

The Displacement of Displacement: New-Build Gentrification in Washington, DC.

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## Dedication

The author wishes to dedicate this thesis to her sisters, Sarah Davis, Mary Cook, and Lana Cook; her brother, Christopher Cook; and her mother, Kathleen Davis. I would be lost without your friendship, love and support.

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## Abstract of Thesis

### The Displacement of Displacement: New-Build Gentrification in Washington, DC.

This research, based on personal observations, secondary data, and archival records, examines the redevelopment taking place in a Washington, DC neighborhood as a form of new-build gentrification. The neighborhood known as NoMa boasts newly constructed, mixed-use commercial and office space, as well as luxury apartments and condominiums located close to multiple forms of transportation, including Metro and Union Station. Using Davidson and Lees' theory of new-build gentrification, it is argued that the redevelopment in NoMa is accompanied by both direct and indirect displacement of low-income, African-American residents. New housing construction in the area overwhelmingly targets middle to high income gentrifiers seeking high-end, luxury apartments and condos, with little to no inclusion of affordable housing. The NoMa Business Improvement District, subsidized and partially supported by the Washington, DC government, engages in significant efforts to rebrand the area as “NoMa,” transforming the character of the neighborhood into an urban ‘playground’ for highly educated, upper-class, white professionals. Exclusionary practices take place both at the economic and cultural level. New-build gentrification in NoMa is preceded and accompanied by widespread gentrification throughout Washington, DC, contributing to and expediting displacement of lower-income, black residents throughout the city. Dominant neo-liberal ideology obscures these negative effects of development, justifying the actions of the state, private developers, and individual consumer gentrifiers, resulting in what is termed the “displacement of displacement.”

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## Glossary of Terms

BID: Business Improvement District

NCI: New Communities Initiative

NoMa: An abbreviation of North of Massachusetts Avenue, designates a newly formed neighborhood in the Northeast quadrant of Washington, DC.

## INTRODUCTION

As I rode the Washington Metro to campus in 2011, making my daily commute to George Washington University, I could not help but notice the large billboard sign standing in an empty grass field alongside the tracks, located just before the New York Avenue Station on the Red Line. “Listen to the Big Tigger Morning Show on WPGC 95.5.” “Alvin and the Chipmunks: Chipwrecked.” I wondered why this parcel of land remained empty, as the construction of luxury apartments and office buildings loomed around it. One day I noticed the billboard had disappeared. The fenced in area was cleared of all debris and signs were posted, “CONSTRUCTION: NO TRESPASSING.” Around the same time, the Washington Post reported on the official changing of the name of the New York Avenue Metro Station to “NoMa” Station. Like many others living in DC, I wondered, what is NoMa? Why was the station name changed? And what has been the catalyst for the seemingly endless number of developments sprouting around this station?

As my interest in gentrification research grew, so did my interest in NoMa. However, the redevelopment occurring there did not seem to fit into the classic model of gentrification. Rather, the development in NoMa can be categorized as new-build gentrification, characterized by a large-scale investment of capital into an area marked by vacant lots and abandoned industrial space (Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009). Taking into consideration the larger trend of gentrification and displacement throughout DC, I knew a similar process of displacement was likely taking place in NoMa. The new-build gentrification in NoMa contributes to displacement in DC, particularly that of low-income African-Americans in three key ways. First, there is some direct displacement,

albeit limited, as nearby affordable housing projects are demolished to make way for mixed-use development. Second, indirect displacement occurs as those living in the neighborhoods surrounding NoMa feel the “creep” of gentrification, priced out of their homes due to rising property values. Finally, exclusionary displacement prevents low-income families from moving to NoMa as the new luxury apartments and condominiums constructed are unaffordable. Neo-liberal ideology characterizes an economic atmosphere in which the development in NoMa is lauded, obscuring its harmful effects of exclusion and displacement. This creates what I term, the “displacement of displacement,” the process by which there is a failure to hold those involved, particularly the state and private developers, accountable for pushing out long-time District residents, particularly low-income blacks. A year later, the grassy lot standing outside the NoMa Metro Station, once vacant except for a single billboard, is abuzz with the signs of construction: excavators moving huge mounds of dirt as cranes tower overhead. Within a year or two, another mixed-use high-rise development will offer newly built office space and luxury apartments. With millions of dollars’ worth of projects in the pipeline, it seems continued development in NoMa is inevitable. However, by analyzing this process using a new-build gentrification framework, it is hoped that a more equitable approach to development could be made possible.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Classic Gentrification*

In 1964, sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term ‘gentrification’ to describe the influx of middle-class individuals and families moving into a working class London neighborhood, renovating older cottages and Victorian houses and displacing former

residents (Lees, Slater, and Wyley 2008). Since then, the study of gentrification in neighborhoods, cities and regions around the world has expanded and taken on new forms. Broadly defined, gentrification occurs when middle or high-income individuals move into a traditionally low-income area and invest capital into properties, resulting in a changing character of the neighborhood and displacement of former residents. There are many different processes by which gentrification can take place (Lees et al. 2008).

“Classic” gentrification refers to the process originally studied by Glass and other early gentrification scholars, in which “pioneer” middle-class gentrifiers take on a financial risk by moving into “undesirable,” working-class neighborhoods. They inject “sweat-equity” into renovating and rehabilitating a house or apartment building. This sweat-equity, or increase in value gained as a result of the labor of renovating, contributes to increased value of the property. Over time, more and more gentrifiers follow a similar process and after a certain threshold, the neighborhood begins to witness noticeable change and property values steadily rise (Lees et al. 2008). Original residents are often forced directly or indirectly to move out due to these changes; a process referred to as displacement.

There are several indicators that gentrification researchers measure to determine whether or not a neighborhood or area is undergoing or has undergone gentrification. These indicators can be grouped into three major constructs. First, there is displacement of former residents, who are oftentimes from low-income households and/or racial minorities, and long-time renters or homeowners in the neighborhood. Displacement occurs when these residents leave their homes due to intimidation by landlords, shady

legal tactics, unaffordability, or a feeling of discomfort about the changing neighborhood.

Peter Marcuse (1985) outlines four major types of displacement:

1. Direct last-resident displacement: only counts the number of housing units affected directly through things like pricing or landlord intimidation, but only considers the *most recent* resident of the unit as displaced.
2. Direct chain displacement: also counts those who may have been forced to move earlier as the neighborhood experienced disinvestment or when rents first increased.
3. Exclusionary displacement: occurs when a household similar in socioeconomic characteristics to those directly displaced is unable to move into the area because they are priced out due to earlier changes.
4. Displacement pressure: the pressure felt by those not directly displaced (friends, family, and neighbors) as they witness others leaving and the character of the neighborhood changing.

Exclusionary displacement is arguably one of the most important characteristics of new-build gentrification. Marcuse's (1985) definition follows:

Occurs when any household is not permitted to move into a dwelling, by a change in conditions that affects the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and that: 1) is beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occurs despite the household's being able to meet all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; 3) differs significantly and in a spatially concentrated fashion from changes in the housing market as a whole; and 4) makes occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable. (207)

One of the major issues gentrification researchers face in studying gentrification is the difficulty of studying displacement. Unless a researcher has close ties with nearly all of the residents prior to the rise of gentrification, it can be almost impossible to track people who move out of the neighborhood, let alone determine why and whether it was due to gentrification. Feelings about displacement can also be subjective; a resident may feel they left of their own volition while a researcher may argue that the resident had no choice but to leave. Indirect and exclusionary displacement is even more difficult to measure, as they are often largely based on researcher conjecture.

Another key indicator of gentrification is the change in the physical appearance or “character” of a neighborhood. This may include the renovation of homes and apartment buildings, the construction of new buildings on vacant lots, the reopening or changing of storefronts, and other structural modifications. While the “character” of a neighborhood is arguably somewhat intangible, changes could be described in terms of the types of restaurants and retail stores available, the rebranding of the area through a neighborhood name change, or other differences in community personality.

Finally, an important indicator of gentrification is class difference and conflict. Gentrifiers typically have higher incomes and the ability to invest more economic capital than former residents. In the United States, racial conflict is an important piece of gentrification as incomers are often white residents moving into predominantly black neighborhoods. However, there are cases of middle and upper-income black individuals gentrifying low-income black neighborhoods (Bostic and Martin 2003; Freeman 2006; Boyd 2008).

Urbanists have taken varied approaches to understanding how and why gentrification occurs. Two dominant paradigms are production explanations and consumption explanations. Production explanations focus on the economic patterns and structural factors that lead to gentrification. One of the most predominant of these is the rent gap thesis (Smith 1979). The rent gap thesis argues that gentrification occurs when the *potential* rent of a particular property or land parcel is higher than the *actual* rent of the area. An investor perceives that a vacant lot or blighted apartment building has more potential for a higher return on invested capital than in its present use. Gentrification occurs as multiple people recognize the opportunity to profit from purchasing property in

disinvested areas (Smith 1979). In contrast, consumption explanations demonstrate the reasons why a particular group of gentrifiers decide to move to a given neighborhood. These explanations often focus on personal characteristics of the individuals, such as class, educational background, sexuality, race, gender, and political ideology (Ley 1996; Hamnett 2003; Warde 1991; Caulfield 1994; Rose 1984). While some gentrification scholars focus on the positive outcomes of gentrification, such as increases in social services, removal of blight, increases in property values, and decreases in crime, others criticize this version of “renewal” as romanticized, arguing that it masks the negative outcomes of displacement, community conflict, and loss of affordable housing. On the other hand, some long-time residents may embrace these changes and feel their experiences are ignored when the focus is solely on the negative effects of gentrification. In addition, some may argue that although acknowledging the presence of vital communities that often form in public housing projects is important, this can also serve to romanticize spaces that were undeniably flawed, plagued by violence, poverty, deterioration, and segregation. It is important to understand gentrification and other processes of urban change as complex phenomena that can have both negative and positive effects for the groups involved. Some perspectives can illuminate important issues, while obscuring others.

### *New-Build Gentrification*

As urban areas have evolved, so too have the processes by which they are transformed. Debates have emerged over what actually constitutes gentrification (Lees et al. 2008). Although the “classic” model of gentrification may still be dominant in the minds of many, significant economic and political changes, along with globalization and

technological advancements, have resulted in deviations from this model. Contemporary gentrification researchers have identified new forms of gentrification, often categorized as ‘third wave gentrification.’ Third-wave gentrification is characterized by “major corporate involvement, openly facilitative state processes, limited resistance, and geographical expansion into new neighbourhoods” (Duignan 2011). One form of gentrification that has emerged out of the third-wave movement is new-build gentrification.

