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Historical and Contemporary Modes of Racism in Baltimore, Maryland

Alexandra Magill
April 2013

Senior Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts degree in Geography

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Adviser, Brian Godfrey

Abstract

Baltimore is divided into spaces of luxury and wealth and spaces of poverty and destitution. How did Baltimore come to be materially and spatially segregated by race, and how have those boundaries remained in a post-Civil Rights era of purported "equality"? To understand this question, this thesis explores the relationship between historical and contemporary urban governance practices; American capitalism and neoliberalism; and racial memory construction. The approach focuses particularly on the implications of these factors for justice and equality in the urban landscape. It argues that the massive disparities between the wealth and neighborhoods of white and African American Baltimore have not arisen naturally out of free market tendencies (as the neoliberal ideology would encourage me to believe). Racial segregation is a construction resulting from capitalist exploitation and accumulation by dispossession, whose mechanisms went form being overtly racist to covertly racist after the Civil Rights Movement and with the rise of neoliberalism. The thesis investigates material histories of exclusion and contemporary constructions of history and memory that perpetuate racism.

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Preface

In many ways, the work I'm about to do must answer to postmodern questions and demands, questions concerning the identity of the researcher and its implications on the conclusions drawn. I am a historian of the construction of difference between white and black Americans in Baltimore city, and I have undertaken extensive historical research on the matter. I am also a participant in the public life and identity of Baltimore; I grew up in the suburbs outside the city blissfully ignorant of the problems of racial inequality and poverty the city faced as well as their roots. As a white American, I was allowed the privilege of never considering race or racial injustice in the world around me. I grew up as a consumer of many of the spectacles I am about to unpack and critically analyze; my high school and college careers have led me through a painful process of grappling with my privileged status and the hardships experienced today as a result of past injustices.

In the following paper, I particularly undertake a critical explication of the memory and identity produced by the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of African American History and Culture in Maryland. I do not wish to do the museum or its creators any injustice by unfairly representing it; I am a single subjective viewer of the museum, and I will highlight and discuss only what I deem to be most important and relevant to my work. To this end, I apologize for the many omissions my work will entail.

Prior to beginning my analysis, I'd like to situate the city and the downtown area with a few maps. The map on the left displays the ring of highways around Baltimore City (the large purple polygon), with the downtown, Harbor area highlighted in blue.

The map on the right displays the Inner Harbor area in greater detail. It serves as a companion to the introductory chapter; the chapter opens with a story about driving down the highway demarcated in yellow. This highway becomes President Street, the blue line, which runs past the Reginald F. Lewis Museum (marked in red) and into Harbor East (the light blue). The location of the Inner Harbor's festival marketplace and most Harbor attractions are located within the green box. The purple box highlight Baltimore's football and baseball stadiums. There are a great number more maps and images compiled in the appendices, and they help to illustrate and illuminate the thesis.

Chapter 1: Where the Highway Ends

While driving down highway I-83 into the heart of downtown Baltimore, as any Northern suburbanite would do to avoid the "badlands" of Baltimore on our way into the "good" areas, I pass several miles of exit-less highway surrounded by lush forest, an arboretum I know to be privately held by residents of this wealthy enclave of the city. I then pass a slew of exits around the Maryland Institute College of Art and the train station, with signs boasting of Baltimore's "Arts District" or parking for the commuter train to Washington, D.C., and finally I wind up on President Street, where the highway ends. As just an extension of the highway, President Street is an overwhelmingly wide road of up to eight lanes and whose short distance—about eight city blocks until it ends at the waterfront—confusingly intersects with one-way streets and impossibly long stoplights.

As I enter this confusing grid, I become part of a shifting streetscape-- the short rowhomes pervading much of the landscape beneath the previously raised highway give way to skyscrapers and other massive, gleaming structures. This larger-than-life building pattern is broken only by the interference of the waterfront, the Inner Harbor around which all these new superstructures are designed. President Street, Pratt Street, and Light Street frame the harbor and its many tourist attractions, and it is at the intersection of President and Pratt Streets where I find the city's most strategic panhandlers. I, like all the other drivers coming in from the suburbs, sit facing the gleaming structures of consumption and luxury, affronted by the reality of homelessness. I suspect these panhandlers survive well

on these sympathies; the homeless population less inclined to make spectacle of their situation are both out of sight and mind.

A barrage of memorials and museums boasting Baltimore's history bombards me. The historic bullet-manufacturing tower has been turned into a museum honoring Baltimore's industrial past. A small brick home stands out as it is wrapped in red, white, and blue banners—the Flag House Museum, paying tribute to Francis Scott Key, who penned the Star Spangled Banner in our harbor in 1812. Next to this modest home, stands a massive and eye-catching structure: The Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture. The modern building stands out with its gleaming black blocks accented by a shining red strip running up the length of the building, guiding visitors to its entrance. Banners hang from the streetlamps boasting of Baltimore's "Heritage Walkway".

The next few blocks of President Street are rather unfriendly to pedestrians; they lack crosswalks, and cameras line the buildings on either side of the street. Eventually, I come to the private development of blocks dubbed "Harbor East". The road forks three ways: bare right to enter the valet of the new Marriot Hotel, continue straight to the roundabout in the heart of Harbor East, or turn left to bypass these posh spaces and head towards a much less glimmering Baltimore. The implications for the pedestrian are clear. With no crosswalks, there's no way to cross the forking road: one is either directed towards the waterfront promenade, which can only be reached through the well-surveilled Christopher Columbus Park (lined by cameras and the Harbor East Real Estate office) and which will lead you further into Harbor East, or away from all this luxury.

It is in the midst of the forking road that I witness a poignant demonstration of the harsh reality of urban life today. The new, glimmering Harbor East skyscrapers boast of their upscale stores and restaurants, Anthropologie, J.Crew, and Starbucks amongst them, posh apartment spaces with harbor views, and corporate stamps atop each building: "Legg Mason Finances", "Marriot", and "Hilton". In the foreground squarely facing the forking road leading into all of this, stands a small historic building, a former train station, boasting a bright yellow banner "Baltimore: A City Divided," with the faces of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. Baltimore's Civil War Museum. Just then, as I stand admiring the luxury and glamour of Harbor East, the bitter truth unfolds more perfectly than I could have imagined: I watch an older man, shaking a Styrofoam cup of coins on one of the street corners interior to Harbor East, get escorted, ever-so-politely off of this private property—up to the fork in the road just north of Harbor East. As he walks up the sidewalk of President Street, the Civil War museum is right behind him; hanging over his head, narrating his journey, the banner: "Baltimore: A City Divided" indeed.

Baltimore is divided into spaces of luxury and wealth and spaces of poverty and destitution. The boundaries of wealth and capital are also boundaries of race; by and large, wealthy spaces are white spaces and impoverished spaces are African American.; I want to dissect layers of planning, governance, and history to unveil the power dynamics, injustices, and movements towards justice manifested within this landscape. I witnessed the literal, overt policing of boundaries; this however, is not the main type of policing that has created or maintained the boundaries of wealth

and race. How did Baltimore come to be materially and spatially segregated by race, and how have those boundaries remained in a post-Civil Rights era of purported "equality"? To understand this question, I explore the relationship between historical and contemporary urban governance practices; American capitalism and neoliberalism; and racial memory construction. My approach focuses particularly on the implications of these factors for justice and equality in the urban landscape.

Critical Race Theory and the Accumulation of Capital

My thesis rests upon the foundational work of Critical Race Theory, which emerged in the post-Civil Rights era to engage the racial injustice still being perpetuated in American institutions and ideology. In this light and throughout my thesis, I do not employ the term "racism" in the same way that dominant discourse understands it; racism is not an isolated act committed by a singular person nor is its effect primarily psychological or simply offensive. Racism is, instead, the "socially organized set of attitudes, ideas and practices that deny African Americans and other people of color the dignity, opportunities, freedoms, and rewards that this nation offers to white Americans." (Bullard, 1987). Being socially organized means that racism is structural rather than individual; individuals can be racist, but more fundamentally important are the ways in which systems, institutions, and socially agreed upon narratives or ideologies are racist. While certainly there are other races against which racism is committed in America, I engage with racism against African Americans in the city of Baltimore.

My focus revolves around the racialized accumulation of capital. We begin with Marxist theories of capital accumulation and then expand beyond the

boundaries of a material account by adding theories of cultural and social capital as explained by Bourdieu and others. According to Marx, capitalism is a system of production that is driven by capital accumulation wherein laborers do not own the means of production or receive the profits. Capital can be monetary (used to pay wage-labor and debts) or physical through possession of means of production such as machinery and factories. In order to continue growth and accumulation, as capitalism necessitates, part of the profits are reinvested. There are two modes of capital accumulation. Capital can invest in new means of production or distribution and create profit through the exploitation of wage-labor to produce goods or services, or capital can accumulate through dispossession. Marxists argue that in this capitalist system, the state functions to protect private property and serves as a tool of justification or legitimization for accumulation by dispossession.

David Harvey calls Marx's primitive accumulation "accumulation by dispossession", wherein original capital was created by enclosing and privatizing public space or resources, thus creating a landed elite and a landless proletariat. Harvey has updated this concept and dubbed it "accumulation by dispossession," because primitive connoted that the process was over and unsophisticated—Harvey assures us that means of accumulation by dispossession are certainly continuing and expanding today, and they operate using quite sophisticated mechanisms. Modern modalities for accumulation by dispossession are multiple and diverse: amongst them, Harvey counts,

> "the violent expulsion of peasants through land privatisation, the conversion of common property rights into exclusive property rights, the

> commodification of labour, the suppression of alternative and indigenous forms of production and consumption, the appropriation of natural resources, the continuation of slavery through the sex industry, the monetisation of exchange and taxation," (Springer 2013)

and a number of other tools and features which "can be used to pursue tactics of dispossession that advantage the already rich and powerful" (Harvey 2010).

In order to unveil accumulation by dispossession and mechanisms of exploitation in contemporary capitalism, we must reckon with neoliberalism, the predominant ideology of global capitalism since the 1980s. Neoliberalism has many definitions, but broadly it prescribes the self-regulation of the market (and thus deregulation by the government), privatization of public goods and services (in the name of the efficiency of private markets), and the roll-back of the redistributive, social welfare state (cite?). This form of revived laissez faire economics, which arose in reaction to the regulative and redistributive state of the New Deal, has bore a whole new set of tools for accumulation by dispossession and the exploitation of wage-labor. More than ever, the state and its tools of governance are employed to these ends. Many theorists focus on accumulation by dispossession in the "new [neoliberal] imperialism" as it affects and exploits the global South; my project investigates domestic implications of neoliberal capitalism within the urban U.S. (Harvey 2003). As Harvey explains, urbanization "has played a crucial role in the absorption of capital surpluses," and, at its core lays "a process of displacement and… accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2008 New Left review). My thesis uncovers modalities of accumulation by dispossession and exploitation as they have

historically and contemporarily manifest along racial lines in metropolitan Baltimore.

Thus far, we have a simplified picture of capital in comparison to the multi-tiered way that capital operates; both Marx and Harvey have been criticized for putting too much emphasis on material capital while ignoring many other dimensions in contemporary capitalist society. In reality, society is not simply comprised of a capitalist elite with the means of production and an alientated class of laborers. This relationship of power would be dismantled quickly if it were this obvious and overt; as Gramsci theorized in the early 20th century, violent and forthrightly oppressive tools create highly unstable hierarchies of power. Instead, hierarchies and oppression are maintained through hegemony, or the construction of culture through ideas, ideologies, and identities that justify and naturalize inequality and oppression. The oppressed, having internalized hegemonic narratives and ideologies, are then oppressed through consent rather than force (Ryan 2011).

Hegemony operates in part through subtle forms of capital and by valuing particular ways of being in and seeing the world. These subtle forms of capital are highly implicated in one's ability to gain more capital. Bourdieu breaks down forms of capital into monetary capital; embodied cultural capital, which is literally on or in the personal body, like the right color of skin or the proper way of speaking; objectified capital, which are objects that are deemed valuable like paintings or homes, or which can be use to create monetary capital like machines or factories; institutionalized capital, such as academic degrees or titles conferred by a

culturally-approved institution; and social capital, or membership in groups and networks that enhance one's access to economic capital (Bourdieu 1990). Just as in Marx's theory, wherein physical capital can be used to create more monetary capital, these subtle forms of non-material capital reproduce themselves and each other. For example, a lack or an abundance of embodied capital (a product of birth and the culture one is born into) greatly influences one's ability to get jobs, higher education, loans, and many other means of accessing and accumulating capital in our society. White modes of knowledge and being—centering around capitalism, Enlightenment scientific rationality, and the Judeo-Christian model of religion and individualization—are rewarded and valued while black, native, or other modes of knowledge, value, and being are constructed as backwards and given no capital value (Lipsitz 2006). In this way, wealth and poverty are both self-perpetuating.

These connections are not as obvious as I have drawn them; they are fundamentally obscured by the dominant hegemonic narrative—the neoliberal narrative. Neoliberalism bore not only new tools of accumulation by dispossession and exploitation of wage labor (which falls along racialized lines in and of itself) but also brought forth new means of legitimating the existence of disparity and injustice. Just as capital is not merely material, neoliberalism is not merely economic policy—it is an ideology, a way of seeing the world and participating in it. Ideologically it arose in rejection of New Deal collectivism and ideals of social welfare through the state; instead, neoliberalism valorizes rugged individualism and economic mobility through hard work. It is against this celebratory narrative of self-help that

conditions of poverty, particularly in the African American community, are constructed.

Since the era of Moynihan report's declaration of the "culture of poverty" in African Americans slums in 1965 and the coining of the term "welfare queen" in the 1970s, there has been boundless repetition of the narrative that "the anguish in African American ghettos stems from the underdeveloped character of the poor rather than from routine and systematic inequality in resources and opportunities" (Lipsitz 2006). The narrative, in fact, does not allow room to imagine or acknowledge systemic inequalities or injustices; according to it, a person's fate is entirely their own responsibility – one is wealthy because of his or her work and one is poor because of his or her flaws and irresponsibility. As we have just looked at the mechanisms responsible for economic production and capital, it is apparent that this construction is false-- the system is actually built on reproducing deprivation and wealth within the communities and spaces that are experiencing them.

