

Re-Segregate D.C. Schools:

An analysis of gentrification's peculiar consequences on Francis-Stevens

Xavier Adomatis

The George Washington University

Abstract

In the past five years, the traditionally black D.C. public school Francis-Stevens in northwest D.C. has moved to make itself more appealing to the gentrified neighborhood around it. They have been somewhat successful in drawing in the surrounding community, but many of the students from the area leave after the prekindergarten program and move on to private school. To look at the consequences of this invitation, including the loss of Title I funds, and creates the term *transitory enrollment*. This paper, in analyzing the causes of *transitory enrollment*, uses the frameworks of the *gilded ghetto*, *gentry parents*, and *diversity without oppression* by Hyra, Stillman, and Bell & Hartman. These concepts, in order, look at the current state of the nearby community and compare it to the school, study the interactions of parents with similar schools, and present the problems that the motivations of the parents create. The conclusion is that this *diversity without oppression* creates a *gilded ghetto*, or in this case a *gilded black school*, and the resulting transitory enrollment causes oppression within the school. Ultimately, the paper dictates that the school should be segregated by those committed to its success and those who aren't.

Re-Segregate D.C. Schools: An analysis of gentrification's peculiar consequences on
Francis-Stevens

Just in the past few months, the School Without Walls at Francis-Stevens in West End, D.C. has been preparing for a massive loss of funding, and like with most of D.C.'s problems, gentrification is to blame. Typically in D.C. schools, and schools in gentrifying areas one of two things happen: schools either are swarmed by the incoming wealthy white population, completely changed, and the original student population is sent away, or the school remains untouched by the newly gentrifying community and suffers from low enrollment because their former students cannot afford to live in boundary. Francis-Stevens, however, is a peculiarity in this situation- it teeters between the two, experiencing low enrollment in the latter grades while its younger grades are flooded with the children of gentrifiers. This essay explores an issue and situation previously untouched in the scholarship; one that could be the future of many of D.C.'s schools.

Introduction

Francis-Stevens, located in a white neighborhood, in a white ward, in a white quarter of the city, is a *black* school, or at least it used to be. While wealthy caucasians have been infiltrating and gentrifying the city for most of D.C.'s history (Hyra, 2017), Francis-Stevens has maintained a large student-of-color population for two main reasons: the school serves the entire D.C. population, not just the surrounding neighborhoods, and the population of the surrounding neighborhoods is not attending the district's public school systems (Anonymous School Staff, personal communication, February 2018). Because of this, Francis-Stevens caters to students

from some of the poorest parts of D.C., while the surrounding neighborhoods have lost all color from their residents (Census Data, 2010). Due to Francis-Stevens's impoverished student body, the Title I funds are necessary to keep the school's programs afloat and ensure student success as they move on to high school and college.

However, Francis-Stevens is losing their Title I funds because they have been seeing a demographic shift in the most recent years. In most cases, certainly in D.C., a whitening demographic shift would have a positive effect on the school's funding. As wealthy whites move into traditionally poor schools, the money the parents bring to the table diminishes the need for additional federal funds (Posey, 2000). Unlike most schools in heavily gentrified environments, Francis-Stevens's demographic shift has been limited to the lower grades. A large number of white students are staying at Francis-Stevens only until they attend a private school (SWWFS Registrar, personal communication, April 2018).

This demographic shift has caused significant problems in Francis-Stevens. The result of this is that the school's percentage of students on the Free and Reduced Lunch program is watered down by the local white students, and the school's Title I funding has disappeared without the support of wealthy parents that would usually replace it. The gentrification already has so many consequences on D.C. schools, and the only attainable solution in this political climate is for the wealthy people of Northwest D.C. to do one of two things: do not use the public schools at all and stick to the private options wholeheartedly, or commit wholeheartedly to the program. The schools need to be segregated by those committed to the school's success and those who are not.

