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**THE AFTERSCHOOL BATTLE:  
REPRODUCING A RACIAL BINARY IN AN URBAN SCHOOL**

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**THE AFTERSCHOOL BATTLE:  
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**by**

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**Dissertation**

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## **Dedication**

To the parent-warriors at Benjamin Latrobe Elementary School, in alliance of their quest for their children's educational parity and their continued battle to secure educational equity across the great city of Washington, D.C.



**THE AFTERSCHOOL BATTLE:  
REPRODUCING A RACIAL BINARY IN AN URBAN SCHOOL**

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

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This dissertation project is a critical anthropological analysis of the impact of colorism on the educational attainment and academic trajectory of African-American school students in Washington, DC by examining teacher expectations. Through a historical and contemporary lens of public education in DC, I examine the ways in which a black-white racial binary has been used by those in decision-making positions – namely teachers, counselors, school administrators, Parents and Teachers Association members and other adult decision-makers -- as an indicator of a student's academic ability and their future educational attainment. What prompts this question is the abundance of academic programs in DC that, through a variety of extensive selection criteria, chose high-achieving students for placement in the city's college-preparatory, academic programs, who have a larger tendency to fit a particular phenotype (unless they are exceptionalized through other socioeconomic indicators). Two questions that my research addresses are: how phenotype is weighed against their actual versus perceived academic ability; and how do we explain the relative over-investment (i.e., redundancy of

enrichment programs and resources) at one school over a lack of resources and programs at many other schools.

I selected Washington, DC as the site for my doctoral research for two primary reasons: (1) its historic association for being one of the most (skin) color-conscious cities in the United States (Russell et al. 1992; Golden 2006; Kerr 2006); and (2) its historic and unique position as a testing ground for reform efforts in the public school system. I volunteered at a DC-area public school for the 2011-2012 academic year and became active in the various parental/community associations (i.e. the Parent/Teacher Association (PTA) and the Local School Advisory Team (LSAT) as a means of gaining first-hand knowledge of -- and experience with -- the various ways in which adults (i.e. teachers, counselors, parents and other school-based staff) place value and justify the assignment of resources to particular students and upon what basis (such as phenotype or socioeconomic background). In gaining access to and awareness of the dynamics of parental engagement at my field site, I began to analyze the role of race in the ways that such involvement is contained or policed by school officials. This dissertation project also takes into account students' awareness of such intersectional processes and whether the students categorize themselves and/or their peers according to a hierarchical scale of valorization.

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## PART I: THE FIELD

### Introduction

*“Every citizen needs an education proportional to the condition and the pursuits of his life.”*  
– Thomas Jefferson, 1814

*“...our citizens may be divided into two classes – the laboring and the learned. The laboring will need the first grade of education to qualify them for their pursuits and duties: the learned will use it as a foundation for further requirements.”*  
– Thomas Jefferson’s letter to Peter Carr Monticello, September 7, 1814

Thomas Jefferson was a founding father of the United States, a draftsman of the Declaration of Independence, an intellectual architect of public education in the U.S. and the nation’s third President. He was a man of many hats and many talents, yet a man with many contradictions. While his longstanding paradoxical relationship<sup>1</sup> with Sally Hemings, one of the many slaves on his Monticello plantation, may be one of the more popularly discussed, it is Jefferson’s conflicting views on public education in the United States that serve as the launching point by which I open this research project.

While governor of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson introduced Bill 79 (1779) *For the More General Diffusion of Knowledge*, which was an early ideal for universal public education. The bill called for free education for all (i.e. white) children for three years and scholarships for top students who could not afford further education. Although the plan was defeated, Jefferson remained interested in education. For Jefferson, literacy

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<sup>1</sup> It is well outside the scope of this dissertation to fully and adequately engage the duality of Jefferson’s relationship with Sally Hemings within the historical framework of slavery, power, and property. At the 2006 Brandeis University conference, “Beyond Slavery: Overcoming Its Religious and Sexual Legacy”, Dr. Mia Bay summed up perfectly that most approaches regarding Jefferson and Hemings relationship “misrepresent the liaison between the Founding Father and his female possession because they ignore the sexual exploitation and family losses inscribed across the Hemings family’s history and across the history of American slavery.”

should serve as a liberating and transformative force in equalizing life outcomes amongst those he called the laboring class and those he termed the learned classes. As such, he was a staunch proponent of basic education for all (excluding non-whites and girls). Over the course of U.S. public education history, Jefferson's educational theories have been applied across lines of gender, race, and socioeconomic status. And while many of his more advanced and progressive educational ideals have persisted and developed over that course of time, Jefferson's perspective on determining which children are more deserving of additional training and resources has persisted and manifested itself in decades of educational bias by key decision-makers in the cities' public educational systems. The result, among many others, dials down to the local educational opportunities made between Black families and white families and is most clearly demonstrable in the disparate educational outcomes between white and Black students in Washington, D.C.

#### **ENTRY TO THE FIELD**

I began my preliminary data collection with the desire to work or volunteer in the City's public schools. The general climate that I experienced was that of distrust, filled with teachers in fear of their employment being terminated. I found it difficult to gain access for preliminary data collection. I requested a meeting with a high-ranking official in the DCPS system to ask their suggestions on how I should move forward. After shrugging their shoulders, I was told rather abruptly, "It's pretty much a closed society at this point. We can't trust you to come in and do what you say you're going to do. And no one wants to be misrepresented in the media then potentially lose their job just so you can do some research." I appreciated the candid response. From that point, I understood that I

would need to restructure my research plan in order to establish a position of mutual trust within a school and access space within that community. In that process I secured part-time employment at Benjamin Latrobe Elementary School.

The aim of my ethnographic fieldwork was to document the ways in which a student's skin color may impact the academic expectations from teachers, staff and faculty at an urban school. My dissertation project at Benjamin Latrobe Elementary School<sup>2</sup> began as a critical analysis of the impact of colorism on the educational attainment and academic outcomes of African-American public elementary school students in Washington, DC. More specifically, I wanted to examine the ways in which skin color and its associated hierarchies are used by those in decision-making positions, namely teachers, counselors, school administrators, members of the Parents and Teachers Association (PTA) and members of the Local School Advisory Team (LSAT), as an indicator of a student's academic ability and future educational attainment. The depth and breadth of such phenotype-based associations are, to be sure, long-lasting and of great impact to a student's sense of self<sup>3</sup>. My entry to observe such interactions was much more difficult than I imagined, largely due to: 1) the limited available staff positions in the City's public school system and 2) a heightened fear of hiring "outsiders", who might scrutinize the system at a time when questioning was believed to result in retribution

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<sup>2</sup> In accordance with the requirements of the Internal Review Board at the University of Texas at Austin, I have changed the school's name. With the exception of historical and public figures, all names that appear in this manuscript are pseudonyms; most were self-selected by participants in order to protect anonymity. Age, gender, race/ethnicity, class, and position remain unchanged.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix 1 demonstrates the duration of time in which a child may be susceptible to phenotype-based assumptions of academic prowess through a vectorized diagram of the U.S. educational system. Based upon this diagram, this would occur between the ages of 3 through the late 20s.

from Chancellor Michelle Rhee, the nationally-popular but locally reviled chief of the City's public school system. As such, I knew I would need to be careful in how and to whom I explained my specific research interests.

The three theoretical frameworks through which I understood the processes occurring within and around my fieldwork are: colorism as a gendered modality through which race operates; colorism and its influences on teaching and learning; and racial politics and the geography of urban spaces.

### **Colorism as a Gendered Modality through which Race Operates**

The issue of skin color as it relates to race (for the racial group of focus within my research) can be reduced to one question: who is Black? In his 1991 book, *Who is Black?* F. James Davis expounds on the fact that African-Americans in the United States are defined according to the one-drop rule. He asserts that African-Americans are not a racial group, in the biological sense of the term, but rather a group socially-constructed to include a wide variation of racial traits. The definite status position associated with African-Americans, or 'black blood', in the United States has reinforced a self-conscious social group with an ethnic identity (Davis 1990). Michel Rolph-Truillot addresses the problematic U.S. definition of blackness in a Haitian context. His 1994 article, "Culture, Color, and Politics in Haiti" discusses what is termed 'the color question' in Haiti, in reference to the international hierarchy of races (read skin color). For Rolph-Truillot, skin color is used as a marker rather than race in other African diasporic populations. He, like many other researchers, comparatively looks at Brazil and its so-called racial democracy hinged largely upon the myth of equality amongst and in between its citizens of different

skin colors. He also discusses the Dominican Republic, which also uses a system of skin color descriptors instead of racial or ethnic identifiers. Proponents of these systems of classification agree that it is more accurate to name someone by their combination of hair texture, lip and nose width, hair and eye color, and skin complexion. However, it can be argued that these systems simply mask the existing skin color hierarchies by extolling the virtues of a ‘mixed-race’ population – without acknowledging that light-skinned members of this population benefit disproportionately over their darker-skinned counterparts. White domination, embodied by white or light skin, rewards those persons who most closely emulate whiteness (Russell et al 1992; Payne 2004; Lipsitz 2006; Hunter 2007) and skin-color based hierarchies are key in the maintenance of such a system of domination. This is evidenced by the universally documented disproportionate privileges for lighter-skinned persons. It can be inferred that it is rational for a lighter-skinned person to be invested in strict lines of differentiation from their darker counterparts if they subscribe to the values of such a highly racially-hierarchized system. Regardless of skin color, subscribing to this system entails the internalization of a white aesthetic (Hall 2005; Lipsitz 2006) and a valorization of a white ideal.

While skin color hierarchies impact every member of communities of color, it disproportionately affects women, as they are held to particular beauty standards to which men are not (Okazawa-Rey et al 1987; Neal and Wilson 1989; Keith and Herring 1991; Elaine Brown 1992; Russell et al 1992; Harvey 1995; Hall 1996; Thurman 1996; Golden 2004; Jacqueline Nassy Brown 2005; Byrd and Solomon 2005; Hunter 2005; Kerr 2006; Nassar-McMillan et al 2006; Patton 2006; Rondilla 2006). More often seen in works of

fiction than in academic research, the topic of skin color preference is usually framed in a gendered discourse of women's self-esteem (Brooks 1993; Thurman 1996). Attractive women are envisioned as possessing finer, more narrow features, having a smaller build or waistline, and being closely aligned with the prototypical European blonde-haired, blue-eyed model of beauty. Thus, lighter skin is associated with feminine features and oftentimes as evidence of racially-mixed antecedents. Conversely, darker skin is tied to more masculine attributes, such as fuller facial features and a larger, stockier build – imagine the phrasing of a romanticized attractive man as being tall, dark, and handsome. It has also been utilized as a visual link to possessing stronger ties to, what sociologist Margaret Hunter has termed, racial authenticity. Despite widespread interest in associating gender and colorism, Hill (2002a) cites studies that do not find coherent analyses linking the intersection of the two, as evidenced by the results that African-American women generally do not share the same preference for lighter-skinned male spouses/mates. Interestingly enough, Hill's 2002 studies both noted that the topic of African-American female attractiveness is frequently the topic of discussion (Hill 2002a) within skin color hierarchies. This indicates that African American women are deeply affected by this issue as his work seeks to explore acts of agency to discuss the topic on their own terms. Popular media plays a role in this arena as well. Scholars have shown how visual representations of beauty are linked to one's value, and how these perpetuate a white beauty ideal (Russell 1992; Hill 2002a). Dark-skinned African American male celebrities have greater mainstream appeal than dark-skinned African American female celebrities (Hill 2002a) and there is significantly less frequent use of darker-skinned

female models in advertisements than darker-skinned males. These all go to perpetuate the long-standing view of light-skinned women as African American beauty ideal (Russell 1992), which also informs feelings of shame amongst those African Americans with a darker-complexion. Claud Anderson and Rue L. Cromwell explored this in their 1977 study, which focused on the persistence of color preferences amongst African American youth using a skin color continuum of 'light, light brown, medium brown, dark brown. Like many studies before theirs, the youth demonstrated a persistent feeling of shame associated with having a dark skin complexion and a general desire for attributes associated with whiteness or lighter skin. However, Anderson and Cromwell found a positive association amongst the group in racially-identifying as African-American. They also found of the four distinct skin color categories, the most frequently selected as having positive attributes was the 'light brown' category and not the 'light' category as is typically found in such studies. Much of Anderson and Cromwell's 1977 results, however, were explained by the relative success of the 1960s Civil Rights-era 'Black is Beautiful' campaign, which intentionally extolled the virtues of darker-complexioned African Americans. To be sure, this seeming shift in attitude must be understood within its historical context as a significant and purposeful shift emphasized the more demonstrable, yet perhaps stereotypical, features associated with African ancestry as it negated the long-standing valorization of European ancestry.

More recent scholarship examines the possible impact of studying the construction of white racial identity. Amy Lewis' 2003 *Race in the Schoolyard* posits the significance of studying white students' construction of their own racial subjectivities

within the context of a white setting, as she finds that it is a lesser studied variable as compared to its examination in spaces heavily populated by students of color (Lewis 2003: 12).

### **Colorism and Its Influences on Teaching and Learning**

Schools do not exist within a vacuum where they are free of the influence or impact of the society within which they exist. In the context of public education in the United States, there is a long and consistent history of the classroom environment serving as a replication of the environment outside of the classroom – such that race, class, gender, religion, and other identities are assigned a value and then placed on a hierarchy by the group in a position of authority as a means to retain their value outside of the classroom. Building upon previous academic scholarship and within the context of Washington D.C.’s public school system, my research seeks to uncover whether skin color, as informed by racial understandings, remains a factor in students’ academic trajectory. The latter 20<sup>th</sup> century saw a new generation of educational research and social science discuss education as a mechanism by which inequality is reproduced (Katz 1971; Newby and Tyack 1971; Ogbu 1974; Ornstein 1974; Apple 1982; McClaren 1986; Foley 1990). Educational researchers explained the impact of perceived difference and different expectations among teachers, students, families and other supporting actors within the school community. More recent ethnographies have examined the discriminatory impact of gender, immigration, and other possible systems of sorting students. Applying Michael Apple’s notion of education and knowledge as a commodity to be purchased, and



Marcelo Paixão's 2009 research into what a 'good' student looks like<sup>4</sup>, I related these to what appeared to be a battle between two afterschool programs at Benjamin Latrobe Elementary School: the lines of battle being drawn through race, socioeconomic status, and resource allocation.

Providing a historical context for and significance of these factors at Latrobe Elementary School, I begin with the school's namesake, Benjamin Latrobe, one of the first leaders and architects of then-named Washington City (also referred to as the 'City of Washington'). During his tenure and with the City Council under his guidance and approval, Benjamin Latrobe helped to create the City's government from the ground up. He worked to establish markets, public schools, a police department, a fire department, a system for taxation, and assisted with the completion of DC's city plan after Pierre L'Enfant was fired before completion of his design<sup>5</sup>. During his many years of influence in the area in and around present-day Washington, DC, Latrobe held various positions such as a Justice of the Peace, Judge of the Orphan's Court, and a longtime member of the school board. Under Latrobe's leadership, the present-day geographic boundaries of

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<sup>4</sup> Paixão's *The Paradox of a 'Good' Student* references a 2002 study performed by Carlos Alberto de Almeida, a professor at Fluminense Federal University in Brazil. Almeida's study showed seven photographs of men with distinct racial features ('white' to 'black') to 200 interviewees in Rio de Janeiro and asked them to associate the pictures with the following words: 'lawyer', 'teacher', 'cab driver', 'lazy', 'poor', 'honest', 'intelligent'. The study's results supported the notion that cursory classification by racial type reflects societal prejudices, as the men with a marked white appearance were associated with intelligence, honesty and white-collar employment, while the men with African-descendant features were associated with criminality and poverty.

<sup>5</sup> According to the Historical Society of Washington, DC, President George Washington hired French city planner, Pierre L'Enfant in June 1791. The two immediately had a contentious working relationship due, in part, to L'Enfant's refusal to implement changes when they interfered with his "aesthetic judgments". Washington found himself in the middle of a series of disputes between L'Enfant and district commissioners as L'Enfant continued to disregard growing financial concerns. By February 1792, Washington replaced L'Enfant. He asked surveyor Andrew Ellicott to continue with the L'Enfant Plan. Ellicott and his assistant, Benjamin Banneker (a freedman) made the necessary adjustments and completed the City's design.

Washington, DC were established. The 1871 Congressional Organic Act created a single government for DC, merged the City of Washington with Georgetown and Washington County and formed the District of Columbia. During this time, Latrobe amassed a great deal of property around present-day Washington, DC. As such, there are a number of remaining geographic markers bearing his name – one of which, ironically is one of the city’s lowest socioeconomic neighborhoods, an area having high rates of crime, unemployment, and high school dropout rates.

Located in the Southeast quadrant of the City, the current location for Latrobe Elementary School has been in constant use for education purposes since the early 1800s. Starting as a primary school housed in an 8-room brick building, its faculty served the surrounding community for several decades until a fire in the early 1960s resulted in major damage to the building. Having demolished the old structure, construction for the current building began immediately and was completed in 1968. Over the years, Latrobe Elementary School has had the benefit of frequent renovations to reflect the needs of the student body as well as to reflect access to resources not available to most DCPS schools. In 2006, Latrobe Elementary School had 11 students for every full-time equivalent teacher, while the average student-to-teacher ratio in DC is 13:1. According to various school statistics available from the DC Public School System, Latrobe Elementary School is one of 93 public elementary schools in the City and, as of the 2011-2012 school year, serves approximately 250 students grades prekindergarten through fifth grade.

The issue of race is especially compelling at this school because it includes many students of color with White parents. In fact, without taking into account white parents

with students of color, a visitor to a Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) or Local School Advisory Team (LSAT) meeting might look at the overwhelmingly white parent corps as representative of the student body. However, if the same visitor walked around the school, looked in the classrooms or passed by the playground during afterschool hours, their assumption regarding the student body's racial composition would shift dramatically.

A wide range of educational research has proven useful for understanding the circumstances I encountered at Latrobe Elementary School. Educational researchers have examined teacher perceptions (Seeman 1946; Foley 1990; Orton 1996; Bomer et al 2008); learning opportunities (Gamoran 1987; Foley 1990; Payne 2004); and skin color preferences (Seeman 1946; Anderson and Cromwell 1977; Porter 1991; Hall 2005; Kerr 2006) as they relate to skin color hierarchies. Works of fiction are also informative. Brooks 1993; Thurman 1996; Senna 1998; Golden 2004; Hurston 2006 are participants in a long history of fiction that addresses topics of skin color within African-American communities.

In addressing the socioeconomic impact of skin color hierarchies on African-Americans, specifically employment opportunities, Bodenhorn argues that much of the discussion can be found in the learned behaviors from previous generations. Unlike others who write on intra-racial skin color discrimination, Bodenhorn implies that family figures more centrally in the opportunities available to an individual than does any system of institutionalized racism. Arthur Goldsmith, Darrick Hamilton and William Darity, Jr. examined the link between skin color and salary in their 2007 article, *From Dark to Light: Skin Color and Wages Among African-Americans*. They developed a

theory called “preference for whiteness”, which predicts that the interracial and intra-racial wage gap will widen as skin complexion darkens for an individual worker. While such a correlation strengthens the argument made by those negatively impacted by such behavior, it should be noted that this 2007 theory looks at race within a black-white binary. That impacts its validity and applicability within an increasing multi-racial, pluricultural workforce in the United States. Seventeen years prior to Goldsmith et al’s “preference for whiteness” theory, sociologists represented a significant part of a large body of researchers who in the early 1990s began to critically analyze an issue long taken for granted. Citing skin color as a diffuse status characteristic wherein differential reward and opportunities are granted by individuals and institutions based on the recipient’s skin color (Hill 2002ab), this cadre of researchers studied the notion that skin tone has a significant impact on educational opportunities of African-American students. From their quantitative and qualitative analysis based on a Black-white racial binary, we consistently observe that disparity based on intra-racial skin color variances is nearly identical to disparity based on inter-racial differences (Hughes and Hertel 1990).

Building from the prevailing notions, colorism in schools amongst African-Americans, Latinos, and Asian-Americans is constant in its preference for lighter skin color (Hunter 2002 and 2007). Researchers have demonstrated a correlation between teacher expectations or perceptions and student appearance or phenotype (Gamoran 1987; Foley 1990; Hall 2005), to the extent that teachers of any race expect higher performance academically from white and light-skinned students (Hunter 2002 and 2007). In its impact on the cycle of student behavior, we see a reactionary relation to teacher

expectations/perceptions (Foley 1990; Kerr 2006). Students valorize white/light skin biases (Hunter 2002) on intelligence and attractiveness and perpetuate this valorization in their social relations. In a causal relationship between teacher expectations/perceptions and student appearance, Robert Orton's 1996 study demonstrated that teacher beliefs about student learning might be supported or justified in a way not directly connected to student performance. Valencia extends this by asserting that teachers are influenced by their perception of the inherent intelligence of white/light skinned students (Valencia 1997). It logically follows that teacher perceive darker-skinned students as intellectually inferior to lighter-skinned students (Valencia 1997).

How does this impact student learning opportunities? If the teachers expect more of lighter students, then it follows that they expect less of darker students. Lowered teacher expectations have the potential to serve as self-fulfilling prophecies for the low academic performance of darker-skinned students insofar as darker skinned students must negotiate their identity amidst an array of messages and interactions that press the value and importance of light skin color (Foley 1990). Gamoran's 1987 research implicates the school structure in this process of devaluing certain students based on this appearance. He argues not only that schools serving more affluent communities may offer more rigorous and enriched programs of study but also that white, middle-class students in college-preparatory curricular programs may have greater access to advanced courses within schools (Gamoran 1987; Foley 1990). Gamoran found little effect of socioeconomic status of student (all other factors held constant) when determining student achievement, and he acknowledged that schools offering programs for the gifted or advanced

placement courses do not produce higher achievement (Gamoran 1987). He ultimately found few school-level conditions that contribute to achievement. His results found, instead, that variations in student experiences within schools have important effects on achievement.

Utilizing Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproductions of class, I find that his four categories are quite fitting in this analytical framework. Different levels of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital help explain disparate distribution of supplementary educational resources and programs available to students. Resources were more readily available to the largely white student population in my field site than to the Black students. I particularly find fitting the manner in which Amy Lewis (2003) engages Bourdieu's classification as it pertains to educational settings, as it highlights the meritocratic nature central to the four types of capital, individually and collectively. What proved to be a constant during my ethnographic inquiry was the pervasive notion amongst many adults (and learned by a number of the older students) that *certain* students were naturally and/or inherently more deserving of particular resources, to the point of being overwhelmed by funding to sponsor academic and social opportunities. As I will discuss more fully in a later chapter, it is a strategy that has proven to be of benefit to urban (mostly white) parents who supplement their child's public education so that what they may be lacking in economic capital (compared to students in private schools) is still far and beyond that of their public school counterparts and will still translate into increased cultural capital and heightened social capital via association with exclusive educational programs and social circles in the city.

## Racial Politics and the Geography of Urban Spaces

“Demographics are well-mixed, but, as a rule, whiteness and wealth increase with proximity to the Capitol”

– Arthur Delaney of *The Washington City Paper*

In June 2008, *The Washington City Paper* published a ranking of DC neighborhoods based on six categories: kid-friendliness, housing, eats, consumer goods,

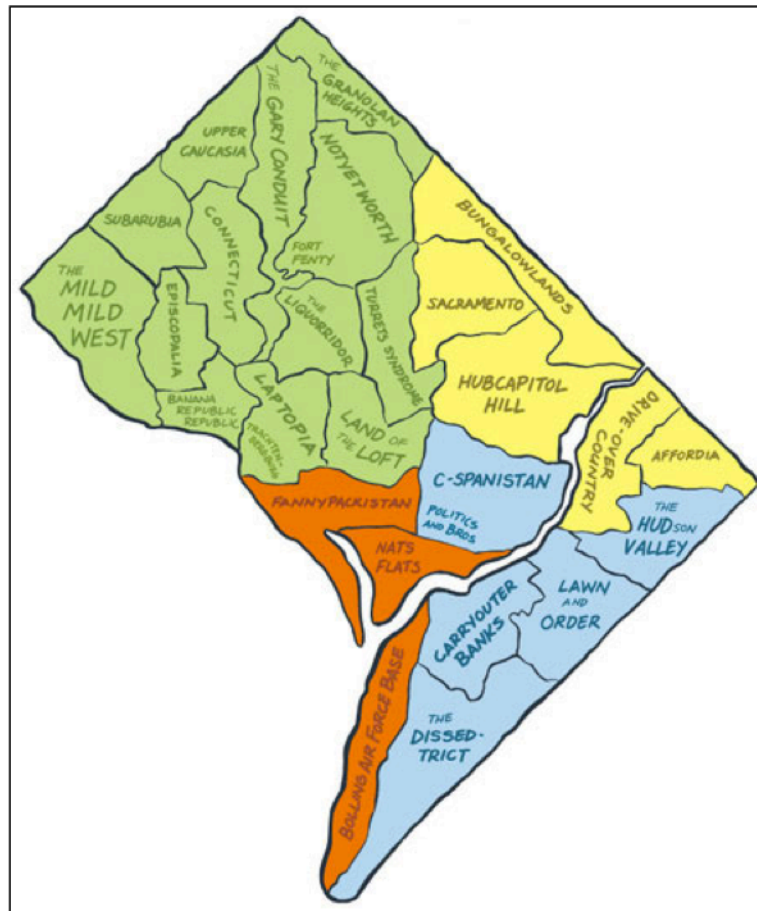


Figure 1: DC’s 22 Power-Ranked Neighborhoods

nightlife and culture, and intangibles. The contributing journalists divided DC's 92 neighborhoods<sup>6</sup> into twenty-three comical yet aptly-titled groupings and assigned 'power rankings' to each. While the motivation was to serve as an informative and humorous attempt at providing information to new DC transplants, the ranking revealed the racial and socioeconomic geography of Washington, DC as well as the ways in which these various neighborhoods – and their respective denizens – relate to one another in terms of race and space. Although there are multiple official and unofficial ways to draw the boundary lines between the many neighborhoods and neighborhood clusters within the 8 wards of DC<sup>7</sup>, four weeks of my own canvassing and questioning of various passers-by in different neighborhood clusters yielded an interesting perspective on the racial demographics of the City.

As a native Washingtonian, I hold existing impressions of race and space in DC. However, having recently moved back to DC after a multi-year absence, I found that my existing impressions were constantly challenged as I travelled around and reacquainted myself with Washington, DC in its current state. As a means of gaining a better understanding of the latent racial and socioeconomic tensions that I was observing (particularly when in newly-gentrified sections of the City), I stood at a bus stop on H Street NW near a very popular and historic carryout store, frequented by a cross-section

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<sup>6</sup> Although there are 131 distinct DC neighborhoods (see Figure 2 in Appendix) listed on the District of Columbia official web portal ([www.dc.gov](http://www.dc.gov)), *The Washington City Paper* article lists only 92 neighborhoods in its 22 Neighborhood Power Rankings.

<sup>7</sup> There are officially 8 distinct Wards separating the City's four quadrants. The closest 'official' number of neighborhoods/neighborhood clusters comes from the NeighborhoodInfo DC project, which is engaged in a data-sharing partnership with the DC Office of Planning, the Metropolitan Police Department, the DC Office of the Chief Technology Officer, the Department of Human Services, and the Office of Income Maintenance.



of Washingtonians. I asked people of different racial/ethnic groups, from young adults to senior citizens, from those in business suits to those in jumpsuits about the racial and economic lay-of-the-land. The responses I received exemplified a “you know it when you see it” nature of mapping racial/ethnic identity in DC’s various neighborhoods. The types of comments that I received could be categorized into three categories: the pensive response; the visually uncomfortable responder; and the responder who found it laughable that I would ask a question with such an obvious answer. The following three quotes represent the general sentiment I received:

1) THE PENSIVE: *“Um, hmm. I don’t know. I mean, everyone knows where they’re welcome and comfortable because you just know when you’re in certain kinds of areas. With gentrification and all, you just deal with it until they make the neighborhood better.”*

2) THE UNCOMFORTABLE: *“It’s obvious...I can’t explain it”*

3) THE LAUGHABLE: *“You joking? Look around. Everywhere has a feel, you get it? See right here [points to check cashing place]? Now look over right there [points to a Chinese take-out store]. I mean, damn, I could point out this whole block [motions towards the nearby shopping mall consisting of 2 liquor stores, an abandoned, boarded-up storefront, 4 different stores with ‘For Lease’ signs in the windows, a McDonald’s and a beauty supply store]. You think you gonna see this where white folks live? No that stuff’s for us.”*

## **LOCATING RACE IN WASHINGTON, DC**

As many researchers have noted, Washington, DC is one of the most color-conscious cities in the United States (Russell et al. 1992; Golden 2006; Kerr 2006) and skin color consciousness cannot exist without an acknowledgement of its association to race. Born and raised in Washington, DC, I readily take for granted the myriad verbal manifestations of racially-rooted discourse in describing areas in the City. Living ‘west of

16<sup>th</sup> Street’ in the northwestern quadrant of the city is mentioned to indicate that a non-white individual or family is financially well-off and living in a wealthy area of town. The existence of and reference to the ‘Black Gold Coast’ demonstrates that a Black family is not socioeconomically privileged, but that they have more than likely been so

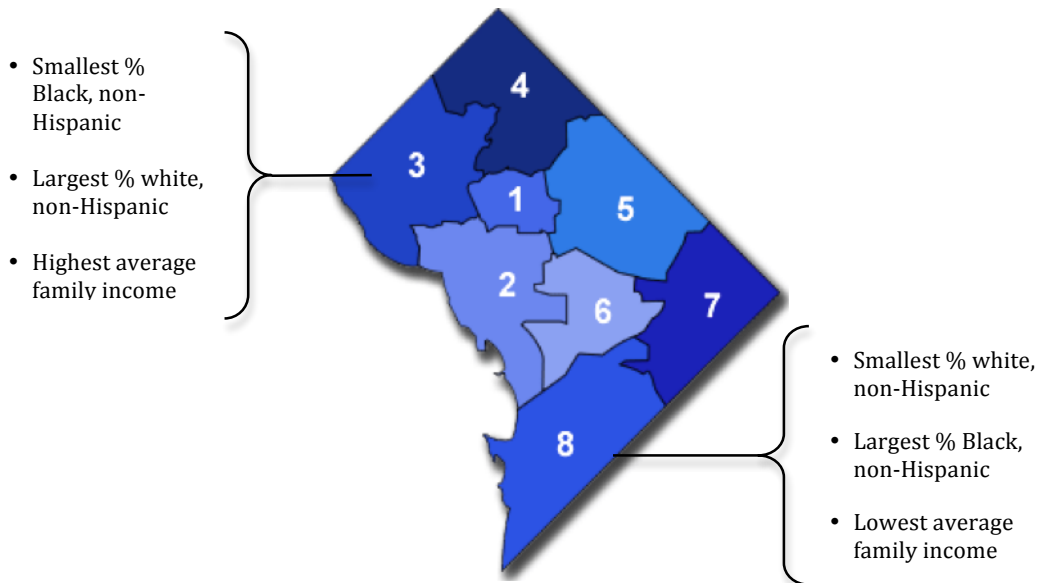


Figure 2: Comparison of DC Wards 3 and 8

for many generations. Even such comments as ‘they lived over there before we were even allowed in that neighborhood’ indicates fluidity with which native Washingtonians reference and place value upon specific neighborhoods and families living within those neighborhoods, based on race. Occupying a space of about 68 square miles, the City’s approximately 633,000<sup>8</sup> citizens are divided into 8 wards, or sections.

<sup>8</sup> According to data retrieved from the U.S. Census Bureau

While there is a fairly average distribution of population across all 8 wards, neighborhood-level data analysis that I will explore in detail in Chapter 2 supports the fact that DC's racial disparities are easily and readily mapped along geographic ward boundaries, so it does not seem to be coincidental that the City's most western-most ward has the highest percentage of whites in the City (78%) and has the highest average family income (\$257,241)<sup>9</sup>. In the same vein, it cannot be coincidental that on the opposite side of the City, Wards 7 and 8 are DC's two wards with the highest percentages of Blacks also rank as having the two lowest average family incomes and the two highest percentages of children living in impoverished conditions. Accordingly, the structural and historical links between race and socioeconomic status have long been established (DuBois 1899; Frazier 1957; Coleman 1968; Campbell 1971; Farley 1984; Anderson 1990; Anthia and Davis 1992; Friedman 2005). To be sure, it is difficult to disentangle poverty from race and ethnicity. The marginalization of communities of color is closely tied to income and wealth, which in turn directly impacts the allocation of resources to such areas as the education of DC children. As such, examining racial politics and the geography of race and space in DC necessitates not only a full understanding of the foundations and dynamics of race in this city but also the ways in which these are discussed and understood by those living in the city.

### **BARRIERS TO ENTRY**

My dissertation project began as a critical analysis of the impact of colorism on the educational attainment and academic outcomes of African-American elementary

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<sup>9</sup> see Table 1: Selected DC Statistics by Ward

school students in Washington, DC. More specifically, I entered the field wanting to examine the ways in which skin color, as well as its associated racial implications and hierarchies, may be utilized as an indicator of a student's academic ability and future educational trajectory by those in positions of power and whose assessment wields influence in teaching and learning in Washington, DC's public education.

After moving to Washington, DC in August 2009 to begin preliminary field research, I discovered that the City's public school system was in dire straits. As a means of beginning my participant observation on factors impacting student learning in the DCPS system, I began working with a Title 1 after-school enrichment program at Kenilworth Elementary School, located in Ward 7. Demographically, this school serves a predominantly African American student-base, the majority of whom are in-boundary students, living in (amongst DC's 8 wards) a ward with the second highest rate of crime and poverty<sup>10</sup>. After only two days on site, I had encountered multiple situations where a student's phenotype (and its proximity to Whiteness) was an immediate and positively correlated relationship to the instructor's high expectation of that student's behavior. Statements exchanged between the entirely African American After-School staff included such phrases as, "Well, she's too pretty to have started that fight. You know she's mixed, right?" and between students "you think you cute because you got good hair." These kinds of references not only confirmed the feasibility of gathering data on my proposed research topic. Throughout the course of my time working in the After-School Program, the students were increasingly aware of the growing tensions occurring in the larger

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<sup>10</sup> Statistic on crime ranking observed from local evening news report

school system and how those changes affected their teachers and their classroom environments. In response to budget shortcomings and failing standardized test scores across the city, then-Mayor of D.C. Adrian Fenty restructured the city's public school system and many DCPS-school level staff and faculty, particularly those of us employed in schools serving lower-income families, quickly found ourselves without a job. Distrust and confusion became the new *modus operandi*, so my initial active research efforts were relegated to external observation – looking inside the system from the outside.

After a prolonged period of observation, I began working at Benjamin Latrobe Elementary School and adjusted my research to focus on those adults who had primary access to and consistent interactions with students, namely teachers, counselors, school administrators, and parents in the school (i.e. members of the Parents and Teachers Association (PTA) or Local School Advisory Team (LSAT)). What prompted my research question was my prior experience as a teacher in a public school system and the two-year period in which I worked for two different academic supplemental programs based in Washington, DC. There were numerous academic supplemental programs for school-aged children in the City that, through a variety of extensive selection criteria, selected already high-achieving elementary school level students for potential placement in the city's college-preparatory programs. These students seemed to overwhelmingly come from families with a mid-to-high economic status and thus shared membership in the similar, if not the same, social circles. The two questions that my research sought to address were: what factors inform the perception of a student's perceived rather than their actual academic ability? How do we explain a relative over-investment (i.e., redundancy

of enrichment programs and resources) for certain groups of students compared to a dismal lack of resources and programs for other groups of student? If we can determine an over-investment in particular types of students, why has this continued uncontested over time?

## **THE BLUEPRINT**

I have divided this text into two sections. The first part is titled “The Field” and sets the backdrop against which the events of Part II occur. I discuss in Chapter 1, “Subject Positioning,” the process through which I examined and managed my personal and professional identities, as well as the critical engagement of these when interacting with other actors in the field. In Chapter 2, “Race & Space in DC,” I detail the history behind the racial geography of Washington, DC while highlighting the movement (both literal and figurative) of DC’s Black communities. In so doing, I also uncover the racial history of the neighborhood in which my fieldwork occurred, Spring Summit, as well as its contemporary manifestations. Any analysis of the history and politics behind race in Washington, DC is incomplete without speaking on skin color preferences, prejudices, and their manifestations. This is addressed in Chapter 3, “Societal Impact of Skin Color Preferences”. This chapter highlights four areas, or categories, in which skin color has an impact on one’s life outcomes: in popular media; in dating and romantic relationships; in socioeconomic terms and employment; and specific to my area of research, in the education and expectations of students.

Part II “A Complexion of Protection” explains over the course of 4 chapters the structural realities within which a racial binary thrives in DC’s public educational system.

Chapter Four “Structural Realities of Race-ing to the Top in DCPS” and Chapter 5 “The Significance of Race in DCPS” return to the historical significance of race in the City’s public educational system, while linking the City’s racial-political history to the development of an educational system contingent on the subjugation of its poor and Black students. These chapters also highlight cases in which community activism and racial awareness have been a common thread throughout the history of public education of DC’s black children. The latter half of Chapter 5 describes interlocking reform measures in the City’s public schools including political power struggles that have been engaged under the guise of educational development for all of the City’s children. Chapter 6 “Development and Evolution of Afterschool Programming” provides an abbreviated history of and continued need for afterschool programming for children in the U.S., providing examples of its merit for children in urban communities, generally and DC, specifically. This chapter also explains the root issue and point of contention at my selected fieldsite: Title I funding from the federal government. Considering Washington, DC’s paternalistic history with the federal government and the City’s fight for self-determination, Chapter 6 explains why parents at my selected fieldsite were firm in their stance regarding governmental assistance. Chapter 7 “Reading, ‘Riting, ‘Rithmetic & Reform” and Chapter 8 “Racialized Manifestations of Parental Engagement” discuss my experiences at Latrobe Elementary School as they relate to the racialized politics within, and the power struggle between, two afterschool programs offered at the school. While Chapter 7 discusses the existence of educational and social disparity at Latrobe Elementary School, Chapter 8 provides instances in which parents

utilized activist strategies utilized by parents to counteract said inequity. The concluding chapter “The Color of Justice” provides the current state-of-affairs at Latrobe Elementary School considering the current events that continue to shape the ways in which children are racialized within the walls of primary and secondary education in urban public schools.



## Chapter 1: Subject Positioning

My curiosity in examining skin color's role in shaping one's identity was not a new one, for as early as the age of seven, I remember skin color playing an important role not only in how I saw myself but how others saw me. I vividly recall an incident during a summer spent with Aunt Estelle, in the Deep South. I had been playing outside most of the day with a relative's daughter, Stephanie. We were the same age, were both spending our summer vacations with family in the South, and were both constantly reminded by Aunt Estelle that 'proper young ladies' were expected to play in a particularly delicate manner – Emily Post would have been happy; we were not. The key difference between Stephanie and I was that she had a very light complexion and I am dark-complexioned. As the sun began to set and we were summoned indoors to wash up for dinner, Aunt Estelle waved us towards the back patio to remove our shoes before entering the house. As Stephanie and I hurriedly untied our shoelaces to place them neatly next to the archway, Aunt Estelle exclaims, "Oh my goodness, you two are practically shadows. Stephanie you're not so bad but Alysia, you've gotten far too dark." As with other comments my Aunt Estelle made to us about being 'proper young ladies,' we pretty much ignored her observation and troubled look. The implication of her comment did not fully hit me until the next morning after breakfast: we were preparing for a day trip to visit friends so my Aunt had laid our outfits on our beds while we cleared the dining table. I had been looking forward to wearing a beautiful yellow dress with a white satin bow at the waist. I saw that Aunt Estelle had selected a red jumper for me to wear instead. I asked if I could wear my yellow dress but she quickly yet gently replied,

“You’re far too dark now to wear a yellow dress, dear. Let’s give it a few days until you return back to normal.” My heart sank, I went to put on the ugly red jumper and I learned that there is such a thing as being “too dark” and that it was something to avoid. This was my earliest awareness of my skin color, and while never explicitly stated, I absorbed the lesson that darker skin complexions held restrictions which lighter skin did not.

### **PERSONAL IDENTITY AND REFLEXIVITY**

Growing up in the highly-politicized, racially-diverse city of Washington DC, my understanding of a skin color hierarchy within the African-American community was expansive. I recognized skin color differentiation and was vaguely familiar with its deeply-rooted history in this city, which has been referred to as the ‘colorism capital’ (Kerr, 2006). However, Blacks across the skin color spectrum have long-held positions of power in the city and counted themselves amongst the city’s elite social circles. In short, there were instances that reinforced a color- and race-based hierarchical understanding of wealth and power, but these were also contested by my personal experiences. My early childhood memories connecting race and space in DC are fairly limited, but starting with middle school in the public education system I had many experiences that would leave an explicit impression. My first years of formal education were at an Afro-centric private school, inspired and created in the wake of the first televised airing of a miniseries adapted from Alex Haley’s 1976 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, *Roots: The Saga of An American Family*. Haley had been lauded for the manner in which he chronicled his genealogy across six generations, beginning with the birth of one of his ancestors in a 18<sup>th</sup> century African village. Despite controversy surrounding the accuracy and

originality of the work<sup>11</sup>, the wider cultural impact of Haley's *Roots* and its subsequent television series was extensive and crossed racial boundaries. It was within this timeframe of reclamation and renewed pride in African ancestry that I began my first years of formal education. We started the school day reciting the Black National Anthem with our hands covering our hearts and facing the red, black and green Pan-African flag that hung to the right of the blackboard. Immediately following, we shifted our gaze to the red, white and blue U.S. flag that hung to the left of the blackboard and recited the Pledge of Allegiance. Our teachers were titled 'Mama' or 'Papa' rather than 'Mrs.' and 'Mr.' and when asked by my father at the tender age of five what I would be when I grew up, I confidently announced (yet woefully mispronounced) "architectural engineer." Apparently, my sense was that I could be anything I set my mind to, that my race, class and gender were simply identities rather than barriers. I began attending Catholic school at the age of 7. The racial dynamic of an all-white teaching staff relative to the predominantly Black student body was of little significance to me and only came into my awareness upon the arrival of a new Black teacher. Even here the awareness had no social or political significance; I had simply never seen a Black nun before. Additionally, the adjoining Catholic church's congregation was largely composed of Black and Italian families who had been parishioners for generations and many of whom had become intertwined resulting in a number of Black-Italian families. Racial distinctions for me were a backdrop in this setting. This is not to say that I had no understanding of racial or

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<sup>11</sup> Alex Haley admittedly classified his novel as a mix of fact and fiction. Although it was widely received with exceptional praise, there were concerns of historical inaccuracies and numerous claims (including one successful lawsuit) that *Roots* had been plagiarized from anthropologist Harold Courlander's 1967 novel, *The African*.

socioeconomic difference, but rather to point out the level to which these understandings informed my everyday interactions.

Although racism and other race-based prejudice were the primary lens through which I understood my position as an African-American vis-à-vis other racial groups in a global context, it was not until I moved to Georgia to attend college that I was reminded of my Aunt Estelle's lesson on the value and importance of skin color. As a young college student, I also began to see the socio-economic, educational and psychological implications of skin colorism on African-Americans, particularly those lying at the extreme ends of the skin color spectrum. My only two overtly racial incidents were being called a 'nigger' by a rowdy group of White college-aged guys in Atlanta; and being greeted as 'girl' by an elderly white man in Kennesaw. These instances alone were enough to leave a lasting impression. I had a first-hand understanding of the psychological and emotional implications of such behavior. Seven years in Atlanta provided me first-hand experience of the socioeconomic and structural implications of skin colorism as understood through race. As I continued in my education from undergraduate to graduate school, I began to regularly attend scholarly conferences and similar academic meetings. At one such meeting, I met a former professor for a coffee break in between workshops. As we chatted about the conference and what familiar faces we had seen, she interrupted the conversation with, "Have you ever noticed that you don't see many dark-skinned Blacks at these things? I don't mean foreign-born blacks, I mean *regular* Blacks from the U.S. because I think you and I are the only ones...and I don't really count because my folks are from another country." The frankness and

problematic nature of her comment threw me off, so I awkwardly responded that perhaps the rest of us were busy sunbathing off the coast of Acapulco in order to keep our skin so dark and bronzy. She smiled but then became serious as she repeated her question and added that there must be something occurring structurally that there appear to be decreasing numbers of dark-skinned Blacks from the U.S. as you go from compulsory secondary education to undergraduate education to graduate education and beyond. My existing interest in the topic of skin colorism coupled with her observation influenced my decision to explore the educational implication of skin color and its potential role in educational outcomes amongst the African-American students.

I would define the construction and mediation of my identities during my year-long experience in the field as “personal, emotional, identity work” (Coffey 1999). I am a single, dark-complexioned Black<sup>12</sup> woman born who was born and raised in Washington, DC. I am also a former high-school teacher with no biological<sup>13</sup> children. I am Spanish-English bilingual and have been in some form of graduate study for a large portion of the last decade. As a researcher, I experienced an initial level of comfort in my field site. This had more to do with a shared socioeconomic background and my presumed insider knowledge (Foley et al 2000) having attended schools in the Washington DC Public School (DCPS) system and maintaining a close awareness of

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<sup>12</sup> For the sake of consistency, I follow the patterns of racial discourse that my subjects most often used: “white” and “Caucasian” refer to ‘European-American’. Depending on the speaker and usage, “Hispanic”, “Latino”, and “Spanish” are used synonymously and are the only set of terms generally applied to specify membership in an ethno-linguistic group. I use the terms “Black” and “African-American” interchangeably, although the terms “colored” and “Negro” appear as well in order to highlight the historic moment in which the term may have been more appropriately applied.

<sup>13</sup> I make the distinction ‘biological’ because as a former teacher and educator, I developed the habit of calling my students ‘my kids’. As such, I have several *children* in the form of former students who have maintained contact with me over the years.

current issues within said system via my mother's occupation as a DCPS teacher. I (perhaps foolishly) likened my 'nativeness' to that of Zora Neale Hurston in her pioneering anthropological research in her hometown of Eatonville, Florida. And while I at no point positioned myself on the level of such an important innovator and literary great, I admit that thinking of Hurston eased my nerves as I walked into the school on my first day.