Hegemonic narratives manifest and reproduce themselves in myriad ways; I investigate the construction of the neoliberal narrative within official, public history. Accounts of history necessarily entail acts of forgetting and erasing as narratives are built out of select pieces and perspectives (Hyussen 2003). Thus history can be a tool for hegemonic powers to maintain themselves by accounting only certain perspectives and moments of history in their narrative. Tools of Western knowledge such as museums, curriculums, and textbooks become tools for domination, boundary policing, and cultural accumulation by dispossession. By policing

historical accounts of racial injustice and framing them in particular ways, we can erase historical connections between injustice in the past and disparity today (Inwood and Martin 2008). I argue that the construction of the public, official narrative of racial history in Baltimore has been heavily influenced by neoliberalism, reinforces neoliberal logic, and thereby justifies and perpetuates social and economic capital disparities between the white community and the black community. In the contemporary world, regulating race and maintaining white supremacy "entails embracing people of color and their cultures in condescending and controlling ways; " through analysis of Baltimore's Reginald F. Lewis Museum of African American History and Culture, I investigate the ways that celebrating black history through neoliberal and hegemonic frameworks polices racial boundaries and reproduces disparity (Lipsitz 2006).

My Argument and Chapters

In response to my central question, how did Baltimore come to be materially and spatially segregated by race, and how have those boundaries remained in a pose-Civil Rights era of purported "equality", I argue that the massive disparities between the wealth and neighborhoods of white and African American Baltimore have not arisen naturally out of free market tendencies (as the neoliberal ideology would encourage me to believe). Racial segregation is a construction resulting from capitalist exploitation and accumulation by dispossession, whose mechanisms went form being overtly racist to covertly racist after the Civil Rights Movement and with the rise of neoliberalism. The dominant discourse and the framing of public history veil the material history of white wealth and black poverty, which constitutes

cultural capital accumulation by dispossession. The official historical narrative disseminated by the state dispossesses history of its potent truth and rewrites it in support of neoliberal capitalism. Not only does the historical account perpetuate neoliberal ideology, but it actually justifies and rationalizes the profound economic inequality between white and black Baltimore.

In chapter two, I reach far back into the historical foundations of Baltimore and its economic hierarchy. Neoliberal, racist capitalism grew out of the foundation of racist forms of capitalism before it; we must trace that trajectory. I argue that Baltimore's economy was built on a racial hierarchy of exploitation and accumulation by dispossession that has never been deconstructed; this hierarchy has merely gone from racist in name and practice to "colorblind" in name but racist in practice. Housing, labor, and transportation infrastructure practices and policies are the main tools of white capital accumulation by black dispossession and exploitation I investigate.

In chapter three, I argue that neoliberal urban governance policies, particularly the institution of public-private development projects, perpetuate racial capital disparity while simultaneously recasting the public imaginary about race and poverty in Baltimore. The large scale, public-private projects serve to project an image of a luxurious and wealthy Baltimore, and in doing so erase from the public mind and the space itself black poverty. There are manifold means of accumulation by dispossession accounted for in these projects; public spaces are privatized and commodified, and public taxes are spent towards creating private wealth and growth. At the same time, this spending as well as neoliberal logic call for serious

cutbacks to social welfare spending, further depriving African Americans in poverty. Under the guise of neoliberalism, acts of accumulation by dispossession are naturalized and enacted at the federal, state, and city levels of governance.

The fourth chapter compares the history I recounted of perpetual racial injustice to the history represented within the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of African American Culture and History of Maryland opened in 2004 in downtown Baltimore. The museum is treated as representative of the official public history in the State of Maryland and as a monument in the landscape that helps to rationalize and naturalize the journey of affluent tourists around the "badlands" of Baltimore, past the museum, and into exclusive spaces of consumption and luxury in the harbor just beyond it. I argue that the history told therein is accumulation by dispossession as it is skewed to fit into the capitalist, particularly neoliberal, narrative of capital's function. It uses three particular tools to justify and perpetuate racial injustice: it relegates racial discrimination and injustice to the past; it dematerializes racism today and regards racism as an individual phenomenon that affects the psyche rather than a systemic phenomenon that affects ones ability to survive and gain wealth; and it ceaselessly promotes the false self-help narrative of American rugged individualism. In promoting a celebratory historical account of particular African American individuals who were successful in the capitalist sense, the museum fails to illuminate the reality of racial struggle and its continuation today.

Chapter 2: Historic and Economic Roots of the Racially Segregated City

Baltimore went from a small tobacco-growing settlement in the mid-18th century, to a growing, industrial powerhouse in the mid-19th century, to a shrinking, deindustrializing city in the mid-20th century. This chapter investigates not only why these changes unfolded, but why they unfolded in a particularly racialized way, creating pockets of African American poverty in the city and enclaves of white affluence within and outside of it (see appendix B). In an attempt to avoid a deterministic view of history, I analyze specific agents, practices, and policies that produced strong economic and spatial disparity between African Americans and whites. I argue that Baltimore's economy was built on a racial hierarchy of exploitation that has never been deconstructed; instead this hierarchy—which is a form of accumulation by dispossession wherein white wealth is accumulated at the expense and exploitation of black labor and poverty—has gone from being overt to covert. This chapter traces the housing, labor, and transportation mechanisms of overt and covert racism in Baltimore throughout its history.

While it is clear that housing and labor practices are intimately connected to the accumulation of wealth and capital, transportation and public investments in transportation infrastructure are less obviously but no less importantly implicated in African Americans' ability to create and access capital. There is an emerging literature and discourse on "transportation justice," which recognizes the profound role that transportation and its accompanying infrastructure play in people's access to the city, occupations, housing markets, and recreation opportunities—thus, public transportation expenditures can either be done in a just, equitable way, or in

an unjust, uneven way. I argue that persistently in the case of Baltimore, expenditures on automobile infrastructure and the eminent domain exercised in creating large infrastructure projects have constituted accumulation by dispossession. Through large infrastructure projects, Baltimore and the federal government helped subsidize the rise of the car-based suburbs and the insulated, isolated black ghetto. Working with these public expenditures, private discriminatory housing and labor practices sealed many African Americans in Baltimore into perpetual poverty within the ghetto while offering white or already wealthy Americans opportunities for greater capital accumulation. The spatial segregation of African American communities has entrenched the disparity between African Americans and whites; by isolating African American communities, they cannot participate in normative, white society and gain social or embodied capital, further precluding their economic gain. Patterns and tools of discrimination and oppression nominally ended with the Civil Rights Movement, though the final part of this chapter investigates the outbreak of riots in 1968 and Civil Rights legislation as failed responses to this history of accumulation by dispossession.

Baltimore's Early Economic Growth: Overt Racial Hierarchies

Baltimore owes its birth as a city to its early success as a shipping hub; every part of the shipping industry was steeped in racial hierarchies that perpetually disadvantaged blacks and profited a handful of elite whites. The goods traded were often from the slave labor of southern plantations; the owners of ships were always white and the occupations and wages available on board were arranged hierarchically by race; and the production of ships in Baltimore's shipyards was

similarly racially exploitative. In the shipyards, African American as well as non-white European laborers, were only allowed work as low-wage caulkers while a few white laborers held higher positions (Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991). The man with the largest population of slaves in Baltimore (seventeen) used them in his shipyard to build Baltimore's famous clipper ships renowned for the speed at which they allowed transatlantic trade to unfold, including the trade of African slaves. In a typical example of the erasure of racism, one of the ships likely built by these slaves, The Constellation, a naval warship, now sits in the Inner Harbor as a historical tourist attraction; the history told aboard of Baltimore's maritime trading success leaves out any mention of slaves as either builders or cargo, but celebrates Baltimore's brief history of intervening in the slave trade prior to the Civil War (ibid.). I have used the shipyard as an example, but no part of Baltimore's emerging economy was innocent of these hierarchies; blacks were offered jobs only at the lowest tier of production for wages lower than their white or non-white immigrant counterparts.

Baltimore's value as a port and its racial economic disparity rose simultaneously as the railroad industry was built. The first railroad to begin construction in the US was the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1828, and though it took twenty years to complete, various pieces were up and running in the interim, allowing Baltimore to transport goods throughout Maryland and surrounding states. Additionally, in 1834 the Atlantic railroad line opened giving Baltimore greater access to markets and raw goods from the south (Hayward and Shivers 2004). Baltimore's textile, flour, refined sugar, iron, steel, and canned good industries all

flourished, and all participated in the exploitation of immigrant, black, and women's labor, who were kept in unskilled labor positions while their white male counterparts received education and training for skilled labor or managerial positions with higher wages (Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991).

While labor was clearly organized hierarchically based on race, there seemed to be moments of progress in the 19th century; they were swiftly reversed at the turn of the century. A few African Americans were able to work against the racial hierarchies; specifically, in 1868 an African American man founded the Chesapeake Marine Railway and Dry Dock Company that had both whites and blacks on its payroll. The same man also founded the first black labor organization, the Colored Caulkers Trade Union Society (Hayward and Shivers 2004). There were also briefly some mixed race unions. The Knights, the largest national craft union, accepted skilled and unskilled laborers no matter their race—though this union collapsed in the late 19th century. After the Knights, the largest union was the American Federation of Labor, and it was strictly for white, skilled labor.

Most labor unions and skilled labor jobs excluded African Americans, so African Americans did not benefit from union gains for whites. At the turn of the century, their exclusion from unions meant that they could be used as strikebreakers, which intensified racial strife and prejudice. Generally, it was merely the threat of using African Americans as strikebreakers and news of their use as strikebreakers elsewhere that kept racial antagonisms high, though twice, in 1900 and 1916, African Americans were used to break labor strikes in Baltimore (Whatley 1993). Broadly then, labor practices exploited African Americans

throughout the 19th century and benefitted a small number of white males, skilled workers as well as business owners, who profited from their exclusion.

Housing practices in the 19th century were racist in that African Americans lived in unsanitary, unhealthy, and crowded conditions while their more affluent white neighbors could afford to live in larger homes with modern sanitation. Immigrants, African Americans, and the other urban poor were relegated to live in crowded alley homes while their white counterparts lived in the larger homes along the main thoroughfares. The alley homes did not have running water and used privies well into the 20th century. The housing structure was not, however, racist in terms of asset accumulation because homeownership was not yet popular in urban America. Most city residents were wage laborers or small business owners without much capital, and elaborate borrowing systems for mortgages did not yet exist; therefore, most residents, white or black, paid rent to a landlord of the elite class rather than owning their homes as assets.

In this initial phase of Baltimore's industrial growth, blacks were relatively equally dispersed throughout the city and had equal access to space and physical mobility as did most whites. Despite discrimination in the types of houses African Americans could rent, there was no widespread housing segregation; in 1890, the black population had been fairly evenly spread across all Baltimore's wards. African Americans constituted 10% of the population in three-fourths of the city's 20 wards (Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991). Additionally, blacks were not isolated from white society by public transportation; horse-drawn streetcars and later the trolley system crisscrossed the central city, and while there was a fare to pay (excluding the

very poor from traveling on it), it provided access for people of all races to various opportunities across the city. Additionally, most people's work was within walking distance from their homes, and the economy at that time called for all levels of labor everywhere: managers, mid-level workers, and blue collar workers all needed at the same facilities. Thus, social isolation was not yet enforced by mechanisms of segregation, though certainly social rules were in place regulating white and black interaction and denying most blacks social mobility.

In sum, 19th century represented an era of rapid growth for Baltimore, in terms of its population, geographic size, and economy, and a time in which racial hierarchies were being built as well as resisted. Because very few residents of Baltimore had large assets or amounts of accumulated capital throughout the 19th century, there was not yet an irreconcilable gap between the wealth of the white community and the black community; certainly, however, there was a difference between the wealth accumulated by whites according to the education, unions, and jobs they had access to and the lack of wealth accumulated by African Americans according to their lack of access to these tools of capital accumulation.

Turn of the century: The Birth of the Suburb-Ghetto Divide

In the first half of the 20th century, the economic disparity between whites and blacks in Baltimore grew and quickly became a spatial segregation. The government employed new tools of exclusion in the name of protecting property values, which essentially meant helping white property owners to isolate themselves from blacks and other urban poor. Private actors such as real estate agents, employers, banks, and other power brokers of the city simply did not offer

African Americans the opportunities for wealth and capital that they offered to whites. Together, public and private actors began the entrenchment of the black urban ghetto and the white suburban enclave of wealth.

Perhaps the first harbinger and catalyst of the rapid racial segregation to come was the birth of the first planned, private suburb of Baltimore. In 1891, the Roland Park Company planned and built Roland Park just outside the city limits of Baltimore on 550 acres of land. A new streetcar line, the construction of which was subsidized privately and publicly, brought people into the new neighborhood of expensive single-family homes from the downtown. The Roland Park Company easily controlled the racial and ethnic make-up of the neighborhood as it sold plots to the first round of homeowners—these homes were sold exclusively to non-Jewish whites. To insure that the neighborhood remained that way, there was a restrictive covenant in the deed barring the homes' sale to Jews. Racial prejudice was no less against blacks than it was against Jews—it was merely unthinkable that blacks necessitated a similar clause. No blacks would be able to afford the homes and certainly no homeowners would be willing to sell to them. These homes sold quickly to Baltimore's white elite, and two decades later the Roland Park Company bought and developed a similarly sized plot of land just south of Roland Park and thus created a "1,000 acre reserve for the business and professional class, restricted by deed explicitly against Jews and by implication, against African Americans" (Power Unwisdom 2012).

Thus, real estate agents and property owners were the earliest agents of racial segregation; they could control the racial make-up of neighborhoods simply

based on what they were willing to show African Americans and at what price. This pattern of de facto exclusion was broken, however, in 1910 when an African American lawyer was allowed to buy a large home along one of the major thoroughfares of Baltimore, a privilege formerly reserved for whites based on the high prices of the homes. Whites in the neighborhood tried to intimidate his family into leaving; the family was perpetually terrorized and their home was vandalized (Boger 2009). At the same time, and for the first time, the community was pursuing a means of legal, institutional exclusion of African Americans in white neighborhoods, which the city government was swift to oblige.

To protect white property from the intrusion of African Americans, the city of Baltimore created its first zoning regulations. The planning and zoning authority of city governments is taken for granted now, but it had not existed prior to 1899 when Washington, DC passed a zoning ordinance regulating the heights of buildings within the district. Just over a decade later, in 1911, Baltimore created its first zoning ordinance, designating some areas of the city "Residential Zones" and giving those zones, on the grounds of protecting property values, the authority to keep African Americans from buying homes within them if they were over 50% white. This specific rule concerning the regulation of African American's access to the housing market was overturned by the courts and replaced two more times in the span of a decade. It never held up in court, but the intent of the government to allow and aid the process of segregation was clear; Mayor Mahool stated "Blacks should be quarantined in isolated slums in order to reduce the incidents of civil disturbance, to

prevent the spread of communicable disease into the nearby White neighborhoods, and to protect property values among the White majority" (Silver 1997).