Historical Context

D.C. has a long history of racial controversy in its schools since the early 1950's. Despite the original opposition to desegregate D.C. public schools in the 1954 integration date, students seemed to be performing better. The 1960 report "The Scholastic Performances of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Public Schools of the District of Columbia" written by the D.C. Superintendents recognizes this achievement (p. 1). The report (1960) asserts that between 1955-1960 black students were better off than they were in the five years leading up to integration, and the white students' performances were at least as well or better off than they were before (Hypps, Foster, and Gregory, 1960, p. 1). However, this positive outlook was short lived, as a 1981 report on the education budgets of D.C. and Montgomery County took a broader and more critical approach to the issue. While integration turned out to be favorable within D.C.'s systems, the majority black D.C. was dismal compared to the almost identical neighboring Montgomery County (Parents United, 1981, p. 2). The report concluded that education spending was \$500 dollars lower per pupil in D.C. than in Montgomery county, which both have the same number of students and facilities (Parents United, 1981, p. 3). The black district was severely underfunded compared to its white counterpart. The current issue, after the de jure segregation issue in integration, followed by the de facto segregation that left D.C. schools underfunded, is based on gentrification. Schools are no longer racially separated by law or coincidence, and yet again, it harms the students of color.

Discovery and Expanded topic

This essay is an analysis of the problem at Francis-Stevens from its beginning to its end. I intend to answer the question: What are the implications of wealthy families only making partial use of Francis-Stevens, why are they doing so, and what can be done about it? This essay serves two main audiences. First and foremost, this is for the other scholars discussing gentrification's consequences, as this issue is a peculiarity of a "cappuccino city" caught in a massive wealth gap, and this is what the paper actually contains. Secondly, in the near future, some of the components and research of this essay are being used to contribute to a letter to the parents of Northwest D.C, to reach out to them about solutions for diminishing the problem. This essay seeks to extend the existing frameworks of *diversity without oppression* and the *gilded ghetto* to address the specific implications of this problem.

I came to know about this issue through my service at Francis-Stevens this year through their FoodPrints program. I volunteer there once or twice weekly for several hours, and I have experienced all of the prekindergarten through fifth grade classes. This issue of the students exiting was not something FoodPrints explored, or something that was presented to me as a problem; rather, it was mentioned a couple times in passing, as the school's sustainability group talked about funding for its missions. I began to explore this issue more when I asked my community partner about the district's reasoning behind the funding removal. Knowing about gentrifications and its consequences, I assumed this was another step in the process of Francis-Stevens becoming a white school, which occurs in the schools explored by scholars such as Stillman. I had seen the "cappuccino" (to coin Hyra's explanation of a very mixed race city) younger classes and the black older classes and assumed that this was the infiltration and the start of the ousting of people that occurs in gentrification. However, when prompted, two of the

school's employees said that this was not the case. Two teachers, who have both been at Francis-Stevens since before the school's acquisition by the School Without Walls, said that the younger grades have generally been more racially blended, though it was significantly more evident in recent years. It appears, in this case, that the gentrification was limited exclusively to a smaller section of the school, and the implications of this transitory enrollment that followed were different.

Perceptions of Gentrification

Because this essay is meant to expand on the conversation on gentrification, it is important to lay out a singular definition of gentrification because it is a broad concept defined many ways. This essay will use a definition similar to that of Derek S. Hyra's Race, Class, and Politics in the Cappuccino City (2017). For the purposes of this essay, gentrification is the mass influx of white persons into a geographical area, greatly reducing the percentage of people of color in the region and driving up property values (pg. 8). Like Hyra states in his introduction, there are many types of gentrification that lie outside of this one, but this is what is most relevant to the issue this essay discusses.