Helping to counteract my first-day jitters, I entered my field site resting in my own overly-assured hierarchically-determined position as a highly-qualified, formally trained educator relative to the presence of numerous non-white, majority foreign-born nannies, babysitters and au pairs assigned to watch the children. Recalling my years as a high school teacher and the advice I received from veteran teachers, I understood the importance of the first day of school: 1) one's appearance; 2) tone of voice; and 3) one's sense of presence were key in establishing proper classroom management, in asserting one's teaching skills (although none of the three points of focus were demonstrative of one's ability to teach) and demonstrating professionalism. These focal points would, in turn, help in establishing the trust of the parents and students and this trust (in addition to your accrual ability to teach and engage your students' minds) would assure a successful school year. Within such a model, the key point is that appearance leads to trust and eventually success. While wrestling my inner turmoil at this awareness, I eschewed my anthropologically-trained and critically-aware self in order to (somewhat) embrace the 'success model'. I brushed my hair into a neat chignon, I wore a beige blouse and navy blue knee-length skirt, paired with navy blue low-heeled pumps. I found my old wooden

clipboard and carried a purse and briefcase, rather than my usual sequined-adorned backpack. For the first few weeks of school, slight variations of this outfit became my uniform.

Upon reflection, I am disappointed at how much outside impressions mattered to me, but this is a part of the process of taking part in an ethnographic experience (Coffey 1999; Castaneda 2006). In the spirit of the works by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), I realized that I also placed a good deal of energy and focus on impression management and on considering the assumptions of my outward identities by other adults in the field. As delineated by Hammersley and Atkinson, outward identities include: gender, race, age, ethnicity, clothes, and speech. Based on my field experiences and for Black women in particular, I would add ‘hairstyle’ as an additional category in outward identities. Hairstyles worn by African Americans, especially such natural styles as dreadlocks, braids and ‘un-straightened’ hairstyles, were routinely read by others and provided a basis for their judgment. The perception and consequence of such hairstyles has long been a popular yet controversial topic in popular media, has been examined fully in numerous academic texts (Tyler 1990; Kelly 1997; Banks 2000; Byrd and Tharps 2001; Weitz 2001; Dash 2006; Patton 2006) and has even been the basis of a restrictive hair policy<sup>14</sup> for male MBA students at Hampton University, a high-ranked historically Black college in Virginia. Natural hairstyles, in many settings, constitute a negative form of

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<sup>14</sup> I was unable to access the school’s policy handbook, however according to numerous media outlets, in 2001 Dr. Sid Credle (Hampton University’s Business School Dean) placed a ban on dreadlocks and cornrows for students of the five-year MBA program. The 2012 iteration of the ban is now applicable to all male students in all programs at the Business School. While controversial, Dr. Credle stands by his ban as he claims that it has nothing to do with black culture and that it has been effective in helping students secure post-graduation employment.

symbolic capital. For some, such hairstyles suggest a lack of professionalism and unruly nature.

My initial steps into ethnographic inquiry included a clear understanding of the importance of reflexivity in research. In this case, where my focus was on the role of outward identities in teacher perceptions of students' academic ability, my own appearance could alter teachers' actions and words when I was present. I prepared myself for an all-encompassing involvement with my field site and to spend significant time thinking of my own ascribed identities and how I would account for how these could transform my interactions within my field site. I utilized such tactics as speaking in an authoritative and confident tone with students and parents alike and making sure to always carry my clipboard and pen. My hair was usually away from my face and straightened and I wore my glasses rather than my prescribed contacts. I even made a conscious effort to dress in business casual attire just as the full-time staff and the parents did, rather than the casual fashions typified by the part-time after-school staff and the students' nannies and babysitters. I initially made these decisions with the rationalization of setting myself a part as a professional educator by relying on methods I used when I was a fresh-out-of-college, inexperienced teacher in front of a classroom of high school students. I needed the parents and staff at my fieldsite to not only trust that I was a competent and highly-skilled teacher, but I wanted them to understand that I was not babysitting their child afterschool, that I would not allow them to interact with me in the way that I saw them address their nannies and au pairs. I believed that I was taking an position of empowerment and, while I never articulated this stance, I stood firm in my



choice. It took only two months and a quick review of my field notes to realize that my supposed empowerment was less that and more of a performative, racialized cop out. I had to ask myself: how significant of a stance was I taking when such a empowerment required this level of modification of and attention to my appearance? Coming to terms with my initial response to operating in and with my fieldsite became a difficult and personal task that was aided by a re-read of Fanon's *Black Skin, White Mask*. Although I did not immediately become a more authentic me, I gained a better insight into why I defaulted to such behavior. This acknowledgment also allowed me a less rigid view of the individuals with whom I interacted and a better understanding of their actions as the year progressed.

I attended PTA meetings, School Advisory meetings, various school-related committee meetings, talent shows, recitals, holiday gatherings, field trips, and school fundraisers. The events are part and parcel of school life, so I expected to take part in such activities. What surprised me were the numerous informal gatherings with fellow teachers. These included mid-day lunches, after-work happy hours, weekend shopping trips and family picnics – all of which helped me solidify bonds and establish trust. Given the range of types of interactions, I underestimated the duality of my role as participant-observer and found myself constantly recalibrating to reach a comfortable balance between 'Ms. Childs the participant' and 'Alysia the data-gathering observer'. I especially underestimated the impact of intra-school power relations at my site and thusly fell subject to it. Applying a Foucauldian lens that power is certain and an unending feature of human interaction, I found ways to resist it and ways to wield it productively.

In so doing, I became more observant of the various ways in which others in the field were doing the same. Revisiting Coffey's primary point, I developed a deeper epistemological sense of the ways that the field affected me and I affected it. As a result of difficult introspection during my work, I gained a better understanding of "the invisible work" of insider ethnography (Forsythe 1999). I learned that each step, thought and interaction was a potentially important part of this process of conducting fieldwork.

### **POSITIONING AND ENGAGEMENT WITH COLORISM**

After spending the 2011-2012 school year engaging the ways in which a student's skin color may impact the academic expectations of teachers, staff, and faculty at my field site, I found that while skin colorism was not a central feature of my experience as a participant-observer at the public elementary school, it played itself out in terms of which bodies counted as Black, within which circumstances a student's Blackness became a fluid identity, and under what circumstances that identity was strategically asserted or assigned. For example, the issue with skin colorism was applicable regarding the large number of White parents with Black children, who were presumed to be adopted unless otherwise stipulated. This created more than a few awkward moments when a white parent would promptly and sternly correct the assumption by either questioning the importance of such a question to the issue of familial bonds or by simply replying "we don't use labels." In another instance, bi- and multiracial students were inconsistently racially identified by adults in the school because depending on who was describing them, they did not "look Black." In a further example, one of the self-identified Black teachers was fully aware that her white co-workers thought that she was Latina because

they marked her as ‘racially ambiguous’ in the black-white racial scope of the school. Oddly enough, the Black staff at the school not only identified her as a fellow Black woman but wondered how the white teachers “couldn’t tell she’s Black.”

It is my contention that the most useful and over-arching theoretical framework lies in a full understanding of the racial politics of the school’s surrounding community and the fascinating ways in which race and space were negotiated over the course of the school year. One such example was the students interaction with the police officers: in many urban spaces, a heightened police presence tends to go hand-in-hand with an antagonistic relationship between the community and said police force, as well as highlighting a feeling of high-crime/high-poverty throughout that neighborhood. In fact, there was an opposite correlation for this community, who understood the police presence as vital considering the number of elementary schools in the Spring Summit neighborhood and the police station situated less than two blocks away from my field site. Only once did I witness an antagonistic response towards the police officers: the school’s fire alarm had gone off with about twenty minutes remaining in the Afterschool Program. As policy dictated, we calmly walked the remaining children in a single file a safe-distance away from the school to wait for the emergency services to arrive and turn off the alarm. While the students who lived near and in Spring Summit anxiously awaited the policemen saying, “Officer Donnelly is coming to save us!” or “I like when Office Johnson brings his dog with him even though we can’t pet him,” one of the Black male students who lives in one of the City’s many economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, jokes “Oh man, here come the po-po. Ya’ll know they not here for me” much to the

chagrin of the Black afterschool staff. This, for me, highlighted the disparate interactions with, and expectations of, police held by the white students from my school's community versus the black students from other areas of the city.

#### **VARIABILITY IN ASSERTED AND ASSIGNED POSITIONING**

During my year onsite as a Teaching Aide at Latrobe Elementary School, I developed close working and personal relationships with many colleagues. As the weeks progressed, we began to share tales of the daily stresses, joys, thankless overtime and random acts of appreciation from students and parents alike. We began to share more introspectively and become less guarded in our discussions of the events and people at the field site. Similarly, I developed a close interaction with the parents of my students and other parents whom I met through attending PTA meetings and other extracurricular activities, and in general becoming a familiar face at the school. I was consistently friendly when parents arrived to pick their children up in the evening – whether their mood was responsive and welcoming or disinterested and rushed. I had not been a classroom teacher in a few years prior to beginning my fieldwork so although I had consistently worked with students, I had forgotten that parents' attitudes can vary widely and often have little to do with you as a teacher. Over time, I realized that the parents noticed and appreciated my vested interest in the children's academic and social progress and they, too, became less guarded with their feelings about happenings at the school. They not only shared about issues pertaining to their children but also shared about other parents, teachers and students at the school. While I felt welcomed into the school's community by parents regardless of race, my more frank discussions of disparity at the

school, conversations of “us versus them,” and instances of code-switching (Bourdieu 1977; Milroy and Muysken 1995; Heller 1998; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Nilep 2006) signaled a mutual comfort and familiarity and only happened with the Black parents. I attribute this to a shared Black identity and assumed shared cultural understanding, particularly as it pertained to child-rearing and education. My interaction with other adult actors in the field, such as the daytime teachers and staff, was positive and remained pleasant yet distant over the course of the school year. I was initially bothered and confused regarding the distance I felt from the school day teachers: so much so that I asked Mrs. Melissa Meadows – one of the school day teachers with whom I developed a close relationship. She was a thirty-two year old, African American, married mother of two young boys. Similar to me, she attended and graduated from a historically Black College in the South. Many of my high school friends matriculated at that school and were in her graduating class. She was completing her Master’s in Special Education at the Elementary level and had just celebrated her tenth year as a classroom teacher. However, Mrs. Meadows was a first-year teacher at Latrobe Elementary School and, as many veteran teachers experience after transferring schools, it bothered her that she was being treated as an inexperienced novice by the principal and her co-workers. Our initial bond was based in the similarities we shared as we navigated our first few weeks at the school asserting a prior knowledge that was not readily accepted or expected. Examining my feelings about my interactions with the daytime teachers, I eventually asked Mrs. Meadows’ opinion on the matter:

*Me: Is it me or do the school day teachers kind of keep their distance from us [aftercare*

teachers]?

Mrs. Meadows: *Naw, they like you. Ms. Ashford even asked me why it seems like she only sees you at the end of the day.*

Me: *Are you serious, Melissa? Why would she ask you that? I'm here on-time everyday.*

Mrs. Meadows: *No no no, she knows there's a new Black teacher this year and she knows that she's heard your name before. So at some point, she'll put two and two together and figure out that we aren't the same person. Do you know how many times I've had to correct them and say, "No, I'm Mrs. Meadows. Ms. Childs is the aftercare teacher". Girl, you'd think they could handle more than one new black face at a time.*

Me: *But all of us in aftercare are Black. Why did I get singled out?*

Mrs. Meadows: (laughing) *Because you're the only one going to PTA meetings with charts and graphs tracking the kids' activities and such. The important parents know your name and they like you...so the daytime teachers aren't going to bother you like they do the rest of the aftercare staff.*

Me: *Um, ok. So, it's not them being distant...*

Mrs. Meadows: (interrupting) *No. It's them leaving you alone to do your job. Be happy that they're not monitoring you like they do the rest of them.*

It was in that moment, not quite two months into my ethnographic research, that I began to understand the complexities within the community of my field site and my role in how those complexities played out amongst the adult actors. The teachers interacted with me as a colleague. Addressing and greeting me by name, deferring their authority by telling their students to 'ask Ms. Childs' and leaving their classroom once my afternoon shift began were all signals to me and to adults and students alike that I was becoming a trusted member of their community of educators. The associated symbolic and social capital I gained was invaluable, particularly in an elementary school setting, which I would quickly learn was rife with distrust. There was distrust within the daytime staff a heightened level of distrust directed at aftercare teachers by daytime teachers. The

distrust seemed to reflect race- and class-based structural inequalities, but was heightened after four separate instances of theft of school property during the aftercare program.

## **Chapter 2: Race and Space in DC: west of the Park & east of the River**

*“It takes a certain kind of white person to live in Chocolate City”*

-- popular local saying

*“If you didn’t want to follow the rules, you shouldn’t have moved your white [expletive] into D.C.!”*

– Donna, native Washingtonian in her 40s responding to a white neighbor

Current racial interactions and the resultant tension across the city have become the elephant in the room. Since relocating to Washington, DC in 2009 I have had or overheard no fewer than 50 distinct conversations with Black, white and Latino friends – all of whom are native Washingtonians regarding the shifting racial dynamics in the City. The range of opinion starts at those who are passively accepting the existing, yet flawed racialized expectations of what it means to be a DC resident and ends with others who actively and sometimes aggressively are challenging the refusal of new DC residents to integrate themselves into the city’s racial dynamic. As a native ethnographer, my opinion shifts along the above-described spectrum. My childhood memories of DC and the ways in which race played a role in the development of such are idyllic to the point of being over-romanticized. Racial identity was merely an identifying feature upon which a person could most often be distinguished. So while a black-white racial binary was not a determining feature of my childhood, I remained vaguely aware of racial contradictions that surrounded me. The DC positioned as Chocolate City full of Blacks was juxtaposed against the multi-racial Washington that was positioned as the nation’s capital and political center. There was Washington, DC as a pluri-ethnic melting pot bubbling over with the celebration of its many cultures versus Washington, DC as a city of quadrant-



specific territories rife with socioeconomic disparity and undercurrents of racial tension. I knew Washington as the grandiose city of French-designed avenues, magnificent monuments and marble fountains; I was never acquainted with the Washington that was consistently listed as one of the nation's most dangerous cities.

As in any city, DC has a rhythm and flow according to which its inhabitants move. Across racial and economic divides, there has always been an awareness of *how* to be a Washingtonian. From knowing to 'walk left, stand right'<sup>15</sup> when using the escalators on the city's Metro system, to knowing that downtown closes for business once the federal workers go home for the early evening. There has always been a sense of belonging and mutual respect amongst various racial groups who live and operate in the broader, collective DC community. Yet decades of academic analyses, newspaper articles, local museum exhibits and research performed by government entities and educational think tanks (Caldwell 1922; Smith 1967; Coleman 1968. Sowell 1974; Turck and Bauer 1989; Braddock et al 1994; Apidta 1996; Kofie 1999; Fitzpatrick and Goodwin 2001; Historical Society of Washington DC 2001; Anacostia Museum 2005; Friedman et al 2005; Adelman 2006; Bennett 2006; Kerr 2006; Bangura 2007; Holland 2007; Akom 2008; Bordewich 2008; Frey 2010; Hopkinson 2012) have revealed sharp geographic divisions within that supposed sense of collective community.<sup>16</sup> The western

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<sup>15</sup> A common phrase used by Washingtonians typically addressing tourists. Washington Post Staff Writer, Lyndsey Layton, addresses this in the May 17, 2004 article, "Standing on the Left? You Must Be On Vacation".

<sup>16</sup> Considering the large number of government employees that work within the boundaries of DC yet live in the surrounding suburbs of Maryland and Virginia, when referencing the collective sentiment of the local population it is difficult to impossible to distinguish between those who actually reside within the city's geographic boundaries and those who do not.

half of the city has a disproportionate distribution of wealth, resources and ‘Whites’ relative to its neighbors residing in the eastern half of the city. The level and extent of publicly referring to this disparity is based in thinly-veiled yet coded geographic descriptions: the wealthy and/or whites in DC generally reside ‘west of the Park’, have homes on ‘the Gold Coast’, ride the ‘Red Line’ or live on ‘The Hill’. The same way that these phrases signal wealth and prosperity, living ‘east of the Anacostia’, ‘east of the River’, ‘off the Blue/Orange Line’, or near ‘The Shrimp Boat’ indicate lower socioeconomic status while at the same time serving as proof-positive of *really* being from DC.

For historically-rooted African Americans in DC, race and space pivot off the ability to identify one’s *authentic Blackness* based on which half of the city you call home. The Northwest and Southwest quadrants are the more privileged areas of the city where ‘whites’ and ‘bougie Blacks’ have always lived<sup>17</sup>. Meanwhile the Northeast and Southeast quadrants are home to the ‘true essence’ of DC, its soul, its rhythm and its blackness. It is of no surprise that an overlay of the distribution of wealth in the City with a mapping of the City’s four quadrants finds poverty and a lack of resources a consistent feature of the predominantly Black eastern quadrants of DC. To those who live there, however, ‘east of the River’ is authentically DC. Gently erased in this imagining are the many people of African descent, some long residents and others transplants, who live

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<sup>17</sup> Socioeconomic disparity between the western and eastern halves of DC can be traced as far back as 1832. The City was divided into 6 wards with each ward collecting its own taxes and the bulk of its funds being spent inside the ward. Thus, wards with the largest populations and wealth had more money to spend than poorer wards. Wards 2 and 3 had more than half of the City’s population and tax revenue in 1832. Their unfair system penalized less populated wards by denying them funds for school or poor relief.

across the city especially as its neighborhoods and demographics therein change with time.

### **LOCATING BLACKNESS IN DC**

*“But umm, for real, where are the Black folks?”* - a young Black male tourist

Kathryn, my closest childhood friend, had recently relocated to London but was visiting her friends and family in DC for a two-week long ‘homesick trip.’ Born in Jamaica, Kathryn moved to the northwest quadrant of DC at the age of seven along with her grandparents and younger cousin. She and I met in high school, although we only lived a few blocks away from one another. We quickly became best friends and, as I had recently received my driver’s license, travelling buddies. We would drive around DC, ‘discovering’ areas of the City that had been previously restricted to us either due to distance or our families’ safety concerns. Although Kathryn and I were both raised in DC, we moved in 1997 to attend colleges in New York and Georgia, respectively. After spending 10 years pursuing graduate studies, travelling, and working in other locales, Kathryn and I moved back to a very different DC: a city changed by gentrification and other forms of development. The City had an altered racial and socioeconomic landscape. Condominiums replaced vacant, boarded-up row houses. There was something called a ‘Chancellor’ leading DCPS instead of the more familiar title ‘Superintendent.’ Co-workers and friends made up the ‘young professional’ set that were moving to DC and living in areas that Kathryn and I had been forbidden to go to as teenagers – even during daylight hours. Even the downtown area was unfamiliar and at times uncomfortable. It no longer transformed into a ghost town once the federal employees left for the day: there

were lounges, Irish pubs, boutiques, after-hours coffeehouses, and what felt to be thousands of people socializing, running errands, and walking their dogs within a newly-created community. There was a youthful, racially-diverse and multicultural vibrancy happening in and near the downtown area that Kathryn and I were excited to take part in, until we noticed the level of racial segregation happening amongst the young, hip professionals. It was immediately disheartening but became a running joke between Kathryn and I – living amongst but not with the ‘Others’. For all of our gripes, it was still ‘our City’, so when Kathryn came back to visit, we decided to spend her last day in town walking around and taking in the (new) sights of the City with a more appreciative lens. We made our way around the City’s tourist attractions and a few off-the-beaten path places of interest, focusing on how much (or little, in some cases) parts of our City had changed and generally reminiscing about the DC of the 1990s. We had just left a popular cupcake franchise and were headed towards the Capitol when I noticed two young, Black guys looking a bit lost directly across the street from us. One of them looked over at Kathryn and I before yelling, “Hey! Excuse me!” as he crossed the street followed by the other young man. I immediately drew a bit of suspicion because they seemed to be of school-age and were not in an area frequented by tourists. Also, there were about five people walking on his side of the street that could have been sources of clarifying information. Kathryn later told me that I wondered aloud “what are they coming all the way over here for?” and sarcastically added “And shouldn’t they be in school right now?” But as they got closer and I could better see their faces, they looked almost happy to see us. Kathryn had already been stopped twice during our outing, first by a former co-

worker and then by a family friend, so I immediately felt bad because I assumed these two guys must know her. “Umm, where are the rest of the Black people?” one of the young men uttered in a hushed, almost secret tone. Aside from the noise level at which he asked, the question itself was completely unexpected. It took a few seconds for me to process the what and why of his question, not to mention figuring out how to respond to him. Kathryn blurted out “Wait, huh?” which gave us both some additional time to process what was happening. The two guys’ facial expressions seemed too genuine to be a joke and the slight nod of their heads belied a presumed mutual understanding of what was taking place. In sum, two young Black men visiting DC found themselves in an unfamiliar area and stopped two young Black women to help re-orient them. The two young men explained that they were in town for a youth conference with their church, had decided to take the bus around ‘Chocolate City’, but had gotten on the wrong bus line and could not figure out how to get back to their hotel. While they did not seem frantic, it did seem that they had been walking around for some time hoping they would figure it out. Kathryn asked them why they had not stopped the people across the street, to which one of the young men replied that none of the other people seemed “friendly”. While I did not see or notice the other passersby the two men encountered before we walked on that street, I did notice that they did not stop the older, white woman I saw on their side of the street. They did not stop the teenaged white girl I also saw on their side of the street. And interestingly enough, they did not stop the middle-aged white couple walking a stroller with a little brown baby riding inside of it. Finding the “friendly” response to be sufficient, Kathryn gave them precise instructions on how to return to the area of their

hotel then directed them to a Metro station three blocks away. As they thanked us and began walking away, one of them leaned in to me and jokingly asked, “But umm, for real, where are the Black folks at?”

This brief encounter reminded Kathryn and I both that as much as we focused our dislike of the ‘new’ racial dynamic of DC on the downtown area, we were fairly blind to the City’s existing racial dynamics as we walked, shopped and reminisced in a neighborhood that has been “white” for as long as DC has been the nation’s capital. This neighborhood has long-been exceptionalized in the racial context of DC as a ‘Chocolate City’ and because it happens to be the site of my fieldwork, it is imperative to ground any discussion of contemporary race- or class-based educational disparity in Washington, DC on the historical framework by which the neighborhood surrounding my fieldsite has understood the alignment of race, class and space. In order to explain the role that race has played in the establishment and history of Washington, DC, I present a brief sketch of the initial three racial groups from which the majority of the City’s history is based: (1) the native population of the region, (2) the English settlers, and (3) the Black immigrants to the region. In a similar fashion as is found in many other U.S. cities (particularly along the East coast<sup>18</sup>), these three groups separately and jointly played a role in the ways in which racial dynamics were established, maintained, and then challenged over DC’s history.

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<sup>18</sup> Louisiana is popularly cited as one of the clearest exceptions to this example. It has a similar racial foundation as other U.S. cities, but a very distinct racial formation and hierarchy, which was heavily influenced by the significant French influence in the Louisiana’s development. Additionally, I acknowledge that many states west of the Mississippi River (and along what is now the U.S.-Mexico border) not only had very different native populations to start, but did not experience the same level or type of aggressive importation of Africans for the purpose of slavery.

## **RACIAL ORIGINS OF DC**

*“With Indians on their borders and black slaves in their midst, the country’s white founders struggled to embody, in bricks and stone, the paradoxical republic the had invented...”*

- James H.S. McGregor, *Washington: From the Ground Up* (2007)

The first settlers of the Potomac region were indigenous Americans who were said to be descendants of immigrants from Asia. They belonged to many groups, or tribes, scattered along the rivers and bays in what is now known as Virginia, Maryland, and DC<sup>19</sup>. There were three major indigenous American villages in this region -- Nacotchtanke, being the largest of the three. The people of Nacotchtanke were called *Nacostins* or *Anacostines*, which is the namesake for the Anacostia area of DC and the Anacostia River. Although the English colonists called them savages and treated them as an inherently inferior group, each of the three tribes had a distinct and separate identity as a people, in addition to a highly-organized agricultural society wherein power was based on matrilineal succession. In terms of interaction with the other two racial groups, the indigenous groups largely limited their interaction with the English settlers to issues of trading and commerce, but this soon turned violent as understandings of ownership and incredible mistreatment by the English settlers resulted in a two-year war in 1622. The result was the decimation of the indigenous population and the eventual 1646 peace treaty. By that point, the English had stepped up their settlement efforts supported by the terms of the peace treaty. The surviving indigenous population in DC was driven out of their lands but even if they had been able to remain, years of war had weakened their

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<sup>19</sup> Prior to the Territorial Government of 1871, the naming of and geographic references to what is currently known as Washington, DC had been tripartite: 1) Washington City (or the City of Washington); 2) Georgetown; and 3) Washington County (referring to the rural remainder of the District).

efforts – coupled by the unity of the English settlers and their more technologically-advanced weaponry.

The second settlers of the Potomac region were the English colonists who settled at Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. They received land grants from the King of England for land occupied by the indigenous American tribes in the area. After taking over the land and much of its resources, they settled a few towns and established tobacco plantations and, with the help of West African slave labor, exported the tobacco to England. The population of the English settlers and their descendants grew so much that by the 1700s, they dominated the region in number and in power. These settlers founded the colonies of Virginia and Maryland and patterned their societal structure after that of England. In terms of interaction, these settlers were the only group of the three racial groups to have extensive interaction with the other two groups.

The third group of settlers to the DC region was Blacks from West Africa, having first arrived in Jamestown in 1619. They were to be employed as indentured servants and laborers but as the need for cheap/no-cost labor to operate the growing tobacco plantations increased, the English colonists reduced their status to that of slaves. Not all Blacks became slaves, however. Some Blacks had been free since their arrival to the U.S., while others gained their freedom by manumission or through purchase of themselves and/or their families. The majority of Blacks brought after 1660 were treated as perpetual bondsmen. Despite strong slave resistance by the newly arrived Africans, the slavery institution took hold and slave importation continued through the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The early economy of the DC, Maryland, and Virginia region depended heavily (if not



almost entirely) on tobacco farming. As a result, slavery became an integral part of the region's economy and sustained the livelihoods of slave-owners and their families.

According to the records from the U.S. Census Bureau, the Black population in the DC region as of 1770 was at approximately 40 percent. As this number began to rival the population of the existing English and new European immigrants, courts and legislation in the region established and enacted codes to limit the rights of free Blacks and African slaves, thereby reducing slaves to the status of property and severely curtailing the rights of the free Blacks. By 1790, Congress had chosen a permanent location for its nation's capital and selected a 10 square mile area for DC. The land upon which DC would be located was taken from the already-established towns of Alexandria and Georgetown, although slave owners in Virginia would later<sup>20</sup> petition for the recall of their land, upon realizing that the property would fall under DC's less strict and less profitable slave regulations. After ten years of construction, the federal government officially moved from Philadelphia to DC and much to the disappointment of congressional members and other officials, the city was nothing more than a rural, swampy settlement with a few scattered boardinghouses and hotels. Former First Lady Abigail Adams recounted her harrowing journey from Philadelphia to Washington, DC in a November 21, 1800 letter<sup>21</sup> written to her sister:

Having lost my way in the woods on Saturday in going from Baltimore, we took the road to Frederick and got nine miles out of our road. You find nothing but a forest & woods on the way, for 16 and 18 miles not a village. Here and there a

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<sup>20</sup> According to historical records and maps, Alexandria was retroceded by the federal government to Virginia in 1846 after having spent almost 50 years as a part of the DC (1789). Aside from the socio-political and economic consequences of the retrocession, the District lost one-third of its total land area.

<sup>21</sup> Excerpted from Stewart Mitchell's *New Letters of Abigail Adams 1788-1801* (2008).

thatched cottage without a single pane of glass, inhabited by Blacks...We took a direction as we supposed right, but in the first turn, went wrong, and were wandering more than two hours in the woods in different paths, holding down & breaking bows of trees which we could not pass, until we met a solitary black fellow with a horse and cart...I arrived about one o'clock at this place known by the name of the city, and the name is all that you can call so. As I expected to find it a new country, with houses scattered over a space of ten miles, and trees & stumps in plenty with, a castle of a house - so I found it - The President's House is in a beautiful situation in front of which is the Potomac with a view of Alexandria. The country around is romantic but a wild, a wilderness at present.

In addition to the Congressional members, Washington, DC also attracted people of varying economic classes, both Black and white. According to the decennial census of 1800, there were approximately 3000 people living near centers of employment – primarily in the Spring Summit neighborhood and near the President's House.

The growing Black community in the City included a significant number of free Blacks. Although free, they were not allowed admission to DC's nascent public school system, so in 1807 three Black men built the first private schoolhouse for free Black children. Considering the total population of Blacks in DC at its founding, it is quite notable that they comprised about half of the total number of Blacks living in the United States at the time. Many of those living in DC had lived on plantations in Virginia and Maryland before DC was founded, so by the 1800 census, nearly 25% of the City's population was Black; and of that number, 16 percent were free. Washington, DC's free Black population was larger than other cities in the U.S. -- in fact, of all the cities in slave states; Washington, DC, St. Louis, MO and Baltimore, MD were the only three cities where free Blacks outnumbered enslaved Blacks. Aside from the ability of some slaves who were allowed to purchase their freedom (and that of their families), the growing

number of free Blacks in DC came from the fact that DC had no laws requiring free Blacks to leave the District within a specified period of time – as was required in Maryland and Virginia. Also, there were legal procedures established allowing wrongfully enslaved persons to recover their freedom in the courts. Free Blacks in Maryland and Virginia had lost that right in the early 1800s, so DC was appealing to free Blacks not only due to the existing free Black population but also because DC was a safer city in which to maintain one’s freedom.

Despite this, there were discriminatory laws and practices limiting free Blacks’ opportunities for education and employment, a collection of laws called the Black Code<sup>22</sup>. One such law in the Code – applied equally to free and enslaved blacks – imposed fines and jail sentences for being on the street after 10 p.m. or engaging in card games. In light of such legally-sanctioned oppression, DC’s free Black community grew stronger and built a base of self-support since their survival and ability to thrive depended on a reliance upon one another. As families and traditions took root, free Blacks created economic opportunities when existing opportunities were closed to them. Over generations, they founded churches, schools, and social organizations, largely in the western half of the City.

By 1860, Washington had a population of 75,080 from which the total percent of white citizens was 81 percent and the remaining 19 percent were Blacks – 3,185 enslaved and 11,132 free (Lessoft 1994:18). White Southerners who were attracted to Washington, DC to work as clerks or serve in the many available federal positions in the City, so a

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<sup>22</sup> *The Black Code of the District of Columbia, in Force September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1848* (Harned 1848)

little less than half of the whites living there were Southern-born<sup>23</sup>. Amongst those whites who were born within the District, many came from Southern families who had relocated to the City<sup>24</sup>, thereby creating a regional influence that would deeply impact race relations and the development of policy in the Washington, DC for years to come.

### **RECONSTRUCTION-ERA SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE IN DC**

The 1862 Emancipation Proclamation enactment in DC immediately established racially-segregated public education for black children. A year later, other municipalities around the country would begin to follow suit. DC's Black community changed greatly after the Civil War. Many Reconstruction-era leaders, both black and white, strove to make the nation's capital a national model for race relations, and in so doing, created an atmosphere attracting Blacks to live and work in the City (Apidta 1996). One such prominent white leader, Charles Sumner, even insisted that Washington, DC give civil rights, education and voting rights to the Black residents of DC and rallied the support of his fellow Congressman Thaddeus Stevens. As a start, Sumner and Stevens aided in the creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands – more popularly known as the Freedmen's Bureau. This federal agency addressed the post-Civil War coexistence of whites and Blacks, which Abraham Lincoln signed off on just months before his April 1865 assassination. Although the Congressmen's motivations were less

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<sup>23</sup> Bureau of the Census, "Recapitulation of the Tables of Population, Nativity, and Occupation," The Eighth Census, 1860 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1864), 616–19.

<sup>24</sup> Federal officials were largely southerners as a result of the fact that the two Democratic administrations preceding Abraham Lincoln's presidency were dominated by southerners. According to Carl Abbott's 1999 *Political Terrain*, members of Congress from the South were more likely than their northern counterparts to bring their families to DC. This reinforced a southern sensibility and modus operandi regarding race relations in DC.

altruistic and more focused on gaining loyalty to fellow Radical Republicans in Congress from the newly-franchised black male voters, like-minded local leaders joined. Against the support of President Andrew Johnson, DC's Mayor Richard Wallach and the Washington City Council set forth a preliminary referendum for white voters in the City's three municipalities: City of Washington, Washington County, and Georgetown. This political strategy paid off when both houses of Congress passed a bill in 1866 allowing every man, regardless of race, in DC the right to vote. Additionally, there was significant progress for DC's Black-white community in the form of Howard University - - founded in March of 1867 – which created a center for higher education for an elite few in the black community as well as some whites<sup>25</sup> who were amongst the University's first graduating class. By the City's next election day in December 1867, local newspapers proclaimed the universality of voting rights -- with the minor exception of men under the age of 21, poor people regardless of race or sex, those who sided with the Confederacy, convicted criminals and women.

According to U.S. Census Bureau data, Washington, DC's total Black population<sup>26</sup> between 1860 and 1870 had grown from 14,316 to 43,404. Despite the City's changing racial demographic, Reconstruction-era Radical Republicans and their

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<sup>25</sup> According to archival data published in 2000 by Clifford L. Muse, Jr, the University's first four students in 1867 were white females. They were the daughters of some of Howard's first trustees. Two of these women, Emily E. and Sarah M, Robinson, advanced to Howard's Collegiate Department by 1869.

<sup>26</sup>Racial designations used in the 1860 and 1870 censuses were: white, Colored, free Colored, slave, Chinese, and Indian. The 1860 census included data on 'Crime by Race', for which the options were 'native white' and 'native Black'. The 1870 census was redesigned to omit the slave designation and related data collected (such as 'number of days ill'), however there were no clear distinctions made between 'native Black', 'free Colored', and 'Colored'. As such, the figures listed for DC's total Black population in 1860 and 1870 reflect data from a 2002 U.S. Census Bureau report on Race and Hispanic-Origin, rather than data from the original 1860 and 1870 censuses.

supporters persisted in maintaining a tense racial atmosphere. By 1868, DC had elected a new mayor, Sayles Bowen, who was more supportive than his predecessors to the City's Black community and their rights. In the midst of his overall vision to improve racial equity in the city, Congress passed a bill in 1869 to remove the terms 'white' and 'colored' from the City's regulations and laws – even going as far as imposing fines to anyone who denied access to a public place to a person based on their race. Washington's black community had grown significantly throughout these many changes. Its pre-Civil War iteration was a small group consisting mostly of old families who had been free before the Civil War. In its Reconstruction-era version, freedmen from other states joined its numbers. This included working class blacks, skilled laborers and a new group of distinguished leaders who were attracted to a burgeoning city supposedly free of racial conflict and inequities. The federal government was hiring growing numbers of middle-class blacks and black craftsmen were finding employment alongside white skilled laborers. Howard University was growing and had started its own high school, offering education and a supportive learning environment to black male students in and around the City. Blacks and whites in DC were in a time of general optimism and development. Part of this Reconstruction-era energy focused on education for the City's children, especially including Howard University's high school for the black children and another award-winning, newly-constructed public school<sup>27</sup> for white children.

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<sup>27</sup> The Franklin School was one of the first completed school buildings of the Reconstruction Period. According to archival material about the school's founding and history, it was finished in 1869 and boasted "an advanced design to symbolize Washington's commitment to public education".

## Power Gained and Lost: Territorial Governance in DC

In 1871, Congress set out to establish DC as the permanent location for the country's capital and race relations in DC appeared to be in the interest of amicable interaction. As Washington, DC developed culturally, its image would require, amongst many things, DC as a modern, efficiently-managed city rather than a physically-damaged, not-quite-complete city whose development had been stymied by the Civil War. Focusing on the City's efficiency, Congress consolidated the tri-partite DC (with its three separate governing bodies) into one political unit under a single government, thus forming the Territorial Government, as illustrated in Figure # below. Having a variety of objectives in its formation, the Territorial Government focused primarily on four areas: 1) improving the City's efficiency; 2) holding the nation's capital in Washington; 3) strengthening the Republican Party; and 4) diminishing the power of the newly-gained Black votes. This

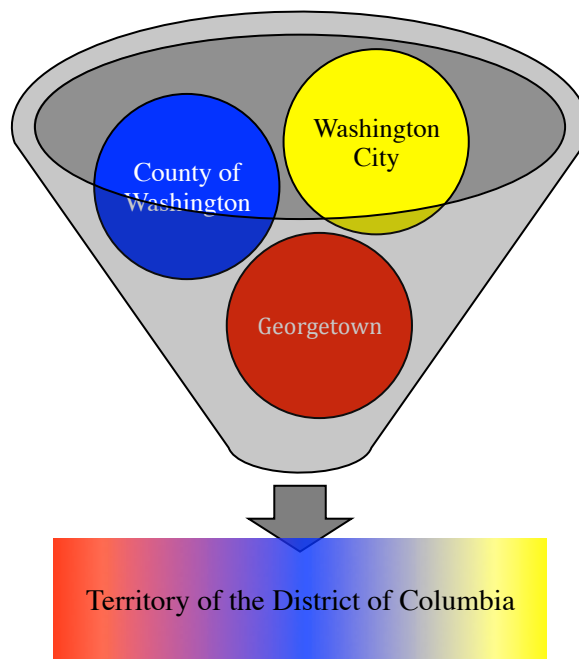


Figure 3: Illustration of 1871 Territorial Government, created by Author

new government created a Board of Health to address serious public health concerns caused by poor sanitation, years of inadequate and inappropriate waste disposal and dismal health-care facilities. The territorial government also created a Board of Public Works, which was proven by history to be less successful.

Chaired by Governor Henry Cooke but dominated by Vice-Chair Alexander “Boss” Shepherd<sup>28</sup> (a close friend to then-President Grant), the Public Works department had a massive and ambitious plan to overhaul the city by constructing and correcting prior building projects, although neighborhoods like Spring Summit and Southwest DC were neglected for being undesirable, poor and unworthy of the financial investment. The expanse of the Board of Public Works’ projects was immediate, immense, costly, sometimes hastily done. Although credited for dramatic and quick action with creating DC as a model capital city, Shepherd began to take a more dictatorial approach to his role on the Board of Public Works. Meetings were less-frequently called, reports of money spent were less often recorded, and contracts were being given to friends of those in power rather than being held in competition, as they should have been. There were even instances of death<sup>29</sup> resulting from Boss Shepherd operating with impunity and without

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<sup>28</sup> Quite the polarizing figure, Boss Shepherd served as the second Governor in 1874. He is so inextricably tied to the post-Civil War modernization of Washington, DC that he is simultaneously lauded as the ‘Father of Modern Washington’ and villainized for corruption and bankruptcy resulting from his lavish plans and spendthrift management-style. His name and image strike such controversy that Marion Barry removed Shepherd’s 18 feet tall bronze statue from a government building prior to taking office as mayor in 1979. The statue was returned to its original spot, however, in 2005.

<sup>29</sup> The Northern Liberty Market Tragedy occurred on September 3, 1872 when workmen employed by the Board of Public Works stormed the historic Marketplace with picks and axes late in the evening. There had been a legal injunction against its destruction but Shepherd had strategically invited District Court judges to his country home on that evening to avoid their enforcement of said injunction. In the process of destroying the Market, vendors who had gone to disrupt the Public Works’ workers were injured and some died as a



regard to proper authority. The cost of construction, laborers, and rebuilding to fix mistakes made from poorly-done work eroded the available funding<sup>30</sup> which led to the City's treasury running out of money by 1873. Many whites in DC blamed the growing debt from Shepherd's city improvements on the black voters for having approved Territorial Government. The local fear is best captured in an article published in the *New York Sun* on November 20, 1873:

This Territorial Government of ours is absolutely bankrupt in money, credit, and character. They have squandered and stolen the four million loan which the negroes voted, all the revenue extorted...for pretended improvements, two millions...from taxation, and three millions in debt – all within twelve months. There is nothing to show but the sudden wealth of the Ring [name for Boss Shepherd and his friends in business and government], gorgeous and vulgar display...there has not been a dime in the Treasury for months.

Although largely blamed for Shepherd's missteps, DC's Blacks were gaining employment as laborers and reaping some financial benefit accordingly. In a separate win for DC's Black community, in that same year that Congress gave the territorial governor the authority to appoint trustees and a superintendent to serve the City's black public schools.

Suspicious of the speed with which Boss Shepherd was spending money, Congress provided \$3.5 million to continue improvements only to federal property, but even that amount was insufficient. City workers went for months without pay, banks closed, people lost their jobs, many homeowners' properties were left far below or far above street-level, creating almost mountain-top houses that remain to present-day in

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result of the chaos and from building materials (roof rafters, walls, signs) falling upon them. Shepherd's version of the Market Tragedy appears in his 1876 interview in the Appendix.

<sup>30</sup> According to archival data, the City originally intended to only spend \$6 million on the Board of Public Works projects and the end cost approached \$20 million.

some parts of the City. Ultimately DC's Blacks became the scapegoats for having voted in support of Shepherd and his Public Works Board.

By early 1874, a congressional committee investigated the Public Works Board more closely and found that the City had a debt approaching \$19 million<sup>31</sup> – an amount that outran the City's legal debt limits. Demonstrative of Shepherd's level and reach of influence, the report was only mildly critical of his contribution to DC's debt. Nonetheless, the City could borrow no more money to complete the projects it began and Congress abolished the territorial form of government deeming it an economic failure. Congress recommended that President Grant appoint a three-member Board of Commissioners to temporarily manage DC with near-absolute power and assist the City in arranging a repayment plan. President Grant agreed but appointed his friend, Boss Shepherd to the Board of Commissioners – an appointment that Congress quickly disapproved and refused to confirm.

Asked for a personal reflection of his work in DC during an 1876 interview with *New York World* magazine, Boss Shepherd was unapologetic of his management-style, its resultant millions of dollars of debt and DC's loss of self-governance. Questioned as to the motivations of his actions in office, Shepherd stated that it was necessary and although he acted “without authority of law...it was the right thing to do”. Later in the same interview, Shepherd is asked about the support he received from DC's Black

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<sup>31</sup> Sources range the amount of debt Shepherd incurred from \$13 million to \$19 million.

community, on which he asserts a mutually-beneficial relationship supported by the fact that “the darkies were always very good friends of mine”<sup>32</sup>.

With the abolishment of DC’s territorial government, the initially temporary status of the presidentially-appointed Board of Commissioners became permanent through the approval of the 1878 Organic Act. The Board of Commissioners, as a three-member body, with two members representing the Republican and Democratic parties and appointed by the sitting president after Senate approval. The third member would be civil engineer selected by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Although one of the three would serve as the President of the Board of Commissioners, a board of three men would have almost absolute rule of Washington, DC for almost another century through the continued appointment of white, largely Southern and Republican male members of Congress possessing a racially-segregationist bend on managing the City’s services and this influence would greatly impact race-relations in Washington, DC.

### **Linking the Loss of Home Rule**

*“In the face of this influx of negro population [we, the U.S. Congress] found it necessary to disenfranchise every man in the District of Columbia.”*

- Senator John Tyler Morgan on the Senate floor, 1890

Alexander “Boss” Shepherd’s heavy-handed and biased management of Washington, DC (along with its resultant bankruptcy) is associated with the end of DC’s territorial government and thereby the City’s loss of home rule. This change was welcome for the many detractors of Shepherd and his cronyism. It was also welcomed by those who, however irrationally, faulted the newly-enfranchised Blacks for the City’s

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<sup>32</sup> Both statements quoted appear in full transcript of the interview, see Appendix #.

current woes and would elect to remove the rights for all voters in DC rather than to allow Black voters to have any power over the nation's capitol. The following revelatory passage comes from an exchange on the floor of the U.S. Senate in 1890 as recalled by Senator John Tyler Morgan, a Confederate veteran from Alabama:

Now, the historical fact is simply this, that the negroes came into this District from Virginia and Maryland and from other places; I know dozens of them here now who flocked from Alabama in that period of time. The invitation being a very urgent one to them, they came in here and they took possession of a certain part of the political power of this District; that is to say, they did not take possession of it, for they were incapable of doing that; but for their masters and owners, the owners of their consciences, having stronger bonds upon them than their masters had ever had upon their persons while they were in slavery, took them and put them as a factor, a political power and agency, into the administration of the affairs of the District of Columbia, and there was but one way to get out, so Congress thought, so this able committee thought, and that was to deny the right of suffrage entirely to every human being in the District and have every office here controlled by appointment instead of by election. Thereupon in the face of this influx of negro population from the surrounding States, the Senate and the House of Representatives, in order to preserve the property rights and the decency of administration in the central government of the United States here around the very footwalls of the Capitol, found it necessary to disenfranchise every man in the District of Columbia, no matter what his reputation or character might have been or his holdings in property, in order to thereby to get rid of this load of negro suffrage that was flooded in upon them. That is the true statement. History cannot be reversed. No man can misunderstand it.

Increased discrimination and segregation practices between 1876 and 1900 greatly diminished the social, economic and political gains made by Blacks in DC. Yet in the face of mounting, sometimes violent, inequality, Blacks began to close ranks in their communities and developed strategies to support, unify, and move forward a shared mission of regaining the civil rights gained during the Reconstruction-era.

As the 1900s began, DC remained a racially- and economically-segregated city. Blacks and whites moved in different worlds, with little overlap between the two, aside from cases of domestic servitude or through other service-oriented employment. The two racial groups had separate newspapers catered to and focused on the needs of their distinct communities. Blacks and whites went to separate churches and (by law) attended separate schools. Places of diversion, such as movie theaters and amusement parks, were segregated and this racial separation extended to social organizations. As such, there was little contact between the two racial groups, except perhaps on buses and streetcars, and the reading rooms of public libraries.