Despite the overturn of the segregation ordinances, the city government creatively exercised other planning tools in its power to spatially separate African American poverty from white property and assets. Mayor Preston, who succeeded Mayor Mahool in 1911, immediately created the City Plan Commission and Public Improvements Commission to innovate solutions for Baltimore's growing traffic problems (Hayward). They planned a series of wide arteries whose creation called for destruction of the existing housing or other architecture that stood in the way of broad streets with multiple lanes. With this tool of planning and the guise of both creating a traffic-free and safe (from unsanitary conditions) city, the new planning commission condemned and cleared slums across the city—mostly eliminating the homes of African Americans, seeing as they were the residents of the unsanitary alley homes. Additionally, the proposal focused on creating a spoke-like transportation system from the heart of the downtown, which made suburban life in any direction easier and more attractive for those that could afford the homes and a car—the city was easily accessible but its dirt, grime, and crime were out of sight.

While they could not always count on the government to entrench the racial divide, white property owners learned from the example of Roland Park's restrictive covenant and employed their own private means of exclusion. In 1927, homeowners in a twenty-four block area just north of the central city (and very near Roland Park) formed the Home Protective Association and agreed to place a covenant on their properties restricting occupancy or use by "any negro or negroes or person or

persons either in whole or in part negro of African descent except those employed [as live-in servants]" (Power 2004). Restrictive covenants such as these remained in place until 1948 when the Supreme Court struck them down (Massey and Denton 1993).

The next iteration of the government participating in the entrenchment of racial boundaries came in the form of redlining. Banks began the tradition of redlining; they mapped cities and color-coded them based on the eligibility of certain areas for loans—redlined areas were completely ineligible, "blight" areas. In the midst of the Great Depression and as part of the New Deal, the federal government passed the 1933 Home Owners Loan Corporation Act which sought to end foreclosures and stimulate the economy by offering home loans; doing so required that the government create their own maps to rate mortgages and determine where to offer them. The racial make-up of neighborhoods predominantly determined their eligibility for loans; neighborhoods that were predominantly black were redlined, meaning much of the inner, core city of Baltimore. These maps continued to be used and updated by the Federal Housing Administration and private mortgage lenders through the 1960's (Pietila 2010; see appendix B). Essentially, the result was that anyone who wanted to move into these neighborhoods could not receive a loan to do so; even if these neighborhoods were not in disrepair or decline prior to the institutionalization of governmental redlining, they certainly were after a few decades of not being able to invest new capital or gain new residents. Many African Americans were unable to afford homes outside redlined zones (and even when they could afford such a move, they were

often blocked at every opportunity), and within the redlined zones of cheaper and more derelict housing, they had to accept harsh loan terms from predatory banks (Massey and Denton 1993).

Briefly, it is necessary to pause in this chronology and piece together a picture of Baltimore's economic and racial make-up on the eve of World War II and in the midst of the Civil Rights movement. Tools of exclusion and housing segregation had by and large pushed Baltimore's African American population into Old West Baltimore. Within this neighborhood there was an emergent black middle class (largely making their money selling real estate, services, and goods to African Americans within the community) and a large black lower class. There was a thriving cultural scene: because black music such as jazz and doo wop were very popular with whites but whose performers were not allowed in white theaters, the black entertainment district of Old West Baltimore generated a lot of revenue from whites and blacks.

At the same time, however, the mobility (both economically and spatially) of most African Americans was decreasing based on education, transportation, occupations, and housing segregation. Education was formally segregated and highly unequal. Many black schools did not have nearly enough space for their students and were forced to offer students only a half day of school; some students went to school in the mornings while others went to school in the afternoon. New secluded pockets of white wealth were unreachable on public transportation lines, and public transportation became less efficient and useful. The streetcar was dying as automobiles took over (thanks, in part, to government subsidies), and the

replacement bus system was slower, less reliable, and less funded. Occupations and wages remained hugely discriminatory against African Americans; a book published in 1993 explains, "until very recently, and with the exception of a small group of black professionals primarily serving the African-American community, the majority of black men were restricted to laboring jobs and black women to domestic service" (Baltimore Book 1993). As Baltimore entered the 1950's, the majority, 56%, of Baltimore's black workers were in unskilled, domestic, and low-level service jobs. Less than 12% of Baltimore's black employees held white-collar jobs (Farrar 2006).

The Civil Rights Movement: Re-Segregation Instead of Desegregation

The Civil Rights movement gained followers and fury in the mid-20th century as it was readily apparent that access to capital and space was organized in an explicitly racist way. At the same time as black access to capital accumulation through wages, education, and valuable housing was incredibly low, white residents of the Baltimore metro area were allowed to access and accumulate greater and greater amounts of capital. Homeownership amongst whites was booming thanks to governmental tax incentives for home buying, funding and loans from the New Deal and the GI Bill after WWII, and new long-term mortgages innovated by banks, which did not offer the same loans to African Americans. The conditions of black oppression were made incredibly transparent in the wake of WWII; there was an extreme cognitive dissonance for African Americans returning from the war and receiving far fewer benefits from the GI Bill than their white veteran brethren whom they had fought beside. Additionally, many African Americans who were not sent abroad to fight had been briefly offered promotions into occupations that were

vacant as white males went to fight; upon return of these white workers, African Americans were simply demoted again. All of these bitter injustices helped catalyze the Civil Rights Movement.

The Civil Rights movement experienced several huge legislative successes between the 1940's and the 1960's, and yet, these successes did not account for desegregation or greater equality between the races but for re-segregation and the entrenchment of the white suburb-black ghetto divide. Early Civil Rights victories included the 1948 Supreme Court decision that repealed restrictive housing covenants based on race and the 1954 decision to end education segregation. These decisions spurred a new fury of white exodus from cities as whites feared integration and desegregation; the phenomenon of white flight (in part begun earlier in the century with the construction of the first suburbs) was in full swing. The city of Baltimore hit its peak population of 949, 708 residents in 1950, wherein 25% of the city's population was African American; by 1980, African Americans accounted for 60% of the city's 786, 775 residents (Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991).

White flight to the suburbs, which was assisted by the GI Bill, mortgage and loan structures, and federal redlining practices, was further catalyzed by the new phenomenon of "blockbusting" enacted by a handful of profit-seeking real estate agents. These realtors stirred up fear among white homeowners by warning of property devaluation sure to arrive from the encroaching African American population—whose numbers had increased rapidly during Baltimore's military manufacturing boom and was achieving success at desegregation through Civil Rights legislation (Pietila 2010). Having thereby scared some white property

owners on a block into selling their homes below market price, the blockbusters would then "sell" the homes to African Americans at exorbitantly higher prices and under special rent-to-buy contract arrangements because African Americans struggled to get regular home loans. These special arrangements provided no real contracts of ownership until the family had paid at least 40% equity through weekly installments; often the prices were raised exorbitantly just before the family reached 40% equity, whereupon the family would be evicted and the house flipped to another African American family (ibid).

The process of blockbusting was self-reproducing; for every black family that moved onto these blocks, more white homeowners, afraid of the depreciation of their home values, were willing to sell their homes to the blockbusters at ever-decreased prices. As African Americans thus spread throughout new parts of the city, this did not account for desegregation but rather re-segregation. To get some sense of the speed at which blockbusting and white flight unfolded, a neighborhood just south of Edmondson Avenue in West Baltimore was 99% white in 1950, 62% black by 1960, and 92% black in 1970. Just north of this neighborhood, the transition was even more dramatic; the neighborhood had been 99% white in 1960, and by 1970 it was 97% black (Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991; see appendix B).

Blockbusting was a private practice of discrimination and racial boundary maintenance; during this time there were also governmental tools being used to create and maintain racial boundaries and disparity, such as large infrastructure construction, slum clearance projects, and the creation of high rise public housing projects. Baltimore received a lot of federal funding to construct a highway system

that could rapidly transport automobiles around the city; as this plan became reality, it was clearly designed to benefit the white, affluent suburbs as opposed to city residents, particularly those impoverished city residents that could not afford cars. It allowed fast transportation for suburbanites to their jobs inside the city; thus, they could profit from the city without owing taxes or having to participate in its social life. This map displays the efficiency of the highway system in Baltimore to transport people from the suburbs into the downtown (where the upper class jobs are concentrated). These highways were constructed with federal funds from the 1950s to the 1980s. Neither the federal government nor the city government have spent nearly comparable funds on public transportation infrastructure in Baltimore.

Highway construction practices are not solely deplorable as subsidies for the suburbs; they are also infamous tools of displacing poverty from the public eye or desirable areas for development. Instead of addressing the conditions of poverty that create slums, the city's solution has been to simply raze the slums and push the poverty into a new pocket away from white or developing areas. The most appalling example of the use of highway construction as an excuse to raze slums was in the construction of Interstate 170; it was designed as a route from the far western suburbs into the heart of downtown. The city used its eminent domain to demolish 971 houses, 62 businesses, and a school in West Baltimore (the area next to Old West Baltimore into which African Americans had expanded through blockbusting). The impoverished people of this area were left without a means of resistance and without much recompense; most people evicted were forced into public housing—another tool of covert segregation we'll look into shortly. Meanwhile, the highway

was never completed because of the objections of wealthy residents in other neighborhoods; they fought the city and won the right to keep their homes instead of having them razed for this highway. In all, the city spent $50 million to destroy some slum homes and build highway that was never completed or used in their place.

High-rise public housing created in the mid-20th century to address the shortage of affordable housing for African Americans perpetuated the conditions of poverty under which their residents lived. The housing shortage was worse than ever: at the same time as slums were being cleared, no new housing was being built within the city limits; blockbusting kept housing prices out of reach for poor African Americans; redlining continued; and poor Southern blacks were immigrating into the city. In the same way that simply razing slums does not address the conditions of poverty that created them, the construction of public high-rise housing did not address the conditions of poverty that left African Americans unable to buy or rent homes elsewhere; the city simply razed slums in some areas and re-housed the residents in high-rise slums elsewhere. They were placed in impoverished neighborhoods, which already lacked proper law enforcement and protection, plus, internally, these buildings were virtually security-less; residents experienced high rates of crime and robbery.

Not only were the projects destructive towards the material capital and lives of residents, they were also psychologically damaging and preventative of gains in social or embodied capital. They were even more isolating than the residential segregation previously experienced by African Americans. This isolation

perpetuated a vicious cycle of housing project residents lacking social, embodied, and economic capital. Additionally, life in the structures was dehumanizing. High-rise public housing was designed with the utilitarian and industrial principles of architecture Le Corbusier in mind; the buildings were unfriendly facades of brick and small windows reminiscent of prisons. The city's upkeep of these public properties was so underfunded, they often could not keep the elevators repaired and running (Hayward). While ideally they were to serve as strong vertical communities of people growing out of poverty, in reality they quickly became vertical slums constantly in disrepair and preventative of participation in normative society and means of capital accumulation.

Rioting and the Failure of Civil Rights Legislation

Baltimore was one of many cities in the US to experience riots in the wake of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.—immediately the city government and the federal government set about uncovering the roots of the riots. In Baltimore, there were six days of rioting in which there were 6 deaths, 700 injured persons, more than 1,000 businesses (mainly groceries, liquor stores, drug stores, and taverns) looted or destroyed, 5,500 people arrested, and $12,000,000 in insurance claims for property damages (see appendix B for a map of locations of incidents in comparison to segregation). The federal investigative report on riots in 1967 as well as the Maryland investigative report on this specific riot seemed to agree "that the riot must be attributed to two elements—'white racism' and economic oppression of the Negro. It is impossible to give specific weights to each, but together they gave clear cause for many of the ghetto residents to riot," (MD Crime Investigation

Commission). The Kerner commission of 1967 reported that, "white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto"—a conclusion that we have come to in this chapter, as well (Massey and Denton 1993).

The reports contained many specific recommendations that would change social conditions and the oppression of African Americans and thus not only prevent rioting but end racial inequality and injustice. The federal Kerner Report called for the creation of billions of dollars of new public housing aimed specifically at busting up de facto segregation; it called for scattered, small scale public low-income housing rather than the vertical slums of public high rises. It also called for hiring a more diverse and sensitive police force and creating many more jobs in urban centers. The Maryland report also emphasized the importance of ending disadvantage; it says, "we have not worked diligently, either in the black community or the white community, to change those conditions that bred the recent civil disorders. Those conditions include ignorance, apathy, almost complete discrimination, slums, poverty, disease, and lack of opportunity for decent jobs," (MD Crime Investigation Commission, 1968).

Ultimately, neither the riots nor the reports served to reverse the oppressive conditions of segregation and poverty under which many urban African Americans lived; white flight out of the city sped up as the riot served to justify white fears, and the civil rights legislation that passed was toothless-- housing discrimination continued apace. The 1968 Fair Housing Act lacks any useful enforcement mechanism: the Department of Housing and Urban Development can investigate complaints and then refer them to the Justice Department, but the consequences for

the few cases of outright or provable discrimination that ever made it this far were generally very minor. A 1972 audit of real estate practices found race-based discrimination in 45% of cases it investigated. The audit also found that realtors engage in "racial steering" by showing African Americans fewer homes in fewer areas than whites, and home lending and federal financing was lower and with higher interest rates in black neighborhoods than in white neighborhoods with comparable socioeconomic statistics and education levels. A number of studies in 1980s and 1990s showed that more high-income blacks are rejected for home loans than low-income whites (Massey and Denton 1993). These studies were all undertaken nationwide, but there is no reason to believe (especially when examining maps of African American poverty in Baltimore today) that Baltimore is any exception to these patterns.

There is specific evidence of the Baltimore city government participating in segregation after the Fair Housing Act of 1968; in 2005, a supreme court judge ruled that the US Department of Housing and Urban Development violated the Fair Housing Act by "unfairly concentrating African-American public housing residents in the most impoverished, segregated areas of Baltimore City," that its programs "failed to achieve significant desegregation, " and most bitingly, that HUD had treated "Baltimore City as 'an island reservation for use as a container for all the poor of a contiguous region,'" (NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2012). At the time of the decision, an estimated 14,000 families that had been or presently were tenants of Baltimore City public housing developments were entitled to recompense for the city's discriminatory practices (ibid). While the riots themselves

were responses to failed Civil Rights legislation, the new Civil Rights legislation to arise in their wake also failed to change patterns and practices of segregation and inequality.