Because the events at Francis-Stevens are such niche events, there is no literature that directly opposes my presentation of *transitory enrollment* as a problem. The general pushback is from those who do not see gentrification as a problem in general, and thus this essay can only address the opposition to gentrification, which is societally common. Hyra (2017) discusses this in his book, Race, Class, and Politics in the Cappuccino City, in the section on the "Benefits of Mixed Income Living." Hyra's research yields that due to increased income and demand, more

will be demanded from businesses in the area, and they will upgrade to accommodate (Hyra, 2017, p. 129). New wealthy residents also bring in political power to bring access to more city services, as well as business power in allowing locals to create connections (Hyra, 2017, p. 129). Ultimately, wealthy white gentrifiers bring in a cosmetic change, and from an outside perspective this is seen as improving the neighborhood and “cleaning up the streets.”

In the process of analyzing the gentrification, Hyra (2017) discovers that most of these apparent pros not as beneficial as it would seem. As wealthy whites move in the cheaper and more “culturally diverse” black communities, they have different priorities in the community that they now share (Hyra, 2017, p. 129). The gentrifiers often prefer more expensive local businesses, ones that are too pricey for the low-income locals. Along the same lines, the amenities that they request are not necessarily ones that the low-income residents need, like receiving a dog park when they need a bus stop (Hyra, 2017, p. 129). Additionally, it is not just the local businesses that become more expensive with the incoming wealthy whites: housing prices explode when they arrive, and the high prices oust the low-income residents from the quality housing, sending them to subsidized residences or even forcing them to leave (Hyra, 2017, p. 9). Ultimately, gentrification completely upends the community.