One of the earliest studies of new-build gentrification (preceding the coining of the term by Loretta Lees and Mark Davidson in 2005) was Caroline Mills’ (1988, 1993) examination of the Fairview Slopes neighborhood in Vancouver, Canada. Mills described a process by which developers, architects, and marketing agents collaborated to construct a new landscape of condos and townhomes. Alongside the construction of new residential properties, she found familiar markers of “capital reinvestment, social upgrading, and middle-class colonisation” (Davidson and Lees 2005: 1169). As early as 1988, Mills acknowledged that the gentrification aesthetic was transforming from the local, classical model to a global phenomenon. A few years later, Vancouver once again was a site of new-build development, this time with the local municipality leading the way. The Downtown South Community Plan was created to “construct a high-density, mixed-class residential neighbourhood” and “attract those interested in high-density urban living” (Davidson and Lees 2009). In this instance, low-density affordable units were ultimately destroyed and the low-income community that lived there was displaced (Mills 1993). This example demonstrates the early paths new-build gentrification has taken, marked by significant state intervention. Echoing the urban renewal of the 1950s and 1960s at the



same time it relies on the current “positive gentrification” ideology of government-interventionist programs like HOPE VI, new-build gentrification seems to be the latest trend in the displacement of poor people of color from coveted urban spaces (Davidson and Lees 2009).

In 2005, Mark Davidson and Loretta Lees conducted the first systematic study of a neighborhood in which a new-build gentrification framework was specifically utilized. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods, they examined the redevelopment occurring on London’s riverside. Davidson and Lees (2005) outline four major characteristics of new-build gentrification, as witnessed in their study of the London riverside renaissance: large-scale reinvestment of capital, social upgrading by an incoming new middle class, a change in landscape and the built environment, and displacement of low-income residents and people of color. Later studies of new-build gentrification in other neighborhoods and cities across the globe have echoed Davidson and Lees’ earlier findings. Each of these four major characteristics will be explored in more detail below.

#### *State-led investment of private capital*

Like other forms of gentrification, new-build gentrification is spurred through the reinvestment of capital into areas that have experienced a period of disinvestment. There are at least three different actors through which capital is deployed. First, development is state-led (Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009; He 2009; Rose 2009; Visser and Kotze 2008). In earlier decades, local governments sometimes aided the process of gentrification by providing renovation and home improvement grants to individual homeowners (Rose 2009). In cities that are characterized by booming housing markets, governments have

contributed little beyond ensuring the availability of affordable housing for low-income groups, allowing market forces to carry the rest (Rose 2009). In the current, third-wave of gentrification, the neo-liberal state has evolved into a key actor. In order to attract investors, public-private partnerships are created between state governments and private developers in which many of the new construction projects are heavily subsidized. Legislation, public policies and deregulation are also utilized to craft a smooth path towards redevelopment (Hackworth and Smith 2001; Lees et al. 2008; Rose 2009; Smith 1996).

Visser and Kotze (2008) highlight the role and impact of state neo-liberal ideology that drives development programs in urban areas, as those interested in development emphasize the importance of creating “vibrant, aesthetically appealing, safe, and competitive central-city regions” that will “lure national and international capital investment” (2568-2569). In South Africa, the national government declared the central business district of Cape Town as an “urban development zone,” targeting it as a space to be made economically attractive for private investors. State capital is also funneled towards public works projects, such as the building of parks and recreation centers, rehabilitation of public housing, and construction to improve roadways, sidewalks, and public transportation stations (He 2009; Rérat et al. 2009). The funding of beautification and infrastructure improvement projects and the mobilization of state resources, such as publicly owned land and property, facilitates a unified gentrification process. City and state intervention in the process also aids to obscure the reality of gentrification and displacement. Usage of the term “gentrification” by the city or state is avoided in favor of more neutral labels such as “reurbanization,” “urban regeneration,” “urban renewal,” and

“revitalization” (He 2009). In some instances, the state may also zoning changes to encourage reinvestment (Rerat et al. 2009).

The second avenue by which capital is deployed is through private investors. With the financial support of the local municipality, private developers and property owners deploy millions and sometimes even billions of dollars of capital into large-scale construction projects (Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009; He 2009; Rerat et al. 2009; Visser and Kotze 2008). These projects include the construction of luxury apartments and condominiums and mixed-use office space. Retailers and others businesses also invest capital by locating new outlets or branches in the neighborhood. Finally, individual consumers contribute capital as they purchase condominiums, lease apartments, and shop in the newly constructed neighborhood (Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009) It is important to note that in cases of new-build gentrification, however, investment of capital by individual residents is influenced by the investments made by the state and private developers. Market reforms and policy initiatives are used to stimulate and accommodate the consumer demands of gentrifiers, attracting them to the neighborhood. (He 2009).

All of this development and investment is supported by a pro-growth, neo-liberal ideology. According to McDonald (2008) the mechanisms of ‘neoliberal localization’ include features such as the privatization of public services, the pushing forward of public-private partnerships, and the use of public financing to “reward” or incentivize entrepreneurship of private developers and investors. Most critical to understanding new-build gentrification within a neo-liberal framework is McDonald’s (2008) characteristics of the transformation of the urban built environment:

Creation of new privatised spaces of élite/corporate consumption; construction of megaprojects intended to attract investment and reconfigure local land use

patterns; creation of gated communities, urban enclaves and other ‘purified’ spaces of social reproduction; ‘rolling forward’ of the gentrification frontier and the intensification of sociospatial polarisation; adoption of the principle of ‘highest and best use’ as the basis for major land use planning decisions. (Visser and Kotze 2008, 2576)

Without the social and cultural atmosphere in which the state is expected to facilitate and incentivize private development, the large-scale deployment of capital witnessed in neighborhoods characterized by new-build gentrification would likely not be possible.

### *Social upgrading*

As large-scale reinvestment in the neighborhood occurs and the built environment changes, as will be discussed in greater detail later, a “social upgrading” of the residents and employees working in the area also occurs. Linda Bletterman’s (2010) study of new-build gentrifiers-- or at least one subset of them, the actual consumers who move into new-build residential spaces—found that they were measurably different from other types of gentrifiers. “Classic” gentrifiers often cite affordable housing and neighborhood diversity as reasons for moving to an area, acknowledging the financial risks and possibility of crime victimization. In contrast, new-build gentrifiers are attracted to new-build developments precisely because they are new and modern, meaning they will not have to spend time and other resources investing in their property and the neighborhood at large. Additionally, they prefer the safety and convenience of a newly built neighborhood with a “positive reputation,” along with the luxury consumer lifestyle it offers.

- Not just single or childless couples, made up of families with one or more children as well.
- Highly educated, higher-income, more likely to be employed
- Do not necessarily work in the city center
- Prefer a dwelling which is in a good state or quality
- Prefer a dwelling with modern more than historical characteristics
- Prefer green spaces in a neighborhood
- Value safety in a neighborhood as very important
- Value a luxury or rich appearance of a neighborhood as very important
- Prefer to move into a neighborhood with a ‘positive reputation’

**Figure 1:** Characteristics of new-build gentrifiers according to Bletterman (2010).

*Changes in the built environment*

Another major characteristic of new-build gentrification is the construction of luxury apartment buildings and condominiums, hotels, mixed-use office space, and retail space (Bletterman 2011; Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009; Duignan 2011; Rerat et al. 2009). Construction of new buildings occurs largely on “vacant” land, such as parking lots, brownfield sites, and abandoned industrial or warehouse space (Bletterman 2011; Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009; Duignan 2011; Rerat et al. 2009). The large-scale deployment of capital by private developers, investors, and the state departs from the classic model of gentrification in which investment occurs piecemeal through individual gentrifying households. New-build gentrification often occurs in cities that are witnessing gentrification and development in other neighborhoods as well (Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009). As land within the city becomes more and more scarce, it rises in value; even deindustrialized, brownfield sites, once facing serious devalorization, become valuable once again. After investing millions of dollars of capital into a parcel of land, developers seek to recover on that investment and gain additional profits. In order to do so, they are

compelled to seek the “highest and best use” of the land, which seems to be in most cases luxury condominiums, apartments, and mixed-use office space (Rerat et al. 2009).

Exclusive, high-end neighborhoods seem to be the “natural” result of the new-build process. Whereas classic gentrification serves as a wealth creation strategy for individual, middle-class families, new-build gentrification works as a large-scale strategy to earn investors millions of dollars (Rerat et al. 2009).

Just as the state creates policies to attract private developers and investment, the developers develop their own strategy to attract middle- and upper-class residents to the newly built neighborhood (Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009; Kern 2009). It is not only social scientists who have an interest in the demographics of new-build gentrifiers, property owners, real estate agents, business owners, and other stakeholders all have an interest in who moves into the neighborhood. The characteristics of new-build gentrifiers listed above—middle- to upper-class, educated, employed professionals—are exactly the type of resident that private developers want to move into the neighborhood (Bletterman 2011; Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009; Rose 2009). However, rather than viewing them as residents, stakeholders are more likely to view them as consumers. This demographic is desired because they possess high levels of financial resources, and as a result, also have high levels of consumption. It is not enough to simply have a “luxury” built environment, one must also have a community of residents who have “luxury lifestyles” (Bletterman 2011; Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009; Rose 2009). As such, private stakeholders seek to directly influence who moves into the neighborhood through advertising and branding strategies, targeted marketing, and of course, pricing.

As mentioned earlier, rather than having to invest sweat-equity into renovating an old house, new-build gentrifiers want to move into a neighborhood ready-made by developers. As an area transforms from a deindustrialized “wasteland” to an up-and-coming ‘hip’ neighborhood, developers seek to celebrate and market that change. Whereas in classic gentrification, individual gentrifiers might highlight the ways a property has been “lovingly restored” to its “original beauty,” the emphasis in new-build sites is on the newness of the buildings and removal of blight. Marketing and branding strategies emphasize the high-quality, luxurious nature of the residences in order to attract high-income, mostly white people, while at the same time using class and racially-coded language to exclude others and make them feel unwelcome (Bletterman 2011; Kern 2009; Visser and Kotze 2008).