Conclusion

This historical account of racist capital accumulation practices concludes at the cusp of neoliberalism's political rise in the 1970s and 1980s. Up to this point, it is clear that governmental and private practices disadvantaged African Americans living in the city of Baltimore and offered whites in the suburbs and in secluded urban enclaves advantages. Enclaves of wealth in the white community and enclaves of poverty in the black community were steadily reproducing themselves and each other.

Baltimore's racial layout and economy has been shaped by the white public imaginary. There is no singular policy of oppression or discrimination responsible for separating blacks from whites and condemning one to poverty and the other to affluence—it was the coagulation of a number of private practices and public policies. The policies and practices, however, grew out of shared racial imaginaries within the white community—racist images of the unsafe and dangerous African American contributed to white flight, as did the less hateful but equally racist perception that African Americans made bad neighbors and thus brought down property values (Massey and Denton 1993). Rapid white flight was catalyzed by and simultaneously contributed to a new image of the city: a dark and dangerous place of decline and poverty—an image that has been fought by policy and development projects in the contemporary neoliberal era.

Chapter 3: Neoliberalization: Reshaping the Role of Government and the Public Image of Baltimore

With the rise of neoliberalism, the urban landscape and economy of Baltimore became further divided by a whole new set of policies and practices of exclusion and accumulation by dispossession. The neoliberalization of Baltimore's governance has dispossessed its low-income, African American residents physically in the landscape, materially through economic policies, and, most insidiously, in the realms of ideology and discourse. Over the last several decades, massive public investments in private ventures have recreated the image, skyline, and population of downtown Baltimore. These projects, particularly as they have come to be nationally and internationally recognized images of Baltimore's renaissance, render invisible the large population of people that cannot afford or are not welcomed to participate in the consumer-driven public life of these spaces. Poverty has been pushed out of these spaces rather than eliminated; it has become less visible rather than less present, and, worse, the neoliberal narrative preemptively negates accusations of systemic injustice by casting poverty as the result of an individual's character and worth. In the previous chapter, I worked to expose disadvantage and segregation amongst African Americans as the invention of specific practices of exclusion and discrimination; this chapter demonstrates that the rhetoric and practices of neoliberal urban governance—while not explicitly racist—negate and ignore this history while perpetuating racism under a different title.

The Rise of the Neoliberal City

Before we can investigate specific neoliberal urban policies, we must explore the roots and foundations upon which they are built—which is to say neoliberal ideology and its historical legacy. Neoliberalism is not just a set of economic policy prescriptions as most understand it to be; it is a complete ideology: a system of values, beliefs, and means of understanding the world and one's place in it. Neoliberal ideology at its most basic level is a belief in the benefits of a free market and its natural tendency towards growth in the most socially beneficial way. Bound up in this is the logic of "trickle-down economics," which says that when the private sector and big businesses are successful, the benefits of growth will trickle down through the economy and benefit everyone. Also implicated in neoliberal logic is a belief in the meritocracy of capitalism: the ability of individuals to work hard and succeed in the capitalist economy (McNamee 2004). Following these beliefs, neoliberalism prescribes a certain set of economic and governmental policies: less governmental regulation, privatization of public amenities, and a smaller social safety net (so as to encourage hard work rather than subsidize laziness).

Neoliberalism became popular in the 1970's and led to the elections of President Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who in turn broadened the reach of neoliberalism as they implemented national and international neoliberal policies. Domestically, Reagan's "roll-back" neoliberalism entailed cutting federal funding for many social welfare programs, including huge amounts of funding for cities (Harvey 2008). Industrial cities, and Baltimore in particular, were left in a position where affluent white residents, manufacturing industries, and even the federal government were fleeing and disinvesting from

them (Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2009; Smith 1996; MacLeod 2002). If federal roll-back policies were the extent of neoliberalism's reach into Baltimore, the city may have innovated new policies to deal with these budget cuts in a socially just way. As history unfolded, however, at the same time as the city was being hurt by federal neoliberal policies, the city government adopted neoliberal logic and employed its policies. The city abided the Reagan administration's call for cities to "concentrate on increasing their attractiveness to potential investors, residents and visitors," (Davis et al. 2002). Hence Baltimore turned from being "managerial" in its governmental pursuits to "entrepreneurial": "the managerialist mode had been largely concerned with extending the provision of public services and decommodified components of welfare…to local city populations… In sharp contrast… the entrepreneurial regime is essentially concerned with reviving the competitive position of urban economies," (MacLeod 2002).

As an entrepreneurial city, Baltimore is highly concerned with creating policies and programs that generate capitalist growth and attract new capital into the city. This capital can take various forms including corporate headquarters or branches, new buildings, new residents (particularly of the young professional or creative class), or spaces of retail and tourist consumption (Brenner 2009). Early on, Baltimore set the national example for creative governance policies that encouraged and subsidized private growth by tailoring its tools of taxing, zoning, planning, and the budget towards the needs and desires of the private sector (Ponzini and Rossi 2010). The Mayor in the late 1970s and mid-1980s even told businesses, "Baltimore wants you so badly, we'll let you write your own terms." (Davis et al. 2002). The city

innovated the birth of public-private corporations to develop the downtown, which served to give private corporations the reins of planning, zoning, and access to tax subsidies. As an indication of how widespread and naturalized neoliberal trickle-down logic has become, Baltimore's innovative models of public-private development have routinely been celebrated by urban planners and applied to many cities in the U.S. and abroad.

In terms of the material effects and implications of the entrepreneurial city, it is clear that public investment in private capital accumulation constitutes a means of accumulation by dispossession. Taxes from the whole population of the city are being employed towards corporate profit. As David Harvey explains, public-private relationships leave the rewards of growth in the private sector while the risks of failure on these development projects are left on the public's shoulders (Harvey 1989). In effect, these policies and expenditures help the already wealthy (those with capital) increase their capital while simultaneously taking away social services and assistance to those in poverty, which precludes them from gaining more capital. The racist implications are obvious when we know that most wealth is in white hands while most people in poverty in Baltimore are African American as a result of historical, institutionalized racist practices.

The injustices of the neoliberal city are not merely in the material, economic realm; the neoliberal city also commits grave injustices against its citizens in the projects of branding so necessary to attracting new capital. Baltimore had a bad public image to erase in order to attract capital. Many industrial cities were framed in a discourse of decline, and Baltimore had a particularly rough image; the riot of

1968 looked terrible-- six people died, there was massive property damage, and the National Guard had to be called in. In 1970, there was a day-long skirmish between youths and the police at the city's annual flower mart (Fee, Shoppes, and Ziedman 1991). Baltimore then went about a massive PR campaign to make itself appear cosmopolitan and sexy, worthy of investment—each round of redevelopment through public-private collaboration served as another tool of branding and imaging. The city's image (rather than its reality) has remained an obsessive issue for the government; in 1990s, "when excessive cancer rates were reported in a neighborhood long exposed to chemical wastes, [Mayor O'Malley] criticized those who did the reporting because they had sullied the city's image," (Hayward 2004).

In creating a sexy image of downtown Baltimore in order to attract businesses, residents, and tourists, the city has participated in many forms of "revanchist" urbanism, wherein lower class residents represent unwelcome "others," a blight that must be erased (often violently) from public space and view (Smith 1996). This revanchist attitude and the branding pursuit of the creative, cosmopolitan, diverse, nostalgic, and green city are one in the same political project (Ponzini and Rossi 2010). New public-private spaces are heavily securitized to exclude these undesirables. In addition to these simple measures of surveillance and securitization, the underclass has been increasingly criminalized. While the injustice of the criminalization of African Americans lies far beyond the scope of this study, the evidence lies in the statistics: "half of all the young African American men in Baltimore are under criminal justice control…[meaning they] were in prison or jail, or on probation, parole, or some other form of correctional supervision on any given

day in the early 1990s" (Schiraldi and Ziedenberg 2003). The point is that the securitization of the downtown area has made the place particularly uninviting to African Americans, especially those that are in poverty (unless they are invited as underpaid, part-time workers). Similarly, the privatization and commodification of public space and citizenship has made the space uninviting and unavailable to anyone who cannot afford to participate in the consumption of food, goods, and experiences offered in the Harbor and downtown.

Now we turn to investigate the specific tools and practices of neoliberal Baltimore that encouraged and subsidized private growth while stripping rights and services from low-income, African American residents. Woven throughout this account will be analysis of the actual economic impacts that publicly subsidized, private developments have made, recalling that the rhetorical logic of these subsidies is that the benefits will "trickle down". I argue that neoliberal Baltimore's urban governance policies have only increased economic polarization between the wealthy (meaning particularly the white population) and those without capital (by and large the African American population) and maintained the spatial boundaries between them. We trace Baltimore's trajectory as an entrepreneurial city; its goals and tools have not remained static. First the city focused merely on attracting business capital, but shortly thereafter opened up to attract tourism, retail consumption, and eventually new residential capital. In the beginning, the city used a number of informal mechanisms to subsidize development, tools which have now been formally institutionalized.

The Beginning: The Charles Center

Baltimore's earliest example of outright public-private partnership on a private redevelopment project is in the case of the Charles Center, a 22-acre project in the heart of the city's business district. The initiative was in fact begun by an organization of the local business elite who, concerned about the success of their businesses if Baltimore kept declining, formed the Greater Baltimore Committee in 1956; area banks and the area's only Fortune 500 company put their weight behind this committee and encouraged the city to join their redevelopment goals (Davis et al. 2002). The Greater Baltimore Committee, completely comprised of wealthy business owners, became the quasi-public agency The Charles Management Corporation in charge of all aspects of the redevelopment of the Charles Center (Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991). This non-profit corporation was entirely outside of control of the voting public, but it wielded a lot of public power in the realm of planning and was run on entirely public funds. As Baltimore's tax base for such a project was seriously depleted, federal funds coming in for public projects and social welfare were re-routed towards this project.

The city spent considerable money funding this project and received little benefit in return. No data indicates the total costs incurred to the city based on the rearrangement of utilities and traffic for the redesigned project area (certainly in the millions of dollars), but in terms of real investment in the structure of the buildings of One and Two Charles Center (the main office buildings central to the plan), the city paid $40 million and private investors paid $145 million (Hayward and Shivers 2004). Over all, ten new buildings went into this space, including four office buildings, a Hilton Hotel, a department store, a theater, and a private parking

garage. While the project was boosted as an employment machine for the city, in actuality the only jobs given to residents were temporary construction jobs or low-paying service sector jobs. New jobs as managers and employees at the new branches of corporations operating within the building went to residents of the suburbs. The architecture firm responsible for the project was out of Chicago, the developer was the Rouse Company based in the suburbs of Maryland, and the new business tenants included many corporations with headquarters outside Baltimore, including a new Hilton Hotel. Essentially, the money spent on this project, from the first $25 million municipal bond issued in 1958 through the rest of the public's subsidies in the 1960's, went largely outside the boundaries of the city to private and corporate pockets (Global Harbors 2008).

In 1975, a decade after the project was completed and celebrated as a harbinger for Baltimore's new era of prosperity, tax assessments and collections from the land on which it was built were actually lower than they had been before the redevelopment, indicating that this was actually a tax drain rather than a tax booster for the city of Baltimore (Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991). The project was, however, successful at improving the city's image and hide the conditions of poverty many residents were experiencing. It helped the city hide the pains of racial injustice and particularly the riots of 1968; as proof of the safety of investing in Baltimore, in 1970, the city held the first City Fair to celebrate the city's ethnic diversity, industrial history, and promising future at the new Charles Center (ibid.).

Redeveloping the Inner Harbor: "The Cinderella Story"

Despite this early indicator that perhaps private-public partnerships were not all they were meant to be in terms of benefitting the city and its whole population, Baltimore undertook the biggest redevelopment project of its history and the first of its kind in the Inner Harbor shortly after the Charles Center redevelopment. This project has also not lived up to its economic promises of benefitting the lower class, though it, too, has served to rebrand Baltimore and erase poverty and injustice from the public eye. In 1963, the city hired David Wallace's Philadelphia-based firm to come up with a 30-year plan for the redevelopment of the waterfront. This plan created a comprehensive vision of the Inner Harbor focusing on a public waterfront park as its central attraction, around which would be offices towers and residential buildings. The plan called for no public investment in private buildings and spaces; the key was to be the establishment of the harbor as a public amenity with all the waterfront land coming under public ownership and control, and whose attractiveness would be enough to draw investors into the area without further public investment (Dannes 2003; see images in appendix A).

As the city's desire to reinvent the waterfront increased, in 1964, it morphed the Charles Center Management Corporation into the Charles Center-Inner Harbor Management, Inc. (CC-IHM). CC-IHM, once again, was given great power to comprehensively plan and implement (using public dollars and the tools of the urban government) the Inner Harbor's redevelopment. The corporation was responsible for purchasing the waterfront land on behalf of the city, selecting developers, overseeing development, and designing new infrastructure that the city would be responsible for building. Despite being privately run (with meetings and

planning sessions entirely closed off from the public eye), it wielded powers from the city government and was considered a "quasi-public" entity. The biggest check on this private power was that any direct funding in the form of bonds from the municipal government had to be approved by voter referendum (Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991). The first of these referendums passed in 1964, and CC-IHM began its task of buying the waterfront land of dilapidated piers and abandoned industrial buildings. Over the next several years, another $14 million in municipal bonds and $47 million in federal funding were spent to buy and clear the land around the waterfront. By 1968, the city had built a bulkhead and brick promenade around the waterfront and a park with a playground, playing fields, and a picnic area (Brodie 1996).

In the 1970's, what was left of Baltimore's managerial governance disappeared in favor of a shift towards the entrepreneurial; under Mayor Schaefer, the city's priorities shifted to marketing and branding itself to attract investment and tourism, a universal sign of the shift to entrepreneurial governance. Baltimore began to nationally advertise land on the western shore of the Inner Harbor (within the park's boundaries) for commercial development (Fee, Shopes, and Zeidman 1991). In 1973, the City Fair, which had been held annually at the Charles Center since its inception in 1970, moved to this new green, public space. That year it attracted 2 million visitors, and in 1976 an estimated 10 million visitors came to see the traveling, historic "tall ships" for their week-long stay in Baltimore (ibid). With this proof that the city could firstly be brought together peaceably and safely, and secondarily with the proof that there was a way to draw tourists (particularly

suburbanites) into the heart of downtown to consume goods and spectacle, the city and the CC-IHM shifted precipitously to encourage private development of the tourist industry downtown.

