs. Many local organizations continue to advocate for policy reform and highlight gaps within communities. However, government policies and funding remain insufficient to addressing these gaps. To improve this,

the Council should create a Committee on Preservation chaired by Ward 7 and 8 Councilmembers, currently Vincent C. Gray and Trayon White Sr. This Committee should establish and collaborate with a joint resident-led committee that contributes insights from long-term Ward 7 and 8 residents, while advocating for policy introduction, change, evaluation, and accountability. The Council led committee should meet regularly with the other existing Council committees, especially the Committee on Housing and Executive Administration, the Committee on Health, the Committee on Transportation and the Environment, the Committee on Business and Economic Development, and the Committee on Human Services (Council of the District of Columbia n.d.). Within each of the existing committees, there should be one Councilmember that serves as a “Preservation representative” that prioritizes not only cultural and physical preservation, but also initiatives that actively promote equity and address the needs of long-term, Black residents within Wards 7 and 8.

3. Increase Efforts to Expand Grocery Store Access in Ward 8

The expert interview with Marla Dean unveiled barriers to Ward 8 receiving additional grocery stores. She shared how income and density requirements are used to prevent the addition of new grocery stores to the Ward. The Council has taken steps to address these barriers and increase grocery store access in both Wards 7 and 8, but progress has not been swift enough in Ward 8.

In 2018, the Council approved D.C. Law 22-284, entitled “East End Grocery Incentive Act of 2018” (Council of the District of Columbia D.C. Law 22-284 n.d.). The initiative is housed in the Office of the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development and is designed to attract grocery stores to the wards and to increase access to fresh food. The law specifies that DC government will subsidize development costs, require the participating stores to carry core fresh food groups and to accept SNAP and WIC, etc. The law prioritizes 9 locations, 3 of which are in Ward 8, including St. Elizabeths East Campus, United Medical Center, and Columbian Quarter (Council of the District of Columbia D.C. Law 22-284 n.d.). Additionally, an Amendment was passed to provide participating grocery stores with various tax exemptions, including “a 30-year exemption from real property or possessory interest taxes” (Council of the District of Columbia D.C. Law 22-83 n.d.). While it appears as though considerable progress is being made in Ward 7 with the major housing, food, and grocery developments in the Skyland Town Center,

particularly with the pending Lidl US grocery store projected for 2022, there has seemingly not been similar progress in Ward 8 (Executive Office of the Mayor 2021).

To progress this work in Ward 8, the D.C. Council should actively recruit companies and offer the first committed and developed supermarket company the following: 1) additional funding for the first 2 years of operation and 2) expanded zoning abilities in other DC wards. Leaders in Ward 7 promote the idea that the first major addition to the Ward will catalyze into attracting other necessary developers. Specifically, the movement of the Department of General Services to Ward 7 is seen as critical, highlighting that, “we needed a first mover, and the city has done that. But now it’s important that we continue to incentivize others to look east of the river” (Banister 2020).

By ramping up efforts to secure a “first mover” grocery store in Ward 8, there is the potential that other expansions could occur in a domino effect. Nonetheless, this does again pose challenges for displacement and decreased affordability in the Ward so it is important that these developments are intentionally arranged and maintained, alongside other preservation efforts. Further, Trisana Spence highlights other governments that utilize density exemptions and required supermarket presence (Spence n.d.). Not only could the Council provide grocery stores with expanded zoning in other districts, but they could also incentivize expanded zoning in Ward 8 by classifying the grocery store as an “inclusionary development” which, under Rule 11-2604, designates that “inclusionary developments subject to the provisions of this chapter, except those located in the StE District may construct up to twenty percent (20%) more gross floor area than permitted as a matter of right (‘bonus density’)” (Case Text n.d.). Inclusionary zoning is used for affordable housing developments (Johnson 2015), but the Council could amend relevant laws to apply inclusionary zoning to businesses.

4. Community Land Trust Model for Small Businesses

To preserve and encourage small businesses owned by long-term residents, Councilmember Trayon White should encourage the establishment of a Ward 8 based DC Community Land Trust, similar to the existing Douglass Community Land Trust but with a commercial/retail space model, as opposed to residential. Community land trusts typically help maintain affordable

housing within communities by owning a property's land and selling the property to a low-income household (Grounded Solutions Network n.d.). In turn, land costs are mitigated from overall buying costs, which makes the property significantly more affordable. Further, when the homeowners sell the home, they are also required to sell to a low-income household and they earn a share of the sale amount (Grounded Solutions Network n.d.). As a result, "the one time public or private investment in CLT homes makes lasting affordability a reality and stabilizes communities" (Grounded Solutions Network Video).