Cultural capital is a commodified, mass-produced, and niche-marketed product. The traditional gentrifier's lifestyle has been appropriated and sold commercially to more gentrifiers who are more wealthy and short of time. They buy or rent, as opposed to create, a lifestyle. (Davidson and Lees 2005: 1182)

In her 2009 examination of the gendered nature of ‘reurbanisation’ in a Toronto neighborhood undergoing new-build gentrification, Leslie Kern found that the building of secure, gated, luxury condominium communities, developers privatized and created new spaces for the urban elite. Appropriating feminist images of female “independence,” real estate developers market their luxury residences as safe, secure spaces for young, professional women seeking both homeownership and the “city-life” experience. Female new-build gentrifiers are fashioned as pioneers, as they purchase 24-hour concierge-guarded studios in the “menacing” city. Kern (2009) writes, “the news media support the notion that intensification and a return to the city are important sources of emancipation for women” (367). This begs the question: emancipation for which women? The needs of

low-income women, women of color, and women with families, who more often need larger spaces and affordable prices, often go ignored. As Kern goes on to argue, the discourse around women and city life is “emptied of any redistributive or equity concerns in favour of an individualized, consumption-oriented vision of freedom and gender equality” (367). The act of purchasing a condominium in a new-build neighborhood is framed as an emancipatory act, boosting the middle-income female homeowner onto a path of financial independence. At the same time, increased rates of homeownership among middle-class urban dwellers serve to marginalize renters, who are more likely to be low-income. Kern’s research raises important questions about the intersections of gender and social class in urban redevelopment. Additional research is needed to investigate how these processes may also be racialized, in addition to gendered and classed.

This intentional reproduction of a gentrified landscape is an important characteristic of new-build gentrification, as it is vital to ensuring that private developers who take a financial risk by investing capital into the area are able to recoup on that investment. If the “wrong” type of resident is attracted to the neighborhood, it threatens this creation of a “socially upgraded” environment. However, by creating luxury residences and high-end office space, and pricing them well above average market-rate, it ensures that newcomers will necessarily have to possess a certain amount of economic and social capital.

### *Displacement*

As mentioned earlier, new-build construction often occurs on vacant land, such as parking lots, brownfield sites, and formerly industrial space. As a result, direct



displacement is often limited, as there are fewer cases in which existing residential properties are renovated and thus witness increased property values (Davidson and Lees 2005; 2009). Long-term residents are less likely to feel compelled to leave the neighborhood due to gentrification-- whether because of rising property costs, hostile neighbors, loss of connection to the community, or even forced evictions and intimidation--simply because the population is less dense. Although there may be residential homes located close by that will be affected by redevelopment, they are typically not a direct target for investors. While direct displacement is limited, Davidson and Lees hypothesized that,

New-build developments will generate displacement by introducing a large population of gentrifiers into the community very quickly and will thereby act as beachheads from which the tentacles of gentrification can reach outward into the adjacent communities. (1184)

As a result of this process of displacement sprawl, new-build gentrification often results in indirect and/or exclusionary displacement. Exclusionary displacement occurs as low-income residents are immediately priced out of housing in the newly formed neighborhood. Residents of surrounding neighborhoods may be indirectly displaced as the effects of redevelopment creep out, spurring rises in property values. Sociocultural displacement also occurs as the physical structure, institutions, and character of the neighborhood reflects middle and upper class tastes and habitus (Davidson and Lees 2005, 2009).

As the Dublin Docklands underwent state-led, private-developer built 'regeneration,' Duignan (2011) investigated the perceived and actual effects of these changes on long-time residents living in the neighboring community of Sheriff Street.

Consistent with new-build theory, Duignan found that the local indigenous community in the Docklands was excluded from the development process, many were displaced, and in some instances, jobs promised failed to materialize. The manual working class declined as the professional, technical and managerial middle class grew. Physical and social distances were created by developers to create clear boundaries between redeveloped neighborhoods and those working-class neighborhoods that yet suffered from disinvestment.

Interestingly however, Duignan did report some positive findings. Employment levels in the working-class Sheriff Street neighborhood had increased and reliance on social welfare programs decreased. Many long-time, local residents also reported that the Docklands redevelopment had had a beneficial effect on their neighborhood. They reported that they felt there were more educational and employment opportunities, as well as lower crime rates and they felt safer. However, Duignan (2011) also highlighted the importance of the commitment of the local municipality and developers to including educational and employment training programs as part of the development process.

Visser and Kotze (2008) found in a study of Cape Town, South Africa that along with the construction of new luxury residences and the production of a landscape aimed at celebrating consumption, significant displacement of low-income residents, particularly people of color, also occurred. They speculate that excessively high rental prices exclude many township<sup>1</sup> residents and contribute to the continuation of the informal, shack housing market (Visser and Kotze 2008). Oftentimes, a revanchist,

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<sup>1</sup> Undeveloped areas under South African Apartheid where non-whites (black Africans, Coloureds, and Indians) were forced to live.

“return to the city” ideology accompanies this progression, as low-income, inner-city minorities are demonized and marginalized for failing to “properly” care for the city (Kern 2009; Rose 2009). An important takeaway of Damaris Rose’s (2009) study of new-build gentrification in Montreal includes policy recommendations that address redistributive concerns, stemming the spread of gentrification and affordable housing shortages, while also employing a regional-level analysis. R  rat et al. (2009) also raise an important point about the nature of new-build development that is often overlooked:

The meaning of the term has been extended to cover non-residential forms of social upgrading, such as commercial gentrification, and gentrification relating to the use of public spaces. (430)

That is, not only are renters and homeowners displaced, but local small business owners may also be priced out, and spaces that are typically considered public, such as parks and centers of transportation, become privatized. Commercial displacement also has a higher visibility than residential displacement, as one can easily witness the physical changes in storefront as ownership changes hands. As discussed, although direct displacement is more limited than in neighborhoods undergoing classic gentrification, indirect, exclusionary, and commercial displacement is very common and a key characteristic of new-build gentrification.

#### *“Reurbanization” versus “Gentrification”*

As demonstrated, new-build gentrification is marked by the major characteristics of traditional gentrification: investment of capital into a devalorized area, incoming groups are of a higher-social class, displacement, whether direct or indirect occurs, and there is a noticeable change in the character and built landscape of the neighborhood. However, some have argued against the inclusion of new-build as a form of

gentrification. Why should new-build urban change be characterized as gentrification (arguably a negatively loaded term) and not simply as redevelopment, reurbanization, or urban regeneration (more neutral or positive terms)? Christine Lambert and Martin Boddy (2002) make a compelling argument for why ‘gentrification’ as a concept should not be extended to include new-build processes. First, they point out that the process by which ‘revitalization’ takes place on the neighborhood level is very different. Rather than individuals restoring older homes using their own social, cultural, and economic capital, in the case of new-build, real estate developers and wealthy property owners construct large, brand-new residential and commercial complexes. The motivations behind these efforts can be very different for developers versus ‘pioneers.’ On the other hand, some argue that new-build gentrifiers may be even more callous towards the reality of displacement. Classic “pioneer” gentrifiers often cited the desire to live in a “mixed” or “diverse” neighborhood as part of their motivation for relocating to a working-class neighborhood (Lees et al.2008). In contrast, new-build gentrifiers prefer the ready-made, commodified, “gentrified” landscape, complete without the burdens of crime and deteriorated housing. As such, they may be less inclined to acknowledge themselves as gentrifiers, not to mention the benefits they receive at the expense of displacing others.

Additionally, Lambert and Boddy (2002) highlight the lack of direct displacement. Reurbanization as a sociological concept describes the process by which a neighborhood is stabilized by increasing in-migration, while decreasing out-migration. Using this term, (or its companion term, residentialization) implies that displacement is little to nonexistent. As was discussed earlier however, indirect and exclusionary displacement often accompanies new-build development Incoming residents are

primarily white, upper-class professionals and there is considerable change in the character of the neighborhood via the investment of capital. Lambert and Boddy (2002) argue terms such as ‘residentialization’ and ‘reurbanisation’ are more accurate in describing the neighborhood transformation. While these more neutral or positive terms may accurately describe what is happening, they also serve to mask the oppressive processes taking place, implying that building residences where there previously were none will have no harmful effects on other urban residents. Terms such as residentialization and reurbanization may very well describe how new-build areas bring in new residential buildings where none existed previously. Additionally, some urban researchers may conceptualize population changes that do occur as replacement, rather than displacement. However, it is important to highlight that these new residences are nearly always luxury condominiums and apartments designed to meet the needs of middle and high income professionals. Describing this process as gentrification serves to acknowledge issues of displacement-- whether direct, indirect, or exclusionary-- and its harmful effects.

Furthermore, looking beyond the simple relationships between individual gentrifiers and individual properties that have dominated classic gentrification literature opens up a host of other interactions. As Smith (1979) writes,

The gentrifier as consumer is only one of the many actors participating in the process. To explain gentrification according to the gentrifier’s actions alone, while ignoring the role of builders, developers, landlords, mortgage lenders, government agencies, real estate agents and tenants, is excessively narrow. (540)

In studying new-build gentrification, examining the influence of other actors aside from the gentrifying household is vital as it is these groups who wield the most power and resources. While it is also important to examine those who move into newly-built luxury

residences, these residences would not exist if not for the actions of property-owners developers, construction companies, and political officials. As processes of gentrification become more complex, gentrification theory and research must expand accordingly. While Lambert and Boddy (2002) draw attention to some noteworthy differences between classic gentrification and new-build gentrification, their suggestions for alternative conceptualizations are inadequate for describing the complexity of what is taking place.

### *Limitations*

There are some limitations in the current field of new-build gentrification literature. While Kern's (2009) piece reflected on the gendered nature of new-build gentrification and Visser and Kotze discusses how the history of racial apartheid in South Africa may play a role in displacement, neither incorporate both dimensions of oppression into their argument. Nearly all of the remaining literature discussed focuses primarily on class conflict. The current scope of new-build gentrification literature lacks a serious investigation into the ways that displacement can be all at once classed, gendered, and raced. Additionally, there has been no published research conducted in the United States that explicitly uses a new-build gentrification framework. The current research will attempt to address some of these weaknesses. Davidson and Lees make an effective argument that new-build development should be considered a form of gentrification, as it clearly echoes the classical model. At the same time, they address a larger point. As urban spaces continue to evolve in new and different ways, so too must the frameworks we use to understand these changes. Although classic understandings of

gentrification may still be useful, there must also exist a body of literature that explains newer and ever-evolving forms of gentrification.

## DATA AND METHODOLOGY

### *NoMa: The Fastest Growing Neighborhood in the District*

The current research examines a Washington, DC neighborhood undergoing major redevelopment and analyzes this development using a new-build gentrification framework. NoMa, (North of Massachusetts Avenue) is a neighborhood located in the Northeast quadrant of Washington, DC. It is roughly bounded by R Street to the north, North Capitol Street to the west, Union Station to the south, and the Metro and Amtrak railway lines to the east. (See Figures 2 and 3).