Throughout the 1970's, huge amounts of federal Housing and Urban Development (HUD) funding and state funding was used to develop spaces of consumption and tourism. HUD funds built the Maryland Science Center that opened in 1976 on the Harbor's western shore—while at the same time HUD subsidized public housing was chronically underfunded and falling into disrepair. A Hyatt Hotel and parking garage were built with $14 million in federal Urban Development Action Grants in 1977 (United Workers 2011). Baltimore's World Trade Center, primarily used for office space, was built by the state. Additionally, the Baltimore Convention Center was built with $35 million from the state and $15 million from the city.

Overall, between 1975 and 1981 Baltimore, spent 35% of its $296 million in Urban Development Action Grants, Community Block Development Grants, and special HUD grants on the Inner Harbor (Davis et al. 2002). The strategy of using public funds to boost the attractiveness of investment in the downtown did seem to work; several large office building were built right around the Harbor in the 1970s by private investors (Brodie 1995). Even this success, however, is questionable in its efficacy for raising Baltimore's tax base; office vacancy in downtown Baltimore was above 25% for much of the 1990s (Davis et al. 2002).

The city had been advertising for private development on the park for a decade when the Rouse Company finally made a proposal to construct the

Harborplace "festival marketplace" in 1977. There was some public protest to the construction of the marketplace on public land, so a referendum was held in 1978 to ask the city residents whether the space should remain entirely a public park, or if 3.2 of the 29 acres could be developed by the Rouse Company. By a small margin, just 54%, the public approved the construction of Rouse's proposed marketplace (Brodie 1995). Thus, Baltimore's greatest PR campaign to date was launched in the form of a Disney-like mall space designed to call to nostalgic ideas of Baltimore's quaint waterfront and industrial past, a photo of which has been included in the appendix. As one reporter glorified the occasion several decades later:

> on July 2, 1980, the doors swung open on Rouse's Harborplace—replete with a mammoth civic celebration that had then-Mayor William Donald Schaefer in photo-op heaven. He and Rouse arrived by clipper ship to dash between the pavilions, literally cutting some 15 different ribbons while the flashbulbs winked. More than 200,000 folks came that evening to hear the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra play the 1812 Overture while fireworks lit the night sky." (Jensen 2010)

The era since the grand opening of the festival marketplace and its public relations successes has seen a dizzying amount of continuing public investment in entertainment and tourist spaces in the Inner Harbor. The transformation of the Harbor can be viewed through photos included in the appendix. The National Aquarium opened in 1981 with $21.3 million in federal HUD funding (United Workers 2011). The Cordish Company as well as the Rouse Company negotiated

very cheap land sales from the city to build more space of consumption. The Cordish Company bought an old Power Plant in the 1990s for only $1000 per year for the first ten years and for 22% of the net profits thereafter (ibid.). The deductions given to the Cordish Company before they have to calculate the 22% owed to the city are very generous—and the complex was immediately filled with national and international corporations: Disney's Hard Rock Café and ESPNZone as well as a Barnes and Noble. The city spent over $400 million in revenue bonds to build the Orioles baseball and Ravens football stadiums. Finally, the Aquarium and the Science Center were both expanded in 2005 for a combined expense of $104.6 million to the city (ibid.).

Baltimore's success in revitalizing its economy through the Inner Harbor development has been heralded far and wide. The Harbor as a destination and harbinger of urban success has been featured in Time Magazine twice and even in the London Sunday times in 1987. In a survey of urban affairs and economic development experts in 1994, 64% responded that Baltimore was one of the top 10 revitalized cities (Wolman, Ford, and Hill 1994). Often Baltimore is described in the media as a "Cinderella Story" whose decline and poverty was reversed by her fairy godmother, development, giving her a new happy ending of growth and prosperity (Wren 1990; Clinton 1983; Pinchuk 2012; Simmons 2010). I would like to offer an alternate meaning to the "Cinderella" analogy; Cinderella's appearance of wealth expired at midnight because magic had created a spectacle of wealth out of destitution. It strikes me that this analogy, Cinderella's story without the prince to rescue her, is much more aptly applied to Baltimore and its harbor.

Just as Cinderella's chariot was only a pumpkin underneath it all, Baltimore's economic successes have proven only surface deep and isolated to the Harbor. The city's own study reported in 1987 that there was "rot beneath the glitter" of the Harbor (Szanton 1987). A congressional study in 1984, just a few years after the spectacular opening and global celebration of the festival marketplace, declared Baltimore the fifth-worst-off city in the U.S. The percentage of Baltimore residents living in poverty has increased since these projects began:

1970	1980	1990	2000	2009
18%	22.4%	21.2%	22.9%	27.1%

Similarly, the GINI Coefficient, an indicator of household income inequality across the city has also increased (MD Dept of Planning 2011).

1979	1989	1999	2010
.439	.471	.496	.49

Overall, then, the city's efforts for the last several decades have not eliminated poverty but have actually increased the gap between the city's wealthy and the city's poor—a division that falls along racial lines.

While millions of public dollars have been spent on the private spaces of the Inner Harbor, social welfare expenditures have been cut in the name of austerity. Social services for the poor fell by 45% in real terms between 1974 and 1982 (Fee, Shopes, and Zeidman 1991). Under Mayor Schaefer in the 1980s, the city increased development spending by 400% and cut education and social welfare spending by 25% (Davis et al 2002). During the Reagan era, federal funding for public subsidized housing was reduced by 60%, Community Development Corporation cut by 40%, Head Start by 35%, and the Office of Economic Opportunity was eliminated (ibid). Despite these cuts, the city continued to deprive social welfare programs by diverting federal HUD and other funds towards the private Inner Harbor development.

Often arguments for public-private development projects revolve around the prospect that such projects will employ city residents and also raise revenues for the city's taxes; in the case of the Harbor, none of these assertions have proven true. In 1990, only 51% of Baltimore's workers also lived in the city, and a 2002 review of 29 Baltimore Development Corporation projects (the most recent iteration of the

Charles Center- Inner Harbor Management quasi-public corporation) found that only half of the jobs created in these projects went to city residents (Davis et al. 2002). Not only are many jobs not going to city residents, but the "hotel and restaurant jobs [available are] poor substitutes for the high paying heavy industry jobs" that disappeared with deinidustrialization (Farrar 2006). Of the Inner Harbor's approximate 1500 employees, most jobs for city residents are as waiters, janitors, food service workers, and cashiers; these occupations all pay wages well below the poverty line for a family of four, most are part-time, and most are non-unionized. A report titled "Hidden in Plain Sight: Baltimore's Inner Harbor and the Struggle for Fair Development," describes a form of accumulation by dispossession in the labor process; it reads, "in short, the development's profits do not trickle down, but are instead squeezed upward from the workers." Wages are depressed by the corporate, powerful chains occupying merchant and restaurant spaces—local shops and restaurants have to lower their wages and costs to maintain competition (United Workers 2011).

Not only has the promise of jobs been unfulfilled and lackluster, but the Harbor has proven a tax drain rather than a tax booster. In 1997, David Harvey observed that, "present tax flows barely match public expenditures on the Inner Harbor… a recent internal study suggested that Baltimore spends $17 million a year more on servicing the downtown and Inner Harbor than it gets back in tax revenues," (Fee, Shopes, and Zeidman 1991). Another study by the Brookings Institute found that the MD Stadium Authority (a state-run organization) spends

$14 million a year maintaining the stadiums and only generates $3 million in tax revenue from the spaces (Davis et al. 2002).

The Harbor's success has truly been in the Cinderella-like nature of its redevelopment: it has changed only on the surface, but in this case it was not through harmless magic from a fairy godmother but through the act of accumulation by dispossession facilitated and catalyzed by the city government. The Harbor is largely a private space of consumption and luxury, and while it has recast Baltimore's image in the public eye and in the world, it has not addressed poverty and racism in Baltimore. It's only substantive effects in that regard have been to sweep African American poverty out of the area as it is gentrified. A series of maps indicating shifts in Baltimore's racial and economic layout over the last century have been compiled in the appendix; these maps demonstrate that poverty is growing in African American communities, which are being pushed out of the gentrified space of the Inner Harbor.

Conclusion: Harbor East—The Future of Institutionalized Injustice

The most recent public-private redevelopment of the downtown demonstrates that the city has gleaned little from the failures of the Inner Harbor to boost the economy or trickle-down benefits; the redevelopment of Harbor East over the last decade and half has demonstrated only the city's willingness to further institutionalize acts of accumulation by dispossession through tax expenditures and the complete privatization and commodification of public space. The eight-square block Harbor East development on the eastern edge of the Inner Harbor was undertaken by a single billionaire developer, George Paterakis. Little about the project is even open to the public save for expensive retail and restaurants spaces

(which are certainly private spaces) and the promenade that runs along the waterside, which is heavily surveilled and socially regulated, creating exclusion despite being officially "public". The street level spaces of the Harbor East skyscrapers are occupied by high-end retailers and restaurants, while the towers contain luxury residences, hotels, and international corporate offices. Despite the immense capital these retailers, offices, and residents have, this space has been subsidized by the city government in many ways.

Two specific tax innovations, the PILOT and TIF programs, have institutionalized and naturalized public support for private investments and profit. Paterakis negotiated Payment-In-Lieu-Of-Taxes programs for a number of buildings that were developed in Harbor East; under this program, Paterakis bought city-owned land negotiated one low price for both the land and twenty-five years of low taxes thereafter (City of Baltimore 2011). Many of the buildings that benefitted from this program are owned or occupied by massively wealthy corporations and firms: The Marriot Waterfront Hotel (formerly the Wyndham); the Legg Mason Tower, Legg Mason being the 18th largest asset management firm in the world; the Laureate Office Building, home to Baltimore's Morgan Stanley branch and a number of other corporations; and the Spinnaker Bay Apartment complex of high-end, expensive apartments (Reutter 2011a). As the Wyndham (now the Marriot) was being built, a PILOT was negotiated that allowed the international syndicate to pay only $1 in taxes per year for 25 years, amounting to a tax loss of a projected $85, 580, 000 loss for the city of Baltimore (Reutter 2011b). A group of angry Baltimore residents took

this case to court (on three separate occasions) so that the courts would repeal this injustice—but it actually withstood the court's scrutiny (Reutter 2012).

By this time the city was running so low on funds (and we've now seen what those limited funds were being spent on—the Inner Harbor and other private investments), it had to innovate new loan possibilities wherein it could borrow against its future projected tax revenues to fund the construction of infrastructure. Tax-Incremental-Funding (TIF) projects allow state and local governments to borrow money to invest in public infrastructure by "capturing" the future incremental real property taxes generated by the improvements—or, simply, by projecting how much money a private project will reap the city in taxes and borrowing that future money before it has been made (City of Baltimore 2011). It is unclear how much TIF money was awarded to the Harbor East project as a whole, but the small subsidiary Harbor Point project was awarded a TIF of $155 million (Reutter 2012). Only within neoliberal, capitalist logic of development-oriented growth can the city borrow projected future tax revenues from a private project to help fund that very project; in comparison, it would be unthinkable to suggest that Baltimore could borrow money to fund education programs based on the premise that in the future those educated students would be able make more money and therefore give the city more tax revenue.

The result of the many property tax breaks and subsidies has been to create a shiny, new waterfront community of exclusion, wealth, and whiteness that deprives city residents of social welfare and presence in the public image of Baltimore (see images of the space in appendix A). In 2010 alone, decades after most Inner Harbor

construction was completed and after the completion of most Harbor East buildings, 12 buildings in the Inner Harbor and Harbor East received $14.5 million in property tax breaks. Of this, a whopping $9.4 million went to Paterakis, $6 million of which was rebated from the PILOT program. Overall, Paterakis paid only $4.3 million in 2010 in property taxes for the luxurious properties of the Harbor East Development Corporation. While Harbor East's effects on the coffers of the city have been entirely deleterious, its effects on the skyline and image of Baltmore have been, literally, massive. Public investment in Harbor East has been nothing short of corporate and elite welfare, and its effects on the city's wealth have been mere mirage. Poverty and systemic, institutional racism are more pervasive than ever but much less visible under the massive redevelopment projects of neoliberalism and its rhetoric of self-help.

Chapter 4: Official Public History in the Lewis Museum

We have traced a pattern by which African Americans in Baltimore have been systematically oppressed and denied the opportunity to accumulate assets and wealth. One might wonder why the riots of 1968 are an aberration and not a norm—why has there not been more disturbance and public anger towards systematic injustice? The conditions of poverty and inequality are perhaps just as bad if not worse today than they were in the 1960's. While I'm sure there are many answers from many perspectives, I am drawn towards sociological theories to solve some of this mystery. In Gramsci's understanding of power and domination, it is not force or brutality that maintains conditions of oppression, because this is an unstable and highly volatile arrangement of power; instead, the ruling capitalist class garners consent from the oppressed by manipulating and controlling the world of ideas, representations, and identities (Ryan 2011). With this consideration, representations of history become incredibly important in reinforcing systems of oppression.

We have come to a topic that is not often or thoroughly connected to research concerning the material injustices of the neoliberal city—racial memory and identity construction in the space of the city. Urban space is a palimpsest whose layers can be read historically, but often when lived and experienced the complex history becomes collapsed into one singular experience of the present. While in some ways urban spaces recall the past through historic preservation and the creation of memorials or museums, largely the history of spaces is forgotten in favor of their present manifestations, and furthermore the history that does get

disseminated by spaces of historical preservation or memorialization is highly selective and forgetful in its own way. Redevelopment projects in particular can tend towards total erasure of complex histories; once a warehouse in Harbor East is torn down and replaced with a luxurious glass-walled skyscraper, that history is easily forgotten and erased. The massive reality of the skyscraper takes over our mental image of the city and requires no consideration of history. At the same time as these large-scale erasures are unfolding, we are also in the midst of a moment of intense interest in historic preservation and nostalgia. While the construction of Harbor East called for the destruction of many reminders of Baltimore's industrial past, part of the tourist draw into the Inner Harbor is its nostalgic feeling and imitation of a very select history. People love The USS Constellation naval ship from 1854 docked in the Harbor, the WWII era submarines that can be toured, and the myriad other ways that Baltimore's industrial past is romantically displayed and represented in the Harbor. Baltimore's Inner Harbor is a nostalgic project that actually manages to both completely erase the real history of the site and yet call back to a romantic notion of the area's industrial past.