Overview of Francis-Stevens’s Demography Changes

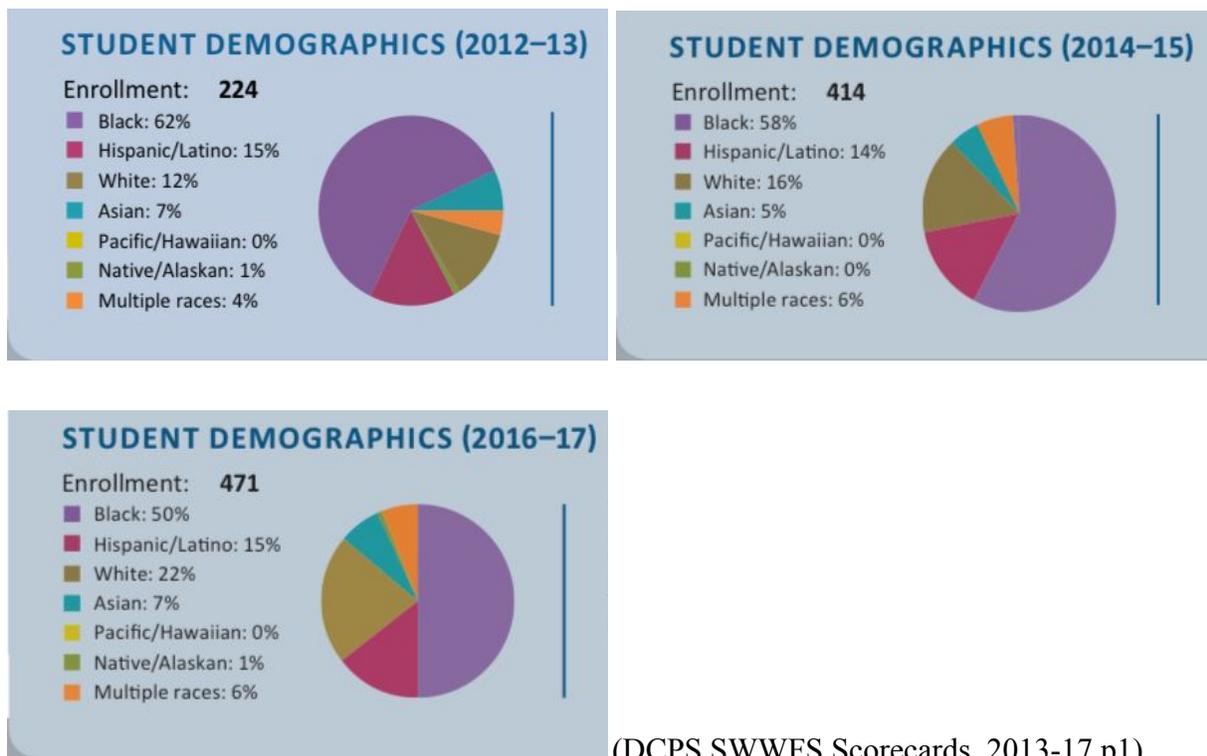
The School of Francis-Stevens

The School Without Walls at Francis-Stevens is a small pre-kindergarten (k-3) through eighth grade school located in the West End neighborhood of Washington D.C.’s Ward Two. Its boundary is drawn around the neighborhoods of Foggy Bottom and West End, and some portions

of the surrounding neighborhoods, all within Ward Two (SWWFS Boundary, 2014). The school traditionally catered to the students from outside of the boundary, who were able to metro or bus in to receive an education in a wealthier area. However, in recent years, the school was put under new administration by the School Without Walls to increase in-boundary enrollment.

Methodology in assessing the problem

Unfortunately, the complete quantitative data set is unavailable to conduct a full statistical analysis based on a singular data pool. The data that correlates students' race, financial status, and grade by grade demographic composition is unavailable through the District of Columbia Public School (DCPS) records. DCPS offers only class breakdown separate from racial and financial data, so this essay must make certain extractions to reach this conclusion.



The most basic data available is Francis-Stevens's racial enrollment demographics through the past few school years through the school "scorecards" from 2013-14, 2015-16, and

2017-18 school years (presented above). These were chosen because the 2013-14 was the first school year after the School Without Wall acquisition, and 2017-18 is the current data. 2015-16 was chosen to be a midpoint to look closer at the transitions. Beginning in 2013-14, there is a 12% white student population, which escalates to 16% in 2015-16, and then to 22% in 2017-18 (DCPS SWWFS Scorecards, 2013-17 p1). In just the small window of five years the white student population proportion has nearly doubled.

This data correlates with the increase in “in-boundary” students (also above), which moves from 23% to 26% to 31% in the three reports. By looking at the size of the jumps in the report racial demographics (a 4% and 6% increase in white students) and in the in-boundary demographics (a 3% and 5% increase in in-boundary students) it is reasonable to conclude that the increase in white students is correlated with the increase in in-boundary students.

Next, the students on Free and Reduced Lunch Program (FRLP) are brought into the equation. The reports assert that FRLP rates decreased from 65% to 49% to 35%¹ in the three reports. *While FRLP rates almost halve, the white student population nearly doubles.* This data is supported by the fact that the “in-boundary” population is extremely wealthy, established by the D.C. census data on Ward 2 (DC City Profile, 2017) and the Francis-Stevens boundary with in that location. This means that for all intents and purposes in this essay, the incoming white students are students from the neighborhood that Francis-Stevens serves, and those students are wealthy.

According the school’s registrar, this shift was based on an event six years ago when Francis-Stevens was at a pivotal point, and suffering from low enrollment (SWWFS Registrar,

¹ This number was not presented directly as the FRLP rate, but rather as “impoverished students” on the same location and grouping of the scorecard. The district seems to be using the categories synonymously.

personal communication, April 2018). The School Without Walls administration from Foggy Bottom, D.C. decided to revamp the school to make it more appealing to the wealthy in boundary students to increase enrollment numbers, as the Francis-Stevens was suffering and even facing shutdown for lower enrollment (SWWFS Registrar, personal communication, April 2018). Francis-Stevens was successful, and increased the number of in-boundary students due to the convenience for the Ward Two families, and the free access to “good” public education (SWWFS Registrar, personal communication, April 2018). This, of course, denied and waitlisted non-in-boundary students, including those that have siblings already in the school (SWWFS Registrar, personal communication, April 2018). However, the school seems to have brought another issue to the table.