By establishing a Community Land Trust focused on retail space in Ward 8, Councilmember Trayon White could help preserve and encourage small businesses. For example, the Land Trust could operate retail spaces that rent only to long-term residents and their small businesses, thus reducing the pressures of rising land costs. By maintaining these spaces over time, the City contributes to cultural preservation by helping to preserve critical, valuable neighborhood elements.

5. Additional research on cultural displacement and preservation in Ward 8

While there has been progress around the awareness of and policy change toward preventing physical displacement, cultural displacement still remains significantly underdeveloped and is not fully institutionalized in the District. The DC Council should invest in data collection and research on cultural preservation in collaboration with local organizations. Further, the DC Council should establish metrics around cultural displacement and developers and new businesses should be required to present on cultural preservation in relation to their plan.

Limitations and Next Steps

Given the number of interviews and recruitment methods, the qualitative findings may not be representative of the Ward at large. While this report is intended to provide information, additional studies with rigorous methods would be required to make additional claims and suggest other major recommendations. A research organization like the Urban Institute should lead a similar project at scale to provide local leaders with further context.

Housing affordability is a major concern in the District and as discussed is increasingly challenging to integrate and maintain. Without significant improvements to counter and challenge the effects of gentrification, cultural displacement may grow in magnitude. Both physical and cultural displacement must work in tandem. It is necessary that long-term residents both have homes that they can afford and neighborhoods that meet their needs and embody their norms and values.

Due to the complex nature of physical preservation and cultural displacement, capturing relevant information through existing literature, studies, and quantitative data is not always feasible. Interviews and qualitative data are likely to provide greater insights. Nonetheless, there needs to be further research done and increased awareness about cultural elements of Ward 8 and how cultural preservation functions in practice. Further, local government and public policy should further reflect the ideals and notable work around community that is exhibited by local, resident led organizations. Residents should be at the core of cultural preservation and its associated decision making.

Conclusion

Local leaders must be intentional about meeting Black long-term residents' needs in Ward 8. Without appropriate action to address widening inequities, Black Ward 8 communities may not endure through the effects of gentrification. Further, addressing inequities must be integrated into an intersectional approach to preservation. It is critical that the culture of Black Ward 8 communities be maintained and protected. To achieve this reality, collaboration, research, advocacy, and policy change are key.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview and Recruitment Materials

Figure 1: Social Media Resident Interview Recruitment Flyer

Duke | SANFORD SCHOOL of
PUBLIC POLICY

Call for research participants

Are you:

- Over 18?
- A resident of DC's Wards 6 or 8 for 10+ years?
- Black or African American

We need you!

Participate in a Duke University study about your experience living in Wards 6 or 8.

If interested, please contact:
Primary Researcher, Andrea Barnes
ajb162@duke.edu



Figure 2: Resident Interview Consent Form

Please read the following consent form. At the beginning of your interview, you will be asked for your verbal or written consent to the following items.

Interview Consent Form - Residents

Key Information:

What is the goal of this research?

As part of a Masters Project for Duke University's Sanford School of Public Policy, this study aims to capture the experiences of long-term residents in Washington, D.C. For this project, I am collaborating with clients, Symphonic Strategies, Inc. and ONE DC. Symphonic Strategies is a DC based consultancy focused on equity issues and ONE DC is a local community based organization committed to preservation and equity. Your experiences will be used to inform local policymakers on how to best serve long-term residents. You have been selected to participate in this study because you met all of the participant requirements.

What am I being asked to do? Should you participate in the study, you will be asked questions about your experiences living in Ward 8 via the online platform of your choice, by one interviewer. The interview should last roughly 1 hour. With your permission, the interviewer will record your conversation. If you prefer that the interview not be recorded, the interviewer will take hand-written, or typed notes.

How will the data be secured?

With your permission, I will record the interview using the Zoom transcription service. These transcriptions will be held in Duke Box, a secure platform. Only I will have access to these recordings. Once I have checked transcriptions for accuracy, I will delete the recordings. I will not use your (name, address, email, phone, etc.) in any of my written work.

How will the data be used?

Information from these interviews will be used in a research project for the purposes of the interviewer's Masters Project. Final writeups and recommendations for this project will be read by Duke faculty, Symphonic Strategies, Inc. (my client) and may be shared for a larger audience. Only the interviewer/primary researcher will have access to raw audio recordings. Final writeups and/or recommendations from this project may be posted online by Duke University or the client, Symphonic Strategies, Inc.. I will not use your name in my report, but I may use other general terms to quote you. For example, I may say "a SE DC resident, 50 years old said ...". The data I collect for this project (without your name, phone number, or email address or other direct identifiers) may be used for my future research or shared with other researchers.