The nostalgia expressed by the Inner Harbor project is symptomatic of our present cultural interest in preserving the past, and yet our representations and constructions of history (through any medium) necessarily cannot remember and represent all events, identities, and perspectives (Hyussen 2003). In that light, the most important questions to ask of any construction or narrative of history is: what history does it tell, what does it leave behind, why, and what are the implications for the present? Ultimately, the way we remember the past informs much more about

our present reality than any imagined past. Most dangerous and most important to interrogate are the public, official histories that get disseminated from governmental or other "dominant" cultural institutions. Most of this chapter will be dedicated to the interrogation of the history represented within the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of African American Culture and History of Maryland opened in 2004; it will be treated as representative of the official public history in the State of Maryland. Firstly, the Museum is state owned, but perhaps more importantly, it was responsible for developing (in cooperation with the State Department of Education) a new African American history curriculum for all Maryland public schools, K-12. Additionally, as it is so closely related to the department of education, most Maryland public school students take field trips to the museum; in some cases, the museum's traveling exhibits come to them instead.

I do not want to make the arrogant assumption that the public unthinkingly accepts the historical narrative from the museum or the state in general. I acknowledge it merely as a touchstone and a measure for what the official public history is—not what the actual understanding of history amongst residents of Baltimore is. Museums serve as part of the "public sphere which both shapes and is shaped by constantly changing public discourse," (Brooms 2011). I am considering the Museum as representative of the official narrative regardless of its reception or rejection in the community.

Additionally, the Lewis museum stands in a particularly symbolic and important location, which increases the imperative to interrogate the cultural work it is doing. Its hulking façade looms large at the corner of President Street and Pratt

Street, just before the turn to the Inner Harbor and literally just in front of the massive skyscrapers of Harbor East. It seems that this gateway road would have some role to play in making sense of the urban experience of Baltimore—rationalizing and naturalizing the journey of affluent tourists around the "badlands" of Baltimore and into exclusive spaces of consumption and luxury. If the Inner Harbor's festival marketplace just down the road constitutes "bread and circuses," as David Harvey dubs it, serving merely to distract and entertain citizens rather than solve the city's problems, what is the Museum and the new "Heritage Walkway" of which it is a part (Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1994). I argue that it is more insidious than a merely entertaining distraction because, as an educational space, it plants new understandings of the self and the world. To this end, it doesn't matter what the literal intentions of the museum are or that it was designed by a team of African Americans; one must be highly critical of the content therein despite all good intentions.

Museums as Tools of Governance

Nothing can be analyzed outside of its context, so we must first look into the context of museums and particularly African American museums before diving into the content of the Lewis museum. Thanks to Enlightenment rationality, natural history museums were born. In the era of Enlightenment, it made sense that an ordered logic of the world could be displayed and relayed within museum exhibits. These museums were largely involved with justifying man's domination over nature and the white man's domination over other men. Curators literally objectified cultures and objects by taking them out of their original contexts and creating a

cohesive narrative out of them. The meaning of a taxidermy animal or an indigenous tool is not inherent in that object but created by the authorship and authority of the museum (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett). As such, by spinning a particular historical narrative out of these decontextualized objects, the function of the natural history museum was "closely complicit in colonialism's historical advance" (Murphy 2005). Nowhere is this more true than in the United States, which in its youth had to justify its expansion ever-westward (dominating the natural world and the indigenous peoples) and its system of slavery.

The rational logic upholding the role of the traditional museum was called into question with the rise of post-modernity and post-colonialism. There was a growing call in the public sphere from the 1960's forward for systems of knowledge (particularly institutional ones like schools and museums) to acknowledge non-Western and non-dominant narratives of history, and by extension to reverse the injustices of Western imperial logic manifest in museums. The idea of a singular, monolithic account of history was shattered as people came to recognize that history has multiple perspectives and truths. This translated into a call for museums to incorporate more voices and to value the act of personal witnessing, rather than constructing "the" singular version of history (Murphy 2005).

Museums focused on the African American experience and black culture grew out of this movement. The dominant historical narrative up to that point had erased and ignored the painful history of slavery. African American museums had to fight against

> "the symbolic annihilation of slavery prevalent throughout mainstream museums. Instead of trivializing, deflecting, or erasing slavery from the American story, these black-centered sites [must] frame the institution of slavery and the experience of enslavement within the tropes of survival, resistance, and achievement," (Brooms 2011).

Sociologist Derrick Brooms undertook a study of the nation's African American museums and praised their exhibits for showing the true hardship of slavery, for humanizing slaves by incorporating their voices and stories, and for celebrating human agency by depicting acts and groups of resistance.

While I, too, praise these museums for beginning the hard work of reckoning with the dominant historical narrative that sought to erase painful pasts from the public mind, we must be critical about the new narrative we plant in the public realm. African American public history tends towards "celebratory" history, celebrating the success that people have achieved in spite of the odds and a lack of resources (Mobtown to Charm City). This chapter explores the dangers of celebrating the exceptional African American and participating in the rhetoric of the self-help trope; the narrative of self-help contributes to the conception of the African American "other" who is pathological, lazy, illegitimate, and unexceptional. A related danger in these museums is the lack of critical analysis of race; a reviewer of a different museum on African American history explains, "the exhibit as a whole is curiously quiet about race as a social construction and about the historical origins of racism in an American context," (Clarke-Hazlett 433).

Ultimately, as Foucault illuminates, as spaces of specialized expertise and knowledge, museums have inherent authority and therefore are "mechanisms for shaping and regulating human conduct" (Bennett 2004). Therefore, we "need to take account of the ways in which such strategies of governing seek to enroll the governed as active agents in their own governance, implanting the objects of government into the dynamics of selfhood so that they become self-acting imperatives for the individuals concerned," (ibid). This chapter is my account of the Lewis museum as an agent of governance implicated in oppression and injustice.

The Lewis Museum

The Reginald F. Lewis Museum along President Street in downtown Baltimore was an outgrowth of the postcolonial and postmodern intellectual movements; from its conception in the 1990s, it was to be a space that allowed history to be multiple, non-linear, and to incorporate voices from the non-dominant culture. This museum certainly represents a large step forward in terms of our willingness to bring painful memories into public discussion and narratives, but I approach its narrative(s) with a highly critical eye because my studies of the political economic history of Baltimore have shown that injustices and inequality in the material realm have not changed, and the realm of ideas and representation can be truly powerful for maintaining or reversing these injustices.

There are three key problematic patterns to the way in which the Lewis Museum, and thereby the official public narrative, explains the history of African American life and struggle in Maryland. Firstly, the official public racial history dematerializes the effects of racially segregated society and focuses purely on the

psychological, individual level of racism. The second problematic tendency of the museum (intimately tied to and not at all separate from the first) is the act of periodizing racial injustice and inequality, which relegates structural racism strictly to the past and suggests that we are in a post-racial era wherein race does not materially matter. The simple act of creating a history museum dedicated to "sharing the human drama of Maryland's African American experience," as the museum's mission states, participates in the very narrative that claims racial struggle is over. Racial struggle has literally been placed into a box and labeled "History". This act of periodization seeps subtly into the displays within the museum. The combined effect of these two problematic frames is to erase connections between the racialized wealth accumulation of the past and the extreme inequalities in the material wealth of the African American and white communities today– inequalities which have been further entrenched by neoliberal economics (Melamed 2011).

Finally, the third problematic theme that we'll investigate is the museum's endless celebration of the "self-help" trope. Part and parcel of neoliberal logic, the self-help trope calls upon the myth of the American meritocracy, wherein hard work will lead any individual to class ascension and financial success. The self-help narrative and the argument for a smaller social safety net under neoliberalism are two sides of the same coin; the logic is that the safety net encourages laziness, whereas if these people had the imperative to work harder, those in poverty could raise themselves out of it. In reality, conditions of African American poverty were

not created in a vacuum—they were constructed in relationship with the creation of extreme wealth and success in the white community.

The museum, even just externally, demonstrates a willingness to erase inconvenient histories that prove structural racism still abounds today. In many ways, the museum is the first truly monumental (in the sense of scale) structure one approaches entering the city via the highway, and behind it stand the monumental, glinting skyscrapers of posh Harbor East (see images in appendix A). Collectively, the Harbor East development and the Lewis Museum dominate the skyline, and they represent a serious erasure of the history of this very site. Just a few years before, in the 1990s, the monumental structure along this same road would not have been the museum or the skyscrapers but the infamous high-rise housing projects known as the Flag House projects—projects whose location and set-up were deemed racist and discriminatory by the Supreme Court in 2005. These projects were torn down in favor of mixed income housing in the 1990s, but the problems of poverty have in no way been eliminated. The present glamorous skyline stands in almost cruel opposition to the history of poverty in these very sites and the impoverished row home communities just blocks away. The skyline's scar of high-rise public housing has been replaced by the glamour of the museum and Harbor East, but the problems of poverty represented by high-rise housing still exist—now they are merely less visible.

The museum's interior, however, is much more revealing about the particular political narrative it is willing to engage and perpetuate. What follows is an analysis of the three main, permanent exhibition halls in the Museum: "Building

Maryland, Building America," "The Strength of Mind," and "Things Hold, Lines Connect." I am looking for the ways in which the displays serve to fight injustice and the ways in which they merely re-inscribe unjust, neoliberal logic.

First we examine the "Building MD, Building America: Labor that Built a Nation" hall, whose content reinforces the "self-help" narrative upon which neoliberal logic relies. This exhibit seems to accept wholeheartedly (even as it explains the hardships of slavery) the myth of the American meritocracy. The first section reaches back into Maryland's early history and teaches us about the hard work African Americans undertook on farms and on the Chesapeake Bay (whether they were free or enslaved). We do get a true sense that survival was in many ways a struggle. One section on the importance of the Chesapeake Bay's seafood industry to African American survival has an interactive display that simulates raking for oysters; anyone who attempts it quickly learns that this is an incredibly difficult and strength-requiring task. One learns that many of the means by which African Americans survived in the early days of America were extremely difficult.

The next area is titled "Triumph Hall," and it exemplifies the crux of neoliberal logic as it celebrates African Americans who succeeded in integrating into (white capitalist) society and making money in the pre- or mid-civil rights era. The hall displays the uniforms of these workers, including health workers, law enforcement, fire and rescue professionals, and pro-sports (particularly basketball) players. A small panel explaining the section does divulge how difficult it was for African Americans to get jobs outside the public sector, but that they were allowed to tap into the public sector early in the Civil Rights battle. The emphasis of this area

is not on the injustice of exclusion but on celebrating the triumph of hard working individuals that became "included" by their own hard work and merit.

Following Triumph Hall is the display "A Brave New World," wherein the museum's employment of neoliberal rhetoric only deepens. The introductory panel explains that there were new openings available to black workers based on their hard work, though it remains incredibly unclear when or how this mechanism of opportunity in exchange for hard work began to function. The rest of the area celebrates specific "successful" African American individuals, particularly the namesake of the museum Reginald F. Lewis, Supreme Court Justice Robert Bell, and philanthropist Bea Gaddy. By framing these successful individuals as incredibly hardworking and scrupulous people, the hall perpetuates racial stereotyping; the hardworking individual becomes the exception within the African American community but whose successes are framed to inspire self-help amongst this "lazy" community. Little to no information about these individuals is provided save for details about their intense work ethics; under neoliberal logic, which is invested fully in the myth of the American meritocracy, a person's work ethic is the only meaningful contributor to their life's success and happiness.

Another permanent exhibition hall is that of "The Strength of Mind", which participates in the same rhetoric of celebrating the individual (and their individual hard work for success) and the subtle and insidious periodization of racial injustice. This section opens with a quotation from Benjamin Banneker stating that the color of one's skin is, "in no way connected with the strength of the mind or intellectual powers," which connects to the overall thematic focus on African American

intelligence and creativity. The section on Benjamin Banneker's letters to Benjamin Franklin and his famed Farmers Almanacs leads into a section that celebrates specific African American writers and artists from Maryland. As we learn about these individuals, we read about their individual, internal identity struggles as African Americans but never about their external encounters with racism or structural disadvantages. The problem of racism here is focused on the psychological toll on the individual, not the material or systemic aspect.

The next cohesive section is on the matter of education and schooling for African Americans; we see most overtly here the periodization of racial injustice. In the midst of this section stands a reconstruction of an old log schoolhouse, inside of which a movie loops. The movie begins by celebrating the triumph of Brown vs Edu, and Maryland's early participation in the integration of schools. The movie then shifts into the present moment stating that racial segregation is no longer the problem facing schools and students today, but that the only problem is economic segregation wherein the lower classes are in separate and worse school systems. Some young students attest to the fact that race is not a factor in their school or social lives, perpetuating "post-race" and "colorblind" rhetoric one might not expect from an African American-focused museum. As we have seen, poverty is intimately tied to former racial constructions. One cannot talk about economic segregation in Baltimore without recognizing that overwhelmingly the lowest economic class is composed mostly of African Americans, and yet this video does not draw the connection.

After this section, we come to a series of rooms celebrating African American music and dance. First we come across a room titled "Pennsylvania Avenue and the Baltimore Renaissance" which chronicles the famous African American performers to come out of Baltimore in the 1930s through the 1960s, and the Black theater spaces in which they performed. The exhibit has movies playing detailing how fun the theaters and performances were, and the walls have panels celebrating performers, such as Dizzy Gillespie, Billie Holiday, Louis Armstrong, and others. Though the room is focused on the black theater area along Pennsylvania Avenue, it does not address how or why this area in Old West Baltimore came to be a black-only area (doing so would require reaching into the history of redlining, which the museum never does). Hence, again, racial injustice is dematerialized. The displays also do not address the fact that when segregation of public spaces ended, this area and its culture really collapsed. The area had been home to those few African Americans that managed to make it into the middle class; when segregation ended, they, like their white counterparts, left the city for greener pastures, leaving poverty in their wake.