Now, while there is proof that Francis-Stevens is subject to gentrification through recorded quantitative data compilation, its difficult for the numbers to tell the story of this school’s specific troubles, so the data here is based on personal communication and observations. In a simple comparison, a prekindergarten age four class (called k-4) has eleven white students of nineteen, while a fourth grade class only has two caucasian students in twenty one. I chose these two examples because they are the two that I experienced most recently in my volunteer schedule. However, in my twenty classroom volunteer experiences I have experienced nearly all of Francis-Stevens sixteen elementary school classes, and the pattern is consistent throughout.

The racial demographic is a gradient shift between the two extremes, but according to the registrar the largest point of contrast in the demographic is between k-4 and kindergarten with a loss in about ten to twenty percent of the students varying through the years (SWWFS Registrar, personal communication, April 2018). The students exiting are the white “in-boundary” students,

confirms Tavares, and these students are going into private schools. (SWWFS Registrar, personal communication, April 2018). This means that the wealthy white students are using the school only for pre-kindergarten programs,. This essay will refer to it as *transitory enrollment*, because no term for this exists in the current scholarship. The effects of this transitory enrollment are that students are moving on from Francis-Stevens while driving down the FRLP rates, and consequentially costing Francis-Stevens their Title I funding.

The Politics of Title I Funds

Title I is the U.S. government's twelve billion dollar program that is intended to help all students "reach a level of academic proficiency," and is based off of the school's proportion of students with Free and Reduced Lunch Program Status (Brown, 2007). Schools with 50% enrollment on FRLP are eligible for funds and those with 75% are eligible for additional funding. However, these funds are distributed from the school districts and allocated by the districts in whichever manner they choose (Brown, 2007, p130).

Generally speaking, schools without a impoverished student body do not need the additional funding provided by Title I, and if Francis-Stevens was experiencing *complete* gentrification, where white students become the majority in a minority-majority population, the new white student population would not need the funds due to the parents' wealth (Posey, 2000). L.E. Posey (2000) comprehensively analyzes gentrification in California's Morningside Elementary School, looking at the consequences of white infiltration into majority-minority schools. Morningside, much like Francis-Stevens, is a gentrifying majority-minority school located in a white neighborhood that struggles with funding (Posey, 2000, p. 2). However, in Posey (2000) the school has a lot of parent participation; the parent activities are replacing the

need for Title I funds (p. 157). On “active” parents in urban schools, Posey (2000) states “studies have demonstrated... middle-class parents can and do bring material resources and educational opportunities to urban public schools that can benefit the entire school community, ” (p. 157). To borrow this concept, it can be applied to a *hypothetical* Francis-Stevens, one that *would* see parents involved in activities and contributing their resources. However, Posey (2000) digresses to look at similar concerns to the Francis-Stevens issue; with wealthy parents involved, schools become reliant on funding from parents, and the districts do not fund the schools (p. 158). That poses a risk to the school, because if the involved parties happen to be inactive (or in this case exiting the public school system), schools lose district funds without being compensated by the active parents (Posey, 2000, p. 158). This is precisely what has happened at Francis-Stevens, where the district saw the increase in students wealth (through a decrease in FRLP students) and thus automatically rescinded Title I funding (Anonymous School Staff, personal communication, February 2018; DCPS website, 2018).

Since the loss of Title I funds has not yet kicked in, the full effects are not apparent. We know that generally speaking budget cuts to schools mean loss of funding for the schools extracurricular programs and after school childcare programs. Francis-Stevens offers all of these as of now, and they are mostly used by the school’s students of color (Anonymous School Staff, personal communication, February 2018). This means that budgetary cuts will likely diminish the programs offered to these students. On the other hand, the gentrifying students have access to plenty of non-school affiliated after school programs. For instance, the mother of one of the white third graders² was in school one day asking the volunteers about applying to be a sitter for

² To clarify, this white parent is a resident of West End but is not a transitory enroller.

her daughters. She needed someone to walk them home from school, help them with their homework, and make sure they study French. She was offering \$17.50 an hour to do so (Parent Volunteer, personal communication, November 2017). While this is a singular instance and cannot be generalized to the rest of the white parents at Francis-Stevens, this is an example of the resources some parents have to compensate for a loss in afterschool programming.