#### **RACE AND GOVERNANCE-REORGANIZATION IN DC**

*“This is an abysmal form of government.”*

- Robert McLoughlin, former President of the DC Board of Commissioners (1956) who later supported home rule

From the 1874 loss of Home Rule, Congress held authority over Washington, DC. Within the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many congressmen from larger, urban cities began to sympathize with the issues confronting the capitol as a result of its inability to govern itself. However, many more congressmen were quite insensitive to the point of being hostile towards the needs of DC citizens, especially as the City’s citizenry approached a predominance of non-Whites. The method by which Congress governed the city was largely through the House of Representatives Committee on the District of Columbia and from 1954 to 1968 the members of this committee came predominantly from the rural South pressing a rural Southern segregationist agenda. One instance in

which the Committee demonstrated its hostility towards DC was in the attempt of some of its more active, vocal members discrediting school integration in DC. The Committee kept the District's budget intentionally low for social services and opposed most attempts at expenditures for physical improvements. This lack of support from the House Committee made the task for the DC Board of Commissioners that much more difficult. F. Joseph Donohue, who served as the President of the DC Board of Commissioners as was appointed by President Harry S Truman, stated that his job was "the most frustrating position in the world" and added that it was made so because he had "little to no authority".<sup>33</sup> Shortly after his inauguration in 1961, then President John F. Kennedy set out to restructure the District government. Unfortunately, he was assassinated in 1964 thus unable to carry this plan to fruition but by 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson continued Kennedy's plan and presented it to Congress mapping out a reorganization of DC's governing structure. His plan replaced the three-member Board of Commissioners with a nine-member City Council, a single Mayor-Commissioner, and an assistant to the Mayor-Commissioner, all of whom Johnson would appoint. Although the City Council would be non-partisan by rule, the Council could have not more than six members from any one political party.

In 1968, citizens were granted an elected Board of Education. In 1971, Washingtonians elected a non-voting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives and in 1973, the Home Rule Act was passed allowing District citizens the right to choose a mayor and City Council. By 1974 Washingtonians dealt a final blow to the paternalistic

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<sup>33</sup> Sam Smith (1990) A Short History of Home Rule

governing structure they struggled against for almost a century and voted to end the commissioner-governance to be replaced by a new system more responsive to the City's needs. Although the campaign for DC's Home Rule, or its right to self-determination, resulted in relatively limited power gained, the partial win offered a degree of independence for DC.

Throughout the 1980s to present-day, Washington DC continues to struggle over self-determination at the hands of a paternalistic governing body. The year 2000 campaign for DC's representative to become a voting delegate rather than a non-voting delegate featured a change in the City's license plate slogan to "Taxation without Representation," which brought attention to the fact that DC residents pay federal taxes without receiving proper representation in Congress as well as reflecting a more accurate picture of the everyday ways in which DC's governing structure is actually relatively impotent. According to DC Vote, a local educational and advocacy organization, people who live in Washington, DC pay the second-highest per capita federal income tax in the U.S. yet have no voice in how the federal government spends the tax dollars. Nor do DC residents have a representative with a voice on such issues as health care, education, Social Security, environmental protection, public safety, or foreign policy. Since the November 2000 campaign and subsequent license adjustment, even the presidential limousine carries the "Taxation without Representation" car tags in solidarity<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> With the exception of former President George W. Bush, who removed the license plates during his terms in office and President Barack Obama's first term in office, the presidential limousine has carried the official "Taxation without Representation" license plate.

## **SHEDDING LIGHT ON AN OVERSHADOWED PAST**

As a native Washingtonian, I often take for granted the rich history and legacy that African-Americans have given to the establishment and development of Washington, DC. There are thousands, if not millions, of stories and images that reside in the recesses of my mind that explain and relate the myriad contributions of this highly-varied network of Blacks. The levels to which this knowledge is taken for granted does not rear its head until someone asks me a specific question regarding Black history in DC, which has only happened twice in my adult life. However during my research between 2009 and 2012, I witnessed no fewer than twelve separate occasions where I overheard (or in two instances, in which I was told quite confidently) that the condition of poverty has been inextricably tied to Blackness in DC and specifically geographically situated in the poor, eastern sections of the City. Not until those moments did I realize how little is widely-known or accepted about the intricacies of Black history in Washington, DC. The two sub-chapters that follow illuminate two cases: the presence and history of Blacks in the exclusive Georgetown neighborhood; and Addison Scurlock's 20<sup>th</sup> century photographic contribution to capturing middle and upper-class Black communities around DC.

### **Mt. Zion United Methodist Church and Black Georgetown**

*"...this used to be nothing but Blacks. My parent's house was right there. Dr. Stephens' family lived over here...and the postman's family lived right across the way. Man, those were good times. We had a good life, a really good childhood. But when they want something, they'll do anything to take it. Slowly but surely we all had to move."*

-- Paul Marshall, family friend recalling his childhood in Georgetown

Religious institutions formed the cornerstone of Washington, DC's Black communities. Within the architectural confine of these spaces, church members formed



social clubs, choirs, missionary societies, men's and women's auxiliary groups, and youth clubs, thereby creating and reinforcing a vigorous social network encouraging pride amongst its members and helping to combat the racism they confronted outside the walls of the church. Amongst the handful of churches with a long history serving a predominantly black congregation in the City, Mt. Zion United Methodist Church in the Georgetown neighborhood is one of the oldest: having been founded in 1816. According to Mt. Zion's historical records, the church served a multitude of needs for blacks living in and travelling through the nation's capitol. Of particular note, the church's archives indicate that Mt. Zion served as one of the stations in the Underground Railroad<sup>35</sup> and the vault in the nearby Old Methodist Burying Ground was used as a hideout for runaway slaves until their passage North could be arranged. Mt. Zion also served the educational needs of DC's blacks until 1862, when Washington DC legally abolished slavery within the City limits and subsequently allowed the use of public funds for the education of Blacks. Even during the Reconstruction-Era, Mt. Zion continued to house several educational programs and relief organizations for the multitude of newly-freed Blacks living in DC.

The black community in Georgetown, as other black communities city-wide, continued to grow throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. By the 1930s, the Georgetown neighborhood became a fashionable address, housing prominent members of Congress and attracting increasingly wealthy families. Until 1940, the Georgetown area

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<sup>35</sup> The Underground Railroad is a term describing a network of clandestine passages and private homes of abolitionists used during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to assist enslaved Blacks escape from slave states in the Southern region of the United States to free states along the East Coast, travelling as far north as Canada.

had an economically- and racially-diverse population, with a particularly strong black community supporting Georgetown's historically black churches and civic organizations. By the end of the 1940s, however, increasing real estate values created a hostile and less-diverse neighborhood, as wealthier newcomers bought houses from less prosperous whites and blacks, displacing them to other parts of Washington, DC. Influential and affluent Georgetown neighborhood civic leaders began a campaign to declare the neighborhood as a historic district. This would serve their multi-purpose goal of ensuring the continued prestige of their neighborhood, assuring that their homes would skyrocket in value, and maintaining the racial and socioeconomic homogeneity to which they felt deserving. On September 22, 1950, Congress passed the Old Georgetown Act<sup>36</sup> to control the appearance of old houses and to encourage restoration. Despite the restrictions imposed by the Act, growth continued as Georgetown gained popularity and prestige, particularly due to its close proximity to the Waterfront area along the Potomac River, as well as the high-ranking and exclusive Georgetown University. As the lower- and middle-income Georgetown inhabitants were unable to afford the increasing property taxes, skyrocketing housing prices and the demands on very specific types of maintenance to their property, they were forced to move to more affordable areas of the City, many of the blacks relocating to the Northeastern quadrant of DC. In their wake, boutiques, bars and hotels squeezed into the dense but newly-historic district, calling into question the actual motivations for the creation of the Old Georgetown Act.

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<sup>36</sup> According to the DC Code Section 5, Chapter 11. Preservation of Historic Places and Areas in the Georgetown Area, the 1950 Act delineated the precise boundaries of Old Georgetown and made very specific restrictions on the maintenance and alteration of buildings.

Through the early 21st century, this trend continued bringing revenue and status into Georgetown while keeping a firm hand against the re-entry by the neighborhood's former inhabitants. Often in cahoots with local leaders and governing officials, residential zones in Georgetown were changed to commercial zones allowing developers to proceed with multi-million dollar projects. These projects were sold as being in the best interest of the City by bringing in additional tax revenue, however the end result was the demolishing of much of the remaining residential properties in Georgetown. With this so-called development came heightened traffic and noise, and a diminishing of the Georgetown sense of residential community. What had been a racially-mixed neighborhood prior to the 1950's Act, had become an almost exclusively white neighborhood "choking on its success," as my mother's friend and former Georgetown inhabitant, Paul Marshall explained it to me.

### **Re-Appropriating Our Images: The Scurlock Studio and Black DC**

*"Facts do not cease to exist because they are ignored."*

-Aldous Huxley, *Complete Essays 2, 1926-29*

*"It's as much of a secret as the sky is blue and grass is green."*

- African-American woman, commenting on the invisibility of DC's historically affluent Black community

During a period in U.S. history where much of the imagery of Blacks in the United States were anti-Black caricatures of the lazy and ignorant buffoons, the child-like simpleton, or the sexually-aggressive animalistic brute prone to wanton acts of violence. Addison Scurlock sought to regain control of the ways in which Blacks were portrayed. Born in Fayetteville, North Carolina in 1883, Scurlock and his family relocated to

Washington, DC in 1900, where he worked as a photographer and apprentice, learning the basics of portraiture and the range of photographic laboratory work. Scurlock and his team of highly-skilled photographers were responsible for famous photos of famed and noteworthy individuals across a spectrum of disciplines. His client list included former First Lady Mamie Eisenhower, President Calvin Coolidge, educator W.E.B. DuBois, and famed Black physician Charles R. Drew. However, of all his photographic subjects, Scurlock's photo archive of the nuances of Washington, DC's Black community is perhaps his most enduring legacy.

The Scurlock studio is one of the longest-running Black-owned businesses in the United States, having operated from 1904<sup>37</sup> through 1994. Capturing life events such as birthdays, graduations, civil protests, and high-society affairs (see Figure 4), the Scurlock Studio photographically recorded the lives of middle- and upper-class Blacks in Washington, DC as well other misrepresented Black communities across the United States. As the official photographer for Howard University, Mr. Scurlock not only captured elements of University life, but he challenged misconceptions of Black intellectuality and cultural/economic wealth in Washington, DC. Furthering his mission to re-appropriate and present an accurate image of not only Blacks in general but specifically the Black middle class communities in the U.S., Scurlock's studio served as a news service to the African-American press in newspapers along the East Coast. He even

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<sup>37</sup> Addison Scurlock opened his studio in his parents' home in 1904, but by 1911 after receiving such national acclaim and reputation, he opened a studio on U Street near Howard University, in the heart of DC's Black cultural and academic mecca.

initiated and operated a newsreel on African-American activities shown in many Washington, DC theaters.

From January to November of 2009, the Smithsonian Museum of American History held an exhibition of thousands of negatives and prints remaining in the Scurlock Studios' vast collection of Black Washington – four of which are in the below Figure 4.



Figure 4: Selected photographs from the Scurlock Studio Records, Archive Center, National Museum of American History. Credited clockwise from top left: a portrait of a young Black woman in 1920; “Family Portrait” circa 1925; “Picketing ‘Gone with the Wind’ at the Lincoln Theater” circa 1940; the home of Dr. Cevera Little, November 22, 1957.

This particular exhibit provided an opportunity to re-emphasize the multi-dimensionality of the early 20th century Black communities in DC, as well as expose those unfamiliar with the legacy of Black dignity, culture, and socioeconomic reach in the City.

Demonstrative of this unawareness, many in the local news media announced the exhibit as a look inside DC's secret society<sup>38</sup> having borrowed the term from numerous publications on DC's Black middle class community in the 19th and 20th centuries. However, for the majority of native Washingtonians with first- or even second-hand experiences within DC's black middle- and –upper class community, this exhibit was merely a visual demonstration honoring a legacy of excellence and shared culture as it challenged persistent notions binding Blackness to a culture of poverty. It was as familiar as opening a family photo album in a public place and sharing your memories with interested others.

#### **RACE IN DC AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT**

In terms of the shifts in the distribution of the racial groups in DC, between 1940 and 1950, the population of DC increased by more than 50 percent. Then from 1950 to 1970 the metropolitan population doubled again, the net increase being attributed to 'white flight' and the growing suburban communities in, near, and around Washington, DC. It would be around this period and phenomenon that a distinction was made between 'Washington, DC' also referred to as 'DC' and 'the Washington Metropolitan Area' also referred to as 'the DC Metro Area'. According to census tract data between 1950 and 1970, while the Black and white population of DC metropolitan area increased at about the same rate, almost all Black newcomers settled within the urban sections concentrated in the eastern quadrants of DC. The largest decennial increase occurred between 1940

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<sup>38</sup> A complete listing is provided in the bibliography: "Scurlock Family Photos Immortalized Black Society" February 2, 2011 NPR News, Tell Me More, Michel Martin.

and 1950, with a rise in the population of Blacks from approximately 187,000 to approximately 280,000<sup>39</sup>. The majority of the new Washingtonians arriving between the 1950s and 1960s were Blacks from the South -- specifically from the Virginia rural areas, North Carolina and South Carolina. Much like the freed Blacks who came to DC after the Civil War, these newcomers hoped to find prosperity and opportunities as they escaped their previous rural poverty. White flight into Washington's suburbs (which was occurring in many cities around the country) created an incredible number of vacant houses and apartments in the older residential sections of DC mainly in the northeastern and southeastern quadrants. Although housing in DC had almost always been segregated by race, the departure of whites increased after neighborhood housing and public schools were desegregated in the 1950s. Thousands of Blacks who already lived in DC moved into formerly all-white areas outside of NW DC and Black families new to Washington occupied older Black areas of the city and areas left vacant from white flight. Within a few years, areas of DC that were not previously open to Blacks were now predominantly Black. By 1957 Washington DC had a majority Black population and not ten years later that population comprised more than 70 percent of all of DC. Although the population of Washington's suburbs had reached about 2 million, many of these were white people from other parts of the U.S. By the 1970 census, Washington was a majority Black city (numbering approximately 538,000) surrounded by mostly white suburbs.

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<sup>39</sup> For consistency, all population figures and the associated years come from available demographic statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau.

## **NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE: DC'S LATINO AND CHINESE COMMUNITIES**

A significantly-populated group contributing to the racial and ethnic mix in DC is the numerous Spanish-speaking newcomers who immigrated from such places as Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Caribbean and Central America. Washington's Latino community first emerged soon after World War II when a small, Spanish-speaking, multi-ethnic group moved into D.C. to run the newly-established embassies and international organizations from Latin America. These newcomers to Washington signified the city's emergence as a world as well as a national capital. Many of the professional staff and domestic workers of the Spanish-speaking embassies and world organizations took up residence in Adams Morgan and Mt. Pleasant, areas north of the White House and midway between the National Mall and the Maryland border. These neighborhoods were convenient to the many embassies situated around 16th Street and Massachusetts Avenue. The Adams Morgan and Mt. Pleasant neighborhoods eventually became the more concentrated Spanish-speaking areas of D.C. as many domestic workers settled in those areas after their host employers left the city. Occasionally, individuals returned home for a while and then re-immigrated. They kept contact with the home country and encouraged new family members to come to Washington. Latin American students in area universities added another significant segment to the growing Spanish-speaking population. Because Latinos came to D.C. from many different countries, but not in large numbers from any one country, there appeared to be a greater identification as a single Latino community, particularly in the face of the rest of DC's population and its black-white binary of racial classification.



An early DC community leader Carlos Rosario, who was originally from Puerto Rico, is quoted as explaining to a reporter how everyone (read: Spanish-speaking) related to each other at the dances he sponsored in the City: "People got to meet each other...and they got married—Ecuadoran girls with Peruvians, Salvadoran girls with Hondurans."<sup>40</sup> Immigrants nonetheless came from different Latin American countries at different times. Puerto Rican and Mexican American white-collar workers came to the area in great numbers for the federal jobs generated by the New Deal and World War II.

For the most part, Mexican-American students and professionals separated themselves from the working-class Latino community. Cubans joined this mix in the late 1950s and early 1960s, during and at the end of the Cuban revolution. In the 1960s the Spanish-speaking population began to grow more rapidly. The economic hardship and political turmoil in Latin America, combined with the alluring image of the United States, created a flow of legal and illegal immigration to the U.S. In the 1960s and 1970s, South Americans came in large numbers, and major immigrations of Central Americans followed in the 1980s and continue through the present. Of these, the leading country of origin has been El Salvador. The 1970s census estimated that 15,671 Latinos lived in D.C.; in the 1980s, 17,679; in the 1990s, 32,710<sup>41</sup>; in 2000, 44,954; and in the most recent 2010 census the official number is 54,749<sup>42</sup>. Thus, Latinos constitute the fastest growing ethnic minority in the city and in the country, along with a growing number of immigrants from African countries – specifically (but in no particular order) Ethiopia,

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<sup>40</sup> informal interview with alumnus of the Carlos Rosario International Public Charter School, August 16, 2011.

<sup>41</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1990

<sup>42</sup> data accessed December 26, 2011 from <http://2010.census.gov/2010census/popmap/ipmtext.php?fl=11>

Eritrea, Somalia, Nigeria, and Ghana – who largely reside in the same, or adjacent<sup>43</sup>, neighborhoods as the Spanish-speaking population.

In terms of the strict Black-white racial dichotomy, DC now has a decreasing Black population with a growing white population, a separate yet growing Spanish-speaking population, a separate yet growing African population, and a separate Asian (mostly Chinese) population. Unfortunately, with the recent population changes and presumed, increased ease by individuals of any race/ethnicity can live, work, and play; Washington DC of 2012 has become increasingly racially/ethnically segregated and it will be of great interest to see how this new racial dynamic plays out in the coming years.

DC's Chinese community is a group largely ignored in much of the popular discussions on race and space in the City. Although relatively small, Washington DC's Chinese community had been centrally located in one area of the city which has come to be known as Chinatown. The majority of this community had resided in DC since the 1930s but in the 1950s and 60s, the majority of Chinese residents moved to the suburbs. Due to varying political motivations determining which racial/ethnic groups fell in which positions along DC's Black-white racial binary, many writers on the topic seem to naturally group DC's Chinese out-migration to the suburbs with the wave of white flight that was occurring around the same time. Only in recent years, post 1970s, has there been a tendency to categorize Chinese Washingtonians (and all other Asian groups that fall victim to a stereotypical grouping whether they are Chinese or not) into a more urban,

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<sup>43</sup> Mount Pleasant, Adams Morgan, and Columbia Heights are adjacent to one another and are collectively viewed as being the three most diverse neighborhoods on the city.

non-white demographic. As contested as my impression may be within informal discussions on the matter, I believe that much of this association is due to the large number of Chinese carry-outs, Asian-owned and -operated nail salons and beauty supply stores frequented by, located in, and financially-sustained by lower-income, Black neighborhoods in and around the DC metropolitan area. This is admittedly a personal observation and while it may be one shared by many others who have spent any length of time in such neighborhoods, it is outside of the scope of my academic research for me to attempt to firmly stand by what may be a sweeping generalization.

#### **RACE & SPACE IN SPRING SUMMIT**

In a city of close to 633,000 people, Washington DC has a Black population of over 50 percent,<sup>44</sup> with the majority of this number living in the City's eastern quadrants, as illustrated in Figure 5, and a concentration of Whites occupying the northwestern quadrant. Unique among metropolitan cities with a high percentage of blacks, Washington has had a significant black population since the city's creation. As a result, Washington became both a center of African American culture and a center of civil rights movement. Specific to racially-informed salary scales, black and white school teachers in DC were paid at an equal scale as workers for the federal government because the city's public school system was run by the federal government. Unlike the usual racial segregation around the City, this was one of few areas in which race did not inform one's

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<sup>44</sup> According to the U.S. Census Bureau's 2012 population estimates, 50 percent of Washington, DC's 632,323 population self-identifies racially as Black, not of Hispanic origin.

compensation or treatment. It was not until President Woodrow Wilson’s 1913 administration that federal offices and workplaces were segregated – much of this owed

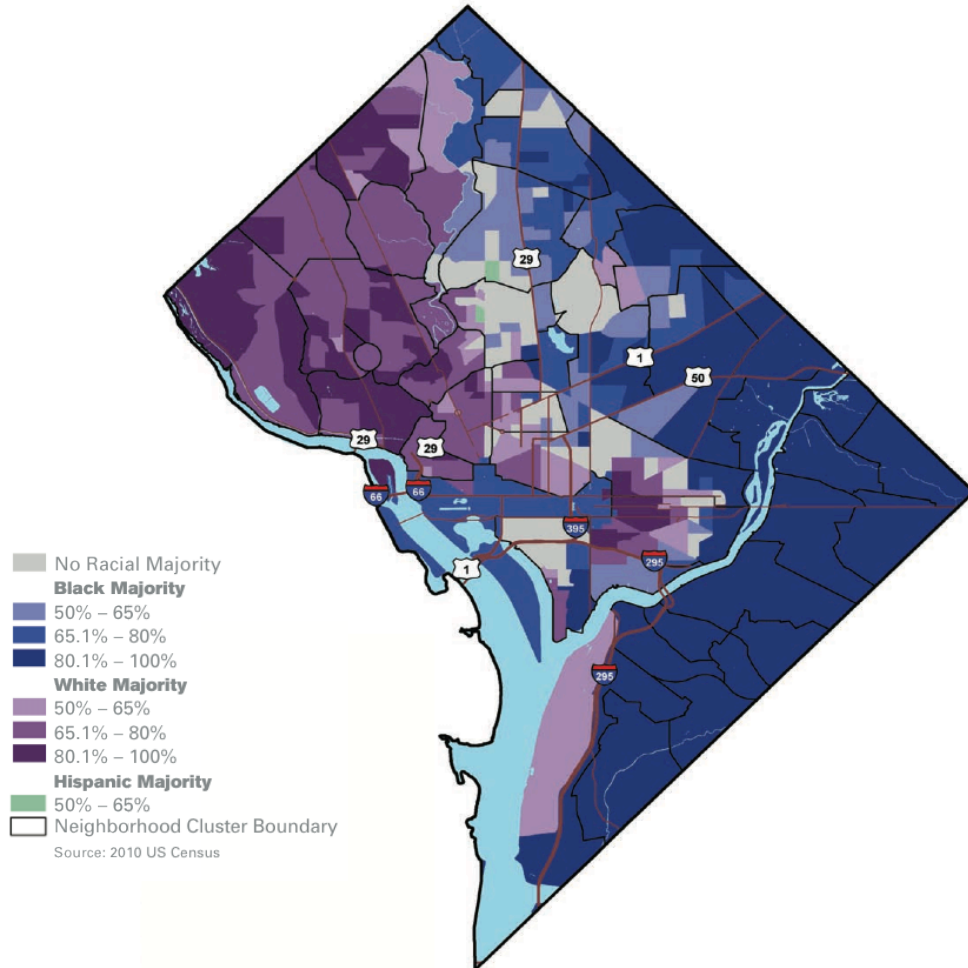


Figure 5. DC Racial Distribution Map, Source: “Quality Schools: Every Child, Every School, Every Neighborhood,” IFF January 2012

to Wilson's southern sensibility of racial equity and a large number of Southerners on his presidential cabinet<sup>45</sup>.

Washington, DC is widely known as 'Chocolate City'. This reference went from being a black insider's reality to a popularly-accepted reality with the 1975 release of *Chocolate City*, an album by legendary soul-funk-rock group, Parliament. In that decade, the black population of Washington, DC was 70%. Today it stands at 50.7%. This is largely due to gentrified development efforts that have reversed the white flight of the 1940s-60s and the active relocation of large populations of Blacks into Maryland, specifically neighboring Prince George's County. Between 2000 and 2010 alone, DC's black population decreased by 11.5%<sup>46</sup> while the percentage of non-Hispanic whites rose from 28% to 35% in that same period.<sup>47</sup> The high cost of living makes Washington, DC a challenging place for many to live, particularly those earning in the bottom quadrant of income. The median household income for Washington, DC is \$61,835 – approximately ten thousand dollars higher than the national median household income of \$52,762.<sup>48</sup> While this income difference does not call for immediate alarm, a closer analysis examining the role of race makes a more pointed distinction. As evidence in Table 1 (below), Wards 7 and 8 both have Black populations of over 90% and represent the two lowest family income levels in the City earning \$54,809 and \$44,341, respectively.

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<sup>45</sup> Wolgemuth, Kathleen L. (April 1959). "Woodrow Wilson and Federal Segregation". *The Journal of Negro History* 44 (2): 158–173.

<sup>46</sup> Carol Morello and Dan Keating (March 24, 2011). 'Number of Black Residents Plummets as Majority Status Slips Away' *The Washington Post*.

<sup>47</sup> DC City Profile – Population: [http://www.neighborhoodinfodc.org/city/Nbr\\_prof\\_city.html#sec\\_1\\_race](http://www.neighborhoodinfodc.org/city/Nbr_prof_city.html#sec_1_race)

<sup>48</sup> These figures come from the U.S. Census Bureau's State and County QuickFacts. Data for the QuickFacts is derived from Population Estimates, American Community Survey, Census of Population and Housing, State and County Housing Unit Estimates, County Business Patterns, Nonemployer Statistics, Economic Census, Survey of Business Owners, Building Permits

Comparatively, Wards 2 and 3 have White populations over than 70% and represent the two highest family income levels in the City earning \$205,343 and \$257,241, respectively. To be sure, DC has the third-highest income inequality of any major city in the United States, with the average income<sup>49</sup> of the top 5% of the District’s households standing at approximately \$473,000 and the average income of the bottom 5% of DC households earning approximately \$10,000<sup>50</sup>.

Ward	Population	Black, non-Hispanic (%)	White, non-Hispanic (%)	Hispanic (%)	Children in Ward (%)	Children in poverty (%)	Average Family Income‡ (in 2010\$)
1	74,462	33	40	21	12	23	94,197
2	76,883	9.8	70	9.5	4.8	10	205,343
3	78,887	5.6	78	7.5	13	3.1	257,241
4	75,773	59	20	19	20	12	116,668
5	74,308	77	15	6.3	17	29	78,559
6	76,000	43	47	4.8	14	32	115,992
7	71,748	95	1.5	2.7	24	40	54,809
8	73,662	94	3.2	1.8	30	48	44,341

Table 1: Selected DC Statistics by Ward from online dataset organization, NeighborhoodInfo DC

To understand the significance of the current racial geography in the Spring Summit neighborhood<sup>51</sup> when I conducted my fieldwork, it is useful to situate the area historically. According to local archival research and data compiled through the

<sup>49</sup> Family income is the total cash income from all sources for all family members adjusted to constant dollars using the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The averages listed in Table 1 are based on the American Community Survey (ACS) data from 2005-2009.

<sup>50</sup> A Big Gap: Income Inequality in the District Remains One of the Highest on the Nation. Caitlin Biegler. March 8, 2012. *DC Fiscal Policy Institute*.

<sup>51</sup> In accordance with the Internal Review Board at the University of Texas at Austin, I have changed the neighborhood’s name. For the sake of consistency in providing its history, any identifiable historical figures, organizations, buildings carrying the neighborhood’s name, and descriptions of specific geographic location have been masked.

neighborhood's historical conservation organization and the D.C. Office of Planning, the Spring Summit neighborhood is one of the oldest and largest historic residential neighborhood in Washington D.C. Located in Ward 6 with roughly 35,000 people in just under two square miles, it is marked predominantly by row houses and Victorian architecture. It is also one of the most densely-populated neighborhoods in the City. The Spring Summit neighborhood today straddles two quadrants of the city and a large portion of it is now designated as the Spring Summit Historic District. As such, the name Spring Summit is often used to refer to both the historic district and to the larger neighborhood surrounding it.

### **A Historically-Diverse Spring Summit**

The first semblance of the Spring Summit neighborhood was a small cluster of residential buildings that sprung up between the late 1790s and early 1800s. It was populated predominantly by lawmakers, visiting foreign dignitaries and others employed by the newly-established federal government. According to Kenneth Stuckey, a local historian and curator at the Charles Sumner School Archives, Spring Summit had a boarding house community developing in the same area as the offices where congressional members worked. This community included a diverse racial mix of skilled workers who were constructing and repairing governmental buildings. While varied in type of occupation, the Spring Summit neighborhood was one of the only areas in the City where politicians, naval officers, statesmen and skilled laborers lived and worked in close proximity. This mixture was great for small business as well; so local entrepreneurs and businessmen immediately began to capitalize on this burgeoning community's needs.

According to Mr. Stuckey, grocers, shoemakers, tailors, butchers, bakers and other types of merchants erected shops catering not only to the high-level professionals but to the working-class residents as well.

While a small concentration of working-class whites, African Americans (enslaved and free), and immigrant workers (namely Asian, Eastern European, Irish and German) built the neighborhood's first houses and office buildings, archival research<sup>52</sup> demonstrates that the original residential population of the Spring Summit neighborhood was almost exclusively white. The year 1810 brought a marked addition of goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and churches for blacks and whites (who worshipped separately) that flourished in the area. Within fifty years, the Civil War resulted in more construction in the Spring Summit area, namely the building of hospitals to service the injured soldiers. Construction of new houses in the neighborhood continued well into the 1870s and 1880s, however the neighborhood began to divide along racial and economic class lines. Some of this was due to the fact that some of the boarding houses had begun to serve as a haven for fugitive slaves sought by bounty hunters during the Civil War, as well as an increasing influx of (newly) freedmen and women. By the 1890s, electricity, piped water, and plumbing were introduced and were first available in neighborhood bringing a real estate development boom between 1890 and 1910.

Spring Summit's relatively small but thriving immigrant and Black population cultivated a wide range of business and financial pursuits, in addition to nurturing their

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<sup>52</sup> This data was collected from various historical organizations focused on the preservation of memorabilia, photographs and private documents of families with a long history in the Latrobe neighborhood.



religious faiths, cultural organizations, and educational institutions. Focusing specifically on the African American community in the Spring Summit neighborhood, there were upwards of twenty churches formed between about 1860 and 1898 --- this is notable insofar as this neighborhood covers no more than two square miles. Since public school education in DC was not an available option for Black children prior to the 1862 emancipation of slaves within DC's boundaries, churches were the primary site for teaching and learning for Black teachers and students across the city.

DC had begun its public education system in 1804 and the DC Board of Trustees officially enacted the Education Plan in 1805. Schoolhouses tended to be single rooms within other buildings or small structures used to instruct all grade-levels together. President Thomas Jefferson contributed to DC's educational development by allowing an unused presidential stable to be used for the purpose of schooling the City's white children. The post-Civil War restructuring of the public school system included an 'education for all' ideal and thusly necessitated that buildings now be constructed with the explicit purpose of educating all of the city's youth in an appropriate and conducive setting. It was within the Spring Summit neighborhood that the first purpose-built DC public school was erected in 1864. It was named after one of the City's important leaders and was touted as an architectural marvel of brick design with a "Renaissance Revival" style<sup>53</sup>. It was the first of eight schools decreed to be built around the city to cater to DC's increasingly scattered population. However, the distribution of resources and funds reflected the City's true vision of 'education for all' ideal as the first public school for

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<sup>53</sup> records retrieved at the DC Office of Planning, Historic Preservation Office; October 19, 2009.

DC's black students was a small, wood-framed structure less than five blocks away from the modern all-brick marvel built for white students.

By the early 1900s, Spring Summit's small but thriving immigrant and Black population had transformed into a largely white majority of middle-class government employees although there still remained many poor and working class Black and white families. Similar to other older neighborhoods in DC, Spring Summit is an area with historic homes that by the 1930s and 1940s were in desperate need of repair. Restoration in Spring Summit began in the late 1940s, expanded through the racial and political turbulence characterized by the 1950s and by the 1960s, Spring Summit's real estate development and restoration had taken off full throttle. This level and intensity of investment attracted many to the neighborhood: speculators seeking to purchase property and turn a profit and DC residents seeking to relocate to what they saw as a changing neighborhood, or a neighborhood in transition, while the prices were still relatively low. Some in both groups purchased homes, made little to no restorative changes, and then sold those properties when the prices increased. However, many new residents to Spring Summit were appreciated the neighborhood's historic charm, growing prestige and its racial mix of residents. By 1968 however, the racial dynamic shifted dramatically. The mostly white, socioeconomically advantaged families were replacing rather than joining the poor and working-class Spring Summit residents --- the majority of whom were Black. This new, more racially and socioeconomically homogenous Spring Summit remains the same to present-day.

## **Spring Summit as a Site of Whiteness**

Washington, DC has long been a divided city plagued by racial issues. The tension between the increasing predominance of African-Americans and the historic predominance of white lawmakers and lobbyists led to a city with two distinct populations. In common parlance, a distinction is usually made between ‘DC’ which refers to the urban, predominantly Black city and ‘Washington’ which refers to the political source fueling the seat of legislative, judicial and executive authority across the nation. White middle- and upper class families largely resided in the neighborhoods west of Rock Creek Park, which account for most of the northwestern quadrant of the City. While the African-American communities are largest in the Northeast, the Southwest and the Southeast quadrants of the City<sup>54</sup>. It is in this exact section of DC that the Spring Summit neighborhood appears as a stand-alone site of whiteness outside of the NW quadrant of the City. Because of the low percentage of Hispanics, Asians, or other racial groups in Ward 6, the racial distinction that is most visually-apparent and most frequently acted upon by Ward 6 inhabitants is a black-white racial separation. It is against this racial backdrop that Benjamin Latrobe Elementary School stands.

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<sup>54</sup> This is with the exception of Ward 6 which, according to the most recent census data, has a White population of 47% and has the third-highest cluster of whites in Washington, DC.

### **Chapter 3: Societal Impact of Skin Color Preferences**

Having demonstrated the impact of the black-white racial binary in Washington, DC and its deep entrenchment in the City's development, I present the manners in which white domination, embodied by white, or light, skin, rewards those persons who most closely emulate whiteness (Russell et al 1992; Payne 2004; Lipsitz 2006; Hunter 2007) and skin-color based hierarchies are key in the maintenance of such a system of domination. Tracing the historical critical evaluation of skin color hierarchy, I begin in the early twentieth century with the Doll Test. When psychologists Kenneth Clark and Mamie Phipps Clark designed a test in 1939 examining the psychological impact of segregation on African-American children, the results revealed the 'dirty laundry' that many in African-American communities across the country knew all too well, dark skin color and all things associated with it are not only devalued in our society but outright eschewed even by those possessing that physical trait. The experiment by the African-American husband-wife team was performed by setting two identical dolls, one white and one black, on a table in front of a child between the age of six and nine and there the child was asked a series of seven questions. After replicating this study across the country, the results found that black children, specifically those who attended racially-segregated schools, were more likely to select the white doll over the black doll when asked which doll was 'nice' or preferable to them. The Clarks repeated this test in different parts of the U.S. to find similar results. Their study's data and results were used to support the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* Supreme Court case against racial segregation in schools and the case was successfully argued, beginning the dismantling of

Jim Crow segregation laws and a concerted effort to reaffirm a sense of racial pride within black communities nationwide. However, when the doll test was repeated in 2005 by black filmmaker Kiri Davis, she found the same results amongst the children she tested – an overwhelming preference for the white doll. Davis recorded the experiment for her 2005 documentary entitled, ‘A Girl Like Me’ and expanded the conversation to include the gendered bias in the continued importance of skin color, hair texture, and facial features as these confirm or negate Eurocentric standards of beauty for young black girls and women. Davis received much acclaim for her contribution at continuing a conversation regarding skin color preferences and how these remain quite pervasive in our society, potentially causing psychological harm to millions of young children, specifically girls. Five years after the debut of Davis’ documentary, comedian Chris Rock added his take on the topic of beauty and its characteristics with his film, *Good Hair* (2009). According to Rock’s explanation at the start of the film, he was motivated in part to examine these issues after having a conversation with his young daughter during which she tearfully asks him why she does not have ‘good hair’, i.e. having a naturally straight or loosely-curved hair texture. *Good Hair* sets forth issues of Black women’s conformity to a Eurocentric ideal of beauty, racial identity and authenticity, and workplace discrimination relative to societally-acceptable representations of professional, neat hairstyles that are in direct conflict with the natural hair textures of many African-American women. Lending a comedic sensibility to an admittedly difficult topic within black communities, Rock also explores the multi-million dollar economic investment expended by African-American women on hair and hair products to the benefit of the

owners, operators and distributors of said products – the majority of whom are not African-American or female. Two years after the fanfare and discussions of *Good Hair* began to die down, I had the occasion to attend the January 2012 premiere of yet another documentary discussing the continued disparagement of women with dark skin complexions. Produced by award-winning actor, producer, writer and director Bill Duke and filmmaker D. Channsin Berry, *Dark Girls* provides additional and contemporary insight into the lives of dark-skinned (mostly) African-American women and how their skin color did and continues to impact their self-esteem, notions of beauty and how men (mostly black) either reify or challenge prevailing valorizations of light-skinned women. As a dark-complexioned woman, there were scenes during the documentary that were reminiscent of comments that I had heard in everyday interactions. However, as the film ended and the lights slowly illuminated the theater, I looked around to see many woman of varying ages and complexions with tear-streaked faces. Whether these emotions were based in their recollection of name-calling, well-intentioned comments or general mistreatment they experienced over the course of their lives, I realized how psychologically damaging these issues remain for many women who have long-suppressed the hurt and disappointment they experienced based on their darker skin color. It is within this scope and contemporary frame that I sought to better comprehend the pervasiveness of skin color preferences.

The principal analytical means for understanding the enduring significance of skin color, specifically its enduring impact for African American communities, can be seen in four categories: 1) popular media; 2) marriage outcomes & social capital; 3)

socioeconomic status & employment; and 4) educational attainment and academic success. None of the four categories occur in a vacuum and that there is a great deal of fluidity between them. However, the literature tends to divide the areas as I have done; so in my aim to be consistent I will discuss race and skin color in the above outlined categories. While the latter three are often discussed as interlocking pieces, the first area (popular media) is of particular significance amongst the generation of college-aged and younger students, who are the most influenced by trends in popular music, specifically enacted on and through the bodies of young women.

I think it is most appropriate to be clear that preoccupations with skin color impact all communities of color insofar as an individual's proximity to Whiteness affords a more privileged position versus those community members who appear to be more "authentic", embodying the more stereotypical phenotype assigned to (and accepted by) members of said community. For example, during the various civil rights movements, many communities of color rely on (and are openly more appreciative of) the members who appear to be more "authentic" and Michel Rolph-Truillot addresses the problematic U.S. definition of blackness in a Haitian context. His 1994 article, "Culture, Color, and Politics in Haiti" discusses what is termed 'the color question' in Haiti, in reference to the international hierarchy of races (read skin color). For Rolph-Truillot, skin color is used as a marker rather than race in other African diasporic populations. He, like many other researchers, comparatively looks at Brazil and its so-called racial democracy hinged largely upon the myth of equality amongst and in between its citizens of different skin colors. He also discusses the Dominican Republic, which also uses a system of skin color

descriptors instead of racial or ethnic identifiers. Proponents of these types of systems of classification agree that it is more accurate to name someone by their combination of hair texture, lip and nose width, hair and eye color, and skin complexion. However, it can be argued that these systems simply mask the existing skin color hierarchies by extolling the virtues of a ‘mixed-race’ population – without acknowledging that light-skinned members of this population benefit disproportionately over their darker-skinned counterparts.

Despite widespread interest in associating gender and colorism, Hill (2002a) cites studies that do not find coherent analyses linking the intersection of the two, as evidenced by the results that African-American women generally do not share the same preference for lighter-skinned male spouses/mates. Interestingly enough, Hill’s 2002 studies both noted that the topic of African-American female attractiveness is frequently the topic of discussion (Hill 2002a) within skin color hierarchies. This indicates that African-American women are deeply affected by this issue as his work seeks to explore acts of agency to discuss the topic on their own terms.

#### **MEDIA MATTERS: THE VISUAL VALORIZATION OF SKIN COLOR**

The role of popular media and its visual representations of beauty inextricably linked to one’s value, perpetuate a white beauty ideal (Russell 1992; Hill 2002a). Dark-skinned African American male celebrities have greater mainstream appeal than dark-skinned African American female celebrities (Hill 2002) and there is significantly less frequent use of darker-skinned female models in advertisements than darker-skinned males. Most recently, a famous record producer and multi-platinum selling singer (who happens to be a dark-complexioned Black male) announced in a publicly-recorded



interview from December 2008, “all the pretty kids are light skinned anyway”<sup>55</sup>, while being interviewed by a white woman and another dark-complexioned Black man. As a dark-complexioned Black woman, hearing the remark, considering the source and watching the resultant laughter coming from the interviewers and interviewee made me cringe – but only momentarily, as such comments have gained resurgence in recent years amongst popular media geared towards Black youth/young adults. Comments such as his, song lyrics from other multi-million, platinum rappers such as “I Bet She Look Better Red”<sup>56</sup>, and the occasional (but increasing) instances of party promoters hosting “Light Skin versus Dark Skin’ theme nights<sup>57</sup> at dance clubs in cities, all go to perpetuate the long-standing view that light-skinned women are the sole holders of the African American beauty ideal (Russell 1992). These also inform feelings of shame amongst those African Americans with a darker-complexion. Anderson and Cromwell’s 1977 study found the persistence of shame associated with darker skin complexions amongst African-American youth and a general desire for whiteness or lighter skin complexion. Although an admittedly emotionally-charged topic, Anderson and Cromwell continued

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<sup>55</sup> The popular pop and R&B singer-songwriter, record producer, dancer and actor has written songs for such artists as Whitney Houston, Celine Dion, Beyonce, Enrique Iglesias, and Carrie Underwood which spans almost every popular genre of music. This is significant insofar as his skin tone preference is reflected in the lyrics he writes for himself and others, as well as his selection for women to play his romantic interest in music videos.

<sup>56</sup> The term ‘red’ refers to a popular euphemism for a light-skinned Black person. It should be noted that the same rapper is a dark-complexioned man from Louisiana (having its own sordid history of lauding light skin/Eurocentric features) who has also mentioned in almost every song that he prefers light skinned women; that his oldest daughter will be his first and last dark-skinned child (to secure that, he has had four more children by one light-skinned Black woman, two light skinned biracial women, and one light-skinned Filipina.

<sup>57</sup> The most recent instance occurred in January 2011 in Ohio but the previous instance occurred in Detroit on October 2007 and was so vile that it made national headlines ([http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/21367799/ns/us\\_news-life/t/failed-party-promotion-highlights-color-divide/#.TxUsg5irU20](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/21367799/ns/us_news-life/t/failed-party-promotion-highlights-color-divide/#.TxUsg5irU20))

their investigations and found that there was evidence of positive associations with African-American group identification (Anderson and Cromwell 1977) – much of which was associated with the civil rights movement’s Black is Beautiful campaign, which included lighter-skinned African-Americans as it extolled the virtues of darker-complexioned group members. Surprising to Anderson and Cromwell, positive attributes were most frequently associated with light brown skin complexions (using their study’s skin color continuum of ‘light, light brown, medium brown, dark brown’) rather than light-skinned African-Americans. Again, this must be understood in its historical context where a significant and purposeful shift emphasizing the African ancestry and negating the long-standing European beauty ideal.

In terms of the continued valorization of lighter skin, particularly as impacting young girls and women, I received an email from a friend, Betsy, who knew that I had been researching the topic of colorism within communities of color. We had previously argued over the matter because she adamantly held on to the belief that I was “digging up old business unnecessarily,” that I was “contributing to this new fad opening up old wounds”, and that since she was a mother and I was not, that I “am theorizing and not speaking about things affecting today’s girls.” Although a few days had passed since our heated discussion and I had long since calmed down, I rolled my eyes upon seeing an email from her. The subject line of her email was simply “I’m sorry” with the message “you were so right. I can’t believe this is a thing” written above a link to a YouTube video. When I clicked the link to watch the video, I was not shocked but rather disappointed to have proven Betsy wrong. A popular comedy duo (both of whom are

darker-brown complexioned men and one of whom is the host of a nationally-syndicated radio show) has a web series and the episode that I was watching was called “The Light Skin Awards”. The video was posted to YouTube in August 2009 and the format was patterned after an awards show, highlighting the supposed achievements of famous individuals. Within each of the 12 award categories, the nominees were announced just prior to the winner. The following are the categories along with a description of said award:

1. Worst Representation of a Light-skinned Person on TV, awarded to someone who was deemed unattractive
2. Light-skinned Person who Upholds the Extraness that Comes with Being Light-Skinned, awarded to the person who most embodies the behavioral stereotypes associated with a light-skin complexion
3. “I’m Light-skinned with Good Hair But I Married Something Less Than Me”, awarded to someone who married a person with dark skin and with a kinky hair texture
4. Lifetime Achievement Award for Waste of Light Skin, awarded to someone whose light skin complexion did not equate to success, attractiveness, or wealth
5. Waste of Light-Skin Award for Those not Utilizing Their Full Potential, awarded to someone who despite being attractive has not become successful
6. “I Wish Somebody Would Try Me Because I’m Red with Good Hair”, awarded to someone who demonstrates an aggressive nature stereotypically assigned to darker complexion people
7. “If I Was Dark-skinned I wouldn’t be as Pretty as I am”, awarded to someone whose attractiveness is wholly based on their skin complexion
8. “This Light-Skinned Shit is a Business Muthafuckers”, awarded to someone in the entertainment business who has financially-profited purely on the work of light-skinned persons

9. “My Career Would Have Gone Farther if I was Light-skinned”, awarded to a dark-complexioned singer or performer who is talented and attractive but who has not been a great commercial success

10. Light-skinned Family of the Year, awarded to a television-family who are all light-complexioned

11. “It’s Not Fair, I’m the Light-skinned One”, awarded to a member of a group where the other member(s) are dark-skinned and more famous

12. “Fuck My Light Skin and Good Hair because it didn’t get me anywhere”, awarded to the someone who has actively pursued fame and success yet have not achieved either despite their skin complexion and hair texture

After watching the 6:34 minute-long video, I was disgusted -- with the show’s hosts for perpetuating such skin color discrimination within Black communities and with myself for laughing at some of the awards nominees and winners. Regardless of my investment in dismantling such a hate-filled system as I do my best to prevent yet another generation from latching on to its valorizations and ideologies, I acknowledge my own painful experiences at the hands of said system and my decision to celebrate my skin color, regardless of such attempts to diminish its value.