The next areas are dedicated to celebrating more recent performing arts within the African American community. There are display cases on stepping and go-go cultures, a video on the value of self-expression and group-expression through performance arts, and another video on the value of hip hop for empowering individuals and building self-esteem. Each of these videos contains participants in these cultures attesting to the value these activities have contributed to their lives. The final part of this section and this exhibition as a whole is the story of a slave

quilt that had hidden messages for escaping slaves. This quilt is tied into the section by texts explaining that art is a means of empowerment and "living free". The quilt is not celebrated for the way it very cleverly fought a system of oppression but is placed in a context of art and self-expression. Throughout this display, African American art is boiled down to matters of individual self-esteem and self-expression; this framing is symptomatic of the neoliberal self-help trope and ignores the ways in which this art is about much more than the individual.

This hall on the African American mind employs a number of problematic representations and rhetorics. Just as in the case of the "Labor" exhibit, the focus on the individual and celebration of individual hard work reinforces stereotypes of the lazy African American and reinforces neoliberal logic. This hall does bring up ideas of community and empowerment through community more than the labor section, but the role of the community is always to encourage capitalist productivity and integration into the (white) capitalist society. This problem is also highly evident in the final permanent exhibition hall, to which we now turn.

The final permanent exhibition hall, the "Things Hold, Lines Connect" hall, focuses on the various ways in which African Americans have historically created or participated in community—from the family structure, to building their own vacation towns, to the space of the barbershop, to the network of the Underground Railroad. The museum celebrates these community spaces, like those incorporated in the previous arts section, less for their ability to enhance the quality of life and social fabric of African Americans and more for their importance in integrating African Americans into productive, capitalist society.

The first hallway lays out a timeline of the rights that African Americans gained in Maryland as well as some of the watershed moments of social movements. This timeline is divided into things that happened "Within the System" (on the right hand wall) and "Outside the System" (on the left hand wall). The "Within the System" section has a whole display case of paraphernalia behind it and is more aesthetically engaging than its opposite; it lays out a timeline of political achievements African Americans have made, beginning with the end of slavery, through gaining the right to vote, to the end of school and transportation segregation. Unfortunately, though addressing education and transportation segregation, this display (as with the rest of the museum) says nothing about housing segregation—a practice of the past we know to profoundly implicated in the lack of wealth accumulated by many African American families in Baltimore today. The "Outside the System" wall begins with an explanation that, "many people came to believe that the only true hope for justice and equality… lay in the hands of African Americans themselves." This section marks the first (and only) mention of the Black Panthers in the museum as well as the Cambridge Movement, a protest turned violent riot on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1963. The captions explaining the Panthers and the events in Cambridge clearly deplore the violence incited therein, but also offer favorable pictures of the organizers of peaceful protest and the idea of African American solidarity.

Following this we gain an understanding of some insular African American communities; we are handed information about the way these communities worked rather than any analysis of why they existed (which would require the difficult

question of whiteness to be raised). We learn about the slave family and also about segregation-era towns and vacation resorts African Americans built for themselves. Next stand two reconstructed community spaces: the church and the barbershop. These two spaces fit very nicely into the ideals and needs of capitalism. As Max Weber points out, the protestant ethic and the structure of the church were essential to the rise of capitalism; the Church is an institution that supports hard work, the working week, and individual, private property rights (Weber 2001). Barbershops, on the other hand, represent spaces of capitalist productivity as they provide goods and services, and they are also implicated in creating a "civilized," groomed African American. Alternative forms of African American organizing and gathering (particularly those anti-capitalist organizations of the 1960s such as the Black Panthers) are not recreated in the museum. Similarly, there's an area wherein civil societies like the freemasons and the YMCA are celebrated as institutions that "fought oppression"; I argue that these institutions did not actually fight oppression at all but instead helped African Americans survive and navigate the system of oppression.

The next section on the Civil Rights movement is highly selective in its representations. There is a big picture of the 1942 March on Annapolis accompanied by a text that praises the march; the idea of organized, peaceful marches on D.C. fits nicely into the ideal version of neoliberal democracy in that it is neither disruptive nor revolutionary. There is also a picture from the 1968 riots in Baltimore after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Interestingly, the photo displays the fact that the national guard was brought in, but the particular photo

chosen portrays them as very passive: they are seated and some are armed but look extremely lackadaisical. I have, elsewhere, seen pictures of them pointing their guns at rioters (see **image)**; one striking image was a young black man with his arms behind his head as several members of the National Guard used the barrels of their guns to lift his shirt (presumably checking his waistline for guns). The choice of such a passive and peaceful photo represents the cleansing of that violent past. A third panel on the Civil Rights Movement is devoted to lawyers working on civil rights cases in Baltimore; obviously the museum is interested in stressing the "within the system" aspect of the Civil Rights movement. The final section focuses on strong organizers and leaders in Maryland, particularly the NAACP leaders, which (as we've seen in myriad other cases) focuses merely on the hard work and merit of each of these individuals rather than on their political ideologies.

Even an interactive hallway on the Underground Railroad fails to focus on the importance of community ties for enhancing the African American quality of life and social fabric; this hall focuses instead on the decisions of the individual and his or her hard work. There are a series of panels that pose scenarios one might face as a runaway slave on the Underground Railroad; as one selects the option he or she would take, the electronic panels determine if he or she would survive. Thus, the focus is on individual decision-making rather than the community of the railroad or the intense oppression the construction of white affluence wrought.

There is, alternately, a powerful and brave exhibit on lynching, which shows that the museum is willing to bring forth some discussion of the true violence entailed in racial inequality. Outside a small room within the "Things Hold, Lines

Connect" hall, there is a small warning plaque: "Not Suitable for Children". Inside plays a video about lynching; powerfully, behind the TV, the wall is a mirror—you are both watching yourself and the movie. Within the movie, there are pictures and stories about specific lynching events on Maryland's Eastern Shore; the film zooms in on the people in these pictures to explore their emotions and investments—it points out the amusement and boredom on some of the faces as they witness this tragedy.

Now that we have looked at what the museum contains, it is important to step back and compare the picture painted within to the material history I outlined in the preceding chapters. I have, throughout, offered insight into how certain representations within the museum are specifically silent about particular events or are slanted in particular ways to erase certain perspectives. Beyond these specificities, however, the museum as a whole is void of any discussion of the construction of "blackness". The Museum seems to accept African Americans as a natural group inherently separate from white Americans, rather than as a constructed group that can exist coherently only in comparison to whiteness (Lipsitz 2006). The other major absence (which follows from the unwillingness to acknowledge "whiteness") is any discussion of the material aspects of racism today—there is information about the denial of education to African Americans during segregation and there is information about the segregation of labor, but these pieces of information are separate and they are regarded as such. It is only in bringing these "separate" things together that we can create a coherent picture that

explains the persistent pattern of African American poverty and continued segregation despite official segregation practices being over.

Conclusion: The Myth of Ascension

Baltimore's Lewis museum arose out of the postcolonial, Civil Rights call to "promote a positive racial identity among blacks, to preserve a history in danger of being lost, and to challenge the racist stereotypes and myths pervasive in American popular culture." (Brooms 2011). The Lewis Museum successfully does some of this but also participates in perpetuating some truly destructive and racist logics. The inadvertent affect of the museum's frequent celebration of the hard work of a handful of African Americans is to reinforce the stereotype that African Americans are generally lazy and unwilling to work for their success and survival. While not everyone in poverty is African American, this is the dominant rhetoric surrounding discussions of poverty and welfare in the political realm today, so this is not an empty or unimportant stereotype.

The problematic nature of dematerializing today's racism, periodizing structural racism, and celebrating the self-help narrative all come forth in one poignant example: the museum's internal architecture. Upon the Museum's opening, journalists celebrated the symbolic interior architecture; one explains, "a wide stairway in the middle [of the museum] speaks to the act of ascension, in life as well as space. By working with architectural symbolism, the designers avoided resorting to the use of African cliches, yet they have created a building that's African-American in spirit," and in a later article he elaborated "because people move upward through the atrium - up toward the light - it connotes ascendancy, people rising from humble positions to prominence in society," (Gunts 2005a; Gunts

2005b). As I experienced the museum, the stairs were a difficult climb: there are only three interior levels but the building is five stories high. After the first, wide, and tall staircase, one arrives into a large, empty hall. The hall's windows overlook the luxuries of President Street, and the only doors in the large, vacant area are against one wall marked "Theater". One has to seek out the next pathway to find the exhibits—the next stairwell, which is hidden from view and not labeled anywhere. Just as the representation of the Inner Harbor as a Cinderella story was lacking and misguided, I find the narrative of class ascension symbolized in this staircase to be lacking; where are journalists' metaphors about the hard work and arduous climb leading to a vast space of emptiness?

Chapter 5: Conclusion—Looking Inward and Forward

After several chapters of historical, material, and rhetorical analysis, I arrive to the conclusion that neoliberal understandings of the self, the state, and history stifle justice and equality in the physical, economic, and imagined landscapes of Baltimore. Prior to Baltimore's neoliberalization in the 1970s and 80s, the drive into the downtown would have looked and felt much different from the drive narrated in the opening vignette of this paper. The highway, I-83, would not have been completed with its federal funds yet, cars approaching the harbor would have witnessed decline in the row home facades along the streets, high-rise housing projects would be the first monumental structure to greet cars approaching the harbor, and the harbor itself would represent urban decline with its dilapidated warehouses and piers. Now these symbols of poverty (and particularly African American poverty) are all but erased—in the neoliberal era, public and private investments have created a glimmering waterfront with luxurious spaces of consumption and "educational" spaces of memory and history. But this symbolic annihilation of African American poverty has no foundation in any real annihilation of African American poverty—it is merely less visible.

Addressing African American poverty would require reckoning with centuries of institutionalized racial hierarchies followed by decades of silent, hidden perpetuation of racial hierarchies. It is important to note that ending practices like redlining does not actually reverse them. By erasing overt language of racism and visible signs of poverty in the downtown, it appears, however, that racial injustice and poverty have been addressed and corrected. It would be difficult for anyone to

argue that poverty in Baltimore was over—it is more commonly argued, due to the invisibility of poverty in the downtown and the shiny new face of Baltimore's Harbor, that poverty is in the process of being addressed by development. My research indicates that this is not at all the case; poverty and racial disparity have only increased.

By investigating the construction of racial difference in the very material sense and then the construction of racial memory in the materiality of the museum, I have exposed where our public history and memory perpetuate and obfuscate systemic injustice. Our historical rhetoric and our economic logic work synergistically to naturalize and dematerialize the serious gap between the material wealth of white Americans and African Americans, a gap that is not accidental or incidental but a direct result of institutional practices and systems. Firstly, historical privileges are profoundly implicated in contemporary privileges if by no other mechanism than inheritance. Wealth is familial and dynastic; cultural, social, monetary, institutional, and physical capital (all means of privilege and access to more capital) are passed down through families—as is a lack of cultural, social, monetary, institutional, or physical capital.

Secondly, in very explicit terms and later very covert terms, white economic and cultural capital has been accumulated only in distinction and juxtaposition to African American poverty and lack of capital. Occupational and wage discrimination, housing and lending discrimination, as well as biases in infrastructural construction have all accumulated wealth for whites by dispossessing African Americans of wages, asset value, and mobility. In terms of property assets, home values are

determined largely with regard to location—location being proximity to desirable goods and services but also distance from undesirable people and spaces. One neighborhood can only be "good" (and thus more valuable) in comparison to one that is "bad" (and thus less valuable); though we don't use racial language to describe valuable neighborhoods anymore, the historical practices of redlining and blockbusting created impoverished neighborhoods that are now be deemed "bad" without necessary reference to race despite "bad" neighborhoods being almost exclusively populated by African Americans. In the case of infrastructure projects, every public dollar spent on highway infrastructure helps the affluent maintain their lifestyle while denying the impoverished opportunities for public transportation and greater access to the city, jobs, recreation opportunities, and more. This pattern is pervasive; white wealth and asset accumulation has persistently been fed by the denial of asset accumulation to African Americans.

We talk today about the large population of "underprivileged" people living within the boundaries of Baltimore—it is simply logical, then, that there must be an "overprivileged" group elsewhere (Wise 2013). This overprivileged group lives in the suburbs or in the urban enclaves of Roland Park and the Inner Harbor, and has benefitted immensely from public and private practices that denied African Americans access to capital and wealth accumulation. While one set of practices has upheld a serious material disparity between the overprivileged and underprivileged, maintenance of the hegemonic power structure has required the employment of a whole different set of practices of ideological governance to construct knowledge, history, and identities. In recent history, the overarching logic

binding together our forms of knowledge and identity regulation has been neoliberalism, though its tropes and foundational beliefs are not new. Neoliberalism is only the most recent incarnation of a deep tradition of American celebration and valorization of rugged individualism and the narrative of class ascension: it has historically fundamental to the American sense of self and our imagined community of the American nation (Anderson 2006; Turner 1920; Beard 1932).

My research therefore leads naturally to a call to reconsider our citizenship and even more deeply, our sense of identity as Americans and members of particular races in America. As of now, the American ethos values the economically successful, "hard-working" citizen (as long as their work falls within the realm of capitalist production) who embodies white ways of being and knowing. Despite inheritance and historical practices of racism, the mythos that wealth comes from hard work rewards white America and chastises (even going so far as to pathologize and criminalize) impoverished black America. A more just citizenship, ethos, and system of governance would have to re-imagine this narrative.

In terms of what this re-imagination would look like, I could offer any number of suggestions from my research and my personal bias and perspective. I am inclined towards the ideas of urban citizenship such as outlined in the rhetoric of the Right to the City beginning with Lefebvre and now greatly expanded upon (Lefebvre 199; Levkoe 2006). In Lefebvre's account, citizenship should function on the exchange of obligations for rights: as an inhabitant of a city, one is obligated to participate in the creation and daily life of the city and is thereby entitled to the rights of appropriation of city space and participation in decisions that affect the life

and space of the city. The right of appropriation means that the right of use supersedes the right of exchange and capitalist value, thereby undermining the importance of property ownership and private property rights. The right to the city entails a reconfiguration of priorities and values for the urban governance system; every operation of physical boundary maintenance—from housing values to unfair wages to discriminatory infrastructural construction—would have to be reconfigured. Public transportation, public space, and equality would be policy priorities rather than afterthoughts. Private development and redevelopment projects would lose their value in favor of public, egalitarian development.