Gentry Parents in Francis Stevens

While Posey (2000) gives us the ideologies behind “active” parents, and the benefits of them, she does not address the reasoning behind the exit, as her research mainly focuses on the inactive parents that stay within the school. To make a comparison with Francis-Stevens, J.B. Stillman (2011) offers more on the reasoning on the exits. Stillman (2011) employs the term *Gentry Parents* in the discussion about gentrification in education. She defines Gentry Parents “as those white parents who are middle or upper-middle class, highly educated, and are contributing to the gentrification of their neighborhood with their presence and relative wealth,” (Stillman, 2011, p. 3) in an essay that analyzes the fifty-two interviews of Gentry Parents in gentrified and gentrifying neighborhoods in New York City. Stillman (2011) finds that in situations similar to Francis-Stevens³, Gentry Parents can be quick to leave [these] schools... many of these parents aren’t happy enough with the quality of the education. More importantly, they often don’t think their children are happy” (p. 165). Stillman’s research aligns with the testimony of the Francis-Stevens employees. According to in school interviews,

³ A full explanation of the quote: Stillman would classify Francis Stevens as a “Stage 2” school, which is “A changing school--- a solid, stable presence of gentry children enrolled in the early grades (p. 30); she would associate the parents as those in Malcolm Gladwell's (2001) wave three, as those parents joining a stage 2 school (Stillman, 2011, p. 31). On Stage 2 schools and Wave 3 parents, Stillman (2011) comments “Wave 3 [Gentry Parent]s can be quick to leave Stage 2 schools... many of these parents aren’t happy enough with the quality of the education. More importantly, they often don’t think their children are happy,” (p. 165).

Francis-Stevens's Gentry Parents are exiting in order to attend private schools in D.C., as is common in Stillman's research on where the students go after exiting the public school system (Anonymous School Staff, personal communication, February 2018; Stillman 2011, p. 166).

Francis-Stevens's contribution to the scholarship on gentrification in D.C.

So far this essay has concluded that there is a new, relatively undiscussed problem in Francis-Stevens. Transitory Enrollment, the awkward product of gentrification in areas where families can afford to send their students to private schools but let them experience the public pre-kindergarten, is unexplored in the scholarship. Now that this essay has proven the issue exists, and outlined the implications on it, the problem needs to be analyzed through the lense of the already existent scholarship. This section uses Hyra's *gilded ghetto* and Bell & Hartman's *diversity without oppression* to explain the issue as a symptom of a societal ill rather than a unique problem.

Diversity Without Oppression

One of my only interactions with a Gentry Parent of a 4 year old⁴, due to their low participation in school volunteering, was best summed up with this quote from when I asked her what she thought about Francis-Stevens: "I absolutely love this school: it's close, it's diverse, and it's great to get [her daughter] into the Maret School," which is one of D.C.'s top private schools (Parent Volunteer, personal communication, March 2018).

The parents thought process is a prime example of Bell and Hartman's (2007) framework of "diversity without oppression," which is introduced as

⁴ Unlike the parent above this parent was one of the transitory enrollers.

“The diversity discourse, or diversity without oppression, functions to shift the focus away from an explicit disavowal of race and racial inequalities toward a rhetoric that aspires to acknowledge and even celebrate racial differences. At the same time, the diversity discourse conflates, confuses, and obscures the deeper sociostructural roots and consequences of diversity. In other words, if colorblind racism reproduces racial inequalities by disavowing race, the diversity discourse allows Americans to engage race on the surface but disavow and disguise its deeper structural roots and consequences” (Bell & Hartman, p. 910).

Their framework is an extension of Margaret Andersen’s (1999) “The Fiction of ‘Diversity Without Oppression’ Race, Ethnicity, Identity, and Power,” where she generates the term “diversity without oppression” as a counter to the positive lights on multiculturalism. In Andersen’s work, and Bell’s (2012) expansion, and the main piece by Bell and Hartman (2007) all reflect the framework as a social commentary.