**Figure 2:** Boundary of NoMa situated in Washington, DC. (Zumkhawala 2011)



**Figure 3:** Boundary Map of NoMa. Dark-shaded areas represent existing structures prior to 1999. (NoMa BID 2011)

Historically, the neighborhood known as NoMa has not really been a cohesive neighborhood at all. Made up mostly of parking lots, industrial buildings, warehouses, vacant lots, and brownfield sites, the area is comprised of sections of the neighborhoods commonly known as Truxton Circle, Sursum Corda, Eckington, and Near Northeast. The streets of these surrounding neighborhoods are noticeably more residential, comprised of privately owned rowhouses and townhomes, along with some low-density apartment buildings. Corner stores, small restaurants, gas stations, and other retail spaces are scattered throughout these more residential areas located outside of NoMa. NoMa partially stands on the historical neighborhood known as Swampoodle, an Irish working class neighborhood that was demolished in the early twentieth century to make way for the construction of Union Station. The area is also home to the historic Uline Arena, or



Washington Coliseum, which is famous for hosting the first Beatles concert held in the United States.

For many years, the area offered few residential buildings or neighborhood amenities. The population density in 2000, prior to development, was 4,177 people per square mile, compared to a district wide density of 8,376 people per square mile (U.S. Census Bureau 1990-2010). For additional density comparisons, see Appendix. As early as 1996, city officials and private developers have turned an eye to redeveloping and building up the area (Fehr 1996). A collaborative effort by local property owners and the federal government led to the construction of the New York Ave – Florida Ave – Gallaudet University Metro Station, the first and as of yet only infill station<sup>2</sup> built in the WMATA system. (MacCleery and Tarr 2012; Schnabel Engineering 2009). Local property owners pledged to contribute \$25 million towards the construction of the station, the public-private partnership also a Metro first. The station opened in 2004.

After several years of planning and lobbying, the NoMa Business Improvement District (BID) was created by the Washington, DC City Council and given approval by the mayor to operate in the designated area (NoMa BID 2011). According to the Washington, DC Department of Small and Local Business Development (2013),

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are commercial areas of the District that collect a "self tax" from property owners to provide services and programs to the entire BID. These programs address cleanliness, maintenance, safety, promotion, economic development, and other collective business issues in their coverage areas.

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<sup>2</sup> An infill station is a station created on a train or subway line between two existing stations, usually to fulfill passenger demand.

NoMa is one of eight BIDs operating in Washington, DC. Since its founding in March 2007, the NoMa BID has operated to

provide cleaning and safety services, promote NoMa through marketing and community events, coordinate public and private investments and services, and enhance the community by promoting employment and community projects. (NoMa BID 2011)

Prior to reinvestment, much of NoMa was devalORIZED parcels of land. Using historical Google aerial images, an approximate representation of the vacant spaces in NoMa was constructed. The dark-shaded areas in Figure 3 represent existing structures that were built prior to 1999, the year that plans were created to construct a new Metro station in the area. The gray-shaded areas represent spaces where construction has been completed since 1999 or is in the planning stages. As can be seen, much of the area was made up of vacant lots or parking lots, brownfield sites, or storage. It is also important to note that this map does not reflect planned renovations on existing structures, such as Union Station and Uline arena, as well as demolition of buildings such as the Greyhound Station. However, looking at this map it is clear that the area was “ripe” for redevelopment. According to NoMa BID projections, there is an estimated 32 million square feet of potential development in the area. Approximately seven million square feet of development was delivered prior to 2005. Another seven million square feet was delivered between 2005 and 2011. An additional 17.6 million square feet of production is in the planning or early construction stages. By these estimates, redevelopment in NoMa is only about halfway completed.

To provide some context for the development in NoMa, I examined the other seven Business Improvement Districts in Washington, DC. I chose to use these for

comparison because aside from sharing BID status, all of these neighborhoods are located in or close to DC's central business district, are densely populated, and offer a mix of residential, commercial, and retail property space. They are similar to NoMa in regards to their size and objective: to attract residents and business owners. The Adams Morgan, Georgetown, and Capitol Hill BIDs do not include development plans on their website, demonstrating more of a focus on attracting residents and visitors through events, and marketing their neighborhood as clean, safe, and fun. The Golden Triangle BID reports that its existing buildings are always undergoing renovations and redevelopment, but aside from the Connecticut Avenue median project, there is little new construction. While the Downtown BID emphasizes the need to attract more business to the downtown area, they only projected about 6.7 percent of their 2013 budget to go towards economic development. The Mount Vernon Triangle BID has also been undergoing extensive redevelopment since the early 2000s, including about 3.3 million square feet of development, but nearly all of their projects are scheduled to be completed by 2014. The Capitol Riverfront BID is the only other BID in the District that stands to compete with the development numbers being put up by NoMa. They report nearly 24 million square feet of development in the planning stages. However, only 1.2 million square feet is currently under construction. The differences in development reporting by the BIDs do make comparisons difficult. However, it can be seen that relative to these other major neighborhoods located close to DC's central business district, NoMa is clearly the fastest growing, with the vast majority of its potential 32 million square feet of development occurring on formerly vacant land parcels.

With the assistance of the BID, plans for development in the NoMa area have skyrocketed. Significant projects early in the area's development history included XM Satellite Radio moving to the area in 2001 and relocation of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in 2007 (Meyer 2008). From 2005 to 2012 at least seventeen lots witnessed development or change of some kind, whether renovation of an existing building, relocation of a tenant, or construction of a new building. The area has become host to several retail store and franchises including Harris Teeter, Five Guys, CVS, Au Bon Pain, and Potbelly. Noteworthy tenants include government agencies, nonprofit organizations, and private or commercial entities, including the Department of Justice, the Securities and Exchange Commission, CNN, NPR, Mathematica, and Kaiser. Thousands of residential units have been added through the building of several luxury apartment and condo buildings. Located along the Metropolitan Branch Trail and home to the Union Station Bikestation, the area is perceived as cycle and pedestrian friendly (NoMa BID 2011; 2012).

As mentioned earlier, this area has not always been known as "NoMa." The name, short for "North of Massachusetts Avenue" a la SoHo (South of Houston) and Tribeca (Triangle below Canal Street), was conceived by those same real estate developers and property owners that have taken an interest in the area. Since the creation of the NoMa Bid in 2007, the group has made concerted efforts to market and brand the area as such. Reactions to and subsequent acceptance of this newly coined neighborhood name has been mixed. Many view it as manufactured and "phony," while others have embraced its "trendy" nature. The debate does not end there, as contrasting opinions extend to perceptions of the neighborhood itself (Evans 2008; MacCleery and Tarr 2012; Yates

2012). Development in NoMa is far from reaching a lull. According to the NoMa BID Board of Director's latest Board Report, there are currently about thirteen projects currently undergoing construction or scheduled for groundbreaking in 2013 (NoMa BID 2013). Dozens more are in the planning stage. The area has been heralded as an up and coming neighborhood, the latest stage in the expansion of downtown (MacCleery and Tarr 2012).

According to the latest reports put out by the NoMa BID, over \$6 billion worth of private capital has been invested in NoMa since 2005. Again, these numbers can be compared to other Business Improvement Districts in the city. The Adams Morgan, Georgetown, and Capitol Hill BIDs have seen small-scale, piecemeal investment through redeveloping and renovating individual lots and do not report much on private investment. New construction developments in the Golden Triangle and Downtown BIDs have been limited by the lack of empty land parcels, although they have also seen piecemeal redevelopment of individual properties. Approximately \$1.8 billion in private capital was estimated for all of the Mount Triangle BID development which started in 2004 and is scheduled to wrap up in 2014. The Capitol Riverfront District is also competitive, with about \$3.4 billion in investment during its 5 years of operation. Like the square footage numbers cited earlier, NoMa seems to be leading the way in private investment in the central District area.

Development in NoMa has not been entirely privately funded. In fact, many of the projects have been state-led or state-supported (in this case, the state referring to the District municipal government). As early as the 1999 plans to create an infill station on the Metrorail system, public-private partnerships have been used to stimulate

development in the area. In the early 1990s, parking lots and industrial space were “upzoned,” by the DC Zoning Board, making way for mixed-use development. The NoMa Residential Development Tax Abatement Program was created in 2009 to incentivize the construction of residential buildings via the provision of tax subsidies.

State involvement has also meant increased consideration of the needs of NoMa as a neighborhood, as well as the channeling of public funds to area improvements. Major construction on First Street NE, a major roadway in NoMa, is slated to begin in the spring of 2013. Construction on the New York Avenue Bridge is scheduled to wrap up at the end of 2013, with artistic and architectural elements designed to make NoMa the new “gateway to DC.” Mayor Vincent Gray has pledged \$50 million towards creating park space in NoMa, a desperate need as all available land seems to have been snatched up and marked for development. All of these beautification projects and structural improvements are in addition to the extra trash pick-up, security detailing, and landscaping services that the BID finances. Not only does the BID ensure that the area is well-funded as a public space using the economic capital of its stakeholders; it also uses its leverage to funnel additional public funds for other projects they desire.

### *Methodology*

My research findings on the NoMa neighborhood case study are based on both secondary data analysis and personal observations. As the unit of analysis is the neighborhood of NoMa itself, rather than say, attitudes or characteristics of its residents, I set out to gather as much information about the current and historical state of the neighborhood. I visited the NoMa BID website<sup>3</sup>, which contains a wealth of information

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.nomabid.org/>

about not only the BID, but the neighborhood and its changes. On its website, the BID reports on current events, news, and construction updates in the area. It includes documentation and reports on BID administration and governance, including annual financial and summary reports from the Board of Directors. One of the most useful aspects of the NoMa BID website is its maps feature, which includes boundary, development planning, neighborhood amenities, and interactive navigation maps. I gathered all available data from this website to build an understanding of NoMa's current and past state. I also revisited the BID website at least monthly throughout the data collection and analysis process to check for updates. I subscribed to the NoMa BID's email newsletter and monitored their Facebook page for information on upcoming events and issues important to the BID.

Although the BID website provides some historical background on the creation of the BID and development plans in NoMa, it is not completely comprehensive. In order to build a deeper understanding of exactly how NoMa reached the point it is at today, I needed additional background information. Over 50 news articles and blog posts about NoMa were collected and read through cursory searches on specific subjects related to the neighborhood. Although many of these came from large, metropolitan newspapers such as the *Washington Post*, *Washington Times*, and the *Washington Business Journal*, I also found several less mainstream news platforms that covered NoMa extensively. These included the *Washington City Paper*, *Greater Greater Washington*, *DCist*, and *UrbanTurfDC*. Using their search tools, I collected and read any relevant articles tagged as "NoMa" from these DC-based news outlets.