#### **MATTERS OF THE HEART: SKIN COLOR, DATING, AND MATING**

Intrinsic to skin tone literature, and discussions pertaining to the significance of skin tone variation, are studies demonstrating an overwhelming tendency that lighter skin is preferred within darker complexioned racial groups. This is attributed to the valorization of Eurocentric ideals wherein members of darker-complexioned groups take on the perspective of racial privileging from the European or dominant group’s value system in order to assimilate into, and feel more accepted within, that dominant group. Among Black woman, for instance, the generally-supported knowledge says that even

when Black women do not believe that lighter skin is superior, or more beautiful, than darker skin, they are still aware that other people (specifically other Blacks, but also members of other racial groups) hold on to such valorizations of lighter-complexioned people. Other researchers – most notably Hunter as well as Sahay and Piran (1997) have shown that some of these same basic patterns hold true for other groups of color, such as South Asians (as a result of their British colonization) who still hold on to White Western values or in Hall’s 1995 study of skin color preferences and mate selections amongst Hindus. Light-skinned wives are so frequently preferred, that Hindus from upper levels of their caste system would often marry a light-skinned Hindu woman of a much lower caste system – in effect, exchanging her skin tone for his caste position. This ‘opportunity’ to advance socially is not probable for dark-skinned woman. Men are not immune from such pressure: the most recent example coming from the Unilever Corporation in the form of the 2010 release of a skin-lightening application to promote one of their many multinational companies – Vaseline – and its new UV Whitening Body Lotion for men.

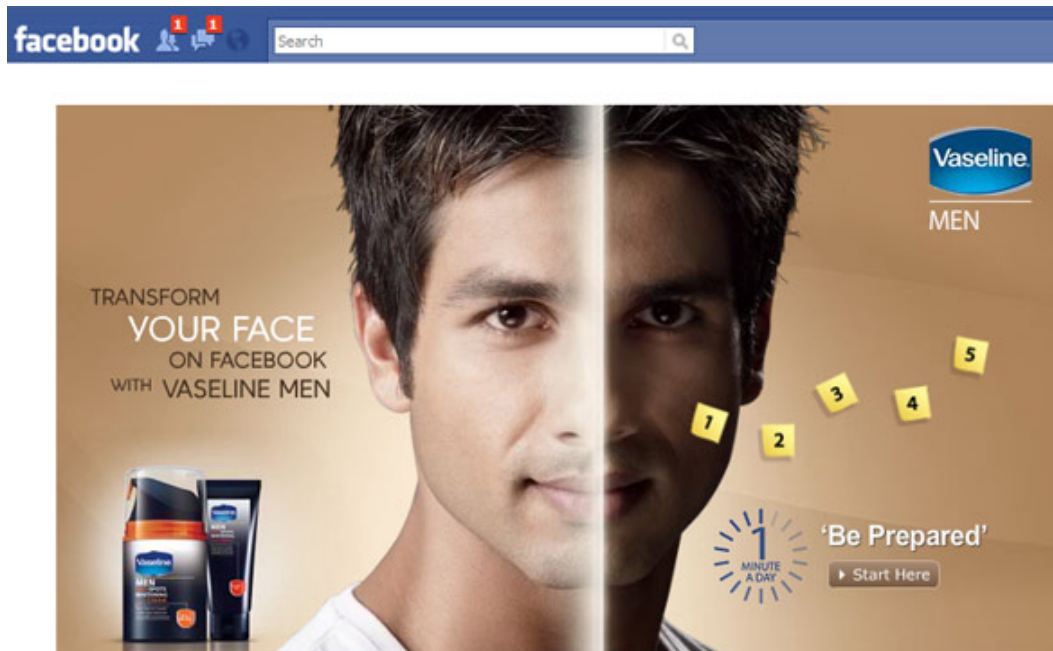


Figure 6: Screenshot of the Vaseline Skin-Lighting Application

Available only in India as of this writing, the company launched an online application on the popular social networking site, Facebook. Users of this application could download their own profile picture and drag it to an area of the computer screen where they could see a marked change in their complexion if they were to use this product. With such tag lines as “People See Your Face First” and “Be Prepared,” the Skin-Whitening Lotion promised users fair skin within just two weeks of continued usage. For those in support of the advertisement and its logic, the use of such a product would translate into a higher esteem for men leading to increased chances of women finding you attractive as well as a higher probability of appearing wealthy. Secondary to those, the lotion would protect your skin against the harmful UV rays of the sun. Although there was much criticism

within Indian communities within and outside of the country, the skin whitening lotion was just the most recent addition to a full offering of skin-lightening products in the market and according to a 2013 web search, the product continues to sell worldwide.

Exceptionalizing this particular Vaseline campaign and its targeting of men, the selection of a mate (in heterosexual relationships) tends to lie firmly in the domain of the male counterpart as demonstrated in the majority of the world's societies – making this an almost wholly gendered issue. This is not to say that women are merely passive acceptors of the whims and fancies of a man who may see them as an object of desire and that they are thereby devoid of any agency in the process of mate selection. But it is key in this discussion of marriage outcomes and social capital that I make it clear that this particular category of discussion is highly gendered in favor of a male-dominated society.

One of the earlier studies done on the effects of skin color on mate selection within the Black community was done in the early 1970s during the “Black is Beautiful” era (Udry, Bauman and Case, 1971). Udry and his colleagues studied married couples and aimed to determine whether the effects of skin color had changed as a result of that pro-Black (read: play on notions of ethnic authenticity) movement that began in the late 1960s. Surprisingly, they found that light skin remained an advantage for women in the mate selection process and that (at least for those men who had married during the 1960s) darker skin proved to be advantageous for men. This conclusion reinforces the prevalent association of light skin with such terms as ‘fair’, ‘feminine’ and ‘delicate’ versus the terms associated with dark skin such as ‘strong’, ‘masculine’ and ‘brutish’. It continues as no surprise to me just how common these word associations are within academic

literature as well as in everyday conversations. In a 1997 study performed by Udry comparing the importance of attractiveness versus educational attainment of women as a predictor of women marrying husbands with higher socioeconomic statuses, Udry found that the effects varied for Black women versus White women. Although attractiveness was a strong predictor for White women from lower socioeconomic statuses, it was not a predictor for White women from higher socioeconomic statuses. For Black women, however, the importance of attractiveness did not disappear with an increase in the woman's socioeconomic status – as it had for White women. In fact, attractiveness was an even stronger predictor for Black women with higher educational attainment to marry upwardly mobile husbands. In another study from that same year (Ross 1997) done with college-aged students, the interviewers hypothesized that men and women would differ on their willingness and preferences to “date down” -- i.e. to marry a darker-skinned person or people with lower socioeconomic status – and that physical attractiveness is more important for men than for women when selecting a mate. The study was based on the presumption that light skin is considered an attribute of beauty for Black and the results of the study verified that very fact – although of less seeming importance to women than men, the majority of the college students in the study had a strong preference to select a mate based on a lighter skin complexion.

### **MONEY MATTERS: THE ECONOMIC COMMODIFICATION OF SKIN COLOR**

In addressing the socioeconomic impact of skin color hierarchies on African-Americans, specifically employment opportunities, Bodenhorn argues that much of the discussion can be found in the learned behaviors from previous generations. Unlike many



academics who write on intra-racial skin color discrimination, Bodenhorn implies that family figures centrally in the opportunities available to an individual and that this is more important than institutionalized racism. Goldsmith is one such academic who would disagree with Bodenhorn's implication. Goldsmith et al (2007) developed a theory called "preference for whiteness", which predicts that the interracial and intra-racial wage gap will widen as skin complexion darkens for an individual worker. Goldsmith et al theoretically grounds the favorable treatment of lighter-skinned workers is a major source of interracial and intra-racial wage differences, although it only looks at race as a black-white binary which negatively impacts the validity and applicability of this theory in an increasing multi-racial, pluri-cultural workforce in the United States. Seventeen years prior to Goldsmith's theory, sociologists Hughes and Hertel were a significant part of a large body of researchers who in the early 1990s began to critically analyze an issue that many people of color had long taken for granted. For Hughes and Hertel (1990), skin color is a diffuse status characteristic wherein individuals and institutions grant differential rewards and opportunities based on the recipient's skin color (Hill 2002) Hughes & Hertel's (1990) notion that skin tone has significant impact on educational opportunities of African-American students. Skin color difference, comparing dark to light, is nearly identical to the racial differences, comparing black to white (Hughes and Hertel 1990).

In a 2006 study by a University of Georgia doctoral candidate, psychology undergraduates (most of whom were White) were given fake photos and resumes in order to make hiring recommendations. The lighter-skinned female applicants were preferred

over those with darker complexions although possessing equal credentials. Light-skinned black men were also preferred over those with dark skin who had better credentials.<sup>58</sup>

In a recent study (Viglione et al, 2009), scholars at Villanova University's Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice determined that black women deemed to have a lighter skin tone received more lenient prison sentences and served less time behind bars. Using a handful of studies focusing on black men as their basis that found when prison authorities perceive offenders as having a lighter skin tone that this translated into a greater sense of compassion for/understanding of the mitigating circumstances that caused that offender's presence in custody, which thereby led to more lenient criminal justice outcomes. So Viglione and her colleagues extended that line of reasoning to examine how perceived skin tone (assessed by correctional officers) related to (a) maximum prison sentence and (b) actual time served for over 12,000 black women imprisoned in North Carolina between 1995 and 2009<sup>59</sup>.

### **SCHOOL MATTERS: STUDENTS' SKIN COLOR & TEACHER EXPECTATIONS**

For Hughes and Hertel (1990), skin color is a diffuse status characteristic wherein differential reward and opportunities are granted by individuals and institutions based on the recipient's skin color (Hill 2002a.b) Hughes & Hertel's (1990) notion that skin tone has significant impact on educational opportunities of African-American students. Skin color difference, comparing dark to light, is nearly identical to the racial differences,

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<sup>58</sup> from Phillip Lee Williams' article "Skin Tone More Important Than Educational Background for African Americans Seeking Jobs," online article from UGA Today, August 15, 2006.  
[http://www.franklin.uga.edu/news/articles/794/Skin\\_tone\\_educational\\_background\\_African\\_Americans\\_\\_j\\_obs.html](http://www.franklin.uga.edu/news/articles/794/Skin_tone_educational_background_African_Americans__j_obs.html)

<sup>59</sup> Viglione, Jill, Lance Hannon, and Robert DeFina 2011. 'The Impact of Light Skin on Prison Time for Black Women.' *The Social Science Journal* 48(1): 250-258.

comparing black to white (Hughes and Hertel 1990). Building from the prevailing notions, colorism in schools amongst African-Americans, Latinos, and Asian-Americans is constant in preference for lighter skin color (Hunter 2002 and 2007). Researchers have demonstrated a correlation between teacher expectations/perceptions and student appearance (phenotype) (Gamoran 1987; Foley 1990; Hall 2005), to the extent that teachers of any race expect higher performance academically from white/light-skinned students (Hunter 2002 and 2007). In its impact on the cycle of student behavior, we see a reactionary relation to teacher expectations/perceptions (Foley 1990; Kerr 2006). Students valorize white/light skin biases (Hunter 2002) on intelligence and attractiveness and perpetuate this valorization in their social relations. In a causal relationship between teacher expectations/perceptions and student appearance, Robert Orton's 1996 study demonstrated that teacher beliefs about student learning might be supported or justified in a way not directly connected to student performance. Valencia extends this by asserting that teachers are either consciously or unconsciously influenced by their perception of the inherent intelligence of white/light-skinned students (Valencia 1997).

This begs the question, how does skin color impact student learning opportunities? If the teachers expect more of lighter students, then it logically follows that they expect less of darker students. If this is the case, then these lowered teacher expectations have the potential to serve as self-fulfilling prophecies for the low academic performance of darker-skinned students insofar as darker skinned students must negotiate their identity in an array of messages/interactions that press the value and importance of light skin color (Foley 1990). Gamoran's 1987 research implicates the school structure in this process of

devaluing certain students based on appearance. He cites that schools serving a more affluent community may offer more rigorous and enriched programs of study and that these overwhelmingly white, middle-class students in college-preparatory curricular programs may have greater access to advanced courses within schools (Gamoran 1987; Foley 1990). Gamoran found little effect of socioeconomic status of student (all other factors held constant) when determining student achievement, and he acknowledges that schools offering programs for the gifted or advanced placement courses do not produce higher achievement (Gamoran 1987). Yet he ultimately found few school-level conditions that contribute to achievement. His results found, instead, that variation in student experiences within schools has important effects on achievement. My experiences with the parents and teachers at Latrobe Elementary School support this to the extent that while the teachers did not make comments to me associating a student's race directly with their academic performance, the parents (specifically the African-American parents) spoke to me often about the relationship between students' skin color and the manner in which they were treated by the predominantly white Latrobe Elementary School faculty and parent body. There was a consistent expression of surprise when a white student was classified as a Special Education student, which was not present when a black student was revealed to be in the Special Education classes. Ms. Olivia del Rios, a Filipina first-year Special Education teacher at Latrobe Elementary School with whom I worked closely on several projects at the school, explained it to me as such:

In all of my [seven] years of teaching, I have never had a class roster full of white kids. I mean, it's sadly amazing that out of my 20, I only have like 5 non-white students in Special Ed. And I feel bad for even saying it...it's bad

that I'm saying it, right? You see it and I see it. It's not like no one's noticing it because it's true. I go to [Special Education] meetings with teachers at other schools and I think I'm like the only teacher in the city with this many white kids in Special Ed...it shouldn't matter but it does.

This association between Special Education, the perception of lower academic ability and an intrinsic link to non-whiteness is problematic. Yet it is emblematic of the ways in which some educators visualize what academic achievement looks like. The students at Latrobe Elementary School did not exhibit a preference for, or even a valorization of, whiteness over blackness. They neither demonstrated, in my presence, an association with whiteness and academic success. There were, however, two instances in which students' demonstrated an awareness of one another's skin color. In both instances, I was forced to re-examine my perspective of race-based dynamics amongst the students at the school.

### **Look at Our Arms!**

The afterschool bell rang and students lined up at the school's exits, waiting to be picked up by parents, siblings, and nannies. This had been a particularly rainy school week resulting in the children being unable to play outdoors during recess and the formal afterschool activities. Resources for indoor extra-curricular activities abounded at Latrobe Elementary School, so there seemed to be countless types and quantities of board games, athletic equipment, arts-and-crafts supplies, and computer-based activities for all the students to remain actively engaged. However after 4 consecutive "rainy day activity" days, the students and teachers alike were suffering from cabin-fever.

It was finally dry enough outdoors for the children to play outside and it was a Friday. So once the afterschool bell rang, students were anxious to get to the playground and the teachers and parents were anxious to get some fresh air. Everyone on the playground seemed relieved, relaxed, and ready to expend his or her pent-up energy. I noticed 5 first-graders having grouped themselves in a circle-formation, not far from where I was monitoring the playground exit. At my first glance, I thought they were playing some form of 'tag' and were just grouped in that manner while they selected who would be the child chosen to be 'it' for that round and chase, or 'tag,' the others as they ran around the playground. After a few minutes, I walked closer to them wondering why it was taking so long to select who would be 'it' and anticipating that they were arguing over the matter. As I approached the students, I overheard one say, "Look at how much darker yours is than mine!" My mind immediately shifted from that of a teacher monitoring their students, to that of an ethnographer researching skin color bias amongst students. In that brief second, I was so excited to finally observe the one thing that I thought would be surrounding me: skin color preferences and its manifestations. I was simultaneously disappointed and relieved when I then heard another student in the group say, "Well, you can hardly see mine. It's not long like his." The students had their arms outstretched, sleeves rolled up and were comparing the hair on their forearms, not the color of their skin. I chuckled to myself, shook my head at the eagerness I felt to find what I assumed to exist, and walked back to my post near the playground exit to continue monitoring the children enjoying their games and friends on the playground.

## **So You Can See it Better**

After two months of rigorous planning and fundraising by the Latrobe Elementary School PTA, weekly announcements in the school newsletter, and painted signs posted in hallways throughout the school, the long-awaited Spring Celebration Week was finally here. Each school day of that week would be marked by special activities in each classroom for each grade-level to highlight the significance of the new season and how it could be linked to the students' academic instruction. In one class, a teacher had a science lesson on gravity using eggs that the children had dyed and painted. In another class, the teacher arranged a relay race where students would be given a math problem to solve in order to advance in the game. In another class, the students learned about the eco-system and the importance of the rain and wind to wash away the pollen from blooming trees and flowers.

The culminating event for Spring Celebration Week was Field Day, an activity akin to a carnival. In the large public park near the school, there was music, 3 bouncy castles, and a kite-making and flying lesson. There were a number of other games and sports for the children to play, while a bubble machine was in full-blast in one corner of the park with children dancing and skipping amidst the bubbles. There were also a variety of snack and beverage stands staffed by parent-volunteers and teachers, to keep the children energized and hydrated throughout the day. As a member of the Latrobe Elementary School community, I was encouraged/expected to staff one of the face-painting booths. I happily obliged as it gave me an opportunity to enjoy the Field Day in a relatively shaded and cool area of the park. I was provided all the accoutrements

imaginable for a face-painting booth, so I stapled a poster with sample designs to the wall of my booth, and I waited for my first customer.

I did not realize how much of a draw the face-painting booth would be, and after my 2 hour-shift drawing butterflies, tiger stripes, and various iterations of superheroes and cartoon characters, I needed a brief respite to walk around. Another volunteer arrived to the booth to begin their shift, giving me time to visit the other areas of the park. Upon my return to the booth, I saw one of my students sitting on the bench next to the booth, looking visibly upset. When I asked her if she was enjoying Field Day, she said almost on the verge of tears, “Everything is fun, but I hate my face paint. You can’t even see it!” Apparently, the volunteer who painted faces while I took my break was strictly following the poster of sample faces. In that moment, I realized that although the poster only featured white/light-complexioned children and the colors that would appear most prominently on their skin, I had been making adjustments in color selection to accommodate the darker-complexioned students requesting that their faces be painted. It had not occurred to me to tell the volunteer who replaced me to do the same thing, so that all of the children would have visible face painting. Seeing that the student would not be pleased until the situation was rectified, I told her that the design was absolutely wonderful, but that I would add some color to it, to which she said, “Yeah, so you can see it better” and I nodded in the affirmative.



## **PART II. A COMPLEXION OF PROTECTION: REPRODUCING & REINFORCING A RACIAL BINARY**

### **Chapter 4: Structural Realities of Race-ing to the Top in DCPS**

The physical manifestations of the race-based socioeconomic inequality in the City are starkly evident in the realm of schooling. Public, private, public charter and religious schools are more racially segregated now than they were almost a century ago. In 1910 white and black/colored public schools were almost completely interspersed across the City. However 100 years later, the geographic distribution of public schools is far more racially-segregated than it was in an era when racial segregation was legally mandated<sup>60</sup>. The below Table 2 graphically illustrates these levels of black-white racial diversity within DC public education and how these have adjusted over the last century.

From its inception, the public education of children in DC has been based on a system of legally-sanctioned and morally-justifiable inequity. For a greater appreciation of this deeply-rooted system and the myriad ways in which it continues to be justified and implemented across the current school system, I return briefly to U.S. founding father and architect of the U.S. public educational system, Thomas Jefferson.

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<sup>60</sup> In 1910, there were 102 schools (and 3 lots) designated for white students compared to the 50 schools (and 1 lot) designated for black/colored students.

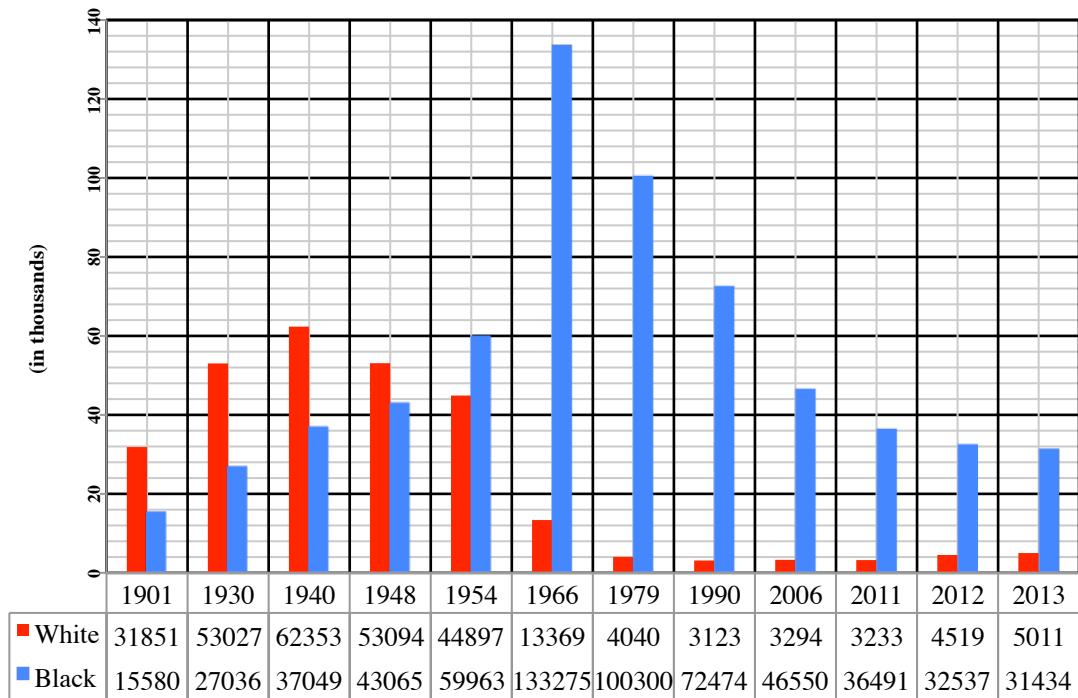


Table 2: DCPS Black-White Student Enrollment, 1901-2013

### THE CREATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN DC

As imagined by Jefferson, education in the United States was based in two-part tracking system: one track for the ‘learned’ and another track for the ‘laboring’. Proposed in 1779, Jefferson is credited for designing a system of meritocracy based on hierarchically-positioned identities that have been reinforced throughout the history of this country. White male children from land-owning, Christian families made up Jefferson’s ‘learned’ classes of our society and were to be educated in a manner suited to their social and educational development, priming them for positions of leadership in their adult lives thus ensuring the maintenance of existing racial and economic power structure of Jefferson’s colonial era. Jefferson also proposed the creation of three distinct

levels of public education: elementary, middle, and higher, upon which our current educational system is still structured (see Figure 4 in Appendix). For Jefferson, members of the learned class would be “rising like a pyramid from the local communities” (Peterson 1970, 147) and to be sure, his imagery of public education as a pyramid confirms his belief that the fortunate few members of the learned classes should receive an inordinate allocation of resources in their education relative to the larger mass of children educated in the laboring classes.

The U.S. Congress established DC’s municipal government in 1802, however the city was in its infancy so the public education of DC’s children was neither Jefferson’s concern nor focus at that moment. The timeline of significant events in the development of public education in DC reveals an interesting yet unevenly applied race-based standard of regulation. The color lines between whites and blacks in DC was not unlike that same line across the United States, however from the moment that the Washington City Council passed the first public education act in 1804, black children in DC received educational benefits that were not available to their counterparts in other parts of the U.S. Education in DC was provided by both secular and religious private schools, which sometimes also admitted the children of DC’s small community of free Blacks. Congress established a presidentially-appointed Mayor and a 12-member City Council elected by free, white, male property owners who have lived in the City for at least one year. By 1804 the City Council passed the first public education act to create a whites-only school

for Washington-youth. A year later, a 13-member<sup>61</sup> Board of Trustees met for its first time, electing Thomas Jefferson as its Board president. During my visits to the Charles Sumner School Museum and Archives, I found the original notebooks in which the Board of Trustees handwrote the proceedings from their meetings from 1805 through the 1860s. In the first notebook<sup>62</sup> appears a letter entered into the record from then-President Thomas Jefferson dated August 14, 1805. In this letter, Jefferson acknowledges and accepts his nomination as the President of the Board of Trustees and vows his support of the establishment and development of public education in Washington, DC. Driven by this support, the members of the Board of Trustees decided at their September 17 and 19 meetings to figure out what measures were necessary to enact the Education Act of 1805. They laid out what they called ‘Plans of an Academy’ (see Figure 4 in Appendix) and, in eight sections, address financial, administrative, and instructional tools they need to do their best job. The members agreed that it would be in the best interest of all involved (the Trustees, the public, the City’s white children, et al) not to make every step known until the Trustees are able to undertake them. They state:

While therefore it would seem to be the duty of the Board to keep constantly in view every step they may take, the three great objects enumerated it is perhaps sound policy to undertake nothing which they do not actually possess the means of effecting, and rather to retard then precipitate the accomplishment of objects for which they have not the necessary resource. By this means the Institution will command the public confidence and the liberal friends of Science will without distrust bestow their patronage. It ought not to be forgotten that much of the plans

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<sup>61</sup> Of the 13 members, 7 Trustees are appointed by the City Council and 6 Trustees are individuals who contributed more than \$10 to the establishment of public schools.

<sup>62</sup> Failing an official title, the notebook ‘s first full page of the first journal is the title ‘Record of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of Public Schools of Washington City District of Columbia from August 5, 1805 to July 6, 1818’.

projected in the City have failed principally from undertaking them before the necessary means were acquired.

As they adjourned this meeting, they agreed upon the following statement demonstrating their conviction to their charge:

By avoiding the common error of sanguine minds, by commencing their arrangements on a moderate scale, by attending in the first instance more to objects of utility than show, and rejecting all indulgence of visionary hope, the board will be most likely to dissipate the apprehension that this Institution may share a like fate with many of those that have preceded it, and by these means [illegible] even accelerate and certainly under more certain the ultimate use of those structures which the metropolis from her local situations has a right to expect.

In reviewing the above notes from the record of the Official Proceedings on October 14, 1805, I found that the key issue discussed was the importance of erecting a college (which they called a ‘seminary’) at “the center of the Union and at the seat of government” where the focal subjects would be math, architecture, and “enginery and gunnery.” It was not until the December 13, 1805 meeting that a discussion on, and regulation of, the education of poor (white) children was broached again however the fervor for educating poor children expressed at the September meetings had waned significantly. For the members of the Board of Trustees, the admission of each poor student should require a majority of their votes and “no poor pupil shall continue in the Academy [public school for] more than two years, without the special order of the Board.” Based on the notes from that meeting, the overwhelming position was that children who could not afford to pay for school not only needed to be monitored and carefully-selected, but they would only be allowed a minimal amount of time in formal schooling. The large remainder of that day’s Board of Trustees meeting notes reflected a

rather cantankerous discussion regarding the solicitation of Congressional funds to establish a College (for the deserving children of the learned classes), selecting a white male to be hired as the principal teacher at the Washington Academy (public school), and determining which buildings in the City should be named after the Board of Trustees present.

Over the course of the next two years, the Board of Trustees (when they were able to achieve a quorum at their meetings) decided to place a school in the western half of the City and another school in the eastern half. As reflected in the notes from the 1805 and 1806 Board meetings, the Trustees reviewed applications of poor students seeking admission to one of the two available schools and appropriated funds for the purchase of globes. They determined at the May 5, 1806 meeting that it would cost the City \$1500 annually to educate poor children in the City. A surge in applications, a lack of funding to operate the public schools, the need to remit timely payment to the two principal teachers employed by that time and potential student overcrowding resulted in the Board's decision to further limit the education of poor, white pupils and reallocate the expected savings to what they felt to be more fruitful endeavors. By the June 9 meeting, the Trustees approved the following changes:

- From March 20 to September 20, public schools would operate every day except Saturday and Sunday on two shifts: 8:30am to 12:30pm and 2:30pm to 5:30pm
- From September 20 to March 20, the schools operated every day except Sunday on three shifts: 9:00am to 12:00pm, 2:00pm to 4:30pm, and all day Saturday until 12:00pm
- Principal teachers would receive quarterly salaries in advance and would be charged with hiring teacher assistants to be paid from their salary

- The compensation rate to teachers of poor scholars will be the same as the rate to teachers of pay scholars
- Only 15 children are to be taught for free at each of the two schools, with a maximum of 30 children per school
- Poor pupils would only be admitted at the discretion and approval of the Board of Trustees
- Vacations for the present school year would occur at three periods: July 4, August 10 to 31, and December 24 to January 2
- An Annual Public Examination will be held on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Saturday in January

Of note, the Trustees also decided to adjust their meetings to the first Monday of each month, due to the difficulty in establishing a quorum at their previously-determined monthly meetings. Even at this juncture in DC's public educational system, the general disinterest of decision-makers due to a lack of glory or value in serving the children of the City's laboring classes was evident.

By the 1810s, the City's two public schools were the Western Academy and Eastern Academy, each financially-supported by public lotteries and occasional Congressional allocation. Because public education was essentially no- or low-cost for poor white children, the subjects and duration of schooling reflected the economic investment one's family could allot for that end. Those students whose families could afford to pay a small fee were offered extra subjects and those were bundled by type and by cost. According to the Board of Trustees meeting notes from December 18, 1810, the rates were as follows:

<b>SUBJECT</b>	<b>PRICE PER QUARTER</b>
Reading, Writing	\$4
Reading, Writing, Arithmetic	\$5
Other branches of Arithmetic without or w/o Reading, Writing & Arithmetic	\$6
Latin & Greek languages	\$6
Latin & Greek or either with Arithmetic	\$7
French	\$5
French (when taught with any of the above items)	\$1 additional to above rates
Geography with the use of globes	\$5
Geography with globes (when taught with any of the above items)	\$1 additional to above rates

Table 3: Selected Subject Rates for DC Public Schools, 1810

In 1816 the Washington City Council divided the City into two geographic school districts, with two Boards of Trustees. By 1822, the City Ordinance, which was formerly titled ‘An Act to Increase the Number of Public Schools in the City of Washington and for Other Purposes,’ was designed to carefully divide DC’s 6 wards into 4 distinct school districts; each district to be headed by a sub-board of the Board of Trustees and each to have 1 schoolhouse. It took over 20 years for the Act to be approved, but by December 6, 1844 the Act, which was divided into 10 sections, laid out specific guidelines by which public education in DC would be realized. To be sure of the intended demographic, Section 8 specified, “that all white children, between the age of six and sixteen years” be educated in their respective district and that the male and female students be kept separate during the school hours and have “different places assigned them for recreation”. Section



9 stipulated that each pupil pay a tuition fee not to exceed 50 cents a month<sup>63</sup> and that students furnish the books prescribed by their school. The only tuition-exception allowed would be in situations where the child's family demonstrated an "obvious inability" to remit such a payment. If they were able to successfully show such financial need, the Board of Trustees would pay that student's tuition fee and supply them with stationery and necessary books. Just two years after the passing of the Education Act, the city of Alexandria and Alexandria County were retroceded<sup>64</sup> to the Commonwealth of Virginia, thereby causing DC to lose one-third of its total area.

Along with the 1862 emancipation of slaves in DC, public education for black children<sup>65</sup> was established in the City when Congress passed a law mandating that all children between the ages of 6 and 14 receive 3 months of education yearly. In order to support the newly-formed public schools for Black children, Congress also mandated that 10% of taxes collected on "Negro-owned property"<sup>66</sup> be set aside for their support under the supervision of a Board of Trustees for Colored Schools.

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<sup>63</sup> In 2011, the relative value of 50 cents (in 1844) would be between \$9-\$12.

<sup>64</sup> The citizens of Alexandria expected to gain commercial benefits from associating with the newly-formed U.S. capital. However, they lost substantial political power and influence by being unrepresented in a state or national legislature. Another significant motive for retroceding was the loss of profit from the slave trade threatened by the outlawing of slavery in DC in 1862.

<sup>65</sup> Three former slaves (George Bell, Nicholas Franklin, and Moses Liverpool) built the first school for Black children in Washington, DC. The school was private and provided an educational opportunity for children of DC's free Black families.

<sup>66</sup> Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Records Volume 1-2.

## RECONSTRUCTION-ERA PUBLIC EDUCATION IN DC

*Of course, what one dislikes to do is seldom done well.*

- Board of Trustees of Colored Schools'  
1870 Report of Washington and Georgetown, D.C.

Public education for the children of Washington, DC was provided for both black and white children by an 1862 Congressional mandate, however by 1864 it became clear that the sum received from the tax levied on Black-owned property was insufficient<sup>67</sup> to financially support the public education of Black children. In response, Congress revised formula requiring District cities<sup>68</sup> to pay a portion of education funds equal to the proportion of Black school-aged children. Congress had demanded that the city create modern schools, but never provided financial assistance to further that aim as it did for other states in the country. Mayor Richard Wallach complained about Congress' unfair dealings with the City, but they insisted that DC use its own tax revenues to support its public education system. Long a complaint when dealing with funding the education of poor, white children in DC, it was of no surprise that the District cities resisted in aiding the educational efforts for newly-emancipated Black children. Occurring in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as it did in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the City's allocation of funds proved where their actual (versus stated) interests lie – as such, the Black public schools were founded with disparate financial support compared to the City's white public schools. Despite the legal restrictions and limited opportunities available to them, DC's Black community had strong internal ties. Churches, private schools, and civic organizations were able to serve

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<sup>67</sup> There was a post-Civil War influx of Blacks to DC. Between 1863 and 1865, as many as 40,000 Blacks moved to the City.

<sup>68</sup> There existed 3 geographical divisions of current-day DC (Washington City, Washington County, and Georgetown) each with its own Board of Education.

not only as cultural and intellectual centers for the community, but also fill the economic gap by providing a charitable function to the City's Black community. Between 1865 and 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau<sup>69</sup> was one such organization dedicated to protect, aid, and educate the newly-emancipated Blacks until they were able to take care of themselves. During its years of operation, the Bureau gave special help to educational programs by providing formerly used army barracks as school buildings.

Despite the help from federal and local groups, there remained an economic gap for supporting the public education of DC's black children. Hoping to sway the hardline 'no' from Congress, Mayor Wallach had a special census conducted in 1867 to get a detailed and accurate count of the City's black and white schoolchildren. It showed that a larger percentage of black children were attending public schools than white children: about 100 teachers were providing instruction to 5600 black schoolchildren in 54 schools. Sunday schools enrolled approximately 2300 students and upwards of 500 black children attended private schools.

By 1869 the Washington City Council provided for the mayoral appointment of a Superintendent of Schools, so Mayor Sayles Bowen appointed Zalmon Richards as the first Superintendent of public schools of the newly-consolidated districts of City of Washington (also called 'Washington City') and Georgetown, with Benjamin P. Davis appointed in 1870 as the Superintendent of the Washington County Schools. Prior to this, the City of Washington, Washington County and Georgetown each had its own public

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<sup>69</sup> Officially titled the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. This federal agency focused on policies of education, land and voting rights for freedmen.

educational system in addition to the one citywide system for black public schools, totaling four different school systems for a geographic area of less than 10 square miles. After one year of service, Mr. Davis retired from his position and the superintendency of Washington County schools was assigned to Mr. Richards. This initiated the first steps towards the 1874 unification of the school systems and the subsequent production of a newly-named DC as ‘the Territory of the District of Columbia’ with two distinct educational systems: one dedicated to the instruction of white students and led by a white superintendent and one dedicated to the instruction of black students led by a black superintendent (see Figure 5 in Appendix).

#### **LACK OF CONTROL LEADS TO LOSS OF CONTROL: THE START OF A TREND**

*triumvirate: a political regime dominated by three individuals imposing absolute power.*  
- as defined by Merriam-Webster Dictionary

Although becoming more stable, there were still a number of external administrative adjustments made in DC’s public educational sphere as the 1800s drew to a close. 1878 saw the permanent establishment of a commissioner government through the Organic Act of the same year. This Act created, in sum, the historical moment in which DC loss its home rule and voting rights due to the incredible financial debt<sup>70</sup> the City accrued from implementing Congressionally-mandated post-Civil War developments as a measure to restore DC to its proper position as the nation’s capital. DC’s residents would no longer have any say in their government nor would they have much determination in the local education system, since the Organic Act provided for a

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<sup>70</sup> A congressional committee found that the City had a debt of nearly \$19 million, which outran the City’s legal debt limits. Congress abolished the territorial government and imposed a 3-member commission (or Triumvirate) to run the City with absolute power.

19-member Board of Trustees of Public Schools appointed by the Triumvirate. Congress found the Board to be too large and in 1882 reduced the membership to nine: three of whom had to be Black. Still dissatisfied with the Board of Trustees, commissioners announce in 1885 that they would be taking charge of the Trustees' duties. This led to citizen protest and mass meetings, so the commissioners returned some of the decision-making power to the Board of Trustees. By 1895, Congress expanded the Board of Trustees to 11 members and authorized the appointment of women to the Board. Five years later the City's commissioners dismissed the reform superintendent of white schools. Congress determined that the role of the Trustees was vague and too easily assumed by commissioners. In response, Congress created a 7-member Board of Education to be appointed by the City's commissioners. This new Board of Education would have complete jurisdiction over all public education matters, the power to appoint one superintendent and two assistant superintendents (one for white schools and one for black schools), and the power to fire all teachers and employees. Again, this change led to citizen unrest and complaints that the Board of Education members were far too involved in school management. 1906 held two major developments in DC's public education: the passing of DC's first compulsory school attendance law and the congressional change to the Board of Education's composition. Removing 2 members, the new Board of Education stood at 9-members composed of DC residents – three of whom were mandated to be women. Consistent with the 1882 iteration of public educational governance, three members of the Board of Education were to be Black (one woman and two men). Although the decision-making authority would be in the hands of

DC residents for a change, the Commissioners would retain control of the Board's budget. It would take almost one hundred years for citizens of Washington DC to regain the right to vote for local officials.

## **Chapter 5: The Significance of Race in the DC Public School System**

Demographer William Frey's 2010 analysis is the most recent comprehensive project examining racial segregation in metropolitan cities. Using 2000 Decennial Census Tract Data and the 2005-2009 American Community Survey, Frey found that Washington, DC has the fifth-highest level of segregation in the United States. Comparing Frey's 2010 study with similar research done by John Logan, a Brown University sociologist, the average white person in Washington, DC lives in a neighborhood that is between 64% white and 74% white. Even factoring in gentrification and an influx of young, mostly white professionals into economically changing neighborhoods, the demographic of students at a school tends to reflect the demographics of the neighborhood surrounding it. The dynamics of racial politics and demographics in Washington, DC are additionally more complex as they speak to the development and diffusion of intra-neighborhood racial tensions (Hartigan 1999). The prevailing sentiment of current black-white racial interactions was captured nicely by another native Washingtonian upon visiting the City after having moved to another state. He and I were having coffee in one of the City's many, new 'changing neighborhoods'. On the topic of the current level of racial and cultural integration by whites moving into DC he stated, "It's like swimming in the ocean with a full-body diving suit...yeah, you're in the ocean but the water's not touching you."

### **WHAT HAPPENS HERE CHANGES THE WORLD**

As the nation's capital, DC is often the proving ground and example for change within a multitude of societal realms, and whether successful or not, challenges to racial

inequality in DC have an impact on such racial challenges nationwide. Over the course of my archival research, I found many situations in which to prove this case, however due to the scope of my dissertation research project, I will draw upon two brief instances where Blacks experienced unequal treatment in the DC public school system because of their race but challenged this inequality locally, thereby challenging it nationally.

### **BEING “OBVIOUSLY BLACK”: THE BOUNDARIES OF BLACKNESS IN DCPS**

*“I’m obviously Black but these newcomers don’t seem to see that.”*

- Walter Jameson, a family friend

An emerging issue within the strict Black-white racial dichotomy in 1940s-era Washington DC was in the DC Board of Education’s definition of which students were Black and which were White. During my archival research at DC’s Sumner Museum and Archives, I noticed many inconsistencies in who was able to attend White schools and who had to attend Black schools. Looking through black-and-white class pictures and yearbooks, reading early 20<sup>th</sup> century-era teachers’ journals and reviewing Board of Education, there was a very blurred and haphazardly-applied understanding of which students attended which schools. One afternoon at the Archives, I had the opportunity to have lunch with a family friend who is a former DC Public School student, Walter Jameson. Mr. Jameson has a very long and storied family history in Washington, DC and can see the names of many of his close ancestors etched in stone in some of the City’s older downtown buildings. Having attended DC Public Schools in the 1940s and 1950s, he vividly recalls the level of activism leading to the school integration in 1954. He spoke about his excitement with the 1970s and James Brown’s famous song, ‘I’m Black and



I'm Proud'. He spoke with disappointment and shame as he brought up the names of a few members of his family who in that same era had decided to pass as white and who now, to his recollection, live in the Midwestern region of the United States. His mood shifted at that comment and, not knowing what to say, I took another bite of my meal. By the time I began to chew, his attitude shifted again as he recalled how "bad" his afro was and added "back then, all the ladies loved a nice big afro". As a sophomore at Howard University, he even pledged membership in the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Incorporated – a historically Black fraternal organization with an illustrious legacy in community service and scholarship but whose members are often typified as believing themselves to be THE representation of black, heterosexual masculinity. As I am a member of what has erroneously been referred to as the sister organization to his fraternity, Mr. Jameson showed me the brand<sup>71</sup> on his arm and the conversation drifted into the ways in which Black Greek life has changed over the years on college campuses.

Wanting to speak more on the topic of skin color with Mr. Jameson, but seeing his reticence at remaining on that topic, I asked him, "So what do you think about us living in a post-racial society?" to which he immediately said, "Do only people saying that are wishers and dreamers: the ignorant who wish we all lived in some fantasy, racial utopia and the racists who dream of getting us back to the country's 'good ol' days. Don't let anyone try and convince you of what's as obvious as the nose on your face. I may not be as dark as you, but we're black and that's always going to be significant." Although he

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<sup>71</sup> As with most fraternities and sororities, there are practices and rituals that remain closely-guarded amongst its members. However, there remain hand gestures, symbols, and practices that are widely-demonstrated: branding, or the act of burning a symbol into a person's skin, is just one, unofficial way that many members of this fraternity demonstrate their membership and allegiance.

staunchly racially identifies as Black, describes his very fair skin as ‘medium brown’ and is recognized by those who know him and his family as a Black man, Mr. Jameson has stated that he is ‘obviously Black’ blaming his grey hair and the influx of new people to the City that he is racially mistaken for a White man. As he spoke, I leaned back in my chair and jokingly squinted my eyes while tilting my head, in an attempt to see him through a different set of eyes. He laughed a bit at my demonstration but said, “Now you know better. Don’t let these grey eyes and straight hair fool you. If they [newcomers unfamiliar to DC and the Jameson family] look at me and see anything besides a Black man, then they must not be used to seeing what Black folks really look like.”

Regarding his experiences as a student in DCPS, he recounted attending a Black high school although he could have passed as a white child in another city where people did not know his family. He added that racial identity when he was in school had more to do with your family name than what you looked like if you were Black – as the Jameson family was just one of many Black families in DC who could have been mistaken as a White family in any other city. As our conversation about racial identity progressed, Mr. Jameson asked if I was familiar with a situation that happened with “a little Spanish girl” while he was in school. I answered that I was not and true to his nature, Mr. Jameson cut our lunch short and told me to go back to the Archives so I could find out more information. Excited from our exchange, I found the precise case to which Mr. Jameson referred. Based from a concern launched by DC’s first assistant superintendent of Black

schools<sup>72</sup>, a Mexican-American student named Karla Galarza was expelled from an all-Black vocational school in 1947 on the grounds that she was officially White and therefore unable to attend such a school<sup>73</sup>. Upon further research surrounding that case 1947 proved to be a year of increased pressure through community activism for educational equity in DC, as I found that just two weeks after the Galarza case, a Black parent named James C. Carr Sr. petitioned the DC School Board to allow his daughter and her classmates at Browne Junior High School, the most overcrowded school in DC at the time, to attend a white school. Mr. Jameson's conversation led me down a path focusing on not only the ways in which particular students' were racially discounted, but also focusing on the role of parental activism at that historical moment and its resultant national-level impact in the form of the successful 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision to overturn legal segregation in the nation's schools.

### **GEARING UP TO TEAR DOWN: DISMANTLING RACIALIZED EDUCATION IN DCPS**

On December 3, 1947, the parents of students at Browne Junior High School launched a strike that would last two months making their struggle at Browne a primary symbol for the rampant inequality in educational opportunities. The junior high school was DC's most overcrowded public school, having been built in 1941 to accommodate 888 students, Browne housed over 1,700 students by 1947<sup>74</sup>. In order to alleviate the

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<sup>72</sup> From 1862 when the District passed the emancipation law until 1954's *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation, DC had a dual and racialized school system run by two separate superintendents – one white and one black.

<sup>73</sup> From "Student's Nationality Under Probe: Mexican Girl Faces Ouster from School," *Washington Afro-American*, Mar. 22, 1947

<sup>74</sup> Agnes Meyer "'Modern' Browne Junior High School Far Behind White Schools," *Washington Post*, Mar. 9, 1947

overcrowding, the DC Board of Education instituted a staggered program of double shifts – one from 8am to 2pm and the other from 10am to 4pm. But even with such a change, the school was horribly overcrowded and made effective teaching a near impossibility. It is important to note that the Board’s implementation of part-time schooling was in direct violation of a DC statute stating that a school-day session was defined as students receiving six hours of daily instruction. Public education in DC was operating as an inequitable, race-based, two-system structure, wherein white students and schools received top-notch, modern technologies and resources, while black students and schools were left under-resourced and often without basic instruments of instruction. Although the Board of Education frequently and consistently ignored the part-time schooling statute at both Black and white schools, it was their first time failing to offer a concrete plan to ensure that this measure was only temporary. Superintendent Hobart Corning suggested a plan to transfer Browne Junior High School children to two dilapidated, unused<sup>75</sup> white elementary schools a distance further than their existing school. Unsatisfied with this supposed remedy, the Browne Junior High School Parent-Teacher Association confronted the Corning’s decision while also addressing the shortened length of the school day; the general inequality in the architecture and materials used in constructing black versus white schools; inadequate access to textbooks; and inferior educational programs relative to those offered at DC’s white public schools. Assisted by the DC chapter of the NAACP, the first major class-action suit in a series of others was

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<sup>75</sup> DC’s population was greatly impacted in the post-World War II era. Many white families left the city thereby leaving large numbers of white-only public schools underused.

filed by the Browne PTA President James Carr, Sr. against Superintendent Corning and the nine members of the Board of Education. In *Carr v. Corning*, attorneys claimed that there was no actual law or regulation on books authorizing or permitting the enforcement of racially-segregated educational facilities in DC (Crooms 2004). The local NAACP chapter aimed to make this case a key part of their larger goal at integrating public schools citywide. Parental activism at Browne Junior High School provided an ideal vehicle by which educational inequality could be challenged, while setting the example and charge for other Black parents locally and nationally. By the end of the 1947 academic year, there had been four different legal cases<sup>76</sup> (McQuirter 2004), an eight-week parent strike and countless images and articles in local and national newspapers – perhaps providing an example to parents, students and teachers elsewhere of effective strategies in addressing the race-based structural inequality (both physical and institutional) of public education.