Like in the cases presented by Bell & Hartman, the ideologies of the Gentry Parent consist of a white person celebrating diversity without recognizing the power differences. The parent is putting the school at a disadvantage because of her interest in diversity. While Bell and Hartman’s (2007) research does substantiate Andersen’s original claims with evidence of the effects, it doesn’t go deep enough into the true consequences of *diversity without oppression* (p. 910). After a complete look at the issue, it is necessary to extend the frameworks of *diversity without oppression* and the *gilded ghetto* to analyze the issue at Francis-Stevens.

The Gilded Ghetto and Diversity without Oppression

In order to look at the root causes of the issue at hand, we first have to take a step back and look at the greater problem, gentrification in D.C.. Hyra (2017) crafts the gentrification in D.C. into his own concept of the *gilded ghetto* based on the transformations in D.C.'s U-Street/Shaw neighborhood (p.6). The U-Street/Shaw neighborhood was once a booming black urban center in D.C., but was reduced to drugs and crime, becoming an iconic “dark ghetto,” after white controlled city councils began denying credit to blacks (Hyra, 2017, p. 6). Then, wealthier non-blacks began to move into the neighborhood, taking over homes and driving up property values (Hyra, 2017, p. 8). While some of this was economically motivated, there is another, more powerful drive behind gentrification in D.C..

Because those that believe in diversity without oppression are moving into “culturally diverse” spaces, gentrifying them, and forcing the original occupants out of that area, they are *oppressing by diversity without oppression*. Hyra (2017) asserts that the *gilded ghetto* “represents an opportunity to experience and participate in an ‘authentic’ black space,” when he creates the *gilded ghetto* framework, referring to how the Shaw neighborhood was taken over because people wanted to be a part of the culture (p. 8). Diversity without oppression is a driving force behind the creation of Hyra’s *gilded ghetto*, and this applies to Francis-Stevens as a school. People want to go to Francis-Stevens because its diverse, because it represents an “authentic” black space. Francis Stevens is the *gilded black school*, and the students there are suffering in the same way that the Shaw neighborhood is. Black students are being pushed out of the younger grades just like people are pushed out of their homes, the sense of community is lost in both the student and neighborhood organizations, and the ability to get into the community as a poor person of color is greatly restricted.

Conclusion and Recommendation to the Reader

The *gilded black school* that is Francis-Stevens today is something that needs to be looked out for in future scholarship on gentrification. Francis-Stevens is only one outlet of those that are oppressing by *diversity without oppression*. While Hyra does a fantastic job of exploring the *gilded ghetto* in the Shaw/U-Street area, the scholarship overall lacks *diversity without oppression* phenomena in gentrified areas. I believe the issue of transitory enrollment could become a more prevalent issue, as gentrification expands and the price of private education rises. This paper serves as a warning to watch out for both transitory enrollment and *gilded* objects within gentrified environments, as both create oppressive situations for the current and soon-to-be former residents.

How to Present This to the Parents

As of now, there are two foreseeable, reasonable pathways that need to be followed to help restore Francis-Stevens. While gentrification is a wide problem across the United States, with many diverse perspective and solutions proposed from every angle, little is being done to deal with the problem. Similarly, Title I has issues across the U.S., with a massive amount of impoverished students receiving little to no aid, not only because of poor distribution, but a lack of funds even in perfect distribution. Title I is simply underfunded by the government and cannot support its objective (Brown, 2007). Without major policy in place, the solutions this paper proposes are limited to what can be accomplished by the community. In order to present a reasonable and applicable solution, I present these two options to the parents of northwest D.C.:

The first is that the parents of Foggy Bottom and West End that intended to send their students to private school should fully enroll their children in private school and not use the

public school system at all. This benefits Francis-Stevens, because it will regain its funds and restore the previous culture. It is difficult to tell taxpayers not to utilize a convenient and economical resource, but it is one of the few ways to decrease the impact of their gentrification and to stop the consequences of transitory enrollment.