In order to ensure comprehensiveness in my archival research, I conducted an extensive document search using the Gelman Library at The George Washington University's *articlesplus* database. First, I conducted a search using the terms "NoMa," "Washington, DC," and "BID." The search was limited to English only. The time range was set from 1998 to present day. The year 1998 was chosen because official plans for the infill Metro station began in 1999; extending to 1998 allows for possible reports on early planning to be included. As the results list was still unmanageable, obviously unrelated subject terms—the majority related to the fields of medicine and science-- were eliminated. All documents in the results list related to NoMa and development in Washington, DC area were saved for later reading and analysis. Since the BID was not established until 2007, I recognized that many articles about NoMa may have been excluded from my original search. I conducted another search with only the search terms "NoMa" and "Washington, DC." It is possible that a few additional articles could be found using only the term "NoMa." However, as this acronym is used to designate many other organizations and places, it would stretch beyond my resources to glean the results list based on just one search term. Over 300 documents directly or indirectly related to NoMa were catalogued through this process. These documents, mostly newspaper, magazine, and internet articles, are read and used to create the bulk of my knowledge about what has happened in NoMa in the past fifteen years. In addition to these articles and reports, publicly available municipal and federal government planning documents and legislation were also used to develop an understanding of the neighborhood's history.

United States Census data from 1990, 2000, and 2010 are used to measure demographic changes over time. These demographic datasets include information on race



and ethnicity, family type, level of education, income, employment, crime rates, and housing. Data from Census Tract 106, Block Group 2 are used to approximate the NoMa neighborhood. In addition, Census data was gathered on the fifteen census block groups immediately surrounding NoMa in order to provide context for neighborhood changes, as well as Census data on the District of Columbia as a whole.

I also observed a meeting of the NoMa BID Board of Directors in early March, from which I gathered several additional documents on BID operations, as well as information on BID marketing strategies. Along with the meeting agenda, additional notes were taken on what the Board discussed and reported on. As some of the information on the BID website is outdated by a few months, several development and planning updates were gathered from this meeting. Observing this meeting was also fruitful in illuminating the Board's treatment of people living just outside the boundaries of NoMa, as well as visitors to NoMa the Board and BID feel are "undesirable." As will be discussed later, the Board discussed strategies for driving out two businesses they do not feel fit with the image of NoMa they are trying to cultivate.

Based on my observation and follow-up internet research, I was able to collect demographic data on the Board. Made up of fifteen members, the NoMa BID Board of Directors is overwhelmingly male and overwhelmingly white. There is one woman on the Board itself. As she was not present at the meeting and I could not find an image of her on the internet, her race is considered unknown. The President of the NoMa BID, present at the Board meetings but not listed as a Board member, is a white woman. Out of the fourteen remaining male members, all are white, except for one whose race is also unknown. The Board is made up of property owners, real estate developers, and other

financial stakeholders. There is one representative from the General Services Administration (GSA). He was not present at the meeting, although two African-American male representatives from GSA were there in his place. Board members appeared to come from a range of ages, the majority likely falling in the range of 30 to 65. Other than these demographics, little data was collected or noted on interactions or experiences of the Board members. The observation was treated as an opportunity to collect more information about the neighborhood itself, rather than data about the Board members as individual agents of neighborhood change.

Through the NoMa BID Board of Directors, I obtained the most current results of two ongoing surveys conducted by the NoMa BID of residents and employees who live and work in the neighborhood. 620 residents and 556 employees responded to questions about their age, employment status, income, and various questions about habits and lifestyle. As a non-random online-only survey to which respondents self-selected, the representativeness of the BID's sample may be seriously flawed. However, reflections are made on how the BID uses this data to attract potential retailers, as well as how they present an idea of what the neighborhood "looks like," whether that image is entirely accurate or not.

Websites for the various apartment buildings, condominiums, office buildings, and other projects were also useful in providing data on the actual development plans, whether completed, planned or in progress, that was not available through the BID. On their "NoMa Neighborhood Guide" the BID lists five places to live: Archstone NoMa, Flats 130 at Constitution Square, Loree Grand at Union Place, Senate Square, and the Washington Center. The BID's neighborhood amenities map lists Trilogy NoMa and

Landmark Lofts as additional places to live. Using apartment search engines, I confirmed that these are the only marketed residential buildings within the boundaries of NoMa. Although there are some traditional rowhouses within the boundaries of NoMa that may offer rental housing, my resources are too limited to collect data on the leasing prices they may or may not offer.

Using the information provided on each of the seven building's websites, I collected data on apartment leasing information, including pricing, floor plans, and offered amenities. The Washington Center is a 95-unit intern housing building for DC-based internship program of the same name. Space is limited to program participants who pay \$3,985-\$4,995 per semester to reside there. Out of the remaining six buildings, Landmark Lofts is the only development that explicitly offers condominiums for purchase. The three-story, 44-unit building was opened in 2008. According to the one available listing on DCCondoBoutique.com, a one-bedroom, one-bathroom unit is available for \$549,000. The remaining five buildings are marketed as apartments for lease. These five buildings, fully constructed and available to lease, will make up the core of my analysis, the findings of which will be introduced later.

I also monitored social media and news websites that reported on NoMa, including the Twitter profiles of three local political officials: Ward 6 Councilmember Tommy Wells, Tony T. Goodman, ANC Commissioner for ANC6C06, and Mark Eckenwiler, ANC Commissioner for ANC604. I chose these three officials because they mostly closely represent constituents who live within the boundaries of NoMa. In addition, as required, they are residents within the neighborhood they represent. As political representatives and residents, their tweets often reflected the current issues and

events in NoMa. In order to maintain consistency, I only read and documented relevant tweets dating back to October of 2012.

Finally, beginning in October 2012, I began to conduct personal observations in NoMa. Using the NoMa BID boundary map as my guideline, I recorded observations monthly during walks through the NoMa neighborhood. I followed a printed NoMa boundary map to make sure my observations were taking place within the “official” neighborhood as decided by the BID. During each of my walks, I recorded observations, such as building names, building purposes, and personal impressions in a spiral-bound notebook. Additionally, I photographed the built environment as I walked: recording images of newly opened apartment buildings, construction sites, office and commercial retail space, public transportation stations, and vacant areas yet to be developed. I also photographed visible signage and advertising that I encountered, such as construction area postings. Over the course of six to seven months, I was able to visually map the entire neighborhood. Field notes were recorded following each of these observatory walks. Specific questions that arose during the observation period, such as when a particular building was slated to open, were followed up on. The purpose of these observations was to note the physical structure of the neighborhood, building designs and purposes, and changes in the landscape and skyline over the course of the research period. Using my photographs and others that have been made publicly available, I was able to construct visual comparisons of how the area has changed over the past ten to twenty years since redevelopment has begun. These observations were also most important in documenting the strategies of exclusion employed by the developers and

property owners in NoMa, whether through the use of particular branding or advertising strategies, or “gated” residential and office communities.

Together, this combination of extensive secondary and archival data analysis and first-hand observation and photographic documentation created a holistic picture of the neighborhood known as NoMa, enabling me to answer my research questions about new-build gentrification in the area. As was shown earlier, NoMa clearly fits the new-build model in that it is characterized by development on formerly devalORIZED, “vacant” land and there has been a large-scale deployment of capital by private developers aided by the state. Below, I will discuss other defining characteristics of new-build gentrification: creation of a commodified, luxury landscape for middle and high-income groups; and the direct, indirect, and exclusionary displacement of low-income people of color.

## FINDINGS

### *The Luxury Gentrified Landscape*

Looking first at residential spaces in the gentrified landscape, we can see that NoMa clearly fits into the new-build gentrification model. Since 2005, five major apartment buildings have been constructed within the boundaries of NoMa, totaling about 2,160 units. An additional 1,160 units throughout four projects are under construction, and another 2,400 units throughout six buildings are in the planning stages. Prior to 2005, the only residential units in existence were a few streets of rowhouses built in the early and mid-1900s. The NoMa BID boundaries were drawn in order to specifically target devalORIZED and vacant parcels. Since there was so little residentialization in previous years, the sheer amount of construction in such a short amount of time has been remarkable.

All of the constructed apartment buildings are large and high-density, ranging from 200 to 600 units per building. And in keeping with the literature, these apartment buildings are decidedly *luxury*. All of the five buildings use the word “luxury” as part of their marketing strategy. They offer an astonishing range of high-end amenities, such as swimming pools, fitness centers, entertainment lounges, 24-hour concierge service, underground parking, business centers, and even, in one instance, freshly baked cookies every afternoon. Luxury comes at a high price tag, however, with single bedroom units leasing for \$1,800 to over \$3,000 per month. One of the most visible ways NoMa apartment managers market their buildings is through the use of outdoor signage posted on the side of their buildings, often visible to Metrorail riders. The neighborhood itself is also amenity-rich, creating a “commodified, mass-produced, and niche-marketed” atmosphere of cultural capital. (Davidson and Lees 2009). Coffee shops with free Wi-Fi, high-end pet stores, fitness centers with yoga studios, and a weekend Bocce League are just some of the neighborhood amenities offered that target young, hip, white professionals.



**Figure 4:** Signage for Trilogy Apartments.



**Figure 5:** Signage at Archstone Apartments.



**Figure 6:** Signage at Loree Grand at Union Place

Interestingly, even as real estate developers seek to attract high-income professionals looking for newly built, high-quality apartment spaces, at the same time they also appropriate the classic gentrification aesthetic as a marketing tool. The Trilogy at NoMa development describes their *Linq* units as “loft-inspired,” evoking the imagery of renovated artist lofts in New York City. The Senate Square leasing website states, “our towers subtly evoke the industrial past of one of the city’s first commercial

destinations.” Finally, the Loree Grand at Union Place even went so far as to name their building after an African-American female activist from DC:

Named in honor of longtime local resident and community activist Mrs. Loree Murray, it's the place to live where work and play are next door neighbors...a neighborhood where, for so many generations past, the city's pulse was felt the strongest. (Loree Grand 2013).

As the new-build literature discusses, this evocation of a grittier, more industrial past is intentional. Although new-build gentrifiers may not be interested in investing the sweat-equity and emotional labor in renovating a home and rehabilitating a working-class neighborhood, they are still attracted to the concepts of rebirth and regeneration in the city. Co-opting the classic gentrification aesthetic seems to be an effective way of branding a new neighborhood as “trendy” and “up-and-coming.”

Even as new-build architecture and branding evokes the classical aesthetic, it also echoes older processes of suburbanization. During the 1950s, 60s and 70s, there was a mass movement of families to the newly constructed suburbs. Rather than having to “pioneer” into rural farmlands and invest “sweat-equity” into building their own houses, they were able to purchase a mass-produced home in a suburban landscape centered on a consumerist lifestyle. As cities like Washington, DC continue to be gentrified, young, white professionals from the surrounding suburbs of Maryland and Virginia flock to take advantage of the new, urban landscape. In many neighborhoods, much of the work of “rehabilitating” has been done for them. For those who desire their neighborhoods freshly made however, NoMa serves as the perfect fit, providing all of the amenities of a suburban lifestyle (swimming pools, retail outlets and gated communities), along with the trendiness of living in a city, but of course, without the “fuss” of a typical urban



environment (crime, homelessness, and the presence of poor minorities). The processes of exclusionary and indirect displacement, as will be discussed in more detail later, also echo the racist and class-based redlining and block-busting policies of the suburbanization eras.