### **The Beginning of Integrated Public Education**

*“Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”*

--- U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren, 1954

In May 1948, Columbia University professor George Strayer completed a report analyzing the Washington, DC’s public school system. Commissioned by a U.S. Congress order, the Strayer Report (Clement 2004) demonstrated what Black parents in DC had known for many years – although employing learned and dedicated teachers, black public schools in the City were significantly inferior to that of white schools. As a

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<sup>76</sup> Lawsuits filed by attorney Charles Hamilton Houston, who believed that the equalization of educational facilities was a right denied to Black schoolchildren.

result of fewer teachers, less money, and fewer buildings to house the Black student population, Dr. Strayer found that the test scores of Black students were much lower than those of white students. Yet again the question arose, ‘so how do we address this?’ In February 1950, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the DC Circuit dealt the local parental and community activism a significant blow in their fight to end the racial segregation of DC’s public schools. In *Carr v. Corning*, the Courts determined that racial segregation in the City’s public schools was, in fact, constitutional. This did not dull the spirits or drive of the anti-segregation activism, but rather strengthened its resolve and vigor. Having changed legal representation, the parents at Brown Junior High School were now represented by Attorney James Nabrit, who was ardently opposed to the passive approach taken with *Carr v. Corning*<sup>77</sup> and ditched it for a direct attack on DC’s school segregation by challenging the Supreme Court’s 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision declaring the constitutionality of racial segregation by way of the ‘separate but equal’ principle.

At the beginning of the 1950 academic school year, Spotswood T. Bolling, Jr. and several other students were refused entry to John Philip Sousa Junior High School, a newly-opened, decadently-appointed facility open to white students. The principal of Sousa claimed that she refused them admission because it was the “policy, practice, custom, and usage” of DC Public schools to maintain racially-segregated facilities (Crooms 2004). Within two months, Attorney Nabrit and his legal team filed a complaint in the U.S. District Court against president of the Board of Education, Melvin Sharpe.

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<sup>77</sup> Crooms 2004 article quotes Nabrit as having considered the prior legal strategy “a lost and wasteful cause”.

Although the case was thrown out and later appealed, *Bolling v. Sharpe* would become one of the more significant companion cases to the more famous *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (Kansas) decision insofar as it not only challenged the racial segregation as unconstitutional, but it also challenged the way Congress used its legislative power over Washington, DC<sup>78</sup>. By 1952, The U.S. Supreme Court invited Attorney Nabrit and his clients to pass over the intermediate courts in order to submit their case directly to them. With this gesture, *Bolling v. Sharpe* was added to *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (Kansas) along with other accompanying cases and the legal battle for integrated public education in the U.S. pressed forward. The response of some whites in DC was that of dissent and fear: fear of the unknown, fear of change, and fear of a perceived loss of power. As found in the 1953 Minutes of the Second (Special) Meeting of the Board of Education, one white parent addressed the Board with the following concern:

The disposition of school facilities is an important element of community planning...It must be realized that hasty and unwise transfer of school facilities will increase the tempo of the white migration to the suburbs thereby promoting the establishment of metropolitan Washington as an isolated and segregated Negro community in the midst of an ever-widening circle of suburban white communities...[W]here substantial white communities are...attempting to hold on, there can be no doubt about the fact that the taking, particularly of an elementary school, will make it almost inevitable that the white community is lost.

In May of 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court declared the unconstitutionality of racially-segregated public education. Most communities nationwide made no immediate

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<sup>78</sup> Part of Nabrit's legal defense claimed that District laws enacted by Congress had never formally instituted segregated education for DC.

attempts to change their educational facilities<sup>79</sup> and some closed their public school systems rather than integrate them, however the DC public school system reacted quickly and by September 1954, integrated public education began across the city.

### **Julius Hobson and Equity in 1960s DC**

*“I’ve been an angry black man since I was born...for years I didn’t know what to do with my anger. Now I know.”*

- Julius Hobson, economist and civil rights activist

In the years following the *Brown v. Board of Education* (Topeka, Kansas) decision, civil rights leaders in Washington, DC worked to eliminate segregation in aspects impacting the lives of all DC residents. As legal segregation gave way, these leaders focused their energies on issues such as equitable education, job opportunities, race- and class-based police brutality, and the socioeconomic conditions of the City’s poor communities. As the nation’s capitol, the ways in which civil rights issues were addressed by leaders and community members impacted both local and national civil rights campaigns. As such, the civil rights struggle in DC held incredible symbolic value. The stakes were high and the change that many expected to see in the 1960s was not occurring at the speed that they desired. Within that climate, the aggressive-style and tenacity of local leaders such as Julius Hobson was supported and appreciated by the majority of the City’s civil rights activists.

Julius Hobson is synonymous with civil rights in Washington, DC and his brand of tactically aggressive, non-violent activism helped in some of the City and nation’s

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<sup>79</sup> In direct response to the 1954 integration of public schools, the Southern Manifesto was a 1956 declaration opposing racial integration of public places. Congressmen from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia signed the declaration.



great civil rights battles. Relocating from Alabama to DC to attend Howard University, Julius Hobson studied economics but soon became interested in civil rights after graduating. As an economist working for the federal government during the 1950s, Hobson enacted his interest in civil equity by working with the Parent-Teacher Association at his neighborhood school, assisting in their confrontation of segregatory practices in the DC public school system and its inevitable disadvantaging of poor Black students. He expanded his focus and began working with the local chapter of the National Association for Colored People (NAACP) as well as the Federation of Civic Associations, but found himself frustrated at their nonaggressive posture and levels of inaction. As a result of his increasing irritation with the existing organizations and the lag of implementation of promises made from the *Brown v Board of Education* win, Hobson became the head of the Washington, DC chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1960. Within a period of just four years, Hobson led demonstrations of stores in Washington, DC that remained reluctant to employ non-white workers. As a result of his demonstrations and resultant arrests during that period, approximately 5,000 Blacks gained employment at area stores and the Washington Hospital Center integrated its facilities. Julius Hobson was a fearless and determined civil rights leader, going so far as threatening to collect rats from poor Black neighborhoods to release them in Georgetown unless DC started a pest extermination program the City's under-served Northeast quadrant. By this point, Hobson's tactics were not only well-known, but also understood as promises rather than idle threats. As a result of Hobson's strategy, the City immediately instituted the extermination services. Of Julius Hobson's many successes as

a civil rights leader, his successful legal battle with the DC Public School System is the jewel in his crown.

### **Hobson v. Educational Disparity**

*“You are consigning poor Black children to the economic and social junk heap.”*

- exclamation of Julius Hobson, directed at DCPS Superintendent Carl Hansen during the *Hobson v. Hansen* trial

In the mid-1960s, school enrollment in the City’s public school system had become almost entirely black, with the exception of the few schools in the far Northwestern quadrant of the City. Within some of the most neglected and ignored sections of the City’s other three quadrants, the school buildings were overcrowded, at best, and falling apart, at worst. Julius Hobson focused his energy on how this had become an acceptable reality for educating black children in the nation’s capitol. In 1963, Hobson filed a class-action lawsuit against the DC Public Schools and its sitting superintendent Carl Hansen. Hobson was a trained economist and backed up his claim with research and statistics, so by 1967 the Court’s ruled in Hobson’s favor, agreeing that poor black children were systematically treated unfairly in the City’s public schools. As a first step in redressing the issue, the Court ordered that students be bused from overcrowded schools in predominantly Black neighborhoods to underused schools in NW’s predominantly white neighborhoods. The *Hobson v. Hansen* decision resulted in other wins for the City’s historically-neglected, poor Black children: the termination of the legal tracking students, a system in which students were ranked<sup>80</sup> and taught different

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<sup>80</sup> Low-income and Black students were disproportionately represented in the lower ranks of the tracking system. Often with little to no opportunity to change ranks, the initial determination for their rank was

levels of instruction resulting in disparate instruction; and the forced expenditure of the public school system to allocate equal amounts on every child in the school system.

### **REFORMATIVE MEASURES THROUGH THE 1990S**

The 1960s through the 1990s were a particularly turbulent era for the City's public educational system. As the City's demographics continued to shift, fewer families with children were moving in to the City and enrolling children into the public schools. According to DC Public School system archival data, the approximately 152,000 children attending public schools in the 1960s had dwindled to approximately 80,000 in the 1990s. Parental activism remained a key feature in ensuring improvements and attention to the status of the public schools. One organization, Parents United for the DC Public Schools, was formed in 1980 as a result of budget cuts in the City's education budget. Continuing the spirit of parental activism in the City's public education, members of Parents United staged protests, prepared research studies, and testified at City Council hearings about the poor school facilities, low teaching standards and their direct impact of the education of the system's predominantly Black student population. Members of Parents United even issued an annual report card for the public school system assessing its progress in addressing the needs of the student body. Several Parents United members successfully ran for positions on the DC Board of Education. In 1989 and again in 1995, the

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based on a standardized aptitude test administered in the student's early years of elementary school. This tracking system followed students through secondary school and once ranked, students often had little to no opportunity to change ranks. Circuit Judge Skelly Wright found that these tests were not actually measuring ability because they were biased in such a way that poor, Black children would inevitably earn lower scores and, as a result, lower track placements. Thus, children were being assigned to tracks based socioeconomic status rather than ability. Judge Wright concluded that this was discriminatory under the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment, because the lower-track classes provided less educational opportunity.

Committee on Public Education (COPE), another educational right organization, published reports on problems found at all levels of management within the DC public school system: it was within this era that the City experienced the highest rate of turnover for its schools superintendents. Between 1991 and 2010, DC had six different superintendents, all of whom were either ousted from their position or who resigned the post<sup>81</sup> and the responsibility of such systemic issues as budget shortfalls, decreases in student academic performance, and low expectations for student and teacher behavior were passed between local education officials, politicians, and even the sitting U.S. President<sup>82</sup>. The City's school system and those working for and within it were exhausted after years of a status quo approach to managing the City's public schools and looked for a desperately-needed change.

#### **CURRENT LAYOUT OF THE LOCAL EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE**

*“So, she’s a Chancellor and not our new superintendent? What is that, like a czar or something?”*

- local community activist

Unlike any other public school system in the U.S., education in Washington DC has the unique position of functioning simultaneously as ‘DC the city’ and ‘DC the state’ – an operation that has historically and continues to induce confusion and misplaced fault when things go wrong. The general understanding of *who* is in charge of educational matters in DC often gets reduced to the most often cited name in local news media: this was definitely the case during Michelle Rhee’s tenure as Chancellor where not only was

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<sup>81</sup> See Appendix 7a and 7b

<sup>82</sup> See Appendix 8

there a massive change in nomenclature for decision-making within DC's educational landscape, but there was a 'new' face associated with that change. For better and for worse, Rhee became responsible for educational issues that seemed to be outside of the scope of her authority. For this reason, discussion of public education in Washington, DC requires an understanding of the entities and key decision-makers, their titles and associated responsibilities, as well as their specific hierarchical positions in DC's world of public education -- a space where trust and confidence has been conflated with the number of generations one's family has resided in and held decision-making authority in DC.

Prior to the 2007 DC Mayoral Takeover of the City's Public School System, the DC City Council and the Mayor jointly led the schools, albeit in a very limited direct educational role. The Mayor maintained a fiscal relationship with the DC City Council and had direct, sole control of the State Education Office (SEO). On hierarchical par with the SEO, the Board of Education (BoE) had charge over the City's public schools insofar as their teaching and learning responsibilities, making budgetary decisions, and having control of school facilities. The authority of the Board of Education served the dual function and responsibilities as both a State Educational Agency (SEA) and a Local Educational Agency (LEA), therefore the DC Public School system led by a Superintendent was sometimes responsible for state-level educational issues and at other times city-level educational issues<sup>83</sup>. Separate from the City's public school system

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<sup>83</sup> SEA and LEA are often used interchangeably in much of the documentation of education policy for DCPS.

existed the public charter schools. The Public Charter School Board (PCSB) managed these, specifically handling issues of budgeting, administration, personnel and instructional methods. In effect, the PCSB served the same function for its schools as the BoE had over its schools. The below chart demonstrates the pre-2007 Education Reform Act organizational relationship between the aforementioned entities.

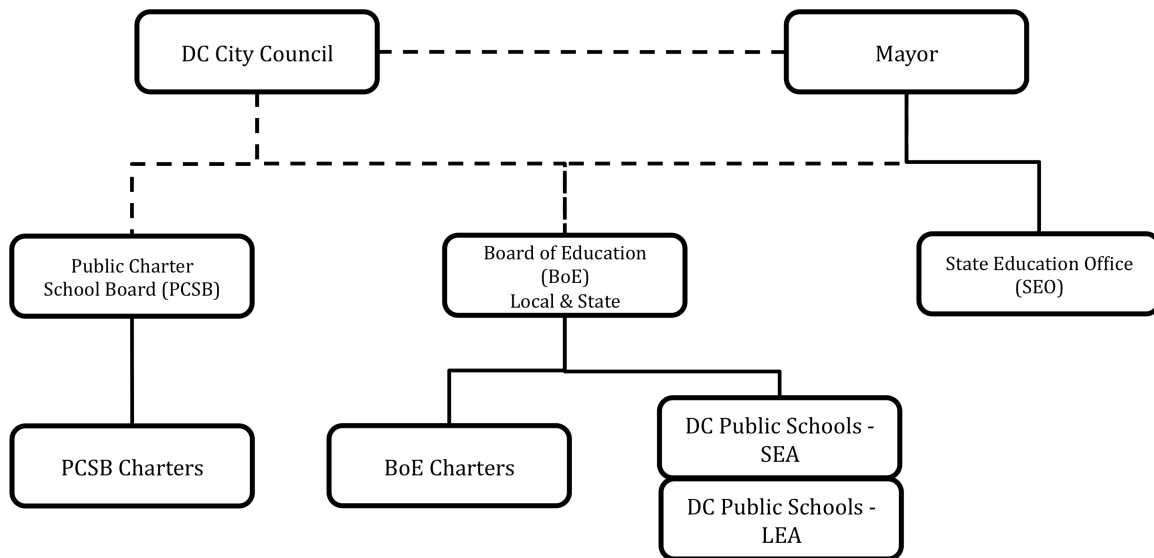


Figure 7: DC Public Education Organizational Hierarchy - Prior to 2007

The 2007 Education Reform Act<sup>84</sup> drastically shifted the decision-making power for DC’s public education, as demonstrated in Figure 7. Rather than the City’s mayor, a 13-member City Council, and a Superintendent managing DC’s public school system, the power held by 15 people would now be placed in the hands of three: the Mayor, a newly-created position of Deputy Mayor of Education (DME), and a newly-named position of Chancellor. Within the new organizational structure, the Mayor would set the overall DC

<sup>84</sup> For the list of Titles in the 2007 Education Reform Act, see Table 4 in the Appendix

education agenda and be advised by the Deputy Mayor of Education and the DCPS Chancellor. The chief responsibility of the DME would be to ensure an aligned, coordinated and unified DC educational mission by setting all educational policy in the City and having oversight of the State Education Office (which the Reform Act renamed the Office of the State Superintendent of Education, or OSSE). Rounding out this triumvirate of DC's educational leadership was the Chancellor of DC Public Schools. Although the education and experience needed for the job of DCPS Chancellor were not defined in the Education Reform Act (and arguably left to the discretion of the Mayor), the ten duties of the position were defined in Title I, Section 105(c) and are as follows:

The duties of the Chancellor shall include to:

- (1) organize the agency for efficient operation;
- (2) create offices within the agency, as necessary;
- (3) exercise the powers necessary and appropriate to operate the schools and school system and to implement applicable provisions of District and federal law;
- (4) communicate with the collective bargaining unit for the employees under his or her administration;
- (5) promulgate and implement rules and regulations necessary and appropriate to accomplish his or her duties and functions in accordance with section 103 and the District of Columbia Administrative Procedure Act, approved October 21, 1968 (82 Stat. 1204; D.C. Official Code § 2-501 et seq.);
- (6) obtain parental input as required by the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, approved January 8, 2002 (Pub. L. No. 107-110; 115 Stat. 1425), and in accordance with the rules promulgated pursuant to this title;
- (7) hold public meetings, at least quarterly;
- (8) exercise, to the extent that such authority is delegated by the Mayor:
  - (A) personnel authority; and
  - (B) procurement authority independent of the Office of Contracting and Procurement, consistent with the District of Columbia Procurement Practices Act of 1985, effective February 21, 1986 (D.C. Law 6-85; D.C. Official Code § 2-301.01 et seq.);
- (9) maintain clean and safe school facilities; and

(10) create and operate a District-wide database that records the condition of all school facilities under the control of DCPS, which database shall be updated as necessary, but at least once per calendar year.

As the head of City’s public school system and under the new Education Reform Act, the authority of the Chancellor (unlike that of a Superintendent) was now answerable only to the Mayor – a level of power that made many in DC uncomfortable, particularly considering the appointment of Michelle Rhee, a young, non-Black, relatively inexperienced teacher who was a DC outsider. However, for as many people who found these to be undesirable qualities for a chief of DC’s public schools, there were people who eagerly welcomed that type of change in City’s public school leadership.

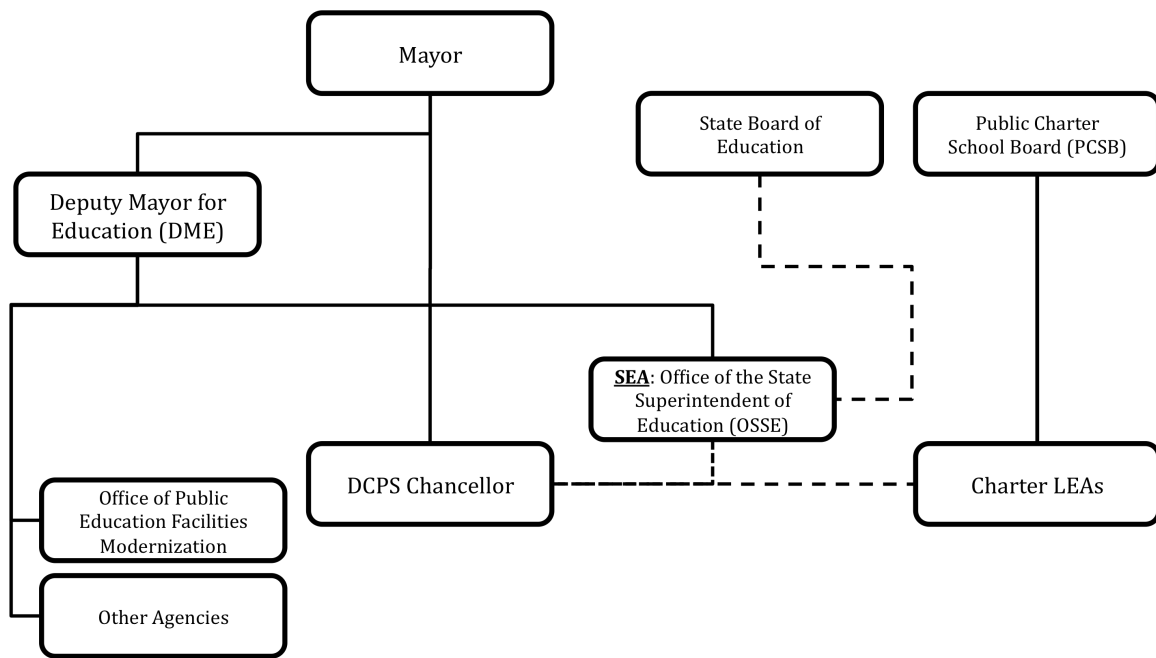


Figure 8: DC Public Education Hierarchy After 2007



The Chancellor's authority is over the 125 public schools that make up DCPS. In accordance with the 2007 Education Reform, the current organizational structure of DCPS has placed Henderson and her Office of the Chief Academic Officer over various departments: most pertinent to the focus of my dissertation research is the Office of Academic Programming and Support, as it governs the Office of Out-of-School Time (OST) Programming which is divided into two focus areas: Summer School Programming and Afterschool Programming, the latter of which became the central area of contention amongst the adult actors at Benjamin Latrobe Elementary School, as they demonstrated the significance of Title I funding to their school and, in so doing, revealed the role of phenotype and its associated socioeconomic attributions to the manners by which adults assessed student merit in the allocation of afterschool resources. To better understand these issues, I will first discuss the centrality of race and politics in the management of resources in the DC Public School System.

#### **RACE AND RHEE'S CONTRIBUTION TO AN ENDURING LEGACY**

*"It takes a village to raise a child."*

- popular African proverb

*"It became necessary to destroy the town in order to save it."*

- unidentified Vietnam-era U.S. military official<sup>85</sup>

The role and public discussion of race in Washington, DC's public education has a long history. If likened to a family photo album, the latest photographic entries would be dominated by images of current Mayor Vincent Gray and former DCPS Chancellor

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<sup>85</sup> According to an article published in the February 8, 1968 issue of the *New York Times*, this quote is attributed to an unidentified U.S. major explaining the decision to attack the civilian town of Ben Tre en route to engage the Vietcong. Vietnam War correspondent, Peter Arnett, is credited with recording the quote, although many sources believe that it has been distorted over time and question the exact source of the quote.

Michelle Rhee. Their names and faces represented the majority of discussions on educational reform and its often-times disparate outcomes. DC City Council Chairman Vincent Gray and Chancellor Rhee had a hostile public relationship -- the roots of which I locate to the January 4, 2007 media advisory in which newly-elected Mayor Adrian Fenty announced his Education Reform Initiative (locally referred to as the mayoral takeover of the City's public schools). Fenty's emergency reform created the DC Public Education Reform Act of 2007 (see Table 3 in Appendix), part of which changed the nomenclature and associated authority of the chief of the public schools from 'superintendent' to 'chancellor'. The Public Education Reform Amendment Act (PERAA) also shifted control of the DC's public schools from an elected school board to the mayor, developed a new state department of education called the Office of the State Superintendent of Education (OSSE) from the previous State Education Office (SEO), and made other significant management changes. Approved by Council Chairman Vincent Gray and the City Council, the Reform Act drew immediate criticism from community activists who saw it as a centralization of power and authority as well as a step away from Fenty's campaign promises to rebuild traditional public schools, stem the tide of gentrification and displacement, and stand up for DC's longtime residents in the face of corporate development and groups such as the Federal City Council -- an invitation-only group of rich business people that has a long complicit relationship with DC elected officials to the detriment of poor communities of color. Fenty and Gray, were both native Washingtonian African American males with long careers in the DC political arena. Even amidst concern they had assuaged resident concern for several years. This

largely unraveled with Fenty's unilateral appointment of Michelle Rhee as the DCPS Chancellor on June 12, 2007.<sup>86</sup> The appointment shocked residents and seemed to contradict the very-locally centered Reform Act that Fenty had passed just a few months prior. That Michelle Rhee was a relatively young, Korean-American woman with little classroom experience was incredibly significant. That she was not a native Washingtonian and had not lived in the City prior to her appointment raised ire as well. Amongst a barrage of public and private concerns, Chairman Gray cited the fact that the manner by which Michelle Rhee was selected did not follow the public process mandated by the Reform Act. On behalf of the City Council, Gray asked that Mayor Fenty not only provide him with a detailed description of Rhee's selection as nominee for the Chancellor position, but that he also submit a list of the names, resumes and other pertinent information for the other candidates considered for the position. Mayor Fenty's General Counsel, Peter Nickels, responded two days later that Fenty consulted principals, teachers, students and even members of the educational community regarding Rhee's appointment. He refused to oblige the City Council's request by stating that it would not be legally appropriate to circulate the names of other considered candidates. This response set the overall tone for the Rhee's tenure, her dictatorial approach<sup>87</sup> to educational reform, Council Chair Gray's general dislike of the Rhee-Fenty political machine operating the public school system and three years of a very public political tug-

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<sup>86</sup> Hours before announcing Rhee's appointment, Fenty ousted Superintendent Dr. Clifford B. Janey by telephone.

<sup>87</sup> Chancellor Michelle Rhee was the first chief of public schools whose authority was only answerable to the Mayor. In addition to her heavy-handed approach at educational reform and her flippant attitude and demeanor at City Council hearings, she became a very polarizing figure.

o-war. Played out during City Council meetings, at local educational events, activist-driven public demonstrations, and in local and national press, Rhee's management of the DC Public School System negatively impacted race relations at all levels of operation in the system and renewed public discussions on the historically-justified race and class-based allocation of resources across the City.

In November 2007, Chancellor Rhee introduced a Renew, Revitalize and Reorganize (RRR) Initiative to overhaul the City's public schools. The first step was to, in Rhee's own word, "rightsize" the school system in order to ensure all available resources were primarily focused on supporting academic programs. At the heart of this plan was Rhee's desire to address decades of deficient operation and mismanagement of the city's public schools. The Plan's emphasis on resource consolidation would require that 19 of the school system's 145 schools be 'shuttered' which is to say closed, and called for the restructuring of 27 others. With dwindling resources and an increasing number of students leaving the City's public school system for charter and private schools. Plus, DCPS has experience school downsizing before, so this approach did not elicit an unrealistic amount of immediate fear or concern – that is until a mapping of the 19 affected schools revealed that they were disproportionately located in the City's poorer, Black and Hispanic neighborhoods.

In response to concerns of unfair and unequal impact of the RRR Initiative, a revised plan was released in February 2008. Chancellor Rhee, alongside Mayor Adrian Fenty and Deputy Mayor for Education Victor Reinoso, announced that there would be new school alternatives and more choices for parents and students, but an additional four

schools would be closed. It was of little surprise that those four schools were in the very neighborhoods from which concern arose regarding the first iteration of the RRR Plan.

Washington Teachers Union (WTU) President George Parker, was cautious from the start of what even Rhee had termed as the ‘Herculean’ tasks laid out in the RRR Initiative. Parker added that in his twenty-five year career in DC’s educational community, he had never known a single school closing that logistically ran smoothly. For Parker and countless others, 23 simultaneous closings and restructurings may be far too much for DCPS’ fragile infrastructure, all while proposing to fire approximately 770 educators, 22 assistant principals, and 24 principals<sup>88</sup>. Rhee promised to limit disruption to teaching and learning in the schools, however, what followed was a foreseeable series of unfortunate dismissals under the banner of RIFs (reductions in force) which launched a domino effect of intense public sparring by way of official press releases, letters, public interviews, City Council hearings and testimonies, and public protest against Rhee’s blatant, unapologetic and disparate actions.

At this time I was living in Texas but hearing the rumblings of a potential DCPS eruption through conversations with friends and former colleagues who were active members in DC’s educational community. By my August 2009 arrival to DC, I was greeted by Rhee’s newly-instituted framework for teaching and learning in DCPS, a new and rigorous system for teacher evaluations, and an atmosphere of fear, insecurity and distrust amongst DCPS’ teachers and administrators – the latter of which was of no

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<sup>88</sup> ‘D.C. Public School Teachers Unjustly Penalized: It Takes a Village to Raise a Child’. Aisha Ali *Washington Examiner*, December 9, 2008

surprise to me. Chancellor Rhee nurtured these sentiments with the release of a September 15, 2009 letter<sup>89</sup> sent to DCPS parents and guardians explaining that due to “budgetary modification” she would have to reduce a number of school-based positions by the end of that month via RIF. As with much information in DCPS, there were rumblings of a potential RIF before any official action was taken and this added to existing anxiety and insecurity amongst DCPS staffers and parents. To be sure, the letters were not sent home with students until September 17, leading to worry and concern on the part of parents who had no information other than what they may have heard through the DCPS rumor mill and from what the local news reported. Candi Peterson, former Washington Teachers Union (WTU) Vice-President, education blogger and local activist, wrote about the potential teacher layoff just 1 day prior to Rhee’s official press release. Citing her own experiences being RIF’d and WTU President Parker’s seemingly apathetic response to Chancellor Rhee’s previous mass teacher-firings, Peterson published the letter in its entirety. She summed up the general sentiments shared by DCPS stakeholders regarding the lack of transparency of Rhee’s managerial process and the potential illegality of her firings by writing:

... we [must] watch how this all plays out as educators, parents and community members we must insist that it is a transparent process and that teachers and related school personnel due process rights are adhered to in keeping with the teachers' union contract which is still in effect and the District of Columbia Municipal regulations; Title 5.

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<sup>89</sup> The DC Public School system issued a press release on September 15, 2009. DCPSWatch, an online magazine that covers education issues within DCPS, has made an archived version of the letter available on their website: <http://www.dcpswatch.com/rif/090915.htm>

In accordance with the General Policy of Title 5<sup>90</sup>, a RIF can occur for one or more of the following four reasons: 1) budgetary reasons; 2) curtailment of work; 3) reorganization of functions; or 4) other compelling reasons. Based on the demographics of affected DCPS employees, Rhee's RIF seemed to rely heavily on the fourth reason. Citywide protests began in response to the RIF, which would be scheduled to take effect on Wednesday, September 30.

For Rhee, the RIF was a necessary course of action despite having made continuous announcements about the importance of consistency and continuity for a child's education, as well as having just hired 900 new teachers for a school system of less than 4000 teachers. According to her September 15 letter, DCPS was facing a budget shortfall despite appealing to the DC City Council for additional funding. The sentiment in her letter presents the RIF as a last, unfortunate attempt that would be affecting all of DCPS. To be sure, the word "equalization" appears three separate times in the letter's first 50 words.

Two days after Rhee's letter, Chairman Gray of the DC City Council, sent out a public press release addressing Rhee's faulting the City Council with DCPS' lack of funds. Gray's letter asserts that the Chancellor (and Mayor Fenty through his unquestioning support) intentionally failed to present an accurate amount for the City Council's consideration of that school year's budget. Gray went so far as to state,

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<sup>90</sup> Divided into 27 titles, the District of Columbia Municipal Regulations (DCMR) is the official compilation of the permanent rules and regulations promulgated by executive departments, agencies and independent entities of the DC government. Specifically, Title 5-E15 Reduction in Force has 8 sections: including the General Policy, Superintendent's Reassignment Option, Notice Requirements, and Appeal of RIF Actions.

“clearly, the Chancellor wanted to fire these ‘excessed’ teachers and is seeking to scapegoat the Council for her policy decision”<sup>91</sup>. In short, any blame that Rhee and Fenty tried to place on the City Council was volleyed right back into the Rhee-Fenty court. In response to Gray’s letter, Rhee proceeded with the RIF plans and instructed Jesus Aguirre, DCPS Director of School Operations, to send a memo to all school principals. The memo detailed the overview and instructions for enforcing the RIF and charged each principal with the task of: 1) identifying the positions to be eliminated; 2) rating all of their staff members holding eliminated positions; 3) documenting the basis of that rating for each staff member; and 4) notifying the affected staff member. This was all to be completed and submitted by 10a.m. the following day<sup>92</sup>, a Saturday. The resultant Friday, October 2 mass firing of 388 teachers and other school staff was all the more bitter when it was revealed that many of the teachers: the majority of whom were veteran educators. Rhee maintained that these teachers were ineffective, that the benefits of their dismissal just a few months into a new school year would offset the detriment of removing such a large number of teachers from their classrooms, and that many of the veteran teachers were only still in the employ of DCPS due to tenure – a system of protecting teachers’ seniority that she found to be outdated<sup>93</sup>. In a city where the increase in residential, educational, racial and socioeconomic segregation has been a topic of both casual and

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<sup>91</sup> Vincent Gray Press Release on DCPS Budget for Fiscal Year 2010:  
<http://www.dcpwatch.com/rif/090917.htm>

<sup>92</sup> On the authority of the Office of Chancellor Rhee, Aguirre released a memorandum on September 18, 2009. The archived version is available at <http://www.dcpwatch.com/rif/090918.htm>

<sup>93</sup> Sam Dillon (November 12, 2008) “A School Chief Takes on Tenure Stirring a Fight” *The New York Times*. Retrieved August 12, 2009.



formal conversation, the uneven and seemingly race- and age-based dismissal of teachers across the city's eight wards was neither a surprise nor was it ignored.

Teachers, students and their supporters expressed their frustration and their pent-up rage against yet another unilateral decision made by Chancellor Rhee. A mid-school week dismissal of teachers and staff flew in the face of the promised minimized impact, commitment to students, and assurance that no disruption would occur as a result of this RIF. In fact, the September 30 deadline spoke very clearly to Rhee's fiscal priority rather than to her stated priority to DCPS students.

On October 7, WTU President Parker filed a suit with the DC Superior Court requesting that DCPS be enjoined from firing the 388 teachers and other staff who were to be dropped from the DCPS payroll on November 2, 2009. As expressed in that day's *The Washington Post*, President Parker felt that the RIF allowed DCPS principals to improperly target teachers for dismissal on the basis of their age or their willingness to speak out against administrators, rather than on their performance as Title 5 mandates. Two days after the suit was filed, thousands of protesters gathered at downtown DC's Freedom Plaza. National labor leaders and local elected officials joined teachers, students, parents and other supporters rallied for the reinstatement of the 388 DCPS employees. News reporters captured images of demonstrators riled up by fiery speeches and holding handmade signs reading such statements as "WE CARE RHEE SCARES", "THIS IS NOT RHEEZISTAN", and "SWEEP HER OUT", referencing the infamous photo of Rhee holding a broom while standing stone-faced inside a classroom on the cover of *Time* magazine's December 2008 issue. Bill Turque, education columnist for

*The Washington Post* recorded the Freedom Plaza protest as “one of the largest shows of labor muscle in the city in recent history”<sup>94</sup>.

On October 29, the DC City Council held a hearing with testimonies from Rhee and Natwar Gandhi, the DCPS Chief Financial Officer. In the face of questionable motivations and a room full of furious parents, students and dismissed teachers, Rhee turned the blame on the fired teachers and administrators themselves, citing misconduct and inappropriate relationships with students<sup>95</sup> as the motivating factor in their dismissal. With that allegation in hand, a total of 388 school employees (including classroom teachers, principals and security guards) received RIF notices<sup>96</sup> disproportionately affecting schools in the poor, predominantly Black eastern quadrants of the City, thereby disproportionately affecting Black and Hispanic students. This was just the first of numerous instances where the Chancellor would make unilateral decisions without consulting parents or community activists from neighborhoods with little socioeconomic power or city-wide influence. In fact, time and again she held invitation-only meetings with perceived influential parents in private homes regarding school matters affecting students in the City’s western quadrants<sup>97</sup>.

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<sup>94</sup> Bill Turque (October 9, 2009) “Protesters Decry Layoffs in D.C. Schools” *The Washington Post*.

<sup>95</sup> Bill Turque 1/23/2010 wapo “Rhee says Laid-off teachers in D.C. abused kids”

<sup>96</sup> Bill Turque, 10/9/2009 WaPo article “Protesters Decry Layoffs in D.C. Schools”

<sup>97</sup> One of Rhee’s many public educational battles regarded her desire to dismiss a long-term and very effective African-American principal at a Hardy Middle School, a high-performing school in one of DC’s wealthy, white neighborhoods of Ward 2. Parents of elementary school children in that area formed a committee with the sole mission of planning for their children’s middle school options, should Hardy be closed. Rhee not only attended these February 2009 meetings but she discussed and developed plans based on the concerns of that select group of white, wealthy parents. To be sure, Rhee declined invitations to meet with or speak to families currently attending the predominantly African American Hardy or to the Hardy PTA. In October 2009, Rhee addressed the Citizens Association of Georgetown (a predominantly white and wealthy area) on how to attract certain families back to DCPS.

The remainder of the 2009-2010 school year was fraught with protest, as evidenced by the numerous walk-outs, protests, petitions, standing-room only City Council meetings and general demonstrations of students, parents, members of the Washington Teachers Union and other community members. Whether in print media or televised, it was clear that the protest participants were almost exclusively black and brown faces representing the population of students, teachers and community activists that seemed to be of little or no significance to the Chancellor – at least not on a policy-level. Adding insult to injury, Rhee defended the October mass firing in a February 2010 interview with *Fast Company*, a national business magazine, stating that she “got rid of teachers who had hit children, who had sex with children, [and] who had missed 78 days of school”<sup>98</sup>. Leaders of the Washington Teachers Union immediately challenged her claim and WTU President George Parker even called Rhee’s accusations “reckless”<sup>99</sup>. When the WTU asked that she retract the statement, Rhee refused. Although she would later clarify her statement by adding that only one out of the 266 dismissed teachers fit her previous description, Rhee had become a polarizing figure in the educational landscape of the City. Conflicting views abounded as well as focusing the source of blame, but they are well-summed by local lawyer, Victor Glasberg in a January 26 op-ed piece in *The Washington Post*:

The politicians and unions taking potshots at Ms. Rhee have for decades been knowingly complicit in the maintenance of an educational wasteland in the District’s public schools. As an employment and civil rights lawyer, a public

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<sup>98</sup> ‘Update: Michelle Rhee vs. the D.C. Teachers’ Union’, *Fast Company Magazine*, February 1, 2010.

<sup>99</sup> ‘Rhee Says Laid-Off Teachers in D.C. Abused Kids’. Bill Turque *The Washington Post* Jan 23, 2010.

school advocate and the father of a public school teacher, I oppose, as all reasonable people should oppose, the slurring of teachers as a group.

By July 2010, under the newly-developed IMPACT teacher evaluation tool, Michelle Rhee dismissed another 241 teachers, custodians, librarians, and counselors – an action that was in direct opposition to the D.C. City Council’s recommendation to keep the peace and rebuild trust within communities most-affected by the 2008 mass firings. Rhee then placed an additional 737 DCPS teachers and administrators on notice that they had received an evaluation rating of “minimally effective” and had just one-year to improve or join the 241. The consistent and shared demographic of dismissed teachers was that of an older (potentially closer to the age of retirement) African-American woman. While this gendered, raced, and age-based commonality is one shared by a majority of teachers in the DC Public School system, what worried most people was the loss of institutional memory with the dismissal of so many effective and dedicated veteran teachers.

After it was all said and done, the 2009 implementation of Rhee’s RRR Initiative had not proven to equitably-allocate resources across the City. As documented by journalists, teachers, parents, students, and observers unrelated to DC’s public school system, Rhee’s RRR Initiative funneled resources to schools in the City’s western quadrants, where additional resources were unneeded. Worse still, the merging of students into consolidated schools heightened concerns from parents and school staff regarding the increased school violence stemming from existing neighborhood rivalries, the disparate and disproportionate impact of poor and minority students, as well as

disabled students<sup>100</sup>. The City's first non-Black public school chief had unwittingly proved her detractors correct – an Asian non-native Washingtonian with no experience in school leadership, better yet leadership of a large, urban public school system, was either unwilling or incapable of possessing an investment in the educational equity and academic achievement of a predominantly Black school system. Race mattered and, over the course of Rhee's tenure as Chancellor, would prove to be the root factor in continued inequality across the City's public schools.

Bill Turque, an educational journalist for *The Washington Post*, asked the question, 'Was It all Worth It?' in his October 15, 2011 article about Chancellor Rhee's legacy. Washington DC's racial achievement gap is long-standing, but despite three years of Rhee's brand of educational reform, results from the 2011 National Assessment of Educational Progress' (NAEP) study showed that Washington DC has the widest achievement gap amongst black and white public school students<sup>101</sup> compared to other major urban school systems in the U.S. Of significant note, the 2011 NAEP study did not include the test scores of charter schools in Washington, DC – which account for 40 percent of DC's public schoolchildren. According to reports from the DC Public Charter School system, an analysis of their students' test scores showed black students attending charter schools scored higher in math and reading than their counterparts in DCPS.

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<sup>100</sup> On May 16, 2013, a federal judge denied an injunction against closing DCPS schools. Parents of affected children, two ANC Commissioners in the affected areas and EMPOWER DC, a local grassroots organization, filed the petition citing the closure and resulting as a discriminatory act that would violate Title VI, IDEA, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and the DC Human Rights Act.

<sup>101</sup> It is important to note that the NAEP results are based on math and reading standardized test results of fourth and eighth graders nationally, rather than other tested subject areas like writing, science or geography, and that math and reading scores are typically the metric by which such disparities are measured.

However, the number of white students attending public charter schools in DC is too small to draw a significant comparison to the NAEP study results. That fact notwithstanding, scores from DC's public school system demonstrated a larger black-white achievement gap than the national average, as well as the average for cities with populations higher than 250,000.

Michael Casserly, the Executive Director of the Council of Great City Schools, which is an advocacy group for urban public schools, provided further evidence on the achievement gap in Washington, DC. In a December 7, 2011 article for *The Washington Post*, Mr. Casserly stated that the achievement divide is actually more of an income divide and that it referred to the relative concentration of middle-class whites in the upper northwestern wards of DC (specifically Ward 3 in which white students are scoring higher than white students nationally) compared to Wards 7 and 8, which represent higher levels of poverty and higher numbers of Black students living in poor neighborhoods with under-resourced schools. In sum, if you are a white or middle-class family living in Washington, your child will likely attend a socioeconomically segregated neighborhood school or a higher-quality magnet, and will outperform her peers in suburban public schools. On the other hand, if you are a poor parent of color, your child will likely do worse in the DC public schools than she would have done in other urban or suburban districts. These outcomes are especially disheartening from my perspective as an African American, native Washingtonian: DC is a city that is one of the most important and historically significant African-American cities in the United States and Blacks in Washington, DC were once the best educated in the country (DuBois 1915;

Caldwell 1922; Seeman 1946a; Frazier 1957; Freeman et al 1966; Davis 1981; Drake and Cayton 1993; Gaines 1996; Graham 1999; Gatewood 2000; Hall 2005a) and many became prominent professionals with the historically Black Howard University at the center of black intellectual life.

### **Churn, Burn, and the Homogenization of Teaching Staff**

An additional area of innovation under Rhee was the IMPACT Effectiveness Assessment for School Personnel, a rigid and highly subjective teacher evaluation system. Introduced in 2009, the system set out to outline clear performance expectations while provide feedback and support in order to retain individuals who demonstrated exceptional job performance<sup>102</sup>. Teachers and staff members were subject to at least five evaluations in a school year by their principal or a Master Educator, expert practitioners who serve as impartial evaluators and conduct independent observations without any knowledge of the IMPACT scores that teachers receive from their administrators. An observation usually consisted of an unannounced classroom visit of 30 minutes and, initially, teachers were supposed to demonstrate their ability to tailor their instruction to at least three learning styles. After an observation of approximately 22 different classroom teaching elements<sup>103</sup> or their students' standardized test scores, the teacher would received one of five possible ratings: highly-effective; effective; developing; minimally effective; or ineffective. The ratings over the course of the school year would be averaged and those receiving one of the top two ratings would be eligible for salary

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<sup>102</sup> The DC Public School system's official overview of IMPACT.

<sup>103</sup> After many complaints that teachers do not routinely demonstrate all 22 elements in 30 minutes, the evaluation was modified to assess for 10 elements, although that was still deemed unrealistic by classroom teachers.

bonuses, public recognition, and participation in leadership opportunities within the school system. Individuals ranking in the lower-rated categories would be eligible for termination<sup>104</sup>.

As with many systems of evaluation, the IMPACT tool was highly subjective and many teachers found it to be unfair and unevenly applied. Many teachers went as far as submitting their grievances to local newspapers and education blogs (DCPSWatch 2009; Turque 2010; Headden and Silva 2011; Strauss 2011b, c and d) after feeling that principals and other DCPS officials were ignoring their concerns. As a result of the IMPACT system, many experienced and high-performing teachers have clustered in the City's more affluent neighborhoods and schools. Even according to DC officials, about a third of the four thousand teachers on the payroll on September 1, 2007 are gone, through firings, layoffs, and normal attrition – the latter factor being a point of emphasis for Rhee and her supporters. Journalist Dana Goldstein and education blogger John Thompson are two notables of the many DCPS observers and analysts who have referred to Rhee's DCPS, as a system of “churn and burn” where suspicion, anxiety and distrust are the order of the day (Headden 2011). From both formal and informal conversations I have had with current and former DCPS employees, the sense of community and institutional memory that was present prior to 2007 is now gone at most schools and has been replaced by a critical mass of fresh out-of-college, white women who come in as inexperienced first-year teachers, are assumed to be more compliant of Rhee-form and

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<sup>104</sup> While DCPS official did not overtly or publicly express that ideal, it was the message communicated to the many teachers and Master Educators with whom I worked and interviewed.



are considered veterans if and when they make it to their third year on the job. Despite the various iterations of reform that the DC Public School system experienced before Michelle Rhee's post, the common associated change is the race- and age-based homogenization of the staff – a particular feature at my fieldsite.

### **Rhee-form Racially Re-embodied**

*“The best way to keep the reforms going is for this reformer to step aside.”*

- Michelle Rhee, statement at October 13, 2010 news conference

The prevailing significance of race in the DC Public School System continued at the October 13, 2010 news conference where Michelle Rhee resigned her post. Having just won the DC Mayoral seat, former DC City Council Chairman Vincent Gray appointed Deputy Chancellor Kaya Henderson as Interim Chancellor of the city's public schools. Henderson, an African American woman from New York, had previously worked with Michelle Rhee's organization, The New Teacher Project, before coming to DCPS in 2007 as Rhee's first hire. Henderson publicly touted Rhee as her “friend, partner [and] mentor”<sup>105</sup>, but as Rhee exited stage left, the question on the minds of many focused on whether Henderson's identity as a Black woman would make the previous Rhee-form more palatable to the predominantly Black populace of the DC Public School system. Similar to Rhee, Henderson was a DC outsider. Dissimilar to Rhee, Henderson lived in the predominantly Black northeast quadrant of DC and had built roots in that community during her short time in DC. Unlike Rhee whose support-base was strongest in the predominantly white neighborhoods of northwest, Henderson physically and

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<sup>105</sup> From *The Washington Post*, October 14, 2010 article, “Interim D.C. Schools Chancellor Kaya Henderson Accepts Reform Challenge”.

actively embodied the kind of DC school chief that would have a focus on the underserved Black public school student. Yet again, in a city where the prevailing and naive belief rests comfortably in the fact that race is not an indicator of achievement or one's ability to succeed, race and socioeconomic background continue to matter considerably in the education of the City's public school children.