The other option is for the parents there to commit to the school fully. This means surrendering opportunities for students to go to D.C.'s private schools for elementary and middle school, and also committing time to the public school. Gentry Parents have the resources to make schools great, and they are not using them when they only enroll their children in the prekindergarten programs. This is also difficult, because it requires time and money for parents that may be uncomfortable.

While these solutions are difficult, they are the only temporary fixes we can make while this issue is being addressed as a whole. After reading Race, Class, and Politics in the Cappuccino City, it is my belief that Hyra would disagree with my option to have Gentry Parents completely abandon the public school system. The solutions Hyra (2017) outlines, for economic and political justice apply to the issue of gentrification in D.C. (p. 165-168). His solutions would hopefully help maintain the black community through neighborhood organizations that encourage cooperation and coexistence (Hyra, 2017, p. 165-168). Based on the solutions he gives, I would exclusively recommend that the parents commit to the school, become involved, and celebrate diversity (while recognizing the power disparities).

However, like Hyra, I know well that these solutions are optimistic and will likely never see actuality; that is why my other recommendation is based on practicality. While my solutions are a band-aid on a wound that needs stitches and will leave a scar, they will still make an impact

on the school community if put in practice. The differences in the impacts of gentrifications make it nearly impossible to craft a solution that meets every communities needs, and even the worse off people within the communities are subject to peculiarities and solutions that another will not see. My research and recommendations cannot be applied to another situation in D.C., because every community will have their own issues. Since there is no imminent solution to address the root causes, I call on the parents of West End and Foggy Bottom to make this difference.

References

- Bell, J.M. Hartman, D. (2007) Diversity in everyday discourse: the cultural ambiguities and consequences of happy talk. *American Sociological Review*. December 2007. Volume 72. P895-914.
- Brown, C.A. (2007). Are America's poorest children receiving their share of federal education funds? School-level Title I funding in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. *Journal of Education Finance*; Fall 2007, Vol. 33 Issue 2, p130-146
- DC City Profiles, Neighborhood Profiles. (August 2017). Retrieved from https://www.neighborhoodinfodc.org/city/Nbr_prof_city.html
- District of Columbia Public Schools, School Profiles Home. (2017-18). *School Scorecard* [Data File]. Retrieved from <http://profiles.dcps.dc.gov/School+Without+Walls+%40+Francis-Stevens>
- District of Columbia Public Schools, School Profiles Home. (2015-16). *School Scorecard* [Data File]. Retrieved from <http://profiles.dcps.dc.gov/School+Without+Walls+%40+Francis-Stevens> via the wayback machine
- District of Columbia Public Schools, School Profiles Home. (2013-14). *School Scorecard* [Data File]. Retrieved from <http://profiles.dcps.dc.gov/School+Without+Walls+%40+Francis-Stevens> via the wayback machine

Hypps, I. Foster, R. Gregory, F. (2007). The scholastic performances of negro and white pupils in the integrated public schools of the District of Columbia. Summer 1960. Volume 30. Number 3.

Hyra, D.S. (2017). Race, class, and politics in the Cappuccino City. p1-168. University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London.

Parents United for Full Public School Funding. (1981). Comparative analysis of the public school budgets- fiscal 1981 for the District of Columbia and Montgomery County. p 1-11.

Posey, L.E. (2000) *The fine line between integration and gentrification: the politics of middle-class parental engagement in a city public school*. University of California, Berkley, CA. (Doctoral Dissertation).

School Without Walls @ Francis-Stevens Education Campus Boundary and Feeder Pathway.

(2014). [Data File]. Retrieved from

<https://dme.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/dme/publication/attachments/SWW%20at%20Francis%20Stevens.pdf>

Stillman, J.B. (2011) *Tipping in: school integration in gentrifying neighborhoods*. Columbia University, New York, NY. (Doctoral Dissertation)