### *Displacement*

Mostly occurring on vacant lots, brownfield sites, and empty industrial buildings, new-build gentrification is typically unmarked by the direct displacement common to more “classical” forms of gentrification in which existing houses and apartment buildings are rehabilitated and renovated. As demonstrated earlier, most of the new development in NoMa has been on previously unoccupied parcels. However, overlooking the direct displacement that **has** occurred in neighborhoods immediately surrounding NoMa would be a serious oversight. Under former District Mayor Anthony Williams, the New Communities Initiative (NCI) was formed. This public-private partnership is designed to “improve the quality of life” for those living in four neighborhoods living in Washington, DC, one of which is an area now known as Northwest One. Bordered by New York Avenue on the north, New Jersey Avenue on the west, K Street NW on the south, and North Capitol Street on the east, this “superblock” is known to many local residents as Sursum Corda. The area is home to the DC Housing Authority headquarters, as well as Sursum Corda Cooperative, Sibley Plaza, Tyler House, Golden Rule Apartments, and the Severna, all of which are public and/or affordable housing complexes. According to the New Communities Initiative factsheet, the Northwest One project includes plans for the construction of affordable housing, job training, youth community programs, and the construction of a recreation center. The NCI is committed to four principles: one-for-one

replacement to ensure there is no loss of existing, deeply-subsidized units; the construction of mixed-income housing; the opportunity to return and/or stay so that families can remain in their neighborhood throughout the process; and build first, which calls for new housing on publicly-controlled lands to be built prior to demolition in order to minimized displacement. Recognizing the issue of displacement raised by critics of HOPE VI, NCI was initially designed with these principles in order to ensure a better experience for those currently living in public housing.

Unfortunately, these principles have not necessarily been adhered to in all instances. In 2007, former Mayor Adrien Fenty announced plans to vacate the 211 families living in Temple Courts, a deteriorated and vermin-infested housing complex located in the “Northwest One” block. Demolition on Temple Courts began in late 2008, after existing tenants received vouchers that allowed them to “temporarily” relocate while construction on new affordable units was in progress (Silverman 2007). Five years later, former tenants of Temple Courts are still waiting. The development known as Northwest One Phase 1, Site 2-2 is slated to open in spring of 2013 on M Street NE, located within the boundaries of NoMa. Ninety-three out of its 314 units are slated to be affordable, yet only 59 of those 93 are designated as replacement units for former Temple Courts residents. Another NCI building, the Severna, was constructed in 2011 with an additional 30 units designated for former Temple Courts residents. However, these replacement units still fall short of meeting NCI’s one-for-one replacement and right to return goals. Considering their additional failure to “build first,” it seems the only commitment NCI has adequately addressed in this instance is the construction of mixed-income housing.

Some of the families who were displaced out of Temple Courts in 2007 and 2008 may have opted out of returning. Others may have successfully transitioned out of the public housing program, moved out of the District, or passed away. However, if the New Communities Initiative was truly committed to one-for-one replacement and right to return, there would be the same amount replacement units (or more) built as there were families displaced, regardless of whether those units would be filled by the original families. Although the direct displacement of Temple Court residents may have occurred just outside the borders of NoMa, NoMa developers are still a key player in the process as some of the replacement units are located in the new neighborhood.

NoMa itself has also witnessed significant changes in its demographic. In 1990, the area was only 4.8 percent white, blacks making up a 92.9 percent majority. From 1990 to 2000, the racial make-up changed very little, although a small number of Latinos moved to the neighborhood, rising from 1.7 percent to 3.5 percent. The total population actually dropped slightly, from 1,891 in 1990 to 1,678 in 2000. Over the course of the next ten years, the population changed dramatically. In 2010, the white population stood at 44 percent, an astonishing 1000 percent increase. The black population dropped dramatically to 44.2 percent, while Latinos and Asians both increased slightly, to 5.4 and 3.6 percent, respectively. Although the total population had increased significantly, from 1,678 up to 2,350, the changes in racial make-up cannot be completely explained by an influx of white residents. The black population also decreased in total numbers from about 1,500 to 1,000 residents, indicating that about 500 black former residents of NoMa moved out of the neighborhood, for whatever reason. See Appendix for demographic tables.

Displacement has also occurred in neighborhoods surrounding NoMa. The Census block group approximating the Sursum Corda neighborhood where multiple public housing projects are located has remained highly segregated, decreasing slightly from 97.7 percent black in 1990 to 94.1 percent Black in 2010. However, the area has seen a sharp decline in population, dropping from 2,184 in 1990 to 1,862 in 2000 and then to 1,111 in 2010, a nearly 50 percent drop in two decades. As nearly all of the surrounding Census block groups have also witnessed a decline in their African-American population, it is likely that most of the residents who have left Sursum Corda are not being dispersed to nearby neighborhoods. Out of the fifteen Census block groups surrounding NoMa, twelve also witnessed a decline in the black population. Two witnessed increases of 0.7 and 21.3 percent, respectively. The final Census block approximates the National Mall and thus, the White House, which accounts for its comparatively high influx of Black residents in a very low population area. For additional data on demographic changes in neighborhoods surrounding NoMa, please see Appendix.

As Rerat (2009) discuss, commercial displacement is also an important element in new-build development. As NoMa transitioned from an “urban office park” plan to a more comprehensive, mixed-use community, the BID has scrambled to attract restaurant and retail space to the area. For the most part, they have welcomed new businesses and sought to support long-occupying property owners. However, there are two businesses that the NoMa BID has actively sought to eliminate from the neighborhood: Fur and Ibiza. Fur and Ibiza are two “superclubs,” high-capacity music and entertainment venues that serve alcohol and offer multiple levels of dance floors and performances. Both Fur and Ibiza are open to guests 18 years of age and older, and their clientele is

predominantly young, black, residents of the DMV. The NoMa BID Board of Directors has explicitly targeted these two businesses. They encourage local residents and nearby business owners to file noise and disorder complaints with the police. During discussion of the planned construction on First Street, one board member expressed amusement at the fact that the front entrance of Ibiza would be disrupted and the clientele standing in lines outside the club entrance would be discouraged from waiting. Practices like these are reflective of the “displacement pressure” form of displacement as outlined by Marcuse (1985). By making these businesses, that cater to a mostly black clientele, feel unwelcome, they are by extension making the black residents who visit the neighborhood to visit these establishments feel unwelcome.

In the early morning of March 11, 2013, thirteen people were injured in a drive-by shooting outside the Tyler House on North Capitol Street, just outside the boundaries of NoMa. It was found that those injured as well the shooters had been at Fur earlier the evening. One local political official immediately sent out a tweet calling for the closing of the superclubs. As part of the NoMa BID’s official response to the incident, they specifically called out the superclubs as being a part of the problem of violence, stating “it is a sad reality that violence and crime in the neighborhood are, more often than not, associated with the so-called super-clubs.” (For full-text of BID response, see Appendix). Everyone should be able to feel safe in their neighborhood and be free from violent crimes. However, it is important to consider whether the BID has other motives aside from crime reduction and whether they would benefit economically if the properties were in other hands. They want a safe, low-crime neighborhood for their residents, but at the same time, the board is made up of developers seeking the “highest, best-use” for all

existing properties. The superclubs, with their largely teenage, black clientele, are at odds with the commodified, gentrified landscape the BID is working to create.

In keeping with new-build gentrification theory, development in NoMa is also characterized by exclusionary displacement. Marcuse (1986) defined exclusionary displacement as a process by which low income groups are unable to buy or rent certain properties because gentrification has raised prices in the area beyond affordability. Therefore, although these low-income groups may not have been directly displaced from the neighborhood as they had not lived there previously, they are displaced by exclusion, in that entire swaths of housing exist to which they have no access. This process of exclusionary displacement is striking in NoMa. As of March 2013, five major residential construction projects have been completed within the boundaries of NoMa. This includes Trilogy Apartments, Archstone, Flats 130, Loree Grand, and Senate Square.

Unit Size	Price Range
Studio	\$1,800-\$2,500
1 Bedroom	\$1,830-\$3,160
1 Bedroom + Den	\$2,240-\$3,030
2 bedroom	\$2,700-\$4,030
3 bedroom	\$3,450-\$4,520

**Table 1:** Monthly price ranges for five newly constructed apartment buildings.

In comparison to Washington, DC, these prices are relatively high. As of March, 2013, the average apartment rent within 10 miles of Washington, DC was \$1,963. One bedroom

apartments in Washington rented for \$1,759 a month on average and two bedroom apartment rented at an average of \$2,236.

Finally, real estate developers use racially coded language to market the area as a new community, *explicitly* for white people. A large banner hanging on the Cirq building at Trilogy reads “Be part of a new District.” This begs the question, what is the old District? The “old” District is a majority black city, a city with a reputation of being crime-ridden, impoverished, and ravaged by the crack epidemic of the 1980s. In recent decades however, tales have spread of a “new DC.” Gentrification has made most of the Northwest quadrant “safe again” for middle-class people. There is a new district on the horizon: a more “diverse” city, an urban playground for young, highly-educated, professionals to live, work, and play. Once again, this type of evocation of DC’s history is not accidental. In this case however, the past is not romanticized, it is, in a sense, vilified, reminiscent of revanchist, “return to the city” movements. White people looking to move to NoMa can be part of the history of progression and urban “regeneration,” all the while ignoring the structural forces that prevented development in DC in past decades. Interestingly, this particular banner does not face the Metro railways. It faces westward towards the projects on North Capitol Street, towards the rowhouses just outside the borders of NoMa where many long-time, black residents live. “**This** is the new district. Not that, and not you,” it seems to imply. As one area resident was quoted as saying about the redevelopment: “The message is obvious. They don’t want us here. It’s not even subliminal racism. It’s obvious racism.” (Craig 2012).