#### **NEW CHANCELLOR, OLD AGENDA**

In 2011, the Office of the Deputy Mayor for Education commissioned a report to analyze the performance of the City's public schools and determine whether there was a correlation between a school's geographic location and the academic performance of its students. This study was funded by the DC Public Education Fund and researched by the Public Policy and Research Department of IFF – a regional nonprofit community development financial institution. Published in January 2012, the 'Quality Schools: Every Child, Every School, Every Neighborhood' study predicted whether a school was likely to meet or exceed the current state standards by 2016 and ranked the schools accordingly into a four-tier system, with the top tier or 25% having a high level of achievement based on the DC-CAS, a standardized test whose results have been the basis by which much of DC's public educational reform has been based. The IFF study determined four main points: (a) that DC needs more Tier 1 seats in school in order to accommodate all of the city's students; (b) currently ranked Tier 1 schools tend to be overcrowded and overutilized; (c) there remains a service gap<sup>106</sup> in the City's public school system and it is

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<sup>106</sup> The 2012 IFF study defines a service gap as "the difference between the number of students enrolled in the system (as demand) and the performing capacity or seats available in Tier 1 schools (as supply)".

worst in Wards 5, 7 and 8 -- the City's three poorest wards; and (d) low-performing schools should be closed as a means to regain equitable resource allocation and lessen the over-burdened Tier 1 schools. A city and school system still recovering from the school closings and mass firings highlighting Michelle Rhee's tenure as DCPS Chancellor would soon be challenged to relive the same.

Over the course of Henderson's tenure, the major challenges have been: 1) the March 2011 revelation of erasures on standardized tests and Rhee's defense of the scores as evidence of the positive results of her brand of educational reform, supported by a National Research Council evaluation<sup>107</sup> completed in the same month; and 2) Henderson's April 2012 joint announcement with Mayor Vincent Gray of a DCPS Five-Year Strategic Plan, called 'A Capital Commitment'. This plan, largely informed by the data gleaned from the IFF study, would dedicate significant financial resources to accomplish five ambitious goals over the next five years in an effort to dramatically increase student achievement, graduation rates, enrollment, and student satisfaction. To date, Henderson has received a higher level of support from the DC City Council and community members, relative to the general disdain for Michelle Rhee's approach. This may have to do with Henderson's black racial identity and its relative significance considering the history of black leadership in DCPS.

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Understanding the study as a supply and demand analysis, the service gap simply reflects the absolute need , from highest to lowest) of a neighborhood and ranks it accordingly.

<sup>107</sup> On March 4, 2011, the National Research Council released a report offering a framework for evaluating the effects of the 2007 Public Education Reform Amendment Act on DCPS. Entitled "A Plan for Evaluating the District of Columbia's Public Schools: From Impressions to Evidence", the report

Not quite ten months after the January 2012 IFF study's recommendations, Chancellor Kaya Henderson approved a press release<sup>108</sup> explaining that her strategic plan would necessitate the closure of 20 schools – the majority of which are in Wards 5, 7 and 8, the City's predominantly Black, least economically advantaged areas. In part, she stated:

...the challenge we face in DCPS is clear – our buildings are wildly under-enrolled, our resources are stretched too thin and we're not providing the complement of academic supports that our students and families deserve. Consolidating schools is our best option to better utilize our facilities and work more efficiently for our schools, our teachers, our students and our city.

There were no schools scheduled to close in Wards 1 and 3, the City's two wealthiest wards that also happen to have the two highest percentages of white Washingtonians. Wards 1 and 3 were also omitted from the list of neighborhoods containing newly-consolidated schools that would soon accept students from the predominantly poor, Black wards of 5, 7 and 8.

City Council members over the affected wards voiced their concern and for some opposition to the new wave of school closings that always and only seem to impact their specific communities. Citing transportation of students to the newly-consolidated schools and increases in school violence as a result of intra-neighborhood conflict (the very issues raised then ignored when Michelle Rhee closed schools in 2008 and again in 2010) Ward 5 Councilmember, Kenyan McDuffie told a local news reporter, "the residents of Ward 5

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<sup>108</sup> DCPS Press Release, November 13, 2012

were pretty hard hit in 2008 [so] I want to make sure that the community is fully engaged in this process, to the extent that they weren't the last time around.”<sup>109</sup>

According to 2012-2013 publicly available data from the DC Public School system, there are 189 public and charter schools in the city. Of these, only a fraction have any white students whatsoever – specifically, there are 27 schools with a tested or, statistically significant, non-Hispanic white student population of at least 5 percent. With the exception of Latrobe Elementary School in the predominantly white Spring Summit neighborhood, the DC public schools with over 5 percent white students are all located in the wealthy, upper northwest section of the City. Identifying the ways in which educational reform is inconsistently applied in the City's public schools helps in understanding that DC's public educational disparity is informed by race-based socioeconomic indicators (Floud 1961; Fordham and Ogbu 1986). For parents who believed Chancellor Henderson would halt, or even undo, some of the damage done by the former chancellor, their dissatisfaction with the system led to strategies of operating and thriving within said system. The battle between afterschool programs at Latrobe Elementary School was fascinating ground in which I gained better understanding on the racial and socioeconomic factors impacting student achievement all while better understanding the strategies employed by parents and guardians to ensure their child's success. Before delving into that matter, I present a brief history on the development and continued importance of afterschool programming in Washington, D.C.

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<sup>109</sup> As reported to NBC4 on November 13, 2012 and published online as “20 D.C. Public Schools Proposed to Close, Most by Next School Year”

## **Chapter 6: Development and Evolution of Afterschool Programming**

Before 1804, education in DC was provided by both secular and religious private schools. Some of these schools admitted children of DC's free Black families. By 1804, the Washington City Council passed its first public education act and three years later, three former slaves built the first private school for black children in the City. Financial support for public schools depended almost entirely on occasional allocations from Congress, city-run lotteries, and private donors. According to notes from an 1805 DC Board of Trustees meeting regarding plans for an educational academy in the City, the divisions in quality and quantity of education for poor versus pay pupils was firmly established from the inception of DC's public schooling. Public education would be free for poor white children but students able to pay would be charged five dollars per quarter. The financial direction and utilization of resources was the responsibility of the lead teacher, often referred to as the 'Principal teacher' in the Board of Trustees' notations. From his salary, he would be pay the rent for the schoolhouse; the fuel used by the schoolhouse; the salaries of any assisting teachers he hired; and the educational supplies of the poor children at his school. Over that next decade, limited resources, few schools and increases in poor students unable to pay led to creative measures by City leaders such as limiting the number of years of schooling poor children would receive and offering an a la carte selection of subjects (already available to the pay students) that poor children could take for a small fee.

Dissatisfied with the reach, financing and overall state of public education, Congress passed an 1822 City Ordinance to increase the number of public schools in DC

and create a new source of revenue to support the City's budding public school system. Approved by Congress in 1844, the Act divided the City's (then) six wards into four school districts – each district containing a school with a specific allotment of resources and placing a limit on the number of students per school. The Act also made clear that this new public school system was for “white children between the ages of six and sixteen [who would] be educated in their respective districts and that the male and female students be kept separate during the school hours”.<sup>110</sup> This new Act also stipulated that all students be charged a tuition fee on a monthly basis except in cases where students came from families with an “obvious inability” to pay. The cost and responsibility for educating Black children from DC's free families was not a matter of concern for the City at-large. However, once Emancipation passed in DC in 1862, Congress approved a law mandating that all children (both white and black) between the ages of 6 and 14 receive at least three months of education yearly.

As a result of the compulsory education law, the City's schools experienced a boom in the student population and a decrease in children's participation in the industrialized labor force. The growth of the Black student population was further accelerated by a growth in the City's Black population dovetailed by DC's relatively less tense Reconstruction-Era racial atmosphere than existed in other cities in the country. In DC and other growing metropolitan areas of the U.S., organized afterschool programming rose along with the student population. Juxtaposed against the relative

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<sup>110</sup> Taken from an archived copy of the 1822 City Ordinance (An Act to Increase the Number of Public Schools in the City of Washington, and for Other Purposes) approved December 6, 1844.

rigidity of the school day schedule, afterschool hours were initially developed as a means of providing structured play activities beneficial to student's continued growth and development outside of the classroom (Lee 1915; Halpern 2002). The seeds of the nationally-recognized Boys & Girls Clubs of America were planted during this same historical moment, as a means of providing an alternative to children loitering on city streets.<sup>111</sup> Attitudes towards schooling mimicked the gendered aspect of education at that time, so while both boys and girls contributed to overall increases in school attendance, the groups were largely educated separately and thusly recreation activities were separate. Additionally, domestic responsibilities were largely the domain of woman and girls and this contributed to girls' significantly lower levels of participation in organized afterschool programming.

Socioeconomic factors also figured prominently in issues of access to afterschool programs for children attending public school. By and large, those parents who could afford to do so enrolled their children in private educational institutions with their own afterschool enrichment. The school day, conceptually, ended earlier for poor children and those who were not responsible for chores at home or working to contribute monetarily to their household, were left to their own devices, which often led to mischief. Heading into the 1920s and 30s, particularly in the country's growing urban centers, children not occupied with organized learning-based activities flocked to the variety of the streets which offered opportunities to earn extra money – both legal and illegal. As the cities

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<sup>111</sup> According to the history of the Boys & Girls Clubs of America, three women -- Mary Goodwin, Alice Goodwin and Elizabeth Hammersley -- organized the first Boys Club in 1860 to keep boys off the streets and positively enriched during their out-of-school time.



grew, the risk of injury on the streets and exposure to unsavory people and situations grew and contributed to heightened levels of delinquency amongst children. Many parents and other concerned adults found new ways to keep children off of the streets. One governmental response was the introduction of curfews and truancy laws, but this led to high numbers of children being arrested and the necessity for establishing juvenile courts. Another approach was to invest resources into developing academically-enriching yet enjoyable afterschool programming that focused on the necessity of ‘play’ in a child’s social development. Efforts in this era helped establish the notion of play as a critical element in children’s lives. As it helped children learn to interact with their peers in socially-acceptable and appropriate ways, it helped them make sense of their world (Lee 1915) especially as many poor children did not have the luxury of ‘playtime’, afterschool programming activities allowed them an opportunity to escape the oppressive realities of poverty and inequity that their wealthier counterparts did not experience (Hofferth 1995). Mainly the preoccupation of middle-class adults, the out-of-school hours of white children from poor and working-class families led to the emergence of structured afterschool programs and manifested itself in two ways: 1) an organized outdoor playground movement as a means of creating safe spaces for children to play and 2) indoor programs providing informal academic enrichment along with extracurricular activities. The first such programs took place in churches, private homes and storefronts where children could attend whenever they wished to do so (Hofferth 1995). Although some programs had a religious inclination in their instruction, many had a low expectation levels for the children (Lambert 1944). Low expectations generally in adult assumptions about the

mental capacity of children from lower socioeconomic positions mirrored the expectations these same children experienced in the daytime classrooms (Apple 1982; Anderson 1989; Averhart and Bigler 1997; Bomer et al 2008).

By the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, public schools had largely remained out of the arena of afterschool programming, aside from creating gymnasiums and playgrounds for recreation. Some schools were reluctant to take on what they saw as a social welfare role (Halpern 2002) and were also hesitant to allow private organizations to use of their educational facilities. The symbolic power and authority held in the actual structure of a school building was not readily transferred or relinquished to adults not serving in official capacities in said building. Although there were different types of agencies that would come to sponsor afterschool programs in the City, each establishing its own set of policies, objectives and admissions-criteria, they did not coalesce around a common goal but rather behaved in a competitive, market-driven and ideologically fragmented manner. Because their populations and priorities varied widely, it was easier and more economically sound to remain separate entities. The early 1900s also saw a shift in the types of adults managing afterschool programming: volunteers and part-time workers were increasingly coming from nearby college campuses. Skilled tradesmen and women would sometimes teach crafts-related classes. Even parishioners from local churches could be depended on because many saw this type of service as part of their religious or civic duty. This was especially useful in DC's Black community, for whom the church was a central support in the face of segregated city services.

As the types of enrichment activities grew and attracted larger numbers of children, many programs focused on singular objectives rather than merely occupying children's afterschool hours with enjoyable interactions. Some programs focused on serving children from particular ethnic groups and imbuing them with a sense of pride for and knowledge about their countries of origin. Other programs divided along gender lines and focused on preparing adolescent boys or girls for their lives upon finishing compulsory education: technical or industrial crafts were set to prepare boys for vocational training; and artistic abilities and preparation for domestic responsibilities were available to girls.

#### **THE ROLE OF ADULTS IN AFTERSCHOOL PROGRAMMING**

Halpern (1999, 2002) describes the role of adults in afterschool programming as significant yet subtle in contrast to other sites of child development, such as home and school:

Adults had a clear role in guiding and shaping children's experience, but it was a hidden one. Thus children would do useful things in a fun way...children were seen to need time for talk about wishes and worries, help with personal problems, and linkage to resources outside the program.

The role of adults in the lives of children participating in afterschool programming continued through the 1950s, when many afterschool programs had become a permanent fixture in many communities and established themselves as important elements in the overall development of children, particularly in the face of the more rigidly-structured school day and as was the case with programs serving students at Black public schools in DC outrageous levels of overcrowding and disparate resource allocation. Referring to the

mass displacement of low- and middle-income Washingtonians as a result of Congress passing the 1950 Georgetown Act, famed former Georgetown University Hoyas basketball coach John Thompson spoke about the void filled by DC Metropolitan Police Department-sponsored Boys & Girls Clubs in the overall development of City youth. These clubs became a place where many children new to the lower-income neighborhoods found refuge, stability, and friendship while dealing with the impact of their family's relocation. These afterschool clubs were fertile ground for informal mingling between a mixture of children: they were places where budding sports stars and growing street legends mingled freely. Coaches, leaders, and instructors provided a safe-space from their parents' perspective all while instructing and helping children to develop interpersonal and academic skills. In a 2008 interview for the popular BET television series *American Gangster*, John Thompson linked the success of many of these Club attendees to the coaches and other Club leaders' ability to garner the misbehavior of some of the children and redirect it into leadership-training. There were many Club children who were athletically-gifted or possessed academic talents, however these children would sometimes encounter problems while at school or while travelling between neighborhoods. Resultant issues of truancy, low academic performance, or hanging out with the 'wrong crowd' could potentially derail their desires and lead to missed opportunities for long-term success. In the same episode of the 2008 television series, Cornell Jones, an infamous DC drug kingpin, fondly recalled his younger years spent at a local Boys and Girls Club headed by William "Bill" Butler, a community leader and coach. According to Mr. Jones, "Mr. Butler could help a lot of good kids and the bad kids

he'd take under his wing, like myself. He'd use us to make sure that we'd take care of the good kids.”

Former Coach Thompson added that as the so-called bad kids grew up and began engaging in and profiting from illegal activities, it was these same young men and women who would pay for private high school and college tuitions, purchase sports equipment, and provide other forms of financial support to the Police-sponsored Boys & Girls Clubs and the families of children attending the afterschool programs. From the perspective of Georgetown University Professor Michael Eric Dyson, who was also featured in the *American Gangster* episode, the paradox of illegal activity being used to fund a community-based program was not lost on anyone involved. Particularly in the case of such street legends as Cornell Jones,

In one sense you rip off the very community that you want to help but Cornell Jones was willing to come back and recycle that cash and help out people who were vulnerable in ways that others, ironically enough, who left [the community upon becoming successful] didn't.

Without romanticizing or tacitly-supporting the illicit activities, adults in communities serving poor and underserved children in Washington, DC understood the importance of the continued financial and community-support of afterschool programming. Aside from providing a safe-space within which children could grow and thrive, these programs played a large role in the development of transferrable skills that the children could use to economically-improve the situation of their families.

According to a recent report by the Afterschool Alliance, 8.4 million school-aged children utilize afterschool programming. The below figure demonstrates the racial/ethnic and grade-level breakdown of afterschool participants in the U.S. as of 2009:

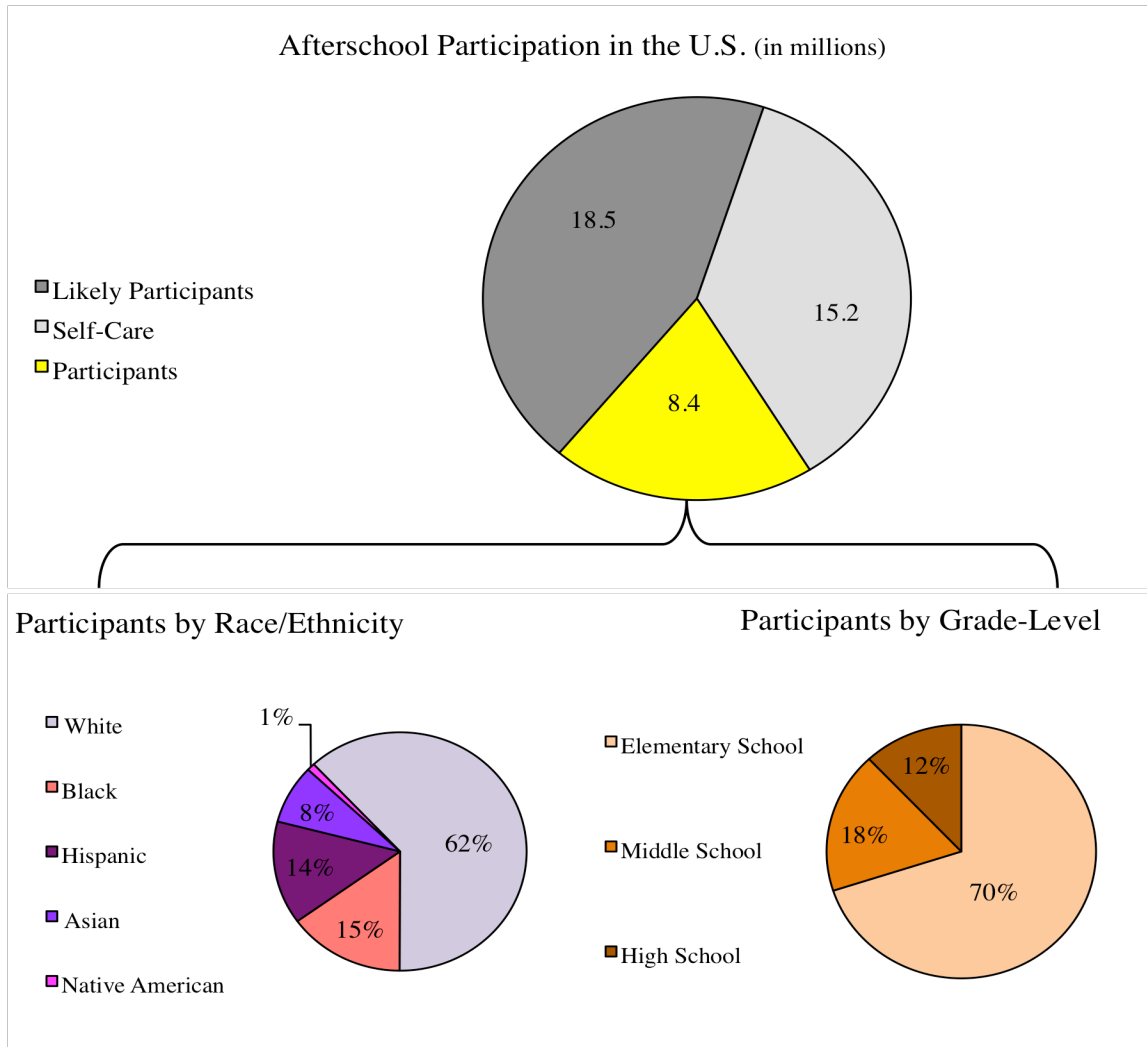


Figure 9: Data extracted from *America After 3pm* 2009 report

For the purpose of the report, school-aged children were divided into three groups<sup>112</sup>: those participating in afterschool programming; those who would likely participate in such programming if it were available to them; and those students who were taking part in activities unsupervised by an adult or taking care of themselves afterschool. In terms of lack of participation, the same report found that there were four major categories of concern for parents and guardians: cost of such programming; the hours of operation; availability to their children; and transportation. Looking more closely at the barriers by grade-level, parents of non-high school aged children cited the quality of care and academic focus as their major concerns. Quality and control are the points where understanding the significance of Title I programming became important in peeling back the layers of apprehension for parents in DCPS and it is here that I will pause for that explanation.

### **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TITLE I IN AFTERSCHOOL PROGRAMMING IN DCPS**

*“We’re not a Title I school; that’s not for our kind of kids. Plus, this is a good school and we don’t need welfare.”* -Latrobe Elementary School parent

Although said in a fairly hushed tone, it shocked me that such a strong statement would come from this particular parent, a 40-ish year-old African American federal EEOC<sup>113</sup> lawyer. However, over the course of my fieldwork at Latrobe Elementary School, I learned how and why a federal program would come to be understood as welfare. Created as a section of President Lyndon B. Johnson’s 1965 Elementary and

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<sup>112</sup> I have provided the racial/ethnic and grade-level breakdown for the Likely Participant group and the Self-Care group in the Appendix.

<sup>113</sup> The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is a federal law enforcement agency that enforces laws against workplace discrimination based on an individual’s race, skin color, national origin, religion, sex, age, disability, or genetic information.

Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and as an integral part of President Johnson's War on Poverty, Title I is formally called Improving the Academic Achievement of the Disadvantaged. The ESEA Title I provides financial assistance to local educational agencies for the education of low-income families. Although Title I is just the first of seven ESEA titles (see Appendix), it plays an outside role in the imagining and functioning of schools. Part A is titled 'Improving Basic Programs Operated By Local Educational Agencies' and is the portion that is most often referenced as it pertains to the availability and use of federal funds in the DC Public School system. At its core, Title I aims to provide all children:

a fair, equal and significant opportunity to obtain a high quality education and reach, at a minimum, proficiency on challenging State academic achievement standards and state assessments.<sup>114</sup>

There are three federal pools of funding from which DC receives support for its Afterschool Programming: the Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF), which accounted for .05% or \$26,556 of what DC received in FY2007 but rose to \$9,856,524 for FY2012<sup>115</sup>; the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Community Learning Centers (21CCLC), which accounted for 9.5% or \$4,807,715 of the funds DC received in FY2007 and is projected for \$5,643,199 serving 5,643 children in FY2013<sup>116</sup>; and the ESEA Title I, which accounted for 90.5% or \$46,025,737 of what DC received in FY2007. The smallest

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<sup>114</sup> According to the United States Department of Education

<sup>115</sup> Data according to the CCDF FY12 Allocation Chart available from the Department of Health and Human Services' Administration for Children & Families' Office of Child Care:  
[http://www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/occ/final\\_allocations\\_2012.pdf](http://www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/occ/final_allocations_2012.pdf)

<sup>116</sup> Data according to the 21CCLC Funding Levels and Budget Analysis available from the Afterschool Alliance's Policy & Action Center:  
[http://www.afterschoolalliance.org/21stCCLC\\_comparison\\_chart\\_2013.pdf](http://www.afterschoolalliance.org/21stCCLC_comparison_chart_2013.pdf)



source of DC's OST funding comes from the CCDF, which provides vouchers or subsidies for low-income parents to pay for childcare in the form of preschool, before- and afterschool programs and summer care for children ages 5-12. The next ranking source of DC Afterschool Program funding comes from the 21CCLC, which is the only federal program dedicated to afterschool programming, specifically for programs that serve predominantly Title I eligible students. Although afterschool programming in DC is available not limited to low-income students, there is a prevailing notion that links the afterschool programming offered through DCPS with the lower-income segment of the student population. Qualitatively, programming associated with federal funding, specifically the ESEA Title I, is eschewed by parents within DCPS who desperately long to distance themselves and their children from such a category of need. Title I, as imagined and as it actually operates, was a site of conflict, resolution and opportunity at Latrobe Elementary School especially as it sought to be widely acknowledged as a 'good' school.

### **So, What is Title I?**

As the oldest and largest federally-funded education program in the United States, the ESEA Title I provides a sizeable amount of money, amounting to \$14 billion in fiscal year 2009<sup>117</sup>, to school systems across the country for students at risk of academic failure and who are living at or near the poverty line. This funding comes in two basic forms: funds for school-wide programs and funds for targeted assistance programs. To qualify

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<sup>117</sup> Statistic provided by the Student Achievement and School Accountability (SASA) Program in the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Elementary and Secondary Education (OESE).

for the former, a school must have 40% or more of its students qualify (based on low-family income) for the Free or Reduced-Price Lunch (FRPL) program. In the DC Public School system, all Title I eligible schools are ranked according to the number of FRPL students. The funds are distributed accordingly until the available funds are exhausted.

The funds that each school receives are given with the overall goal of assisting schools to meet the educational goals of low-income students. They can be used for such areas as: improvements to the curriculum, instructional activities, counseling, supporting parental involvement in the schools, increasing staff, and general program improvement. Typically, DCPS schools focus their Title I funds on supplemental instruction in reading and math, as these are two areas tested on the DC Comprehensive Assessment System (DC-CAS), the City's standardized test measuring academic proficiency, and the two areas whose results have been used to determine the overall success of the various educational reform measures taken in recent years. Interestingly enough, the results from the DC-CAS<sup>118</sup> are also taken into account when evaluating a teacher's performance and ultimately determining whether they continue in the employ of DCPS. With this heightened focus on student results on the reading and math sections of the DC-CAS, supplemental instruction in DCPS largely comes in the form of Supplemental Education

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<sup>118</sup> In 2009 and 2011, DCPS experienced widely publicized cheating scandals, stemming from unusually high numbers of erasures on the DC-CAS test forms. Adding to these scandals was the inordinate test score increases at many DC public schools. Many DCPS insiders cite the 2007 Education Reform Act as the problem because it essentially created a direct line between student test scores and teachers' continued employment, thereby making the DC-CAS a high-stakes test. In an March 2011 article in *The Washington Post*, columnist Valerie Strauss cited DCPS's refusal to investigate the 2009 cheating as the reason of widespread cheating in 2011.

Services (SES) Programs, which occur outside of the normal school hours (i.e. before or afterschool and Saturdays).

### **Not For *Our* Kind of Kids**

From the standpoint of a participant-observer, the underlying sensitivity of a topic can be revealed through the discourse. In the case of school children and resource allocation at Latrobe, tensions were made evident through the existence of an ‘us versus them’ dichotomy that emerged in both formal and informal conversations among parents, teachers and administrators. At Latrobe Elementary School and at the few other DC public schools with a similar racial composition and/or socioeconomic standing, the general rhetoric was that Title I schools were poor-performing schools with predominantly Black and brown students from poverty-stricken neighborhoods. As imagined by adult participants at Latrobe Elementary School, there were no other similarly-situated schools within the Southeast quadrant or its immediate geographic surroundings and there were definitely no other schools having earned the highly-coveted ‘reward’ classification based on the DC OSSE ESEA matrix of evaluation<sup>119</sup>. There were no visual reminders of their relative wealth and racial privilege within DCPS because the other DCPS schools that most closely matched Latrobe Elementary School are located across town in DC’s two wealthiest Wards 2 and 3. According to the U.S. Department of Education, the type of students<sup>120</sup> to whom Title I funding is focused are:

1. Migrant students
2. Students with limited English proficiency

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<sup>119</sup> See Appendix 10a and 10b for complete graphical explanation of school classifications

<sup>120</sup> Improving Basic Programs Operated by Local Educational Agencies (Title I, Part A)

3. Homeless students
4. Neglected students
5. Delinquent students
6. At-Risk students (defined as, having a high number of absences in school; coming from a single-parent homes; having low-academic performance; and/or coming from a low-income family)
7. Any student in need

None of the above descriptions portray the image of a student that would – and for some Latrobe Elementary School parents, staff and other supporters – or *could* fit the prototypical student mold established by the Latrobe community and reinforced by the surrounding Spring Summit neighborhood (see Table 3). According to data from GreatSchools -- a leading source compiling national statistics on U.S. public and public charter school performance and enrollment -- Latrobe Elementary School is a high-ranking public school, has glowing parent reviews, and serves a student body with the following racial/ethnic breakdown:

	<b>Latrobe Elementary School</b>	<b>DCPS Average</b>
<b>Black (non-Hispanic)</b>	39%	78%
<b>White (non-Hispanic)</b>	52%	7%
<b>Hispanic</b>	5%	13%
<b>Asian/Pacific Islander</b>	3%	1%
<b>Two or more races</b>	1%	1%

Table 4: Data from the National Center for Education Statistics, 2010-2011

Attending that particular school or having an association with that particular neighborhood has historically held great significance around the City. It speaks to the presumption of immediate access to resources and powerful, high-ranking decision makers that some neighborhoods in the City have never had. Living in the Spring Summit neighborhood of DC signifies a lifestyle that includes live-in nannies, frequent vacations

to foreign destinations, high-ranking statesmen as neighbors, and measuring relative poverty as a family income in the low six figures. Living in the predominantly white and upper-class neighborhood of Spring Summit comes with a mutual City-wide acknowledgment that you have an exclusive membership to a neighborhood-specific socioeconomic culture, and it reinforces the existence of a race-based system of economic disparity (Anderson 1990; Lipsitz 2006) that marks DC neighborhoods, but particularly those few where inordinate wealth is marked as whiteness even as it immediately borders a relative Black- and brown-faced poverty. It became clear to me as the school year progressed why Latrobe Elementary School parents were working so diligently to remove what they felt to be the scarlet letter eligibility for Title I school funding – even if this removal meant ridding the school of the poor, Black students since the Latrobe mentality was that it was a ‘good’ school only deserving to *their* kind of students.

#### **DEFINING THE ‘GOOD’ SCHOOLS**

During the 2012-2013 academic school year, the DCPS system had 98 schools eligible for and classified as Title I schools. Of this number, 4 schools are classified as Targeted Assistance Title I schools. This can mean one of two things: either the school has at least 35% of its student body who qualify for the FRPL Program so the services available under Title I Part A are only provided to a select group of children at the school; or the school has chosen not to accept that type of federal funding and does not operate as having a Title I school-wide program.

Within the DC Public School system, only a small percentage of the Title I funding is allocated to the latter form of assistance and for the 2012-13 school year, only four schools were categorized as having Targeted Assistance Programs compared to the 94 schools receiving Title I funding categorized as having school-wide programs. There are no public schools in DC receiving Title I funding in DC's two wealthiest wards (2 and 3), which have the City's 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> ranked percentages of Whites with 70% and 78%, respectively. Whiteness, geography and access to student resources are all linked. In a public school system where upwards of 84% of the students do not benefit from the wealth and resources available for Wards 2 and 3<sup>121</sup>, there are many actors and factors complicit in this maintenance of power, spatial hierarchy and privilege. The ward with the next highest percent of non-Hispanic Whites in DC is Latrobe Elementary School's Ward 6 with 47%. With its proximity to the seat of national power and boasting residents with immense political influence, living in the Ward 6 neighborhood of Summit Spring is a point of prestige and a constant reminder of one's relative socioeconomic advantage. It carried social capital and relative leverage for many of the school parents who were unwaveringly assured that their children were on par in every resource as their wealthy, white counterparts on the Western side of the City. The quality of education at one level of schooling was an important factor in determining a student's academic competitiveness for their next level of schooling. That is to say, if Johnny is attending a Title I elementary school in one of the many economically-disadvantaged public schools in DC, Johnny will have little to no chance of being accepted into a high-performing

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<sup>121</sup> The DCPS system has a total of 20 schools in Wards 2 and 3.

middle school in the DC public school system that is not receiving Title I funding. As such, Latrobe parents coalesced around the goal of creating a top-notch learning environment for their children. This would require the use of their social and professional networks but it would not rely upon Title I funding from DCPS, because popular perception within as well as outside of the DCPS community was that a school receiving such funding could not possibly offer a quality education to its student body. Title I funding was looked at as a handout. According to Mrs. Meadows, Title I was “worse than free money. At least with free money I can do with it what I please, but when you get Title I money, it’s like they nitpick every single penny they give you. It’s almost not even worth it”. Although a harsh perspective, Mrs. Meadows voiced what many DCPS teachers and parents knew: accepting Title I funds takes away any autonomy of choice in a school’s activities.

In addition to decreased decision-making power, a parent might perceive a decrease in their social and symbolic capital from having sent their student to a Title I school. Education and economic researchers (Bogart and Cromwell 1997, Crone 1998, Brasington 1999, Jones 1999, NEA 2004) have proven a direct correlation between housing values and the quality of academic programs in public primary and secondary schools. According to a 2004 report from the National Education Association, economists recognize a link between the quality of public primary and secondary (or K-12) education and a City’s economic development. To be sure, they performed a series of statistical regression studies measuring the influence of public spending on K-12 education on economic development in the U.S. They were able to demonstrate a measurable and

statistically-significant influence on economic development. Moving further in their analysis, they measured the link between school resources, student performance, and housing values. Referencing an article<sup>122</sup> in *USA Today* newspaper, two comparably-sized homes sold at about the same time in the same neighborhood in Dallas, Texas: one home sold for \$155,000 and the other home sold for \$276,000. This occurred because the more expensive home is located in a school district where college entrance scores rank in the Top 1 % in the U.S., while the lower-valued home does not fall within that school district's boundaries. Time and again, research demonstrates that across the United States, a house located in a high-performing, high-quality district is likely to be worth at least 10% more than a similar house whose residents must attend a lower-rated school district – this holds true even in instances where the homes are located across the street from one another.

The desire to rid the school of Title I funding was profound, and as I overheard many times over the course of my field experience at Latrobe Elementary School, “we’re not a Title I school...this is a good school in a good neighborhood”.

#### **FAREWELL, WELFARE: AFTERSCHOOLING AT LATROBE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL**

According to the DC Public Schools policy on its Aftercare/Out-of-School (OST) Time Programming, “all families are encouraged to register [of] factors such as the legal status of parents or guardians will not prevent a student from enrolling”. I was reviewing the guidelines prior to the start of the school year with the Aftercare Coordinator at

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<sup>122</sup> Del Jones’ May 15, 1999 article “Location, Location, Location: Better Schools Mean Higher Property Values, Home Buyers Go Shopping for Schools.”



Latrobe Elementary School. The coordinator, an African-American woman in her mid-to-late forties, also held a teaching position during school hours. As we chatted in her office and I read over a copy of the policies and procedures, I asked if there had been an issue or concern in the past to lead to the specific reference to the parents' legal status. Just having met her that afternoon, I was unaccustomed with her brusque and ill-tempered demeanor. So when she replied by saying, "Oh, that just means Mexicans don't have to worry about getting picked up"<sup>123</sup> I was momentarily stunned and quickly moved to another topic for fear of where her response would lead. This was the first of numerous personal encounters with parents, teachers, and other Latrobe Elementary School staff in which race, class, or both were referenced to establish familiarity with or superiority to a person or group, or justification of programmatic initiatives and the distribution of the requisite resources. Resource allocation and its topics related to the Latrobe educational community had a tendency to divide along lines of race and class – the significance of which is supported by a 2009 report<sup>124</sup> from the DC Fiscal Policy Institute which found the income disparity between White and non-White households in DC to be much greater than White and non-White income disparity in the general U.S. population. This mirrored the predominantly African-American populated, DCPS-sponsored (and low-to-no cost) Out-of-School Time (OST) Afterschool Program compared to the Latrobe Elementary

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<sup>123</sup> Citizenship concerns and immigration status would not become an issue for the DC Public School system until an August 2012 DCPS press release suggested that parents be required to provide proof of citizenship upon enrolling their child into afterschool programming. The DC Office on Latino Affairs immediately requested the repeal of such a requirement, to which the DCPS stated that the press release was a "total mistake" and released accidentally.

<sup>124</sup> D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute, D.C. Poverty Demographics (Washington, D.C.: D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute, March 2009). <http://dcfpi.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/poverty1.pdf>

School predominantly white student-populated, PTA-sponsored (and higher cost) After-Care Enrichment (ACE) Program – a battle about which I will fully expound in Chapters 7 and 8.

## **Chapter 7. Reading, ‘Riting, ‘Rithmetic & Reform: Structural Racism and Educational Disparity**

*“I excelled in D.C. schools, but I wasn’t ready for college.”*

- Darryl Robinson, alumnus of DC public charter school system

*“At what point do we say that practices are not just bad, but [rather they are] racially discriminatory?”*

- Mica Pollock in her book, *Because of Race*

On March 11, 2010, I attended the DC City Council’s Committee of the Whole Public Hearing regarding the effectiveness of charter education compared to that offered by the City’s public school system. In contrast to the public interest and turnout, only two of the total twelve Council members were in attendance. In a room of parents, local educational leaders, and community activists, I also noted that the diversity in race and age, albeit the majority of the attendees were women. Amongst the testimonies given that afternoon, the common issues for selecting charter schools over public schools were perceived and/or actual racial tension; concerns regarding academic rigor; and post-secondary student preparedness, particularly for its predominantly Black student population. A white female Ward 4 parent explained her decision to enroll her child in a charter school as a last resort upon feeling unwelcomed at her neighborhood public school and the weak school leadership she found after sending her child to an (implied better) school west of the Park. A black female Ward 5 parent cited increased access to resources and advanced math and science programmatic offerings. A Latina director of school quality provided a slideshow on academic progress and benchmarks supporting DC’s public charter schools. A black female parent with four children and one stepchild gave an emotional and stirring testimony about her expectations as a native

Washingtonian and alumna of the DC public school system. She had seen too many failings over the last decade of DCPS and refused to “gamble” her children’s education by trusting the City’s public school system to properly prepare them for college. Former DC Mayor and current DC City Councilmember Marion Berry joined the meeting after much of the testimony had ended. True to his political roots as a champion for ‘the people’ and his present role as representative of one of DC’s least advantaged and most ignored wards, Barry closed the meeting with the following sentiment shared by most in attendance:

It should not be just about DCPS versus DCPCS [DC Public Charter Schools] but rather an issue of choice. Poor families should not have to send their kids to low-performing schools. Ward 8 has the lowest amount of money invested in it [versus the other 7 City wards]! I’m tired of folks east of the Anacostia [River] struggling but striving while those west of the Park thrive. There must be parity. There must be support.

Councilmember Barry’s calls for action spoke to the need to end the City’s lack of demonstrated interest in the academic well-being of students from less economically-advantaged neighborhoods. Although euphemistically phrased, Barry’s statement and the day’s collective testimonies challenged DC’s status quo of overinvesting in the education of white students while simultaneously devaluing that of black students, particularly in the City’s public schools. This needed immediate structural change and, rather than relocating students to the supposed safer shores of charter education, many wanted a close and careful analysis to occur for an abrupt dismantling of the City’s racialized educational disparity – a readily illustrated race-based inequity demonstrated in Figure 10 and according to data collected in 2012 establishing schools in great need (red) located in

the City’s predominantly poor and Black neighborhoods and schools at the top of the tier (green) located in the City’s predominantly white northwestern quadrant.

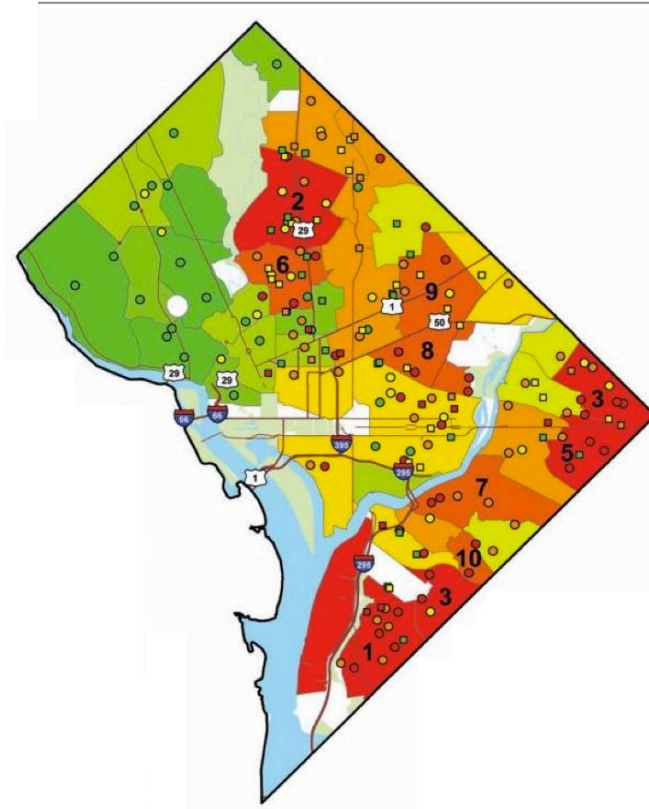


Figure 10. Map of Service Gap in Public Schools, Source: “Quality Schools: Every Child, Every School, Every Neighborhood,” IFF January 2012

Having the opportunity to closely engage the world of public education in DC, I began to informally collect data in August 2009, paying particular attention to the incredible inequity within the system and the ways in which said inequity had been justified. Beginning my fieldwork in August 2012, I reflected on the structural realities in the reproduction of a black-white racial binary in the District’s public school system. As

a former student in DCPS with an overwhelmingly pleasant educational experience, this investigation would provide me a new perspective on the world into which I was be stepping in my capacity as a teacher at Latrobe Elementary School. I knew it would challenge my admittedly rose-tinted memory of DCPS. What I did not realize was that I would begin learning the finer points of the school's racial dynamics before even stepping foot on the campus.

Prior to the start of my experience at the elementary school, the Aftercare Coordinator hosted a welcome reception for the new and returning staff for the DCPS-sponsored afterschool program. Held in a private room at a DC-area restaurant, the welcome reception served as both a social icebreaker as well as an informal workshop on the rules and regulations of the DCPS Program. During her opening comments, the coordinator casually cautioned the new staffers of the long-standing tension between what she termed 'the two factions' – the DCPS Afterschool Program and the ACE Program. After my initial experience just days in Ms. Seaton's office where she brusquely joked about undocumented Mexicans being deported, her curt and almost inappropriate manner of speaking did not shock me as it seemed to have shocked the other new staffers. Talking to DCPS Afterschool Program staffers at the dinner about the ACE Program, I learned that Latrobe Elementary's PTA contracted a private afterschool program to facilitate a separate program for Latrobe Elementary School students. The ACE Program, as it was frequently referred, purportedly charged an exclusionary high tuition rate relative to the rate charged by the existing DCPS-sponsored OST program. To further Ms. Seaton's 'us versus them' speech, she explained the difference between the

two programs by extending her hand outwards, palm down to indicate the brown ‘us’ then she flipped her hand with her palm facing upwards to indicate the white ‘them’. I do not know if her level of comfort discussing race in such a manner had to do with the fact that there were no school staffers present who racially identified as white. Nonetheless, the Aftercare Coordinator continued speaking quite casually about the inequitable ways in which the two programs had been handled. She explained instances where Latrobe teachers were not allowing their classrooms to be used for the DCPS-OST Program and having to be forced to do so by the school’s principal, Mr. Franklin Reed. She told stories of parents enrolling their children into the DCPS-OST program only to arrive early for afterschool pickup in order to monitor the competence and skill of the DCPS-OST instructors. At the end of the welcome reception, my nervous enthusiasm for the fresh start of a new school year had been replaced with second-guessing my selection of schools and wondering what future interactions with the Aftercare Coordinator and the school principal would entail. As I walked to my car to head home and review my notebook full of schedules, school newsletters, and DCPS policies, I felt unwelcomed at the Latrobe Elementary School community and disappointed to start a year at a potentially tense school. I prepared myself for a very hostile learning environment and hoped for the best.

I began my first day at Latrobe Elementary School armed with my DCPS-OST binder of student activities and class schedules. I anticipated an atmosphere of high racial tensions but calmed my jitters by thinking through Bourdieu’s writings on symbolic capital within education and Apple’s social fields of power within the landscape of

secondary education. I was determined that if worse came to worst, I would keep my experiences within an academic framework and maintain a professional distance, so as to not get my feelings hurt by anyone's racist words or actions. Luckily, what I prepared myself to see did not happen – in fact, within my first month teaching at the school, the most glaring example of disparity was through the symbolic capital associated with the ACE program and evidenced by the enrolled students who were from families: 1) with disposable income to spend on higher-cost enrichment programs for their child/ren; and 2) who place more monetary value on extra-curricular education for their student(s) than parents whose children were not enrolled in ACE. While I had not witnessed or heard of any aggressive race-based incidents of inequity, by the night of the first PTA meeting at Latrobe Elementary School, I had already seen countless instances in which parents and teachers alike acted and traded on the symbolic capital of the ACE Program. For them, the ACE Program was populated by students who deserved the additional investment of time and money into their academic and social well-being. If that meant that the ACE students attended a public Congressional hearing on Capitol Hill for a lesson on civic responsibility, while the DCPS-OST students drew pictures of 'what being a good citizen' for that same lesson, then it was no one's fault. It was merely an issue of cost. And if the ACE students were majority white and the DCPS-OST students were majority Black, then again it was merely a coincidence and not indicative of a larger racist system of meritocracy at the school.

By October, supporters of the DCPS-OST Program had become more vocal about the ACE program being a duplication of efforts of the existing DCPS-OST Program. The



supporters of the ACE program viewed the DCPS-OST program as a reminder that Latrobe Elementary School enrolled students who did not come from the ‘right’ kind of families and thus began various attempts on the part of parents and staff of the ACE Program to remove the DCPS-OST program from Latrobe Elementary School and thereby removing that supposed stain of Title I status.

### **JUSTIFYING DISPARITY: THE TROPE OF THE “OUT-OF-BOUNDARY” STUDENT**

The DC Public School System is open to all children whose primary residence is within the geographical borders of the City. However, these boundary lines of DC’s 8 wards are just one manner in which a family determines which DCPS school their child must enroll. As of the 2009 academic year, there are two types of assigned schools: neighborhood schools and destination schools. The former, as it is named, designates school assigned based on a student’s home address. The latter is a school into which a student’s current DCPS school feeds. For example, if a student is attending X Elementary School, which is outside of their neighborhood designation, and that elementary school feeds, or graduates its students to, Y Middle School, then this student can be allowed to enroll in Y Middle School because it is their destination school.

This system of address-based assignation of schools would work wonderfully of school equity was a reality. However, schools located in impoverished, communities of color have been proven (Cohn 1972; Aptheker 1973; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Apple 1982; Oakes 1985; Gamoran 1987; Berry and Asamen 1989; Henig 1999; Mellnik and Cenziper 1999; Hale 2001; Brown et al 2004; Franklin and Savage 2004; Bracey 2005; Banerji 2006; Lacy 2007; National Education Association 2008; Whitman 2008) to be

inadequately-resourced relative to the redundantly-resourced schools concentrated in the City's sites of whiteness: the Northwest quadrant and the stand-alone neighborhood of Spring Summit.