There are no benefits for participating in this research. Because the number of people I am interviewing are from a particular, small district, it is possible that someone may recognize you by what you have said.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You can skip any question that you do not want to answer. If at any point during the interview you wish to no longer participate, please let the interviewer know. Even if you do not complete the interview, you will be

compensated with a gift card. At the end of the interview, I will ask you your preferred method for receipt of your \$10 gift card (mail or email).

Questions?

Contact: Andrea Barnes (Principal Researcher), MPP Candidate

E: ajb162@duke.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research, please contact the Duke University Campus IRB at campusirb@duke.edu or 919-684-3030 referencing protocol 2021-0300.

Name (printed or verbal consent) _____

Date _____

Thank you for your participation. Your experience is invaluable to this research and advocacy in the District.

Figure 3: Expert Interview Consent Form

Interview Consent Form - Experts

Key Information:

What is the goal of this research?

As part of a Masters Project for Duke University's Sanford School of Public Policy, this study aims to capture the experiences of long-term residents in Washington, D.C. I will be collaborating with clients for this project, Symphonic Strategies, Inc. and ONE DC. Symphonic Strategies is a DC based consultancy focused on equity issues and ONE DC is a local community based organization committed to preservation and equity. Your insights will be used to inform local policymakers on how to best serve long-term residents. You have been selected to participate in this study because you are an expert in your field and have an understanding of communities and public policy. Your insights will be paired with insights from long-term residents to ultimately make recommendations to policy makers and activists.

What am I being asked to do?

Should you participate in the study, you will be asked a series of questions about your research, findings, or general insights regarding cultural displacement and gentrification in Ward 6 and 8. I will conduct the interviews via Zoom or phone call. Interviews are expected to last roughly 1 hour. With your consent, I will record interviews for transcription purposes. Should you prefer to not be recorded, I will take handwritten or typed notes.

How will the data be secured?

If given consent, I will record the interview using the zoom transcription service. These transcriptions will be held in Duke Box, a secure platform. Once I have checked transcriptions for accuracy, I will delete the raw recordings. Only I will have access to these recordings. Because you may often make public statements about your work, I will ask for permission at the beginning of the interview to use your direct identifiers (name, title, company/organization). If you wish to not have your direct identifiers used, I may use other general terms to describe you (i.e. – quoted from a Senior Policy Analyst focused on region and urban planning.)

How will the data be used?

Information from these interviews will be used in a research project for the purposes of the interviewer's Masters Project. Final writeups and recommendations for this project will be read by Duke faculty, Symphonic Strategies, Inc. and ONE DC (my clients) and may be shared for a larger audience. Only I will have access to raw audio recordings. Final writeups and/or recommendations from this project may be posted online by Duke University or the clients, Symphonic Strategies, Inc and ONE DC.

There are no benefits for participating in this research. Because the number of people I am interviewing have a similar expertise, it is possible that someone may recognize you by what you have said.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You can skip any question that you do not want to answer. If at any point during the interview you wish to no longer participate, please let the interviewer know.

Questions?

Contact: Andrea Barnes (Principal Researcher), MPP Candidate

E: ajb162@duke.edu

If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research, please contact the Duke University Campus IRB at campusirb@duke.edu or 919-684-3030 referencing protocol 2021-0300.

Name (printed) _____

Date _____

Thank you for your participation. Your experience is invaluable to this research and advocacy in the District.

Figure 4: General Resident Interview Questions

What brought you to DC?

Can you describe your neighborhood/community?

What are some of the frequented places or activities?

What brings you a sense of pride in relation to your neighborhood?

What are some of the challenging aspects of your neighborhood?

What challenges have you noticed over time? How do you feel about them?

If you had the power to keep certain aspects and change other aspects of your neighborhood, what would you keep and what would you change?

Figure 5: General Expert Interview Questions

Can you tell me a bit more about your role and how you interact with the mission of your organization?

For those that you serve, what are the most common/pressing needs?

How has your work changed over time? How has development/gentrification impacted your work?

In addition to housing, what sorts of cultural elements (businesses, trends, norms, etc.) have you seen change because of development and gentrification? How does your work address that, if at all?

How do you connect with the community/reach community members? What is the role of community voice in your work?

What are the other important actors in this space and how do you view their roles in relation to yours?

What do you see as the priorities for your work in the next 5 years?

What does preservation mean to you?

Appendix B: Historical Analysis Data

Figure 1

Percentage of Black or African American in Wards 6 and 8 (2000-2010)

Share of Total Population (%)	Ward 6			Ward 8			DC		
	2000	2010	PP Change	2000	2010	PP Change	2000	2010	PP Change
Black alone or in combination with one or more race	64.00%	43.00%	-21.00%	93.30%	95.00%	1.70%	61.30%	52.20%	-8.80%

Data from DC Planning Office, Census Data 2000 and 2010 Decennial Census.