**Figure 7:** “Be Part of a New District Signage” at Trilogy at NoMa.

As outlined, displacement is occurring in NoMa and the surrounding neighborhoods in a major way. However, this reality is lost beneath the rhetoric. Where debris-filled vacant lots, empty industrial warehouses and concrete parking lots once stood, gleaming office buildings, luxury condominiums, grocery stores and restaurants not line a well-manicured streetscape. After decades of disinvestment, a new neighborhood has sprung up, attracting suburban residents back to the city, increasing property values and raising city revenues. How could one possibly argue against that? With the support of the municipal government, private developers in NoMa have effectively created a profit-making area where once there was none. However, the pro-growth, neo-liberal ideology that presents NoMa as nothing but a positive transformation in a once decaying area masks the oppressive forces that accompany this “progress.” As demonstrated, displacement and exclusion is occurring in NoMa and the surrounding neighborhoods. Direct commercial displacement is observed as the owners of superclubs, and their majority black clientele, face hostility. Indirect displacement occurs as residents from surrounding neighborhoods are priced out of their apartments or public housing units are destroyed to make way for “mixed-income” developments. Finally, low-income



District residents experience exclusionary displacement as they are unable to afford move into NoMa due to high rental prices. Unlike in cases classic gentrification, where those engaging in renovation and rehabilitation can often be clearly pinpointed, it is difficult to figure out just who is responsible for displacement in new-build gentrification. Is it incoming groups of new-build gentrifiers, who are just professional men and women looking for an “affordable” amenity-rich neighborhood close to downtown? Is it the state, which is just trying to increase revenue and rehabilitate disinvested communities? Or is it the developers, who are just trying to recoup a profit after taking a huge financial risk by investing in a devalorized, deteriorated area? This “outsourcing” or rather, “displacing” of accountability is what I term, “the displacement of displacement.” Instances of direct displacement become fewer are more obscured, and indirect and exclusionary displacement become more common. These trends are arguably more difficult to measure and it becomes more difficult to demonstrate just how new-build development *directly* contributes to displacement. In the face of an ideology that champions for private investment, growth, and entrepreneurship, it becomes increasingly difficult to raise criticisms of a process may be highly economically beneficial for some, but incredibly painful and harmful for others.

## CONCLUSION

“One reason that low-income families live in the eastern part of the region is that there is almost no affordable housing elsewhere.” (Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy 1999)

Although this sentiment was expressed over a decade ago, it still resonates with those who advocate for the homeless and at-risk amidst an affordable housing crisis in the Washington, DC area. As early as 2000 and 2001, housing activists have lamented the

ever-present shortage of affordable housing and pushed policymakers in the District to offer remedies to this problem. This quote above from the Brookings Institution doesn't specify northeastern or southeastern, but with the sprawl of gentrification from the Northwest parts of the city to the Northeast, affordable housing is becoming increasingly harder to find (National Low Income Housing Coalition 2012; Brown 2001). The development in NoMa does not exist in a vacuum. Although real estate developers may be correct in arguing that they are fulfilling a demand for high-end or luxury housing close to downtown, it comes at a cost of ignoring an even more pressing demand. People who cannot find luxury apartments that suit their tastes may be forced to settle for units with fewer amenities, but people who cannot access affordable housing may be forced to relocate outside the city, or worse face homeless.

While there have been voices of dissent regarding certain elements of NoMa projects, they are often drowned out in the overwhelming push for growth. By highlighting the inequalities inherent in such a project, perhaps they will have a better chance of being addressed. While this project may seem limited in scope in that it only focuses on one neighborhood in DC, these conclusions suggest directions for studying other DC neighborhoods. Additionally, other cities that have experienced disinvestment may use DC's development strategies as a model for stimulating their own reinvestment and growth. By raising critiques of new-build gentrification, it is hoped future projects will seek to address issues of displacement as part of their development plans.

### *Policy Recommendations*

From a policy perspective, there are many possibilities for a more equitable future in NoMa and the District of Columbia at large. First, the city government can address the failures of the New Communities Initiative. Their four guiding principles: right to stay/return, creation of mixed-income development, build first, and one-for-one replacement, are admirable and reflect the desires of many residents of public housing. However, as Davidson and Lees (2005) assert, rhetoric does not always match reality, as demonstrated in the examination of Temple Courts. The residents of Barry Farms, another public housing community slated for renovation under NCI, have organized to protest their lack of involvement in the redevelopment process and the displacement of many residents (Ford 2013). The city of DC can start by addressing their failure to stay committed to their guiding principles, and take an active approach in including the community members who will be directly affected by the NCI process, particularly in the area known as Northwest One. How can residents displaced from affordable housing express their discontent? What processes does the District Office of the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development, the agency responsible for NCI, have in place to hold itself accountable? How are affordable housing programs evaluated for compliance?

As Moulden and Squires (2013) write,

Equitable development is defined as development activity with a triple bottom line, taking into account the interests of the business community and local developers, fairness in the treatment of employees, and sustainability in protecting and enhancing resources (human and others) in responding to an array of social and environmental needs.

So far in NoMa, the interests of the business and local developers seem to be more than adequately served. Little data was collected on worker justice for this project. However,

the average family household income in ANC06 was \$143,204, considerably higher than the District-wide average of \$115,016 and well above the District low of \$38,033. Many of the white-collar professionals working in NoMa's new private business and government agency offices may be able to afford to rent in NoMa. However, these are not the only people who work there during the day and evening. Can the low-wage restaurant and retail employees working at Union Station, serving NoMa's white-collar professionals during their lunch hours, afford to live in or near the neighborhood in which they work? Can they even find affordable housing in the District? How far do restaurant and retail employees need to commute in order to one, find employment, and two, find affordable housing? In order for development processes in NoMa to be considered residentialization or reurbanization, rather than gentrification, certain conditions need to be met. First, trends in displacement, whether direct, indirect, or exclusionary, need to be reversed. Second, this can be accomplished by ensuring that not only is affordable housing preserved, but thousands of additional units are built. This cannot be accomplished by setting aside 30 units in a 300-unit building for residents who earn up to 80 percent of the Area Median Income, as some Inclusionary Zoning requirements would require. In a city with nearly 70,000 people on its affordable housing waiting lists, policies such as Inclusionary Zoning need to be made much more, for lack of a better word, inclusive. This will help meet both the needs of employees in NoMa, but the social needs of the low-income community in the District.

Finally, the current NoMa BID Board of Directors is made up of key stakeholders in the community: namely, developers, business owners, real estate owners, and government representatives. There do not appear to be any community leaders or elected

representatives who regularly attend meetings. Although this exclusion may reflect the governing laws of the Board, an effort should be made to incorporate those stakeholders who may otherwise lack the economic and social capital required to make their voice heard. Community representatives and stakeholders from the surrounding neighborhoods should be invited to at least sit in on board meetings.

### *Further Research*

One of the long-standing failures of gentrification research has been its failure to adequately examine the experiences of those displaced. This is, as Tom Slater described it, the other “displacement of displacement.” The gentrification discourse has long bemoaned the difficulty of measuring displacement, of researching those individuals displaced, of finding respondents who will talk about their experience living in a neighborhood and witnessing it change before their eyes. We too often, “study those who look like us,” middle-income, educated, professionals, trying to find out “why” they gentrify. Although there are studies that are centered on those who are marginalized, the new-build gentrification literature, like the larger field of gentrification study, seriously lacks a “bottom-up” orientation.

My current research could be strengthened and expanded in several key ways. Although based on some qualitative data, such as personal observations, photographic documentation, and analysis of archival records, the research is distanced from the lives of everyday people living and working in NoMa and the surrounding neighborhoods. Further research should include in-depth interviews with not only current residents of NoMa who now occupy the new luxury apartment buildings, but also those residents just

barely excluded, occupying the townhomes and rowhouses on the boundary edges of NoMa. Residents living in the Northwest One superblock, with its deteriorated (but don't worry, planned for rehabilitation!) public housing projects should also be included in further research. As demonstrated earlier, low-income black residents are often vilified and scapegoated for much of the District's problems in past decades. By centering gentrification research on their experiences and perceptions of neighborhood change, it will present an opportunity for their side of the story to be told.

Although the motivations and experiences of new-build gentrifiers, whether they be private developers, municipal actors, young professionals who want to live in a "trendy" downtown neighborhood, or other key stakeholders, are interesting, overly focusing on these experiences may serve to dehumanize and further marginalize those displaced. There is a need for additional new-build gentrification research to further our understanding of those who face displacement, whether direct, indirect, or exclusionary. As discussed earlier, Washington, DC has witnessed significant changes in population over the past two decades. Neighborhoods all over the District have undergone or are undergoing rapid gentrification. NoMa is just one case study in a larger examination of the displacement and gentrification in Washington, DC as a whole.

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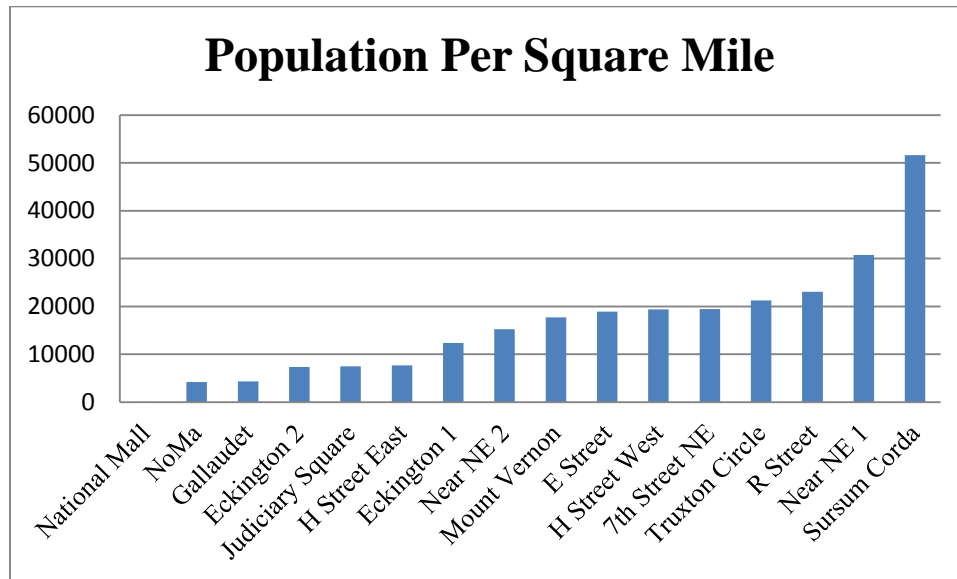
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## Appendix