According to DCPS policy, students attending Out-of-Boundary schools, also referred to as 'out-of-boundary students', are subject to a different, more stringent attendance policy than other students in DCPS. As detailed in the 'Out-of-Boundary Absenteeism Protocol (DCPS 2011), such students exceeding ten unexcused absences or twenty unexcused tardies can be disallowed the permission to attend their current school and will be returned to their neighborhood school. This action understood as punitive, reinforced the overall ideology in the school system that high-performing schools were highly-sought after and that since most of those schools were located in 'white' neighborhoods, non-white students were more than likely attending said schools under the 'out-of-boundary' policy of admission. At Latrobe Elementary School, this conflation with blackness and out-of-boundary status was enacted through everyday discriminatory acts, one such demonstration occurred in the early Fall season of the school year – a time I would later realize dovetailed with the beginning of a new fiscal year.

I arrived at Latrobe Elementary School to the regular, bustling activity of the afterschool departures. I enter the building, greet the security officer and after signing in at the Main Office, I chat with Flora Castanelli, the school's Office Manager. Although a woman in her senior years of life, Mrs. Castanelli had more energy than most of the teachers in their 20s and 30s and in our daily 5-minute conversations, she was typically multi-tasking office duties and handling the issue du jour of one of the elementary

children, who used her office as a space to vent about the rigors of elementary-school life. On most afternoons upon my arrival, Mrs. Castanelli and I would exchange greetings, she may offer me a piece of candy or pastry that she has baked for the office staff, and we laugh about some funny or odd occurrence that has taken place amongst the school's student body. Today, however, was quite different. Whereas I had become accustomed to seeing her smiling face as I entered the building, she was expressionless standing still behind the front desk counter. I approached her with my usual overly-exuberant greeting but was met with a weak, "Hi Ms. Childs. How are you?" It was the kind of greeting that was less of a question as to your day's events and more of a run-on rote expression. Not knowing what had happened to cause her such a shift in demeanor, I replied simply, signed in, and turned to walk out of the Front Office. As I did so, I heard her say, "Umm, Ms. Childs, can you come to my office for a quick minute?". I followed her into her office and closed the door behind me. As I sat down, placing my belongings in the chair next to me, I looked up to see Mrs. Castanelli on the verge of crying. I felt awkward, as we had not shared much emotion aside from our short, congenial exchanges each school day. I asked her what was wrong, to which she replied without pause:

Ms. Childs I didn't realize how upset I was until I saw you walking up to the building [through the wall-sized window at the front of the school]. I guess it didn't bother me until I saw you, but it's just as well since I don't know who else I'd say this to anyways. So I get here this morning like normal and as I'm putting my things away, Mr. Reed [the school principal who is a white male] asks me to stand outside the building and record the out-of-state driver's licenses dropping students off this morning! First of all, you know how cold it's getting in the morning so I didn't want to stand around, plus I didn't understand why any of what he said made sense. So he says that the school system needs to cut its budget when and where it can and that we need to monitor the numbers of out-of-boundary kids who are taking up slots that neighborhood students deserve. Then

he says to make it easier on myself that I should just keep an eye out for the cars dropping off black kids since most of them don't live around here anyway! I mean, can you honestly believe that? I was so shocked but I didn't say anything. I should have said something but I couldn't. I was stunned. But I did what he asked. I've been living here for decades and I can't believe he'd think something like that. I mean, you know he's not from this area so he doesn't really get it, but for a principal to be so blatantly [shakes her head, as if unable to say the word 'racist']. I don't mean to burden you and I know you have to go see about your students, so thanks for listening.

I looked at my watch and realized that I had one minute to get to my students' classroom and start the afternoon's lesson, but I also realized that she had spoken non-stop for minutes straight. As I quickly gathered my things to proceed to my classroom, Mrs. Castanelli hugged me, saying in my ear, "don't say anything about this. I just had to share because he's trying to ruin our little Latrobe and I know how much you care." From that moment throughout the remainder of the school year, I paid much more attention to the ways in which the school leadership, and those parents and teachers supporting his agenda, interacted and engaged with the students, teachers, and families of color at Latrobe Elementary School.

#### **DISPARITY IN CULTURAL APPRECIATION AT LATROBE ES**

Latrobe Elementary School is one of the few racially-diverse public elementary schools in the City. The school's parents and staff emphasized that their students understand and become knowledgeable of the increasingly globalized world around them. Many of the students had been travelling domestically and internationally since they were babies, so their acknowledgment and celebration of diverse cultures was not a novel endeavor.

Although attempts at multicultural education at Latrobe Elementary School seemed well-intentioned and many of these students were familiar with and open to World cultures, my experience working at the school showed me that the ways in which these cultures were being consumed was troubling, as much of the pedagogical demonstrations reified stereotypes, taught tolerance rather than appreciation, and were reductive to the point of becoming a mockery. One such occasion was the much-anticipated International Night at the school.

International Night had been advertised for three weeks in the school's weekly newsletter since the school year began in August. Based on the school's emphasis on cultural diversity, its pledge to honor and respectfully represent the many nations from which the students hail, the daily interactions with racially diverse students and families hailing from almost every corner of the globe, representing various religious beliefs and speaking many languages, including American Sign Language, I was expecting to enter the school's multi-purpose room and be met with the same varied representation of culture that I see during working hours. As I made my way through a crowded hallway, leading to the line to purchase my admissions ticket to attend the International Night event, I could hear a cacophony of instrumental music and an odd aroma. I was so excited that I figured the music and food would become more distinct once I entered the room. I was woefully underwhelmed by what I saw: approximately 40 stands each representing a country. As I walked around the multi-purpose room mindful not to express the disappointment I felt, I became increasingly alarmed at how reductive and stereotypical the event was. The stand representing Mexico offered what appeared to be store-bought

tacos and a rice side dish. The young child standing behind the stand wore a sombrero and had a wide moustache painted below his nose. The stand representing the United States, or as the sign read “America” had a white child wearing a blonde wig and pretending to speak in a derogatory Southern accent, punctuated by “ya’ll” every few words. She was serving the usual American fare of apple pie, hamburgers, and soda. There was a stand representing Black culture, as if to highlight and unlink any inherent American-ness with blackness. At this stand, a young white child had a platter of fried chicken and a tray along side with corn muffins. I assume that the intention was to display ‘soul food’, but upon seeing these displays, I casually excused myself from the room and sat in my car to vent to a friend. I could not believe that this event, promoted for weeks and supported by the staff and parents at the school, was so lacking in even a basic level of cultural competence or appreciation.

As the school year progressed and cultural holidays came and went, I learned in September and October that Hispanic Heritage Month was an opportunity for students to be reminded that Mexico and Spain are not the only Spanish-speaking countries and that it is sufficient to conclude the month’s celebration by allowing the students to watch the *Beverly Hills Chihuahua* movie. I learned at the end of January that the Chinese New Year celebration was reduced to a lesson on how Chinese people write using ‘stick-figure letters’, that each student would receive a dollar bill inside a red, gilded envelope and then take part in the creation of a mural in the school’s front corridor of fire-breathing dragons. By February, I was prepared to see and hear just about anything. But to my surprise, I saw nothing. There were no special lessons, no presentations planned, and no

field trips to any of the thousand local, historical sites about African Americans in Washington, DC. I waited a week, thinking that I would allow some time for the teachers to remove the dragon mural from the so-called Chinese New Year celebration. By the middle of February, I ask one of the more vocal, veteran parents Michelle Lockley.

*Me: Am I wrong to ask why there isn't any visual representation for Black History Month around the school?*

*Mrs. Lockley: Quite honestly, that's a battle I can't deal with right now. With all the issues with the ACE kids and our kids, and no one wants to fund us, and...*

*Me [interrupting]: So the kids aren't going to have any recognition of what this month means?*

*Mrs. Lockley: They [parents of white students] think it's divisive, the teachers don't like figuring out how to integrate it into their lessons, and the kids think it's boring anyway.*

*Me: I can't believe you're okay with this.*

*Mrs. Lockley: Yeah, I know. They finally got me. I'm tired of arguing with them about it every year. And like I said, all my energy is going towards keeping the afterschool program open, so [shrugs shoulders].*

Although I saw the ways in which cultural diversity had been celebrated and/or ignored during the school year, a small part of me looked forward to how Latrobe Elementary School parents would celebrate Black History Month, especially considering the percentage of black students attending the school.

I believe that my talk with Mrs. Lockley was a part of the reason that, by that next school week, I began seeing announcements about a Black History Month Program to be held during the last class period on the last school day of February. The Program consisted of an hour-long series of students reciting poems and letters from famous Black people. The school bell rang, giving students the option to leave and play outside or

remain in the auditorium to finish the Black History Month Program. Less than ten students remained in the auditorium for the additional 35 minutes. To reward them, Mrs. Lockley ordered a pizza for those students. I ate a slice of pizza and headed outdoors with the remaining After School Program students. When the other students found out that there was pizza after the Black History Month Program, one of them said, “Man, that’s not fair. I would sat through the rest too if I had known there was gonna be pizza”.

Borrowing from Amanda Lewis’ take on the interrogation of school-based injustices, it is imperative that we “raise the expectation that schools and other educational settings are spaces where (particularly young) minds are con(testing) identities” (Lewis, 37). It was my personal experience and observation that the attempts at exposing the children to different cultures in an academic environment potentially caused more harm than good. Rather than presenting the variations amongst and within cultural groups in a value-neutral manner, the school’s staff (as supported by the financial backing of the PTA) made some cultural celebrations “fun” and other cultural celebrations “a chore”. Considering the developmental state of young children, creating such often uncontested links for them at an early age do more disservice to a child’s worldview and for the Black students at Latrobe Elementary school, it created situations where they all-too-often turned away from celebrating African-American history and culture because, as one fourth-grade student told her mother “it’s boring and nobody even cares about it”.



## **STAFFING PRACTICES AND DISPARATE TEACHING AT LATROBE ES**

*“They like you, so you’d be okay. But otherwise, you’d have to wear white-face in order to teach here.”*

- advice received from Mrs. Meadows on how getting hired

The DC public education system, particularly in Wards 5, 7 and 8 where the socioeconomic levels are at their lowest city-wide and the perception of the “bad” student is at the highest city-wide, has focused a great deal of energy and assessment on classroom management. However anecdotal, it was generally understood amongst those veteran teachers and staff working with students in the DC public schools that, even the worst-behaved students would adjust their demeanor while in the presence of the older Black and mostly female teachers – the majority of whom had taught that student’s parents, older siblings, or other adult and thus garnered respect in that community. Mrs. Meadows and other colleagues of mine with over 10 years teaching experience in public education have shared with me that the climate of a school is largely-determined on the teacher-student relationships as supported by the child’s home environment. Trained teachers should be able to teach all children, however as Amanda Lewis (2007, p. 174) states, this requires:

some reflection on the cultural rules that dominate classroom contexts and the ways those rules do or do not reflect the cultural resources and understandings that different children bring to school with them.

Regardless of the teacher’s race or sex, the shared experience of long-time educators in the City’s public schools was that the older and more respected teachers generally were quite familiar with that school’s community, and had in many cases lived in or near said community for a number of years. The demonstrated investment of these teachers was

unquestioned by parents and community members, allowing them the ability to achieve in one phone call to a student's home, what may require multiple phone calls, multiple requests for parent/teacher meetings, and not-so-veiled threats of suspension from a newer teacher. While unfair to the many new teachers who are in contrast to such a characterization, the general impression of the newer, younger and majority white-female base of DC's public schools is that they are neither invested in nor familiar with their students, school and its surrounding community. As shared with me by many of the parents of Latrobe Elementary School's black students, the predominantly white and female teaching staff at Latrobe Elementary School gave this very impression of disinterest, unfamiliarity, and a reluctance to establish a connection with their children. Not only had parents encountered instances of teachers equating racial identification with levels of intelligence or aptitude, but over the course of the year particularly as they became more acquainted with me, they shared instances in which white teachers were outright dismissive of the black students' overall developmental needs, assuming that these children were merely 'out-of-boundary students' with little to no capital (in terms of Bourdieu) upon which to merit their investment of sound and proper teaching. Unfortunately, my time at the school allowed me countless opportunities to witness or to listen to parents of Black students share their experiences with such injustices.

### **You're Half-Black, So You're Half Stupid**

I noticed an adult during my first day teaching at Latrobe Elementary School. Aside from her warm smile, statuesque build, and deep ebony skin, she seemed to walk as if floating on air. She seemed to be quite fashionable and meticulously-attired, yet

allowed small children covered in finger-paint to hug her and give her high-fives. I did not know whether she was a teacher or a parent, but she seemed to truly be a joy to be around as evidenced by the number of children and parents who flocked towards her and followed her every step. I chalked this up as part-and-parcel of the enthusiasm associated with the first day to school, but the same exuberance and eagerness to talk with this woman happened that next day and the day after.

On my fourth day at the school, I was monitoring my students' during their 'study break' on the school's playground. I heard someone say, "Why, you're a new face to Latrobe" and as I turned towards the sound of the voice, I saw Mrs. Saito 'float' towards me, with two blonde-haired pre-school children in tow. Washington, DC is a city of great diversity and Latrobe Elementary School was no different, so I was not sure whether these were her children. That question was quickly answered when she said to them, "Okay now, go find your mommy while I chit chat". Within the span of a 10-minute conversation, I learned that Frances Saito was a long-time parent at the school and a resident of the Spring Summit neighborhood who had lived in her native Kenya for many years before spending her adolescence through her early 20s in London. I shared with her that I was a native Washingtonian, that my best friend recently relocated just outside of London and that I had a relative living in the Spring Summit area. After some enthusiasm at those commonalities, she pointed out her son to me, playing softball with his schoolmates. Gregory was in the third grade and unfortunately having to repeat that grade due to his father (from whom Mrs. Saito is now divorced) taking him for almost a full year while travelling in Southeast Asia for his business. She did not regret the experience

for Gregory, but wondered if he would later wish his parents had allowed him to stay with his classmates at Latrobe Elementary School instead. She explained that she was a quite active in the Spring Summit community and that, if I ever had any questions about the school or the community, then to please let her know. Over the next few months, this became a regular conversation and I began to look forward to my brief minutes with someone for whom who everyone at the school seemed to part the proverbial waters. As she became more comfortable speaking with me, the brief conversations went from talks of fashion, neighborhood events, and local boutiques, to fairly frank topics regarding her son's racial identity and the ways in which she and her husband had been allowing him ample opportunities to appreciate both his black Kenyan heritage as well as his father's white British heritage. She wanted Gregory to not simply attend a multi-cultural school but rather be exposed to many different types of cultures while he was still young and developing his value system.

On a particularly chilly afternoon, some children remained indoors with the Tae Kwon Do Instructor and others came outside with me and three other teachers for their daily playground time. Mrs. Saito walked over to me as she usually did; however her spirit seemed to be dulled.

*Me: Hi Frances. You don't seem you're usual self. Weekend wasn't so great?*

*Mrs. Saito: I just left the conference with Mr. Reed, Greg's teacher, and the Newmans.*

*Me: Who are the Newmans? And why'd you have a conference? Oops, you know I'm sorry to pry.*

*Mrs. Saito: You're not. I thought I told you. Sorry, it's been a busy weekend and I didn't see you yesterday.*

Me: *I was sick. You told me these kids would get me sick one of these days and sure enough...*

Mrs. Saito: *Your immune system will get stronger the longer you're around these germ-factories [slightly smiles].*

Me: *I've heard that before, minus the 'germ-factory' part. But whatever, let's get back to the conference. Is Gregory in trouble or something?*

Mrs. Meadows: *No. Not at all, but his dad and I had to sit him down this weekend for a talk. So, it started Saturday. No, it actually started last month but I'll get to that in a sec. This weekend my best friend [Leslie] was in town. She's Greg's godmom and they've always been close until she moved last year. So he wanted to go to that Monster Truck thingy in Virginia and luckily, Leslie was all for it. So I go to the Wine Tasting with some friends since I had the day free. I get a call like 2 hours after they leave from Leslie. She's practically in tears and I'm instantly worried about what's going on. Why did she tell me that Greg told her that she didn't like him because he was Black?!*

Me: *What?! What would make him ask that? He's known her all of his life, right?*

Mrs. Saito: *Yeah, I mean she's known him longer than he's known himself. She's been the best godmom to him. But apparently she wouldn't let him stand on his seat [in the stadium], which he knows he shouldn't do anyway. When she told him to sit down properly, he yelled that she didn't like him because he was Black. So she's shocked and of course the people sitting near them are shocked. So they left the truck show and came home.*

Me: *Well what made him say that to her? Had she said anything before then?*

Mrs. Saito: *She said maybe he was angry because she moved and...I don't know, you never know how kids get these thoughts. But Greg's dad and I figured it out that night. Greg and Denver [other child involved] had been friends since they were four. Well it seems they've not been as close as before but Greg never said anything about Denver not being his friend anymore. Well last month in the middle of class, Greg asks his teacher a question that I guess she had already explained to the class. Denver yells out that Greg is half-stupid because he's half-Black. So the kids laugh and Greg leaves the classroom.*

Me: *Wait, I'm sorry. I'm not understanding you. Some child called Greg half-stupid because he's half-black?*

Mrs. Saito: [nodding in affirmation] *Yes. And worst of all, the teacher didn't think it merited a phone call home. You realize I've seen that woman at least 10 times since the*

*incident happened and she never said a word to me. She claimed in the conference meeting that she was didn't want to make a big deal about it and the kids let it go and moved on. I was furious!*

Me: *Well what did this kid's parents say? Did they get notified?*

Mrs. Saito: *No, the teacher didn't call them either. But do you know that Mrs. Newman sat in that meeting and cried? She actually cried! She said that she didn't know where her child could have gotten such an idea to insult a classmate like that and that she isn't raising her children to be racist and all this nonsense about her kids are color-blind. She went on and on to the point that Principal Reed walked over to her and offered her a box of Kleenex. So Mr. Newman is consoling her, Principal Reed is sitting there like a mute, and me, the mother of the child called stupid? I'm sitting there dumbfounded watching this pathetic performance.*

Me: *So she made it about her?*

Mrs. Saito: *Yes, she did. I'm stunned that Greg is having to go through this and sickened that he kept this inside for almost an entire month. Maybe he didn't want to tell me to not hurt my feelings, but he could've told his dad. [sighs deeply] I just don't know.*

While Mrs. Saito's enthusiasm returned within a few days, she shared that she needed to be extra vigilante about her son's treatment at the school. I could tell from her overall demeanor for the rest of the school year that her level of trust in her son's teachers had been greatly diminished.

### **I Wish I Had Known YOU Were His Parents**

The link between teacher expectations and student academic performance has been firmly-established through the last few decades of academic research (Sowell 1974, Rodgers 1975, Sarup 1983, Oakes 1985, Ogbu 1986, Teachman 1987, Mac An Ghaill 1988, Foley 1990, Orton 1996, Valencia and Solorzano 1997, Orr 1999, Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell 1999, Ferguson 2000, Fergus 2004, Lacy 2007, Lewis 2007, Paixão 2009). In terms of teachers understanding of the various internal and phenotypical

identities of a student, Bourdieu's conceptual framework exploring the social reproduction of class as understood through four categories of capital: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic is especially helpful. For many teachers at Latrobe Elementary School, the time and energy invested into a student was in direct correlation with their perception of said student's amount of capital. To be sure, students from families seeming to have little or no disposable income, owned-property, high-level social connections, educational credentials, fluency in the linguistic style of the supposed-dominant culture, or other symbols of high social-standing did not receive the same focus on or attention to their academic and social development. This was particularly demonstrable in the case of fourth-grade student, Joseph VanHeusen.

Joseph and his family had recently moved from Kingston, Jamaica to the Spring Summit neighborhood. Preferring to be called Joey, to the point of refusing to answer to his given first name, he was an active and intelligent child who seemed to blend into the Latrobe culture quite easily. As such, he and his parents were immediately welcomed into the tight-knit community of the school, where the culture is to welcome new members with a warm smile and oftentimes an embrace or a high-five. The fact that Joey was a dark-complexioned Black boy with a head full of loose curls (that he seemed to detest) and his parents were a Black Jamaican woman and a white American man, both in their mid-to-late forties, also blended well into the Latrobe family, since most of the parents at the school were either near that age range, from inter-racial families, or both. On the surface, all seemed well in Joey's world. He was a precocious and determined student. His behavior in my afterschool class confirmed that he was adjusting well to his new

school and community, as his interactions with me were at best helpful and astute and at worst verging on boredom for having quickly but correctly completed his assignments. The latter I remedied by making Joey my teaching helper, allowing him the opportunity to do his own work but also help his classmates with their work, if they needed it. Because his parents lived within walking distance, they would often walk their dog to the school taking the occasion to speak with me about their son's progress while he engaged in some extra-curricular activity on the playground.

Three months into the school year, I arrived to work to see Joey sitting on the bench with his head resting in his hands just outside Principal Reed's Office. Not having any unpleasant behavioral association with Joey, I walked towards him to ask if he was feeling well, assuming he was sick and waiting for his parents to pick him up. As I walk closer, I noticed that he was quietly sobbing. I asked him if he was okay and had he asked Mrs. Castanelli, the Front Office Manager, to call his parents. Without uttering a word, he looked up and jumped off the bench to hug me. Considering the stringent policies in the school regarding physical interactions between teachers and students, my jerk-reaction was to push him away. But I could not. This was my student who was in some sort of trouble and wanted a level of reassurance from me. I patted his head and, with him still hugging me, I knocked on Mr. Reed's door to see if Joey's parents were on their way. To my surprise, Mr. Reed not only ordered Joey to let me go and sit back down on the bench, he told me, "he's been misbehaving all year and Mrs. Klinge has had enough". I was confused. He could not possibly be describing Joey VanHeusen. Although he had his brief moments of playful misbehavior, it never amounted to more than him talking to his



deskmate during a lesson or answering a question without raising his hand. I could not imagine his day school teacher being so frustrated with him that she “had enough”.

I left the office to continue my day of work and I asked Mrs. Meadows, who not only taught during the school day but also during the afterschool hours. As such, she was privy to tidbits of information about the students and teachers that were not often shared between the two shifts of teaching staff. According to Mrs. Meadows, Mrs. Klinge had been having behavioral problems with Joey starting the first week of school. Instead of contacting his parents, she berated him in front of his classmates. She spoke poorly of Joey to other schoolteachers, referred to him as ‘the immigrant’, and even cautioned his classmates’ parents about his behavior. As a new student in a new school, Joey had no one able or willing to speak up for him in the face of an adult making egregious statements about his character. By the end of the afterschool activities that day, I found out that Joey had been suspended for 5 days for yelling at Mrs. Klinge. During that time he would be unable to attend the afterschool program activities and upon his return to classes, he would be transferred from Mrs. Klinge’s class to Mrs. Harrison’s class to finish the school year.

Almost one week later, I saw Mrs. VanHeusen walking her dog near the playground while the students played outside. I asked her how Joey was doing and shared that he seemed withdrawn in my class since returning from his suspension. She thanked me for noticing and shared her disappointment with how the school handled her son. Mr. and Mrs. VanHeusen had been called to the school for a meeting with Mrs. Klinge and Principal Reed. It was during this meeting that Mrs. Klinge explained why she had not

contacted the VanHeusen's regarding Joey's behavior. According to Mrs. VanHeusen, Mrs. Klinge admitted that she assumed that Joey's parents were too busy "working multiple jobs to feed the family" and that she did not want to bother them with his behavior. She added:

She seemed shocked to even see that we were his parents. She walks into the meeting late and says to me and my husband, "Oh, YOU'RE his parents. I see you both around the school all the time. I wish I had known YOU were his parents because we could have squared this away months ago."

Mrs. Klinge faulted Joey for her misunderstanding: that Joey did not wear his parents' official status as Foreign Service Officers; that Joey rarely discussed the political figures and foreign dignitaries who often called or visited his home; that Joey came from a country stereotypically reduced to marijuana, Bob Marley, dreadlocks, and high-levels of socioeconomic disparity; that Joey's mastered three foreign languages by the age of 9; that Joey's parents selected Latrobe for its diverse student population and not due to their inability to pay private school tuition; that Joey was a brilliant yet bored 4th grade boy. These forms of capital did not factor into the equation of Mrs. Klinge or similarly-minded teachers at Latrobe Elementary School. What mattered was that Joey was a new Black student to a school in an established white community, and it was far easier for some adults in that space to reduce him to a stereotype and summarily dismiss his right to be there.

#### **DISPARATE EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES**

On April 15, 2012 *The Washington Post* featured an article by Darryl Robinson, a recent graduate from a local college preparatory public charter school. Writing about his

experiences as a freshman at Georgetown University, Robinson's scathing recollection of the teaching and learning culture in DC's public schools was a reminder that after two years of intensified and focused efforts to improve the educational outcomes for the City's under-served students, the same students were still struggling. Referring to the commonality of his experience amongst other students in his graduating class, Robinson concludes his article with:

My high school was one of the best I had the choice of attending; compared with other public schools in the District, it made an excellent attempt at getting me ready for college. But any high school administration in Washington faces a problem similar to my professors at Georgetown: They're stuck correcting the damage done before we got there.

Seeking to avoid such a fate for their own children and linking much of this disparity to the structural race-based discrimination in the City's public educational system, parents of students in the DC public educational system have been called to action, employing strategies reminiscent of the 1940s and 1950s era parental campaigns to end educational disparity in DC's schools. At Latrobe Elementary School during my tenure as an Afterschool Teacher, the charge of parental activism was lead by veteran parent, Michelle Lockley. Much in the spirit of legendary local civil rights activist Julius Hobson, she was bold, she was sometimes brash, and in her own words, she did not "give a damn what they [teachers and staff at Latrobe Elementary School] think of me, as long as they treat my kids right and act like their education matters." As the school year progressed and seemingly racially-motivated incidences occurred against the Black student population, more parents joined the charge.

## Chapter 8: Racialized Manifestations of Parental Engagement

*“My child’s education is not a governmental responsibility, but rather a private responsibility [and] I feel sorry for any parent in this city who thinks otherwise.”*

- a parent speaking at a City Council Meeting

*“Schools are not only racial spaces but also spaces in which racial politics are fought out.”*

- Amanda E. Lewis, *Race in the Schoolyard* (2007)

The initial conception of public education in Washington, DC was that the education of the City’s white children would be financially supported by private means, thereby founding DC’s educational system in socioeconomic disparity. Families, who could afford to do so, enrolled their children into private academies or finishing schools. Many families who could not afford such luxuries placed their children into the City’s already-crowded few public schools, and any investment in their children’s education was at the discretion of the Board of Trustees. However, these families supplemented the standard course of public education with extras such as mathematics, foreign language instruction, or even the use of globes<sup>125</sup>. Children of families who could not afford any of the above received none of the above, and depending on the whims of the Board of Trustees (then the governing body over DC’s public schools) they oftentimes received even less, which could mean a reduction in their hours of instruction or altogether shortening their school year. As such, a dependent relationship developed between poor families with children to educate and governmental bodies, wherein the former party was often disappointed by the latter. Since the 1805 establishment of public education in Washington, DC, this relationship of dependence has not changed very much. This is

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<sup>125</sup> Refer to the chart on pages 108-109

demonstrated by the fact that there remains disparate academic achievement levels by race and class where children of parents who cannot afford to supplement the standard course of offerings in public schools have exhibited the most trust in the schools and local government to be responsible for their children's educational success.

This disparity is heightened by something that is also at the basis of DC's public education, reformative measures. Education experts and activists in the DC public school community cite constant churning at the top of the DCPS hierarchy as the main reason why DCPS has a history of failing to sustain reform efforts. If you look at the Superintendent perspectives and the timeline of superintendents in DCPS, you will not only note the high-rate of turnover for chief of schools, but you will also note that, particularly in the 1990s to the present, each new school chief/superintendent has "the answer" only quickly realize that in implementing their suggested reform, they unravel some other piece of the problem. Within a system with such a high occurrence of upheaval, the only consistent loser is the student body of the school system. Many parents and guardians of students in DCPS realize that the public schools are either unable or unwilling to adequately prepare their children for the academic rigors and social settings typified in the upper echelons of post-secondary education to which they aspire, so they complement the schools offerings with such activities as before- and afterschool private tutoring, weekend academic programs, and various types of sports, music and arts appreciation courses.

The parents and guardians at Latrobe Elementary School are no different, to the point that the few other public schools in Latrobe Elementary School's Spring Summit

neighborhood have created the Spring Summit Parent Coalition, which operates as a consortium wherein parents of children attending any Spring Summit public schools have pooled their resources to create an even stronger and better-funded collection of supplemental activities for their children. Considering that the Spring Summit neighborhood ranks in the top 5 of DC's wealthiest neighborhoods, these politically well-connected and financially-advantaged families have comparable economic power to the City's entire public education system and a level of decision-making power that no other parent group in DCPS yields. For the largely white majority of families benefitting from the Spring Summit Parent Coalition, their coalition is merely filling in the gap of financial lack from the local school system. For the largely non-white majority of families not benefitting from such monetary power or political influence, the history of government reliance for financial support for their students' academic development and supplemental programs remains insufficient.

Within the larger tradition of active parental involvement, the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) and the Local School Advisory Team (LSAT) at Latrobe Elementary School represent the two unofficial governing bodies at the school, oftentimes above and beyond the power and discretion of the school's principal. Having worked as a teacher in years prior, I had always been a strong proponent of an active PTA at a school and had only known the advantages of such an organization. From my former colleagues who taught at schools with inactive or non-existent PTAs, I heard complaints of limited financial support for school programs and limited parent-teacher interaction, which resulted in poor-academic performance amongst the students and high levels of

dissatisfaction amongst the teachers. My interaction with the Latrobe Elementary School PTA and LSAT over the course of the school year demonstrated the notion that it is possible to have too much of a good thing.

#### **PAYING FOR POWER: LATROBE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL'S PTA TRIUMVIRATE**

*“For less money, they get total control. In this economy, it makes perfect sense and if I had the money, I'd do the same for [my kids].”*

- Michelle Lockley, parent at Latrobe Elementary School,  
referring to influential PTA members

We were standing outside of the school library, having just left a lengthy and relatively tense session of the October PTA meeting. Michelle Lockley, an outspoken mother of fourth-grade Michael and third-grade Sandra, had spent the majority of the meeting addressing complaints made by parents in support of ending the DCPS Afterschool Program. That she and I were the only African American adults in the room of seventeen adults was merely an afterthought, since I had long-ago realized that many of the White PTA members at Latrobe Elementary School were parents to non-White children. What kept my focus during the meeting was the clearly-defined line drawn in every argument posed: Ms. Lockley being staunchly in support and the White parents being vocal and adamant about dismantling the DCPS Afterschool Program with the undercurrent that this would assist them in ridding the school of its association to Title I. “It’s redundant”, “This is taking away resources from our children”, “Ms. Seaton [the Aftercare Coordinator] is doing a marvelous job but couldn’t her efforts be better-applied elsewhere?” After almost three hours of hearing such comments and supporting statements, Ms. Lockley and I both felt battle-weary. While we stood in the hallway after

the meeting adjourned, she was on the verge of tears at how blatantly racist the comments were and how alone she felt at being the only representation of Black parents at this meeting. She faulted the lack of support amongst the Black parents at the school and was saddened at its current state of affairs. At one point in our exchange, I reminded her that other parents may be able to hear what she was saying to which she replied:

Do you think a give a flying fuck about them hearing me? They've known me for almost 8 years. Our kids have been going to this school TOGETHER for 8 years and I'm the same mother now as I've always been. I'm feisty when I'm agreeing with them but then I'm a loud angry Black woman when I'm not. They're not doing right by our kids and they don't care. And do you know why they don't care? Because ain't nobody here to support what our kids need. You know our afterschool is different from their afterschool and they know it too. Of all these black kids here, why am I the only one speaking up for them. I mean, me and [another Black parent] are the only ones who do it. Shit, you're here and you're not even a parent!

As Ms. Lockley's anger and frustration erupted, a few remaining parents left the library passing us as they departed the building: no one commented at all. She and I left the building shortly thereafter. Her eldest daughter, who had graduated from Latrobe Elementary School three years earlier, had been watching Michael and Sandra during the meeting. Ms. Lockley motioned towards the group that she was leaving and I walked with them to her car. With her children outside of earshot running towards her unlocked car, she said to me:

Look, I don't like being *that* parent who's fussing and complaining at the meetings. But the reality is that we aren't some big happy family here. Maybe it was like that at first, but with these new parents joining it's different. They can't afford to keep their kids in private schools anymore, so what do they do? They keep their 30 grand a year per child and put them here. But they give the school [PTA] like 2 or 3 grand a year to buy some support for their kids' interests. So for less money, they get total control [of the PTA]. In this economy, it makes perfect sense and if I had the money, I'd do the same thing.



I had never thought of it in that way, but Ms. Lockley was absolutely right. The balance of power (and at Latrobe Elementary School, race) had shifted in recent years with the onslaught of parents who could invest two or three thousand dollars and gain relative control over and influence in the decision-making at the school. It did not take a mathematical genius to see the financial and education advantage in such a strategy and this imbalance of power would color the relationships that I observed and in which I took part for the remainder of my time at the school.

The vast majority of parents were physically and/or financially active in the Parent-Teacher Association at Latrobe Elementary School, however the decisions of the organization were dominated by three veteran families at the school: the Biermann's, the Schirru's, and the Weitz's. Mr. Franklin Reed had just begun his first year as Principal, having served in an Interim capacity following the sudden departure of the former principal. Mr. Reed had far less understanding and control over the goings-on at the school, so he depended on the veteran parents. This dependence shifted the relatively minimal power the PTA held under the previous principal and allowed them fairly unfettered access to issues in which only a principal and a school's administrative staff should be privy. The PTA, as led by the 3 families, played a key role in decision-making at the school: from selecting a specific vendor for the school cafeteria, determining the frequency of field trips for particular classes and teachers, to even deciding which afterschool program would be supported by the school. All of the decisions were couched in the premise that they were merely suggestions and these ideas were in the best interest

of *all* Latrobe Elementary students, not just the students from certain families. The reach of the PTA's power expanded even outside the walls of Latrobe Elementary: Mrs. Biermann was the descendant of a DC founding father and whose name could be frequently seen on buildings and streets around town; Mr. and Mrs. Schirru were both high-ranking members of the U.S. Foreign Service and whose connections provided opportunities to the Latrobe Elementary School community almost unheard of at other DC public schools; and Mr. Philip Weitz was a lead member of a local, high-performing middle school's Collaboration Team, whose chief duty was overseeing admissions' interviews. Reminiscent of Alexander "Boss" Shepherd's mid-nineteenth century reign over DC's Board of Public Works, the PTA spent money and resources on projects and specific classrooms based on the three families' vision for what Latrobe Elementary School should be, rather than what the DC Public School System determined Latrobe Elementary should be. The 3 families garnered support from other school families when faced with even a hint of opposition. No better example of this was the dissolution of the school's 5<sup>th</sup> grade class in the interest of a child from the Weitz family.

### **Welcome to Latrobe Elementary School**

The most influential of the three families leading the PTA was the Weitz family. Mr. and Mrs. Philip and Paula Weitz had been educating their children at Latrobe Elementary School for seven years, when their eldest child was in pre-school. The Weitz family consisted of three children: fourth grade Nadia, second grade Aidan, and Austen who was in the kindergarten class. Mrs. Paula Weitz was a very active parent at the school, working and/or leading many of the PTA's committees, as well as being the

‘classroom mom’ for Aidan and Austen’s classes. Mrs. Flora Castanelli, the children’s maternal grandmother, had retired from a previous career in the federal government but had recently accepted a full-time position as the school’s office manager. This not only allowed Mrs. Castanelli access to her grandchildren and their teachers, but also primary access to and advance knowledge of the business matters at Latrobe Elementary School. Heading the Weitz Family was Philip, a high-ranking official in the federal government and an active member of their Summit Spring neighborhood. Any quick review of the membership rosters of Spring Summit’s social and civil organizations would reveal at least one adult member of the Weitz family. To say that Philip and Paula Weitz were highly-influential and well-connected people is an understatement, however, in the world of Latrobe Elementary School and its surrounding neighborhood, the Weitz were just regular, actively-involved parents.

As their eldest child’s afterschool teacher, I had the distinct pleasure of frequent interaction with Mr. and Mrs. Weitz. On my first day at Latrobe Elementary School, I met Mrs. Weitz when she arrived to pick up Nadia from my classroom. Having committed the students’ names to memory but not their faces, I was especially careful to verify who was picking my students up. My strict and formal demeanor was a departure from the very congenial spirit on that first day of school. When Mrs. Weitz approached me and introduced herself, I asked her for an identification card – as I had been instructed to do by Ms. Seaton, until I became familiar with the parents’ faces. Mrs. Weitz readily obliged my request. I allowed her entry to the area in which my students were doing their homework and she helped Nadia gather her belongings to leave. As they were exiting the

area, I assume that Nadia asked her mother why I had gone through that process because I overheard Mrs. Weitz say, “Well it’s a rule, dear, and she’s being careful of you guys”. A few minutes later, a fellow staffer ran over to me and said, “Did you seriously just card Paula? Do you know who she is? Wow, you’re gonna be on the shit-list from now on.” Although I knew I heard Mrs. Weitz reassure Nadia regarding my adherence to school policy, my colleague’s reaction scared me at the thought of beginning my experience at the school on such a poor note. I was nervous that next day at school anticipating the worse for our next interaction. To my surprise, Mrs. Weitz walked over and greeted me by name: “Hello Ms. Childs. How was your day and how was Nadia?” We spoke briefly as I handed her my clipboard with the student sign-out sheet. Nadia skipped over to her mother with her belongings in hand and as I said good evening to them both, Mrs. Weitz corrected me and said, “No, please call me Paula”. The same staffer whose words had frightened me the day prior, walked to me as Paula and Nadia left and whispered, “I guess you’re in”, and smiled as she walked away. Through the remainder of the school year, there was not a holiday, a celebration or a grading period that passed without Mrs. Paula Weitz giving me a verbal, a tangible token of appreciation, or an acknowledgement that I was a member of the Latrobe Elementary School family and that I was, in fact, “in”. It would not be until later in the school year that I realized how significant the Weitz endorsement was, particularly in the coming battle between the predominantly white-run ACE Program versus the predominantly Black-run DCPS Afterschool Program.

## **My Best Interest is Your Best Interest**

Latrobe Elementary School offers classes from pre-school through 5<sup>th</sup> grade. Depending on the size of a class of students, there are some grades with multiple teachers. My fourth grade students came from one such configuration. Mrs. Klinge and Mrs. Harrison were the fourth grade instructors during the day, and I was the sole fourth grade instructor during the afternoon. As months passed and I became more familiar with parents and teachers at the school, I was privy to increasingly sensitive topics of conversation as it regards the student body at Latrobe Elementary School. One hot topic became the big shift to a new school, information on which I received from no fewer than 10 separate families of my 4<sup>th</sup> grade students. The Horizon School was a new charter school establishing a site in Washington, DC for the 2012-2013 academic year. This particular school has an established, successful, and high-ranking flagship site elsewhere on the East Coast. They have two other school sites, one located in the Midwest region of the U.S. and the other located on the West Coast. All three Horizon Schools tout high academic standards, low teacher to student ratios, and their school's graduates famously attend some of the top-tier colleges and universities in the U.S. With such a buzz circulating within the educational sphere in DC, before opening the doors at the new DC location, the Horizon School was flooded with applications for admissions. How did parents at Latrobe Elementary School come across this information: Philip Weitz, president of the school's PTA.

Amongst his other titles, Mr. Weitz sat on the Board of Directors for a local education think-tank. His professional and political associations in Congress, along with

his social networks within certain circles of DC educational politics, allowed Mr. Weitz lead information on which schools and programs his children should attend. Although his children had been attending Latrobe Elementary School for many years and the next year would be fourth-grade Nadia's final year at the school, Mr. Weitz decided to enroll his eldest daughter at the Horizon School. But how would she handle the stress of leaving her longtime friends and the close-knit community at Latrobe Elementary School? According to Stephanie Hilliard, the mother of Nadia's close friend, Timothy, Mr. Weitz set out a plan to recruit Nadia's friends and their parents to join her at this new, fairly exclusive charter school. While many of the students that Mr. Weitz selected would not have much trouble gaining admission to the Horizon School, his seeming abundance of social, symbolic, and economic capital would be more than sufficient to ensure the admissions of any student who was recommended by him. Some parents were concerned about the distance of the Horizon School from Latrobe Elementary School, particularly the few parents whose students were classified as 'out-of-boundary'. As expressed by Jean Larrieux, father of my twin students Gary and Todd, the school day at the Horizon School was 30 minutes earlier than at Latrobe Elementary School. Factoring in the commuting time and distance for some of the out-of-boundary students, this shift to a new school had definite disadvantages particularly as it started the students' morning at least two hours earlier than it currently was. In expected form, Mr. Weitz eliminated that barrier to access by offering to hire a charter bus to drive the students to the new campus from Latrobe Elementary School each morning. In this way, the students would have to begin their day earlier but the parents would not have to worry about driving their

children to the Horizon School to drop them off and then pick them up, or have the fairly-insulated students learn to navigate the City's public transportation system by themselves. Mr. Weitz made a decision that was in his daughter's best interest and he was determined to utilize every form of capital at his disposal to ensure her overall academic and social well-being.

The feelings and fate of the students who were not recruited by Mr. Weitz to apply for admission to the Horizon School did not factor into his plan. Neither did he factor the fate of a gutted-out, brain-drained fifth grade class at Latrobe Elementary School. I was fully aware of the particular students who were either not friends with Nadia or whose parents were not family friends of the Weitz. None of the parents in this group shared their feelings about the matter with me; it was either not an issue of importance to them or they did not feel comfortable enough with me to share their dissatisfaction with the countless ways in which powerful parent groups or influential individuals in the Latrobe Elementary School community, were making unilateral decisions causing potential detriment to those excluded students and families or those deemed unworthy to receive such advantage.

### **The Meeting after the Meeting**

After my eighth monthly PTA meeting, I noticed that I am spending just as much time interacting during the meeting as I am speaking with fellow attendees after the meeting. I also notice that I am neither the only person engaging in such behavior, nor am I the only one with a tendency to gather with the same people each time. What I am noticing are the informal channels through which business at Latrobe Elementary School

is actually operating. While teachers, school leadership, and influential parents create and maintain the appearance of an inclusive, democratic process in the school-level activities, I have come to realize that most of the authentic, frank, and unfiltered discussions of the goings-on at the school are happening behind-the-scenes in private homes, over coffee at a local café, or while chatting in the parking lot after the formal meeting concludes. Mrs. Lockley and a small cadre of supportive and/or veteran parents to Black children at Latrobe Elementary School had come to consider me as a supporting member of their team. As a new, part-time teacher at the school, I tried to maintain a particular level of neutrality in the highly-volatile world of Latrobe Elementary School's PTA. However, each act of passive aggression against and towards the black student population, at Latrobe Elementary School, specifically those students attending the DCPS afterschool program, would not allow me to remain voiceless. By April, the PTA meetings were almost-entirely focused on the expected DCPS budget restrictions and the possibility that said restrictions would cause the desired halt to Title I funding at Latrobe Elementary School. Hanging in the balance while a decision was made were the hundreds of parents at the school who were taking advantage of the lower-cost After School option provided by the City. With a decision waiting to be made, the teachers and activity instructors employed by the After School Program were precariously anticipating their continued employment. On the evening of April 10, I received an email forward from Michelle Lockley with the subject line reading "Fwd: Afterschool Update...Hot off the Presses!". In an email sent only to key members of the school's PTA, Principal Reed announced:



Just wanted to write everyone with a quick update on the Afterschool situation for next year at Latrobe. First, let me thank everyone on this committee for their dedication with respect to attending every meeting, and providing me with honest, straightforward feedback that will ultimately inform my decision. That said, unfortunately, the decision has been made for me and the school. All principals received an e-mail late last night from [name redacted], Chief Academic Officer for DCPS. I will copy and paste the paragraph below that is most applicable for us. Basically, DCPS won't fund aftercare for all non Title I elementary schools, of which Latrobe is one. Therefore, DCPS Afterschool programming isn't even an option for next year...I will make an announcement tomorrow evening at the PTA Meeting, but wanted you all to know first, before anyone else. Thanks, and enjoy your day.

This information was being shared with select members of the PTA before telling the Site Coordinator of the After School Program that her program was being dismantled, without allowing her time to notify her staff of their employment termination. This was a clear 'win' for the PTA and its year-long efforts to invalidate the necessity of the DCPS program due to its Title I link, association with poverty, and its predominance of black students and staffers. The removal of the DCPS program never considered the needs of the Latrobe parents who could not afford the more expensive aftercare option. They were invisible in the decision-making process and thus their needs were invisible as well. Dismissed by the white parents and distanced from many of the black parents, Michelle Lockley finished the academic year exhausted. She shared with me a particular fatigue with battling for a group of parents who did not seem to understand how their children were being affected by such race- and class-based school policies. The battle to keep the DC-sponsored AfterSchool Program had been finally defeated, and with its end I saw a more-distant and yet happier Mrs. Lockley. She decided that her children would be better-served at a different school for the upcoming academic year and with the decision

to leave Latrobe Elementary School after close to a decade of active leadership and parental support, she let go of her race- and class-based struggles at Latrobe Elementary School.