To capture a more complete view of the racial demographic changes that coincide with economic development changes at the Ward level, the following data are derived from the 2000 and 2010 U.S. Decennial Census and 2006-2010, 2010-2014, and 2014-2018 5-Year American Community Survey estimates.

Figure 2

Percentage of Black or African American in Wards 6 and 8 (2006-2018)

Share of Total Population (%)	Ward 6				Ward 8				DC			
	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)
Black or African American Alone	44.40%	36.70%	31.10%	-14.10%	94.70%	93.70%	90.00%	19.40%	52.90%	49.60%	46.90%	4.00%

Data from ACS 5-Year Estimates 2006-2010, 2010-2014, and 2014-2018.

Figure 3

Median Household Income By Race in Wards 6 and 8 (2006-2018)

Median Household Income	Ward 6				Ward 8				DC			
	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)
All Races	\$78,449	\$90,903	\$108,967	38.90%	\$30,653	\$31,642	\$34,034	11.00%	\$58,526	\$69,235	\$82,604	41.10%
White Alone	\$109,089	\$120,931	\$138,406	26.90%	\$56,731	\$52,330	\$86,364	52.20%	\$97,402	\$111,817	\$132,040	35.6%%
Black or African American Alone	\$36,726	\$37,391	\$43,609	18.70%	\$29,764	\$30,651	\$31,972	7.40%	\$38,218	\$40,829	\$43,564	14.00%

Data from ACS 5-Year Estimates 2006-2010, 2010-2014, and 2014-2018.

Figure 4

Income Below Poverty Level By Race in Wards 6 and 8 (2006-2018)

Income Below Poverty Level	Ward 6				Ward 8				DC			
	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)
All Races Age 18 to 64	15.90%	13.30%	11.20%	-10.70%	30.50%	32.60%	29.80%	23.20%	16.30%	16.60%	15.10%	9.00%
White Alone	6.80%	6.00%	4.30%	0.20%	12.80%	10.90%	10.30%	51.90%	8.60%	8.20%	6.90%	4.50%
Black or African American Alone	33.00%	27.60%	28.10%	-22.10%	37.10%	38.80%	35.30%	14.00%	25.90%	26.50%	25.70%	2.90%

Data from ACS 5-Year Estimates 2006-2010, 2010-2014, and 2014-2018.

Figure 5

Median Monthly Housing Costs in Wards 6 and 8 (2006-2018)

Median Monthly Housing Costs	Ward 6				Ward 8				DC			
	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)
Median Monthly Housing Costs	\$1,466	\$1,744	\$2,093	42.80%	\$854	\$984	\$1,104	29.30%	\$1,265	\$1,498	\$1,657	31.00%

Data from ACS 5-Year Estimates 2006-2010, 2010-2014, and 2014-2018.

Figure 6

Food Stamps/SNAP Recipients By Race in Wards 6 and 8 (2006-2018)

Received Food Stamps/Snap in the past 12 months	Ward 6				Ward 8				DC			
	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)
White Alone	1.50%	1.20%	0.07%	-36.50%	8.00%	7.90%	8.20%	111.10%	1.30%	1.80%	1.40%	31.40%
Black or African American Alone	21.90%	25.90%	24.70%	9.20%	31.70%	41.4%	40.90%	46.10%	19.60%	27.20%	27.80%	36.80%

Data from ACS 5-Year Estimates 2006-2010, 2010-2014, and 2014-2018.

Figure 7

Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population Age 16 and Over (2006-2018)

Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population Age 16 and Over	Ward 6				Ward 8				DC			
	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)	2010	2014	2018	Change (2010-2018)
All Races	8.60%	7.40%	4.70%	-27.30%	20.40%	25.40%	18.20%	19.40%	9.40%	10.60%	7.40%	-4.80%
White Alone	2.80%	3.60%	2.00%	10.80%	8.20%	7.00%	4.40%	72.30%	3.20%	3.80%	2.80%	13.00%
Black Alone	19.50%	17.20%	13.90%	20.90%	26.20%	26.2%	19.10%	15.40%	16.50%	19.50%	14.00%	-10.60%

Data from ACS 5-year Estimates 2006-2010, 2010-2014, and 2014-2018.

Figure 8

Number of Full Service Grocery Stores in Wards 6 and 8 (2010-2020)

Ward	Number of Full Service Grocery Stores		
	2010	2016	2020
Ward 6	4	10	14
Ward 8	3	1	1
DC	43	49	74

Data from Jensen et al. “Still Minding the Grocery Gap in D.C.” *D.C. Hunger Solutions*. 2020. <https://www.dchunger.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/StillMindingGroceryGap.pdf>