### A. Population Demographics for NoMa Area Census Block Groups, 1990, 2000, 2010.

2010							
Neighborhood "Name"	Census Tract	Census Block Group	% White	% Black	%Hispanic	%Asian	Total
<b>NoMa</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>44.2</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>2350</b>
National Mall	62.02	1	21.20%	75.80%	0.00%	3.00%	33
Judiciary Square	59	1	53.90%	26.90%	7.4	9.30%	2998
H Street East	47.02	1	36.60%	46.80%	5.30%	8.80%	1802
Sursum Corda	47.01	1	0.70%	94.10%	1.40%	2.40%	1111
Mount Vernon	47.01	2	18.80%	58.40%	3.20%	17.40%	2875
Truxton Circle	46	1	20.60%	65.30%	8.20%	3.30%	1177
R Street	33.02	2	34.30%	55.40%	3.80%	2.00%	1014
Eckington 1	87.01	1	18.50%	72.20%	5.10%	2.70%	1293
Eckington 2	87.02	2	17.50%	71.70%	6.40%	0.40%	544
Gallaudet	88.03	1	30.50%	54.80%	8.20%	2.60%	2037
Near NE 1	106	1	34.90%	54.70%	2.70%	4.00%	876
Near NE 2	106	3	29.40%	63.90%	3.50%	0.60%	707
7th Street NE	83.02	1	67.40%	22.10%	4.30%	2.90%	2206
H Street West	83.01	1	65.40%	23.40%	4.10%	3.50%	1140
E Street	83.01	2	84	9.3	2.9	2.3	1139
2000							
Neighborhood "Name"	Census Tract	Census Block Group	% White	% Black	%Hispanic	%Asian	Total
<b>NoMa</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>90.7</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>1678</b>
National Mall	62.02	1	58.3	41.7	0	0	12
Judiciary Square	59	1	8.4	80.9	4	3.2	1856
H Street East	47.02	1	6.2	87.1	1.8	1.9	962
Sursum Corda	47.01	1	0.5	96.5	0.3	1.3	1864
Mount Vernon	47.01	2	3.2	88.9	1.7	4.6	1556
Truxton Circle	46	1	2.2	85.6	8	2.7	1853
R Street	33.02	2	3.6	91.6	2.6	2.4	836
Eckington 1	87.01	1	2.4	92.2	3.1	0.9	1277
Eckington 2	87.02	2	3.6	91.6	2.7	0	700
Gallaudet	88.03	1	31.5	58.5	4.5	2.3	1918
Near NE 1	106	1	4.6	89.3	3.6	1.8	926
Near NE 2	106	3	3.5	94.5	1.2	0.3	694
7th Street NE	83.02	1	53.5	39.8	3.1	1.6	1956
H Street West	83.01	1	46.9	44.1	3.6	3	1046
E Street	83.01	2	67.6	24.3	3	2.6	1197
1990							
Neighborhood "Name"	Census Tract	Census Block Group	% White	% Black	%Hispanic	%Asian	Total
NoMa	106	2	4.8	92.9	1.4	0.7	1891
National Mall	62.02	1	58.2	30.9	10.9	0	55
Judiciary Square	59	1	10.4	83.7	3.4	2	1956
H Street East	47.02	1	9.9	83.3	0.2	5.6	1080
South Capitol	47.01	1	0.9	97.7	0.9	0.2	2184
Sursum Corda	47.01	2	2.9	94.3	0.9	1.3	1291
Mount Vernon	46	1	4.2	91.6	3	0.6	1270
R Street	33.02	2	3.9	93.2	2.1	0.7	821
Eckington 1	87.01	1	2	95	1.7	1	1475
Eckington 2	87.02	2	2.4	94.8	2.5	0.1	785
Gallaudet	88.03	1	20.7	74.9	2.2	1.8	2184
Near NE 1	106	1	3.4	91.7	4	0.6	969
Near NE 2	106	3	3.3	94.4	1.7	0.3	963
7th Street NE	83.02	1	52.1	44.2	2.4	0.9	1964
H Street West	83.01	1	46.5	49.7	1.7	2	1086
E Street	83.01	2	63.1	32.9	2.6	1	1260

B. Population Per Square Mile Bar Chart at Census Block Group Level – NoMa and Surrounding Neighborhoods.



C. Population Per Square Mile Table at Census Block Group Level – NoMa and Surrounding Neighborhoods.

<b>Neighborhood</b>	<b>Population per square mile</b>
NoMa	4177
National Mall	5
Judiciary Square	7466
H Street East	7678
Sursum Corda	51634
Mount Vernon	17702
Truxton Circle	21264
R Street	23094
Eckington 1	12374
Eckington 2	7307
Gallaudet	4315
Near Northeast 1	30764
Near Northeast 2	15219
7 <sup>th</sup> Street NE	19424
H Street East	19370
E Street	18910

D. Summary Table of Sources.

<b>Data Source</b>	<b>Data Retrieved</b>
NoMa BID Website	Background/historical information on NoMa and NoMa BID, development map, boundary map, interactive map, neighborhood map, BID Board of Directors information, events, neighborhood news, parks updates, development plans, neighborhood amenities, press releases, public statements, branding strategy, commercial tenants, local businesses.
NoMa BID Newsletters	Updates on NoMa BID activities, events, and issues, such as bocce league and park funding.
NoMa BID Board Meeting	Park construction plans, development plans, NoMa Resident Survey, NoMa Employee Survey.
U.S. Census Bureau data: <a href="http://projects.nytimes.com/census/2010/map">http://projects.nytimes.com/census/2010/map</a> <a href="http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/nation/census/2010/">http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/nation/census/2010/</a> <a href="http://www.neighborhoodinfodc.org/">http://www.neighborhoodinfodc.org/</a>	Demographic Census data for 1990, 2000, 2010 for NoMa and surrounding neighborhoods.
DC.gov	NoMa BID planning and background, legislation (“NoMa Improvement Association Business Improvement District Amendment Act of 2006”), New Communities Initiative, affordable housing programs and legislation, Ward 6 Neighborhood Revitalization plans and programs.
Field Observation	Photographs of construction projects, buildings, signage.
Newspapers, news outlets, blogs: <i>Washington Post</i> , <i>Washington Times</i> , <i>Washington City Paper</i> , <i>Washington Business Journal</i> , <i>DCist</i> , <i>Greater Greater Washington</i> , <i>Prince of Petworth</i> , <i>Urban Turf DC</i> , <i>Gridskipper</i> , <i>Express</i> , <i>Washington Examiner</i> .	Background/historical information on NoMa and NoMa BID.
Facebook: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/NoMaBID?fref=ts">https://www.facebook.com/NoMaBID?fref=ts</a>	Updates on NoMa BID activities, events, and issues, such as bocce league and park funding.
Twitter: NoMa BID: <a href="https://twitter.com/NoMaBID">https://twitter.com/NoMaBID</a>	Updates on NoMa BID activities, events, and issues, such as bocce league and park funding.

<p>ANC Commissioner Tony Goodman:  <a href="https://twitter.com/TonyTGoodman">https://twitter.com/TonyTGoodman</a>  Councilmember Tommy Wells:  <a href="https://twitter.com/TommyWells">https://twitter.com/TommyWells</a></p>	
<p>Apartment websites:  Trilogy:  <a href="http://www.trilogynoma.com/trilogy-noma">http://www.trilogynoma.com/trilogy-noma</a>  Archstone NoMa:  <a href="http://www.archstoneapartments.com/Apartments/District_of_Columbia/Washington_DC_Area/NoMa.htm">http://www.archstoneapartments.com/Apartments/District_of_Columbia/Washington_DC_Area/NoMa.htm</a>  Flats 130 at Constitution Square:  <a href="http://www.flats130.com/">http://www.flats130.com/</a>  Loree Grand at Union Place:  <a href="http://www.loreegranddc.com/">http://www.loreegranddc.com/</a>  Senate Square:  <a href="http://senatesquaretowers.com/">http://senatesquaretowers.com/</a>  Aria on L:  <a href="http://ariaonl.com/">http://ariaonl.com/</a>  The Washington Center:  <a href="http://www.twc.edu/internships/washington-dc-programs/housing">http://www.twc.edu/internships/washington-dc-programs/housing</a>  Landmark Lofts:  <a href="http://www.landmarklofts.net/home/index.php">http://www.landmarklofts.net/home/index.php</a></p>	<p>Leasing information, apartment pricing, location, available amenities, unit sizes, construction and opening dates, property ownership, branding and advertising for each apartment building in NoMa.</p>
<p>BID Websites:  DC BIDs:  <a href="http://www.dcbidcouncil.org/">http://www.dcbidcouncil.org/</a>  Adams Morgan:  <a href="http://www.adamsmorganonline.com/">http://www.adamsmorganonline.com/</a>  Capitol Hill:  <a href="http://www.capitolhillbid.org/">http://www.capitolhillbid.org/</a>  Capitol Riverfront:  <a href="http://capitolriverfront.org/">http://capitolriverfront.org/</a>  Downtown DC:  <a href="http://downtowndc.org/">http://downtowndc.org/</a>  Georgetown:  <a href="http://georgetowndc.com/">http://georgetowndc.com/</a></p>	<p>BID location, background, history, ongoing construction projects and development plans, investment, budget/financing information, major property owners and businesses.</p>

Golden Triangle: <a href="http://goldentriangledc.com/">http://goldentriangledc.com/</a> Mount Vernon Triangle: <a href="http://mountvernontriangle.org/">http://mountvernontriangle.org/</a>	
Google Earth, Google Maps	Historical aerial images and maps of NoMa neighborhood to measure changes in built environment from early 1990s to present-day.
YouTube: <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-PrRF2IhDc">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-PrRF2IhDc</a> <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6vecX2HhbF0">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6vecX2HhbF0</a> <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3pVauMEDIO4">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3pVauMEDIO4</a>	Uploaded videos about NoMa that include background information, images of built environment, and interviews with NoMa BID staff.
Flickr: <a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/cenicartisan/8503965099/sizes/l/in/photostream/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/cenicartisan/8503965099/sizes/l/in/photostream/</a> <a href="http://www.flickr.com/groups/noma-dc/pool/page2/">http://www.flickr.com/groups/noma-dc/pool/page2/</a>	Other NoMa neighborhood photographs.

#### E. NoMa BID Response to Tyler House Incident

Mar 15, 2013

#### **NoMa BID Response to Tyler House Incident**

WASHINGTON, DC, March 14, 2013: The NoMa commercial core is one of the safest, if not the safest, commercial district in the city. Still, we want to assure our neighbors that the NoMa BID continues to take safety in the neighborhood with the utmost seriousness. The terrible shooting that took place at Tyler House, just outside the NoMa BID, on March 11 came as a shock to all of us. Our sympathies go out to the victims and their families. We are in regular contact with the Metropolitan Police Department as it investigates this disturbing incident.

Violence in and near NoMa is down, as it fortunately is in the rest of the city. It is our understanding from MPD that violence at Tyler House has also been down over the last couple of years. Still, any violence is too much violence. It is a sad reality that violence and crime in the neighborhood are, more often than not, associated with the so-called super-clubs.

The NoMa BID will continue to work with MPD and community stakeholders to find solutions to these challenges. We will keep residents and workers informed as we get new information.

If you have information about the Tyler House incident or any other crime, please contact the Metropolitan Police Department by phone at (202) 727-9099 or text them at 50411.

<http://www.nomabid.org/2013/03/noma-bid-response-to-tyler-house-incident/>