## Conclusion: The Color of Justice

*“Race means everything in America. When you have the complexion for the protection...that white skin would protect you.”*

- Legendary Black comedian, Paul Mooney

George Zimmerman<sup>126</sup>, a self-proclaimed vigilante with a criminal-record, stood his ground against Trayvon Martin, an unarmed 17-year-old Black young man. Zimmerman stalks, shoots, and kills him. He is found not guilty and receives his gun back. Marissa Alexander, an African-American mother of three with no criminal record, stood her ground against her abusive and misogynist husband. She fires a warning shot in the air to thwart his advances and is sentenced to 20 years in prison. Michael Giles, an African-American father and former military officer with no criminal record, stood his ground against a group of white attackers. He is sentenced to 25 years in prison. Joe Hundley, a 60-year-old white man, is annoyed by the crying of a black-white biracial baby while flying on a commercial airline. He walks over to the 19-month-old baby, slaps him in the face, and according to a sworn FBI statement, tells the child’s mother to “shut that nigger baby up”. Hundley is charged with simple assault and released. The film *Fruitvale Station* (2013) is debuted chronicling the final day of life of Oscar Grant III, a 22-year-old African-American male, fatally shot in the back while waiting for a transit train in 2009. He was unarmed, faced down at the time of the shooting, and the event was captured by dozens of witnesses recording it on their cellphones. These are just five

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<sup>126</sup> Although erroneously identified as a white man in popular media (allowing for an easier fit in this country’s strict black-white racial binary), George Zimmerman is Hispanic. Arguably, his history and interactions with Blacks as revealed during the court testimonies demonstrated Zimmerman’s possessive investment in whiteness. Coupled with his skin color, his Anglicized first name and Germanic surname, I believe that these have contributed to his characterization as a white male.

recent cases out of hundreds of daily occurrences of the devastating and often fatal impact of racial profiling. While only a small percentage of racial profiling cases receive national media attention, those that receive waves of attention tend to focus on the intersection of racial profiling and law enforcement. But how do we engage with racial profiling within the walls of public education? We acknowledge that teacher perceptions impact student academic progress and overall social development, but these terms seem much less powerful, much more benign than what is occurring with poor and Black children in too many classrooms in the U.S., reducing its impact to a point that cause one to question whether they are witnessing systemic discriminatory acts or merely isolated situations based in misunderstandings. If we ask what is the value of black life and are met on a weekly basis with the unfortunate and sometimes gruesome response of that question, then what do we expect when asking ‘what is the value of black education?’, or better stated, is the education of Black children of significant value in this society?

Dr. David Williams recently addressed this in his article, “No, You’re Not Imagining It”. A leading social scientist in the research of racial discrimination as it impacts socioeconomic status and health, Dr. Williams developed the Everyday Discrimination scale to assess perceived discrimination in health studies. Focusing his assessment on race and cultural hierarchies, he writes:

We have shifted from biological racism to cultural racism. Sixty years ago most people in America believed that Blacks were biologically inferior, made-by-God inferior. Today there is a cultural racism that says that Black parents are not giving their children the right values, and it’s often offered as the reason for why Blacks are not doing as well as other groups. It associates ‘Black’ with a range of negative assumptions that are so deeply embedded in American culture that people who hold them are not bad people. They’re just ‘good Americans,’

because it's what American society has taught them. Researchers put together a database of ten million words from books, newspapers, magazine articles, various documents. They found that when the word 'Black' occurs, what tends to co-occur is not only 'poor' and 'violent' and 'religious' but also 'lazy' and 'cheerful' and 'dangerous.'

This fault-free zone absolves individuals from taking ownership of and responsibility for their hierarchically-driven racist notions of meritocracy in the walls of public education. As was my experience at Latrobe Elementary School, this zone was over-populated and sadly not homogenously White. When black children receive overt and subtle messages that they are inferior, that they are inherently violent, that they should reject their dark complexions in favor and valorization of light- or pale-skin tones from society, from their teachers, from members of their racial and geographic communities reinforcing the devaluation of their existence, it is urgent to actively and consistently counteract such messages on a daily basis. There were relatively few members of the Latrobe Elementary School community who actively did such work, however those few individual parents and teachers took the charge and worked diligently to not only balance, but to tip the scale in favor of a more positive and supportive engagement with Black culture.

### **THE CHANGING FACE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN DC**

It is against this current racialized backdrop that public education and the racial politics inextricably linked to it remain a featured conversation in DC. There is growing alienation in DC as native and long-time Black Washingtonians see that the City's economic and social development is occurring at the price of their children and at the benefit of white, wealthier newcomers, many of whom are hesitant or outright reluctant to socially integrate into the culture of the gentrified neighborhoods into which they are

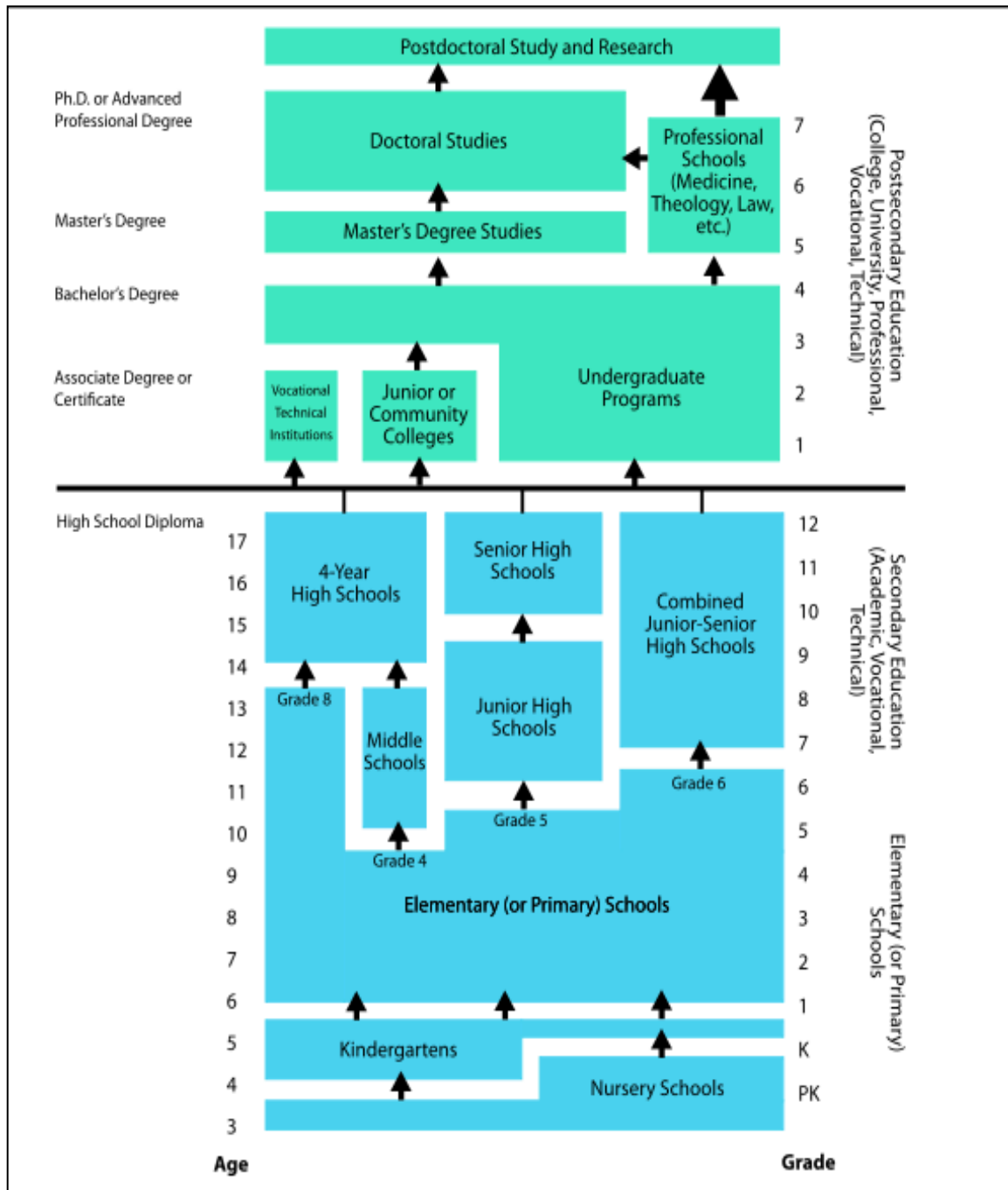
‘trailblazing’. Many parents of Black, poor, and underserved students in the City’s schools have taken their children from public schools and enrolled them into charter schools. Public charter schools now educate approximately 45% of DC’s children<sup>127</sup> forcing the City’s public school system to re-evaluate the methods by which they measure their capability to academically and socially prepare their students. While the parental response to the City’s public educational structure of inequitable race and class-based education, a mass relocation to the supposed safe shores of public charter education may not be the long-term answer. DC’s status quo in the education of its children has been an overinvestment in the education of white and socioeconomically-advantaged students while simultaneously devaluing that of black and underserved poor students. Establishing a meritocratic class of students based on race, family income, skin color, national origin and deciding that they are the only students deserving of a well-resourced, consistently-supported educational system is a feature of DC’s educational scheme that must be addressed and eradicated so as to not replicate that structure of teaching and learning. The building and furnishings may change, but as long as those in positions of authority and influence subscribe to such a disparate understanding of educating DC’s public school students, then public charter education will suffer from the same maladies as public schools. Although it is admittedly easy and perhaps unfair for me to provide an assessment and recommendation after spending just three years critically-engaging and actively-participating in the public educational community in DC, the race and class-

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<sup>127</sup> Figure reported on locally-televised news report on January 23, 2012 regarding DC City Councilmember David Catania’s statement to Chancellor Henderson.

based hierarchical in education requires immediate structural change for the betterment of all DC's students.

## Appendix 1: Vectorized Diagram of the U.S. Educational System

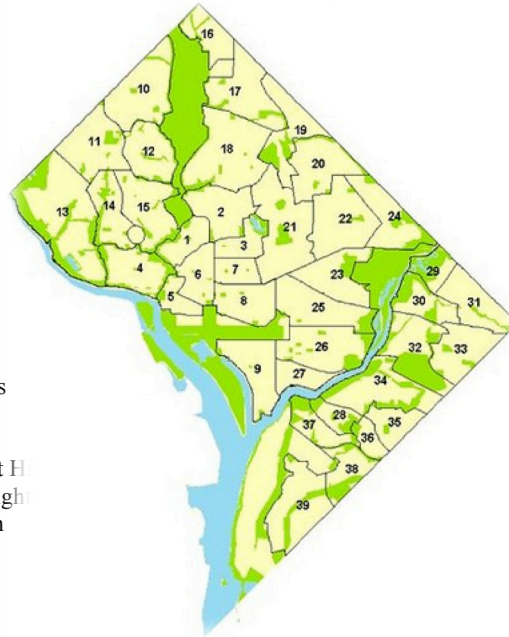


Original image from the U.S Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics Institute for Education Sciences (IES); Diagram adapted by James Hare, posted to Wikimedia Commons on July 17, 2009.



## Appendix 2: Map and Listing of DC Neighborhoods by Cluster

- Cluster 1:** Kalorama Heights, Adams Morgan, Lanier Heights
- Cluster 2:** Columbia Heights, Mt. Pleasant, Pleasant Plains, ParkView
- Cluster 3:** Howard University, LeDroit Park, Cardozo/Shaw
- Cluster 4:** Georgetown, Burleith/Hillandale
- Cluster 5:** West End, Foggy Bottom, George Washington University
- Cluster 6:** Dupont Circle, Connecticut Avenue/K Street
- Cluster 7:** Shaw, Logan Circle
- Cluster 8:** Downtown, Chinatown, Penn Quarter, Mount Vernon Square, North Capitol Street
- Cluster 9:** Southwest Employment Area, Southwest/Waterfront, Fort McNair, Buzzard Point
- Cluster 10:** Hawthorne, Barnaby Woods, Chevy Chase
- Cluster 11:** Friendship Heights, American University Park, Tenleytown
- Cluster 12:** North Cleveland Park, Forest Hills, Van Ness
- Cluster 13:** Spring Valley, Palisades, Wesley Heights, Foxhall Crescent, Foxhall Village, Georgetown Reservoir
- Cluster 14:** Cathedral Heights, McLean Gardens, Glover Park
- Cluster 15:** Cleveland Park, Woodley Park, Massachusetts Avenue Heights, Woodland-Normanstone Terrace
- Cluster 16:** Colonial Village, Shepherd Park, North Portal Estates
- Cluster 17:** Takoma, Brightwood, Manor Park
- Cluster 18:** Brightwood Park, Crestwood, Petworth
- Cluster 19:** Lamond-Riggs, Queens Chapel, Fort Totten, Pleasant H
- Cluster 20:** North Michigan Park, Michigan Park, University Heights
- Cluster 21:** Edgewood, Bloomingdale, Truxton Circle, Eckington
- Cluster 22:** Brookland, Brentwood, Langdon
- Cluster 23:** Ivy City, Arboretum, Trinidad, Carver Langston
- Cluster 24:** Woodridge, Fort Lincoln, Gateway
- Cluster 25:** Union Station, Stanton Park, Kingman Park
- Cluster 26:** Capitol Hill, Lincoln Park, Spring Summit
- Cluster 27:** Near Southeast, Navy Yard
- Cluster 28:** Historic Anacostia
- Cluster 29:** Eastland Gardens, Kenilworth
- Cluster 30:** Mayfair, Hillbrook, Mahaning Heights
- Cluster 31:** Deanwood, Burrville, Grant Park, Lincoln Heights, Fairmont Heights
- Cluster 32:** River Terrace, Benning, Greenway, Fort Dupont
- Cluster 33:** Capitol View, Marshall Heights, Benning Heights
- Cluster 34:** Twining, Fairlawn, Randle Highlands, Penn Branch, Fort Davis Park, Dupont Park
- Cluster 35:** Fairfax Village, Naylor Gardens, Hillcrest, Summit Park
- Cluster 36:** Woodland/Fort Stanton, Garfield Heights, Knox Hill
- Cluster 37:** Sheridan, Barry Farm, Buena Vista
- Cluster 38:** Douglass, Shipley Terrace
- Cluster 39:** Congress Heights, Bellevue, Washington Highlands



### **Appendix 3: Alexander “Boss” Shepherd Interview with *New York World*, published January 21, 1876**

**Q.** Now Governor, what about the charges that there was fraud in the contracts for these improvements and in some of the improvements themselves!

**A.** Every such charge is a mistake or a lie. As for me, I have a wife and six babies in the house here. I don't propose that my children shall ever have to acknowledge their father as a thief. In point of fact there was no stealing, in my belief, by anybody. Notwithstanding the reckless charges made, no one accusing me has put his finger on a single specific fraud. For three years all of the papers relating to the work in every part of the district passed through my hands. I frequently examined more than one thousand papers a day. Thus I kept myself familiar with every detail. In that way I was able to prevent fraud or theft, and to choke scandals which were not kept alive by sheer falsehood..

I personally overlooked the expenditures for every part of this work. And I pushed the work, too – work which had to be done and which no one else had had the courage to undertake. We consummated the new grades around the Patent Office and the Post-Office. We made that cut on the east side of the Capitol which led to the grading of the new Capitol grounds. In former years, when the railroad tracks ran right across Pennsylvania avenue in front of the iron fence which surrounded the old Capitol Park, I had seen the approach to the Capitol blockaded repeatedly by cattle trains, so that carriages full of people in waiting occupied a whole square. So, one night, I organized a gang of men and tore up the track. I did that without authority of law, but it was the right thing to do, and the nuisance would not otherwise have been removed.

With similar disregard of red tape I did away with the wretched old market building which stood in the centre of what is now Mount Vernon Square, at the junction of Seventh Street and Massachusetts avenue. This affair [referring to the 1872 Northern Liberty Market Tragedy] was singular (said the Boss, laughing,) that I am in doubt whether to describe it to you.

**Q.** I think you had better tell of it, by all means.

**A.** The damned old shed was so hideous that it had to come down, and I so notified the proper authorities. They immediately engaged counsel and arranged for an injunction the next day. I heard of this in season and got a friend to take the only judge then in the city for a drive. I told him to return late. The Judge went with my friend. While they were away I pulled the market down. Really, however, I had the best sanction. A law had been on the statute books of the District for fifteen years authorizing and instructing the Commissioner of Public Buildings to remove the building. He never availed himself of his privilege under the law. You would hardly recognize the site of the ancient nuisance to-day.

That afternoon the Chief of Police sent me word to beware of a mob. That night fifteen negroes armed themselves with muskets, came to my house and offered to guard it. The darkies were always very good friends of mine.

*\*Underlined and bracketed passages are author's emphasis and do not appear in original print of interview*

## **Appendix 4: DC Board of Trustees of Public Schools of Washington City, 'Plans of An Academy' - 1805**

1<sup>st</sup> The Academy shall consist of as many schools as circumstances may require, to be limited at present to two, one of which shall be situated East of the Capitol and within half a mile and the other within half a mile of the President's house, it being understood that these positions are considered by the Board as temporary and consequently subject at any future time to alleviation.

2<sup>nd</sup> In these schools, poor children shall be taught reading, writing, grammar arithmetic & such branches of the mathematicks [sic], as may qualify them for the professions they are intended to follow and shall receive such other instruction as is given to pay pupils as the Board may from time to time direct; and pay pupils shall besides be instructed in Geography and the Latin language. The Schools shall be open each day, Sundays excepted, eight hours in Summer and six in Winter (to be distributed throughout the day as shall be fixed by the Board except during the vacation which shall not commence prior to the 1<sup>st</sup> of August nor continue after the 10<sup>th</sup> of September and whose duration shall be fixed by the Board. In each school the Principal Teacher shall be under an obligation to instruct as many poor children as may be offered, provided the whole institution does not exceed one hundred and twenty quarters(?) of full tuition in each year; \_\_\_

3<sup>rd</sup> Poor children shall be educated free from expense, the price of tuition to other pupils shall be five dollars a quarter, payable at the expiration thereof to the Principal teacher of each school and accounted for by him to the treasurer; \_\_\_

4<sup>th</sup> There shall be appointed by the board for each school, a Principal teacher who shall in connection with the Superintendent Committee have the direction of the school, subject in all respects to the interposition of the Board. He shall in full compensation for his services, receive an annual salary of five hundred dollars, payable quarterly in the third Monday of January, April, July and October and the entire amount of tuition money until the number of pay pupils amount to fifty and beyond that number as shall be fixed by the Board. It shall be his duty, out of this sum, to pay for the rent of a school house, for the fuel consumed, for all the expenses incidental to a school and for such assistant teachers as may be necessary, it being understood that according to the number and age of the scholars, they shall be instructed in separate apartments by persons properly qualified. The number of assistants required, their qualifications, as well as other details, to be settled with the Concurrence of the Superintending Committee and the Principal teacher.

5<sup>th</sup> For paper, pens, ink and books necessary for the Instruction of poor children, there shall be annually appropriated the sum of fifty dollars for each school, for the expenditure of which the Principal teacher shall account with the Treasurer; \_\_\_

6<sup>th</sup> They shall be annually chosen by ballot for each school a Committee composed of three members, who shall in addition to the foregoing authority have power of admitting poor children into the school placed under their Superintendence under such regulations as the Board may prescribe; Provided that neither they nor the Principal teacher to whom alone ~~shall~~ the circumstance shall be communicated, shall disclose a knowledge of those who are educated as poor children. They shall visit the schools at least once a month without, in general, giving previous notice and shall half yearly in the months of January and July make a report to the Board their proceedings and of the state of the schools; \_\_\_

7<sup>th</sup> There shall be annually on the second Saturday in January, after the ensuing year, a public Examination and Exhibition of all the pupils at such place as may be provided by the Board: \_\_\_

8<sup>th</sup> The Academy shall be offered on the first Monday in January next and applications for the place of Principal teacher addressed to the Secretary of the Board are invited until the first Monday of December: \_\_\_

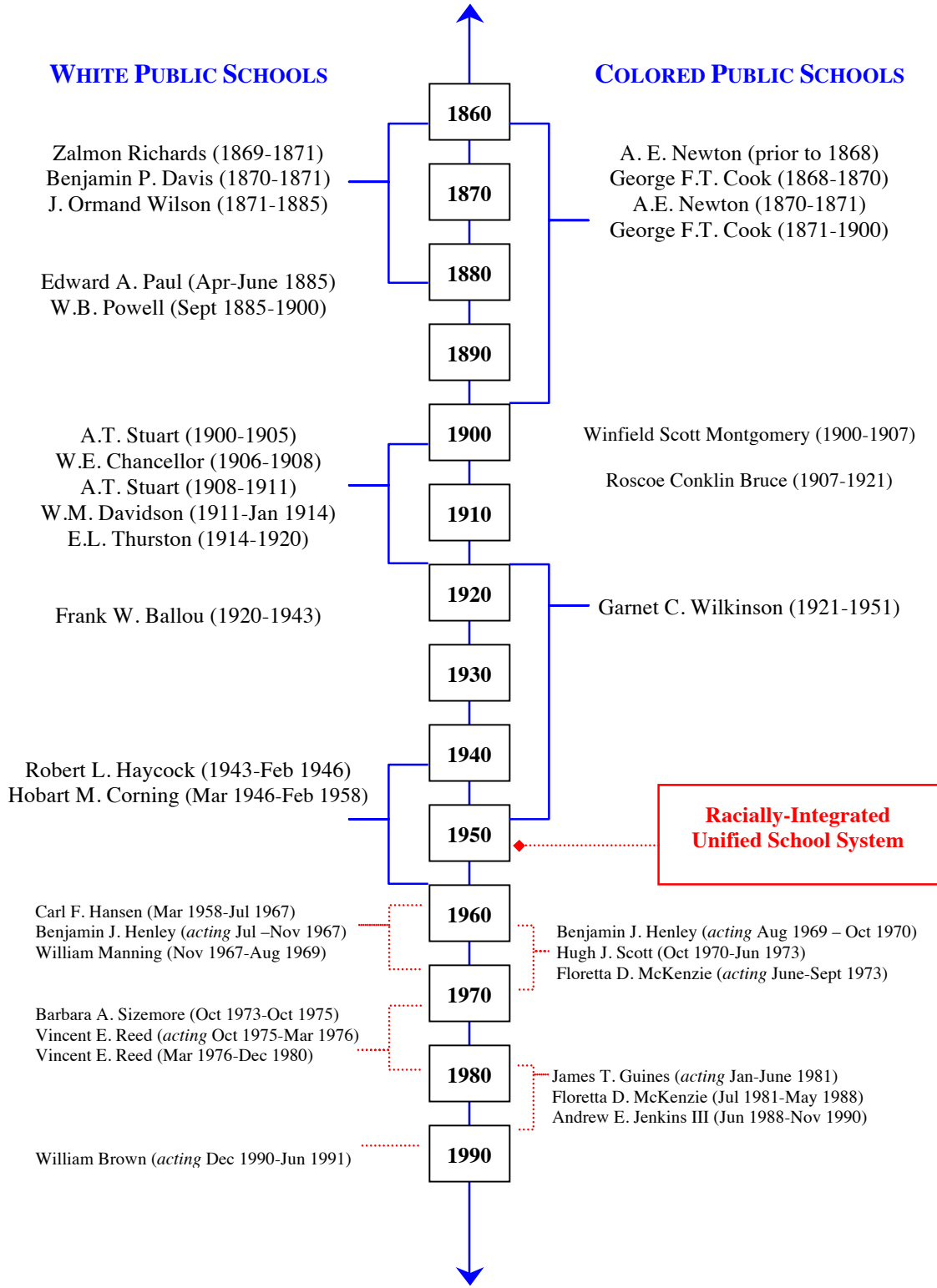
On motion of Mr. Duvall ordered that a committee be appointed to bring in a bill conformably to the said report. The following persons Wpers(?) Duvall, Cranch and Smith were thereupon appointed a committee.

*\*Transcribed from original document by author, May 11, 2011*

## Appendix 5: DC Education-Related Acronyms and Descriptions

21CCLC	21 <sup>st</sup> Century Community Learning Centers
CCDF	Child Care and Development Fund
DC-CAS	DC Comprehensive Assessment System
DCPS	District of Columbia Public School System
DCSBOE	DC State Board of Education
EEOC	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
ESEA	Elementary and Secondary Education Act
FARM	Family Application for School Lunch and Breakfast
FRPL	Free and Reduced-Price Lunch Program
ICSIC	Interagency Collaboration and Services Integration Commission
Impact Aid	A federal grant program to assist school districts. It provides funding to make up for property taxes that the city cannot collect on tax-exempt federal property. It also covers the cost of educating federally connected children. The definition of “federally connected children” includes: children of members of the uniformed services (eg. Army, Navy, Coast Guard); children who live on federal property or in federally subsidized property; and children whose parents work on federal property
LEA	Local Education Agency
OSSE	Office of the State Superintendent of Education, formerly SEO
OST	Out-of-School Time
PERAA	Public Education Reform Amendment Act (of 2007)
SEA	State Education Agency
SEO	State Education Office, changed to OSSE in 2007
SES	Supplemental Educational Services
TANF	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families

## Appendix 6: DCPS SUPERINTENDENTS 1868-1991



## Appendix 7a: DCPS Chiefs 1991-2013\*



Dr. Franklin L. Smith  
Superintendent  
July 1991 - Nov 1996  
**OUSTED**



General Julius W.  
Becton, Jr.  
Superintendent  
Nov 1996 - April 1998  
**RESIGNED**



Dr. Arlene Ackerman  
Superintendent  
May 1998 - July 2000  
**RESIGNED**



Dr. Paul Vance  
Superintendent  
July 2000 - Dec 2003  
**RESIGNED**



Dr. Clifford B. Janey  
Superintendent  
Sept 2004 - June 2007  
**OUSTED**



Ms. Michelle Rhee  
Chancellor  
June 2007 - Oct 2010  
**RESIGNED**



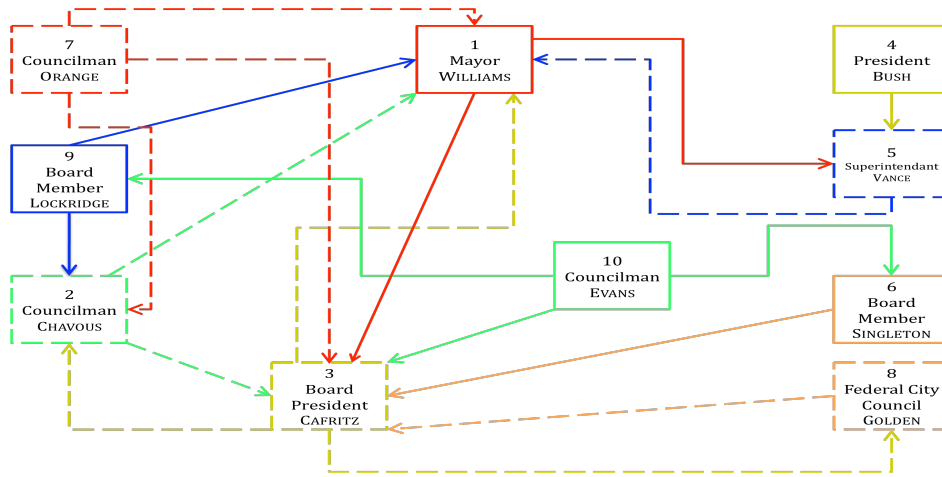
Ms. Kaya Henderson  
*Interim Chancellor*  
*Oct 2010 - June 2011*  
Chancellor  
June 2011 - present

\*Elfreda W. Massie (Nov 2003-April 2004) and Robert Rice (April - Sept 2004) served as Interim Superintendent prior to Dr. Janey's tenure

## Appendix 7b: Perspective Changes of DCPS Chiefs, 1991-2013

	INCOMING	OUTGOING
<b>Dr. Franklin L. Smith</b>	“I want to move authority for operating to the school level, and take it away from the bureaucracy [because] I don’t want a school system. I want a system of schools...if you look at the socioeconomic factors, it’s easy to rationalize why the District is at the bottom [but] the endemic aspects of where children live doesn’t mean they have to stay at the bottom.”	“One side of the city has more needs than the other side. Where do you get money to fund the side that has needs? You take it from the side that doesn’t have the needs. I think that’s where the dissension was. Nobody wants to look at equalizing things it means giving up what we’ve been accustomed to. The only solution to that is more money to the pot, which nobody wanted to listen to that.”
<b>Gen. Julius W. Becton, Jr</b>	“If we get consensus to do what has to be done, fine. If we don’t, we’ll do what needs to be done. Kids first. Failure is not an option.”	“I am tired, I really am, physically, emotionally, mentally, I’m tired... (This) has been the toughest job that I’ve ever had.”
<b>Dr. Arlene Ackerman</b>	“I was with some other superintendents a few weeks ago, and they said, ‘What will you do if [test scores] don’t go up?’ And I said that I never expected them not to go up...I knew that we had put a new focus on student achievement, and I knew that if you do that, you get results.”	“I cried for six weeks, from the time I said I was leaving to the time I got on the plane. I felt like I was leaving with so much left to be done.”
<b>Dr. Paul Vance</b>	“We cannot run the risk that every time our teachers turn around we’re changing something.”	“To be very candid with you, I just don’t want to be bothered with it.”
<b>Dr. Clifford B. Janey</b>	“[Over my 30 year career] I haven’t found an individual who didn’t want improvement, but I’ve found a number of people who want improvement without change...that’s going to be our biggest challenge [but] the superintendency is more mission than job.”	<i>after being fired by Mayor Fenty via an 11:30 p.m. telephone call and having his email account deactivated just hours later, Janey made no comments on his dismissal.</i>
<b>Ms. Michelle Rhee</b>	“I’m not a career superintendent...we see the harm that comes when people come in and in 2 ½ years they’re off to the next job...I only took this job because I believe I can do it over the long haul.”	“The thought of not being in this role anymore is heartbreaking, to put it mildly [but] the best way to keep the reforms going is for this reformer to step aside.”
<b>Ms. Kaya Henderson</b>	“I was stunned at the lack of commitment to ensuring the highest quality educational force in the country...the District tolerated people and practices that other school systems would never accept. This administration has been and will continue to be incredibly aggressive in our efforts to improve the quality of our workforce because our students can’t afford to wait until the adults get it together...our responsibility is to deliver the goods, no matter what the [socioeconomic and/or academic] situations our students are in. The reform is in the schoolhouse...Go hard, or go home!”	

## Appendix 8: DC Public Educational Blame Game, 2003



**1. Anthony A. Williams -- Mayor of the District of Columbia**

to Superintendent Paul Vance: “[T]here are a lot of kids getting a crappy education, and we could do better.”

to Board of Education President Cafritz: “The D.C. public schools operate like an ‘ongoing, slow-moving disaster.’”

**2. Kevin P. Chavous – City Councilman, Ward 7**

to Board of Education President Cafritz: “You just can’t say that the mayor and the Council don’t support public education if they don’t give [you] a billion dollars.”

to Mayor Williams (regarding using \$339 million dollar of public funds to construct a new baseball stadium): “Baseball is not as much a priority to me as is building schools.”

**3. Peggy Cooper Cafritz -- Board of Education President**

to Mayor Williams: “The mayor has lied to the people of the District of Columbia about funding our schools.”

to Councilman Chavous: “[A]re we spending what needs to be spent to give our children an equitable education? The answer is no.”

to Terry Golden’s having asked her not to seek re-election: “I think it’s testosterone run amuck.”

**4. George W. Bush – President of the United States**

to Superintendent Vance: “Let me just put it bluntly: There are some great schools in the District, and there are some lousy schools.”

**5. Paul L. Vance – Superintendent of the DC Public Schools**

to Mayor Williams, Board President Cafritz, and Councilman Chavous regarding his resignation: “To be very candid with you, I just don’t want to be bothered with it.”

**6. Dwight E. Singleton – Board of Education, Ward 4 Representative**

to Board President Cafritz: “She doesn’t have a vision...she leads by a cast-iron hand.”

**7. Vincent B. Orange Sr. -- City Councilman, Ward 5**

to Mayor Williams, Councilman Chavous, and Board President Cafritz (regarding their failure to fulfill a five-year long promise for technological improvements to a public high school): “I want my McKinley Tech! I say shame on the administration.”

**8. Terence “Terry” Golden -- Chairman, Federal City Council**

to Board President Cafritz: “Cafritz acts as a ‘disruptive force’.”

**9. William Lockridge -- Board of Education, Ward 8 Representative**

to Mayor Williams and Councilman Chavous: “This board shouldn’t sit down, it should stand up!”

**10. Jack Evans -- City Councilman, Ward 2**

to Board President Cafritz, Council Representative Lockridge and Board Representative Singleton: “I happen to favor abolishing the school board.”

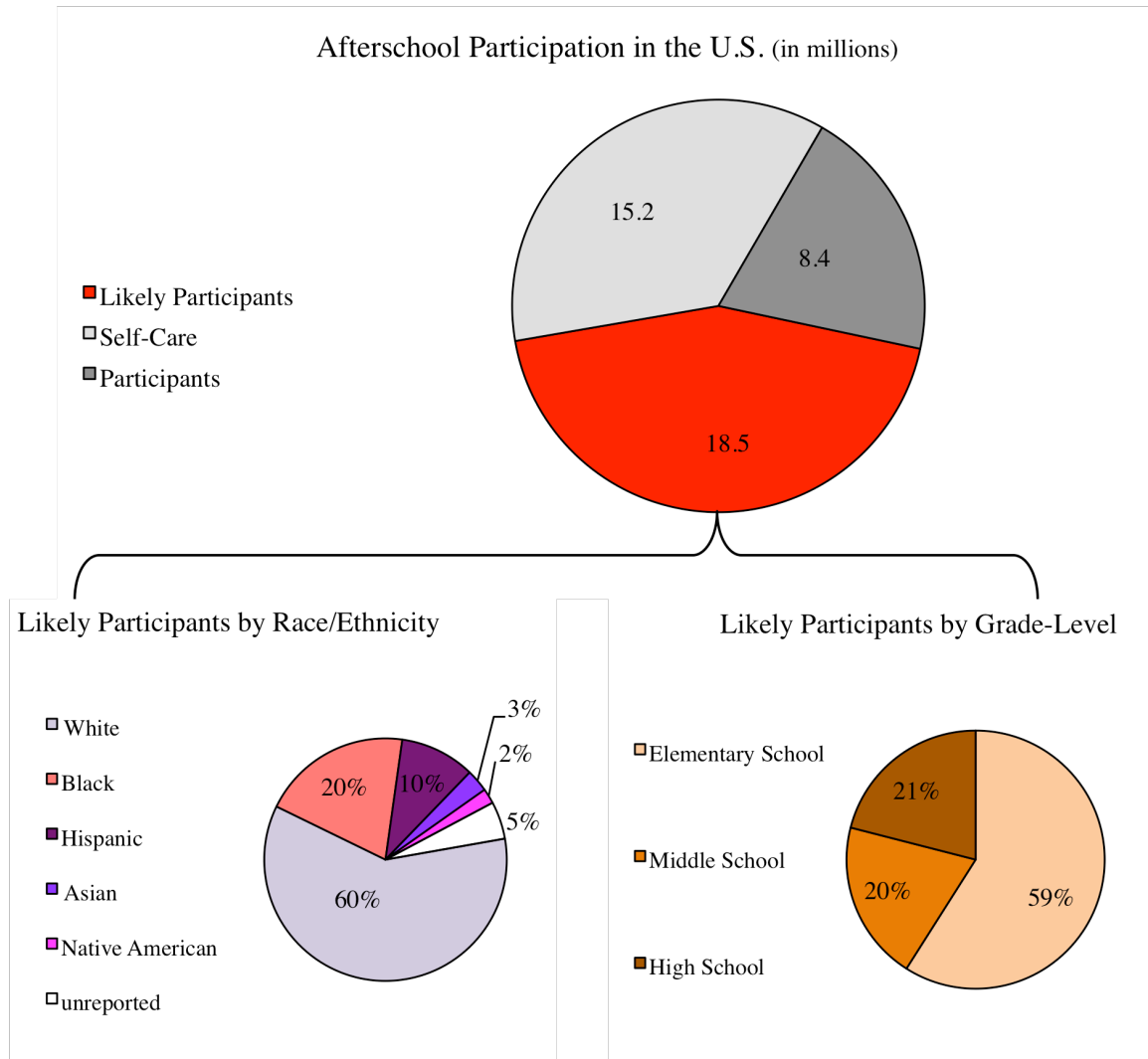


## Appendix 9: Titles in the DC Public Education Reform Act of 2007

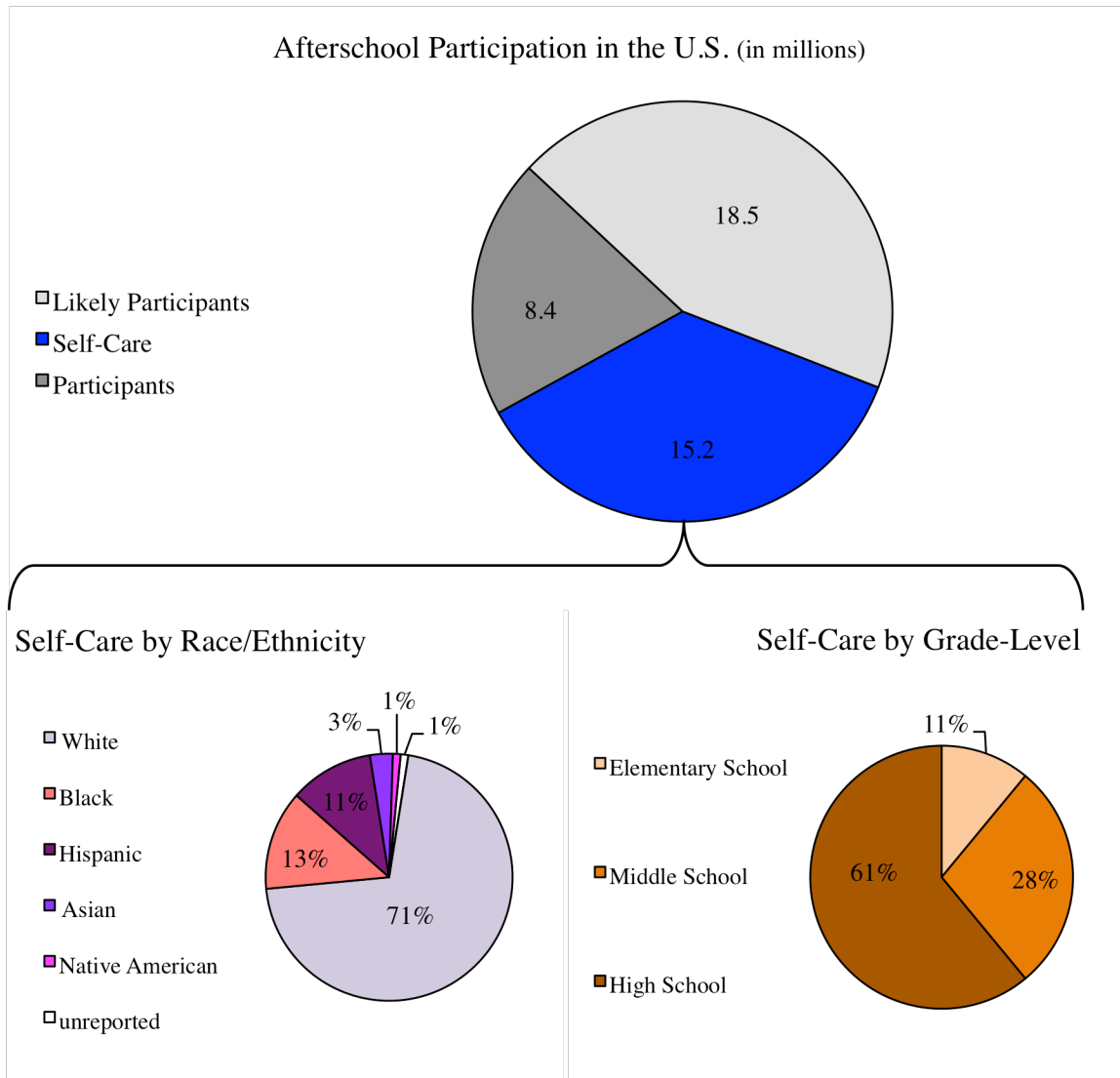
<b>TITLE I ESTABLISHMENT OF MAYORAL ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishes DCPS as subordinate agency under the Mayor</li> <li>• Mayor appoints Chancellor, confirmed by Council</li> <li>• Establishes Dept. of Education, headed by Deputy Mayor for Education</li> </ul>
<b>TITLE II BOARD OF EDUCATION CHARTER AMENDMENT</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amends Home Rule Act to require Mayor to submit DCPS budget to Council for approval</li> <li>• Repeals Home Rule Act provision creating Board of Education</li> </ul>
<b>TITLE III STATE EDUCATION AGENCY FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SEO is the Chief State School Officer for the District</li> <li>• Transfers all state-level education functions to the SEO, including federal grants, early childhood education, adult education, standards</li> <li>• Requires transition plan to be submitted to Mayor and Council w/in 90 days; transition to begin by new fiscal year (Oct. 1)</li> </ul>
<b>TITLE IV ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishes a State Board of Education, transferring the current Board of Education (members and terms) - maintains hybrid Board until 2009, then goes to all-elected</li> <li>• State Board advises Chief State School Officer on state education policy issues for all LEAs in District</li> <li>• State Board has policy-approval authority over state standards and NCLB state accountability plan, including cut scores</li> </ul>
<b>TITLE V CREATION OF INTEGRATED SERVICES MODEL</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishes an Interagency Collaboration and Services Integration Commission, made up of agency heads from every agency dealing w/ child services, including public safety &amp; justice, health, human services</li> <li>• Landmark initiative based on an effective model used in other jurisdictions that focuses on evidence-based program delivery for multiply at-risk children - will enable the District to break down the 'silos' of the District government like never before, creating a mechanism by which agencies can collaborate and work together</li> <li>• Key components of the model include the use of data to identify and assess children served by District agencies; the sharing of resources to provide evidence-based programs, and the evaluation of results</li> </ul>
<b>TITLE VI CREATION OF OFFICE OF OMBUDSMAN FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishes Office of Ombudsman for Public Education - will be housed in Dept. of Education</li> <li>• Encourages communication from residents regarding P-20 education and will serve as single source for complaint resolution</li> <li>• Maintains database to track and identify systemic concerns for faster resolution</li> </ul>
<b>TITLE VII CREATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION FACILITIES MANAGEMENT AND CONSTRUCTION AUTHORITY</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishes independent authority for school facilities management and construction, w/ CEO appointed by Mayor w/ Council confirmation</li> <li>• Independent authority to manage funds, establish public-private partnerships, procurement</li> <li>• Cannot dispose of/sell District property - must go through normal disposition procedures</li> </ul>
<b>TITLE VIII CHARTER SCHOOL ACCOUNTABILITY AND SCHOOL REFORM ACT AMENDMENTS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amends School Reform Act to allow charters under BOE to become charters under PCSB, allow for poor academic performance as reason for charter revocation, and require performance reviews every 3 years instead of 5</li> <li>• Makes SEO a 'back-up' authorizer, by appeal only - serves as a check-and-balance on the one authorizer, PCSB</li> <li>• Repeals Public Charter Schools Act (District charter law)</li> </ul>
<b>TITLE IX CONFORMING AMENDMENTS</b>
<b>TITLE X FISCAL IMPACT; EFFECTIVE DATE</b>

Source: DCPSWatch, Mayoral Takeover of School System, DC Public Education Reform Amendment Act of 2007, Bill 17-001

## Appendix 10a: Selected Statistics on Afterschool Programming in the U.S. from *America After 3pm 2009* report



## Appendix 10b: Selected Statistics on Afterschool Programming in the U.S. from *America After 3pm 2009* report



## Appendix 11a: DC OSSE ESEA School Classifications

	SEA Engagement with DCPS/PCSB	LEA/School Autonomy over School Activities	LEA/School Flexibility in Use of Federal Funds
Priority	Very High	Low	Low
Focus	High	Moderate	Moderate
Developing	Moderate	High	High
Rising	Moderate	High	High
Reward	Low	Very High	Very High

### PRIORITY - 23 total schools

- Schools needing intense support to address low performance of all students
- School index score of 25 points or less
- Eligible for Tier I or Tier II School Performance Grant
- Graduation rate of less than 60% for 2 consecutive years or more
- Participation rate of less than 95% for 2 consecutive years or more
- Previously identified as a PRIORITY school and without 3 years of progress
- LEAs must reserve 20% of Title I funds received
- Schools must develop intervention plan
- Schools will receive quality monitoring
- Staff will receive professional development

### FOCUS - 10 total schools

- Schools needing targeted support to address large specific groups of students
- Not a PRIORITY school
- Have a disproportionate subgroup performance
- Significant within school subgroup gap
- Previously identified as a FOCUS school and without 2 consecutive years of progress
- LEAs must reserve 20% of Title I funds received
- Schools must develop intervention plan
- Schools will receive quality monitoring
- Staff will receive professional development

## Appendix 11b: DC OSSE ESEA School Classifications

	SEA Engagement with DCPS/PCSB	LEA/School Autonomy over School Activities	LEA/School Flexibility in Use of Federal Funds
Priority	Very High	Low	Low
Focus	High	Moderate	Moderate
Developing	Moderate	High	High
Rising	Moderate	High	High
Reward	Low	Very High	Very High

### DEVELOPING/RISING - 59 total schools

- Schools needing support to continue growth
- Not a PRIORITY, FOCUS, or REWARD school
- RISING has a school index score of 26-44
- DEVELOPING has a school index score of 45-79
- School staff will receive professional development
- School will receive ongoing guidance and technical assistance

### REWARD - 20 total schools

- Schools with the highest levels of student performance and growth
- Not a PRIORITY or FOCUS school
- Has a school index score of 80 or higher
- Has a graduation rate of 60% or higher
- Has a participation rate of 95% or higher
- Ranks in the Top 5% in the state for composite annual growth
- School will receive public recognition
- School will receive invitation to participate in special programs
- Schools are eligible for reward funding

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## Vita

Alysia Ann Childs was born in Washington, DC. After graduating from Benjamin Banneker Academic High School in 1997, she entered Spelman College where she earned a bachelor's degree in Spanish with Honors. After graduation, she taught Spanish in the DeKalb County (GA) Public School System for three years. In 2004, she returned to Washington, DC and began her graduate studies in Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Upon receiving a Master of Science degree in International Development, she continued her graduate studies at the University of Texas at Austin in 2006. While in Austin, she was employed a Teaching Assistant and served on the review board for *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, a peer-reviewed journal that examines educational processes in U.S. and international contexts. In 2007, she was a member of an interdisciplinary student delegation sent to Colombia to investigate the effectiveness of legislative measures meant to protect Afro-Colombians' collective rights to property, education, and community development. The resultant report "Unfulfilled Promises and Persistent Obstacles to the Realization of the Rights of Afro-Colombians" was submitted in English and Spanish to the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights and to the U.S. Congress. She also co-produced an accompanying documentary "En Busca de Una Vida Digna: Challenges Facing Afro-Descendants in Colombia", which has been featured at numerous film screenings, panel discussions and academic presentations in the United States and in Colombia. She has presented her work at scholarly conferences and community meetings and currently serves on the Board of Directors for a DC-based non-profit organization focused on children.

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