This could not occur within the boundaries of Baltimore (or any city) as they now stand— this radical reconfiguration of governance values would have to accompany a radical reconfiguration of the borders of Baltimore, otherwise the rich and privileged could just continue to create protected enclaves beyond its boundaries. Since Lefebvre's proposal of the right to the city in the late 1960's, urban theorists far smarter than I and far beyond the scope of this paper have been debating the actual functionality and implementation of the proposal. All I can say is that Baltimore's border will have to greatly expand to encompass the suburban enclaves benefitting from its existence but beyond its tax base. Alternately, the borders (arbitrary as borders ultimately are) could be dissolved and democracy reconfigured by some other means.

The "Right to the City" is only one part of the equation; I'd like to suggest another solution I dub the "Right to Self-Identification." In many ways, this right is even more vague and vaporous than the Right to the City, but simply it would be the

de-valuation of white systems of knowing and identification, and the radical expansion of American identity to encompass alternative, particularly non-white, modes of being and knowing. African American identity has been shaped and valued in comparison to white values and identities; the Right to Self-Identification would eliminate this evaluation system.

While I could continue to offer a number of policy prescriptions and alternative constructions of citizenship based on my research and my own personal bias, the change that needs to happen must not be (and could not be) top-down or from the mind of one individual. I call for a shift in perspective, and the policies and practices to grow out of that shift must be democratically formed. My suggestions and others that call for redistributive economic policies and more fundamentally a collectivist ethos of citizenship are unpopular and sweepingly dismissed as radical and crazy. Until we can re-evaluate American ideology and the ethos of development, growth, and individualism, we will not be able to address structural inequality. Largely, whiteness has no reason or imperative to understand the history I have outlined or to accept the narrative I have constructed of racism's perpetuation today; they can reap the benefits of our system of white domination and black oppression without being aware they are doing so—there is no reason to think about race at all (Lipsitz 2006).

There is, however, hidden incentive that I'd like to illuminate: justice is not divisible and oppression does not only affect the oppressed (Friere 1970). White citizens are enslaved by whiteness and white domination, too; oppression is cannibalistic—it oppresses even the oppressors. There are two manifestations of

the cannibalistic system of oppression I'd like to point out: firstly, the white middle class is experiencing a crisis as it, too, is being dominated by the truly elite white capitalist class. Secondly, white capitalist values are turning out to be vacant of true value for human life and happiness.

I will entrust the words of George Lipsitz to share the cannibalism the white middle class is now experiencing at the hands of white domination:

> "White workers and professionals eager to police the boundaries of whiteness against challenges from aggrieved communities of color do not see the systematic nature of inequality… as long as they focus on what they perceive to be special preferences given to communities of color, [white Americans] do not see that the wealthiest 1 percent of the U.S. population owns nearly half of all the stocks, bonds, cash, and other financial assets in the nation, that the richest 15% controls almost all of the country's financial assets, that the twenty-eight thousand wealthiest people in the U.S. receive more income than the ninety-six million poorest Americans. They do not recognize that the share of the national income garnered by the overwhelming majority of the population—the 'bottom' 90 percent—has declined precipitously from two-thirds of the national income in 1917 to about 50 percent in 2000" (2006)

In sum, "in denying justice to aggrieved racial groups, whites deny it to themselves" (ibid.). Now more than ever, the (white) capitalist elite is taking advantage of all below—despite skin tone or culture.

Beyond this, however, the capitalist elite and others perpetuating the system of white domination are themselves dehumanized as they participate in systems of oppression and dehumanization of the "other" (Friere 1970). Capitalist American society—built on oppression— has not wrought joy even for its oppressors. We need only consider the massive economies built out of therapy, psychological pharmaceuticals, and the genre of self-help literature to be made aware of the pervasiveness of dissatisfaction and even despair amongst those who are "successful" by all capitalist accounts. Our measures of success and our demands of the government have little to do with our actual quality of life. The rugged individualist narrative suggests an endpoint at which a person's hard work and wealth satisfy and fulfill them, and even this part of the narrative seems vacant and empty in comparison to the dissatisfaction many Americans seem to harbor. Consider, too, the birth of white subaltern identities: whiteness has been shackled by its own values, against which the beats, the hippies, the punks, and others have vocally arisen. There is considerable foment within the white community against the traditional values of whiteness—individualism, capitalism, Enlightenment rationality, and all the other ways of being in the world that whiteness embodies.

While I will not hesitate to conclude that the construction of whiteness and our societal rewards for whiteness need be deconstructed, I cannot outline what belongs in their place or the proper steps towards this deconstruction. I offer only directions that my research and work could be continued. I have explored only one manifestation of neoliberal governance policies in Baltimore, the birth of the public-private partnership; Baltimore's elements of revanchism, "greening", marketing

diversity, and other factors of image branding and cleansing need to be critically investigated as well. Similarly, I have explored only one tool of governing and regulating knowledge and history: a singular museum; other institutional tools of regulation like schools, prisons, and general rhetoric need to be critically investigated as well. The Museum's relationship with school curriculums is important, but other research should look into exactly what we are teaching our students (or, at least, what we are attempting to teach them). On that note, we must be mindful of the difference between the official public narrative and the narrative accepted and retold by the public itself. I had neither the tools, access, methods, or time to research citizen's understandings of themselves and their relationship with the racial history of Baltimore—which I believe will be necessary to investigate in order to suggest steps towards change and justice.

Finally, missing from my account is any investigation of the recent housing and credit crisis; I speculate that the foreclosure crisis disproportionately affected people and neighborhoods of color in Baltimore, but I have not investigated evidence of racism in this most recent history. While my account of racial difference reaches as far back into Baltimore's history as it existed, it does not bring us fully into the present. A more full investigation of identities, citizenship, and injustice in our modes of governance will be necessary to unravel and reverse racial and class injustice in the City of Baltimore.

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Appendix A: Photo Images

The Baltimore Riot in 1968

(Miller 2011)

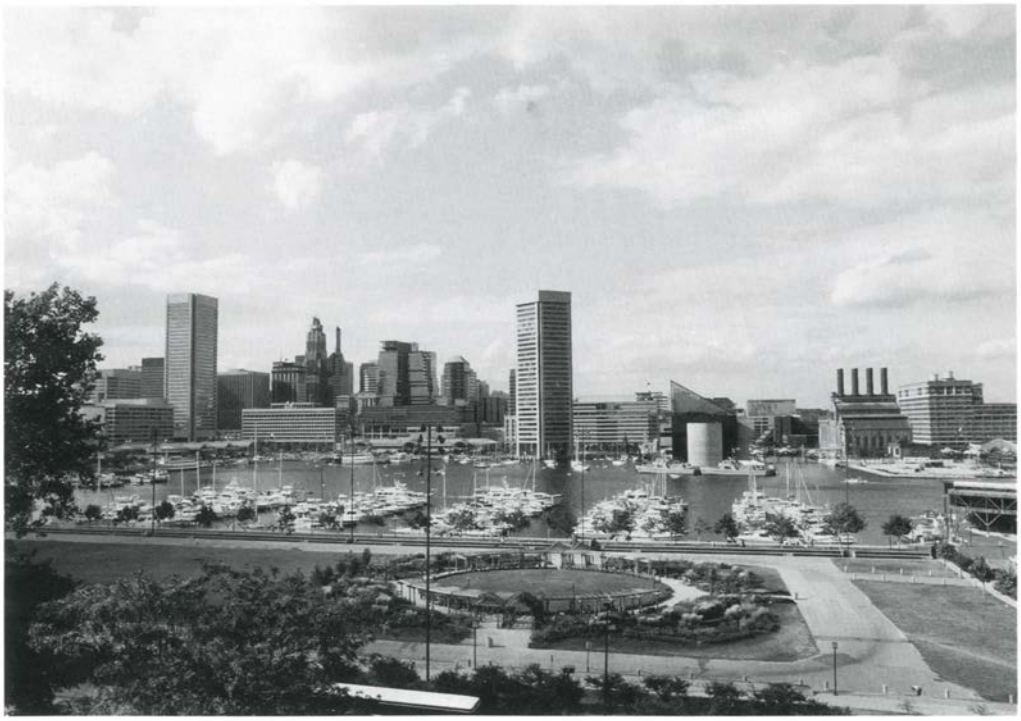
(Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1994)

Changes in the Inner Harbor

The Inner Harbor in 1930

(Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991)

Inner Harbor in 1988



(Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991)
Festival Marketplace in 1987

(Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991)

(BedandBreakfast.com 2011)

(South Baltimore.com 2013)

(United Workers 2011)

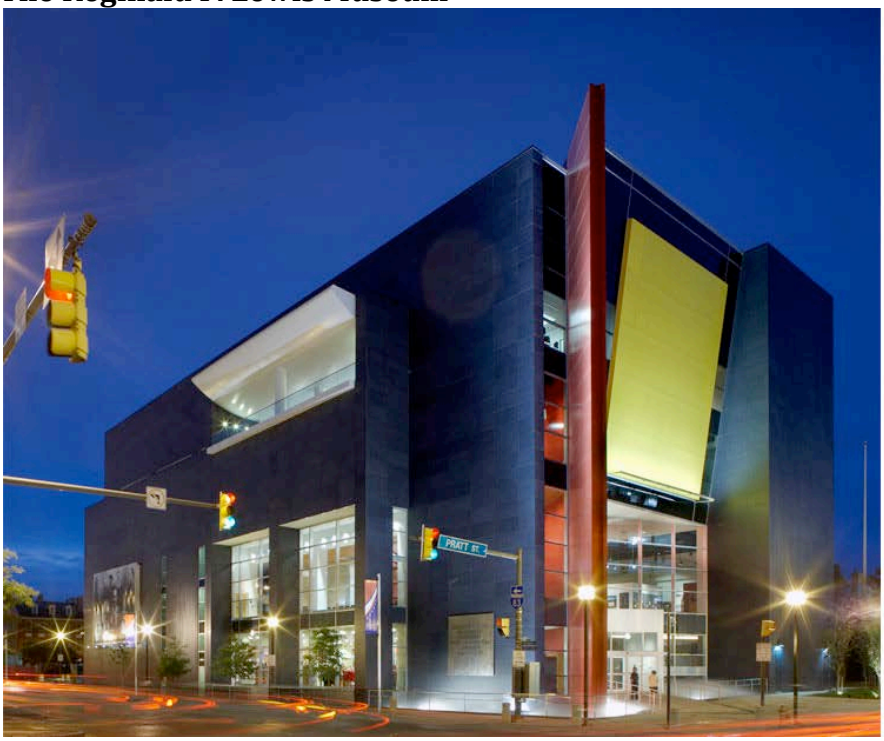
Harbor East

(United Workers 2011)

(Craig 2008)

(Savad 2012)

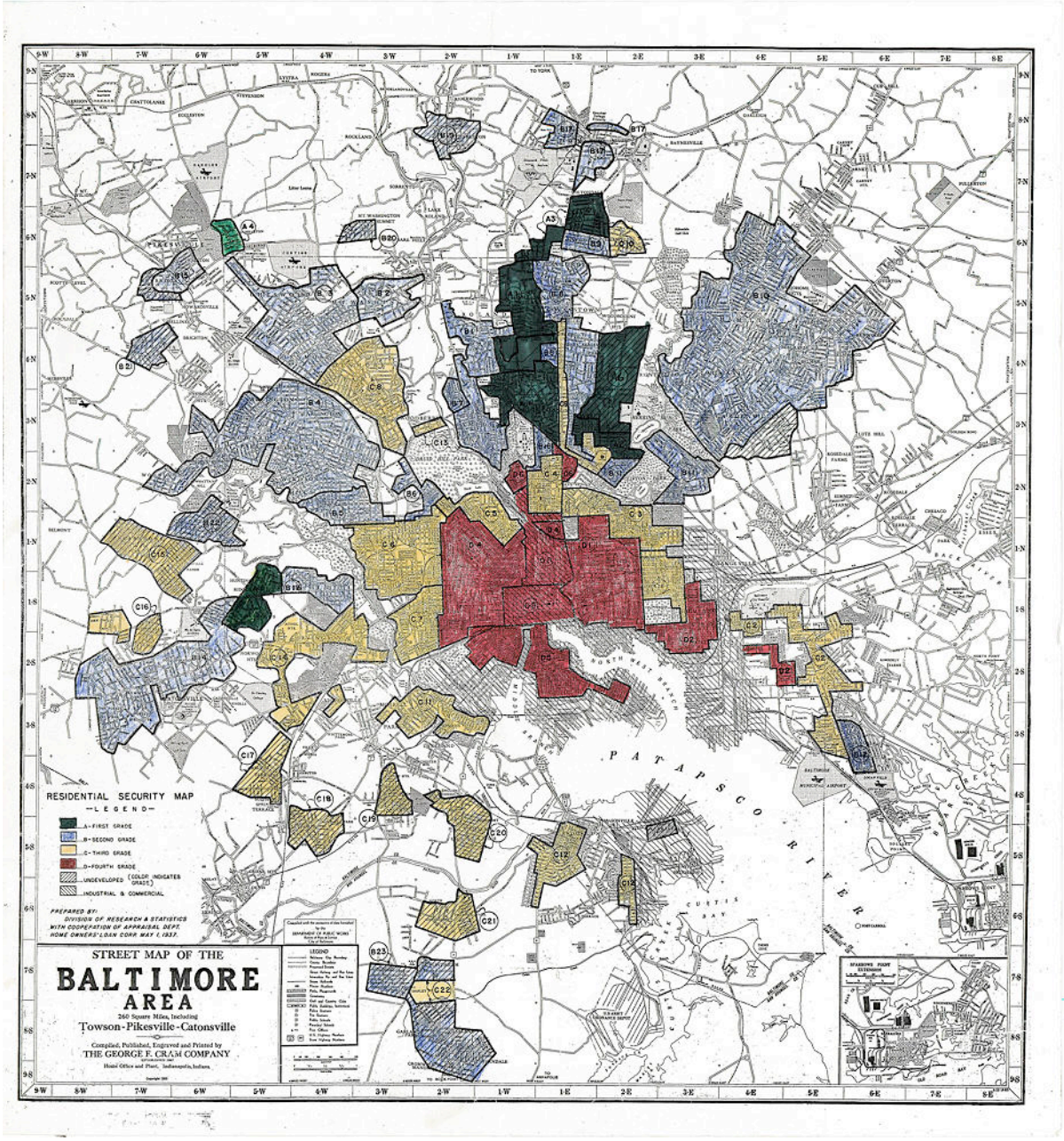
The Reginald F. Lewis Museum



(The Freelon Group 2010)

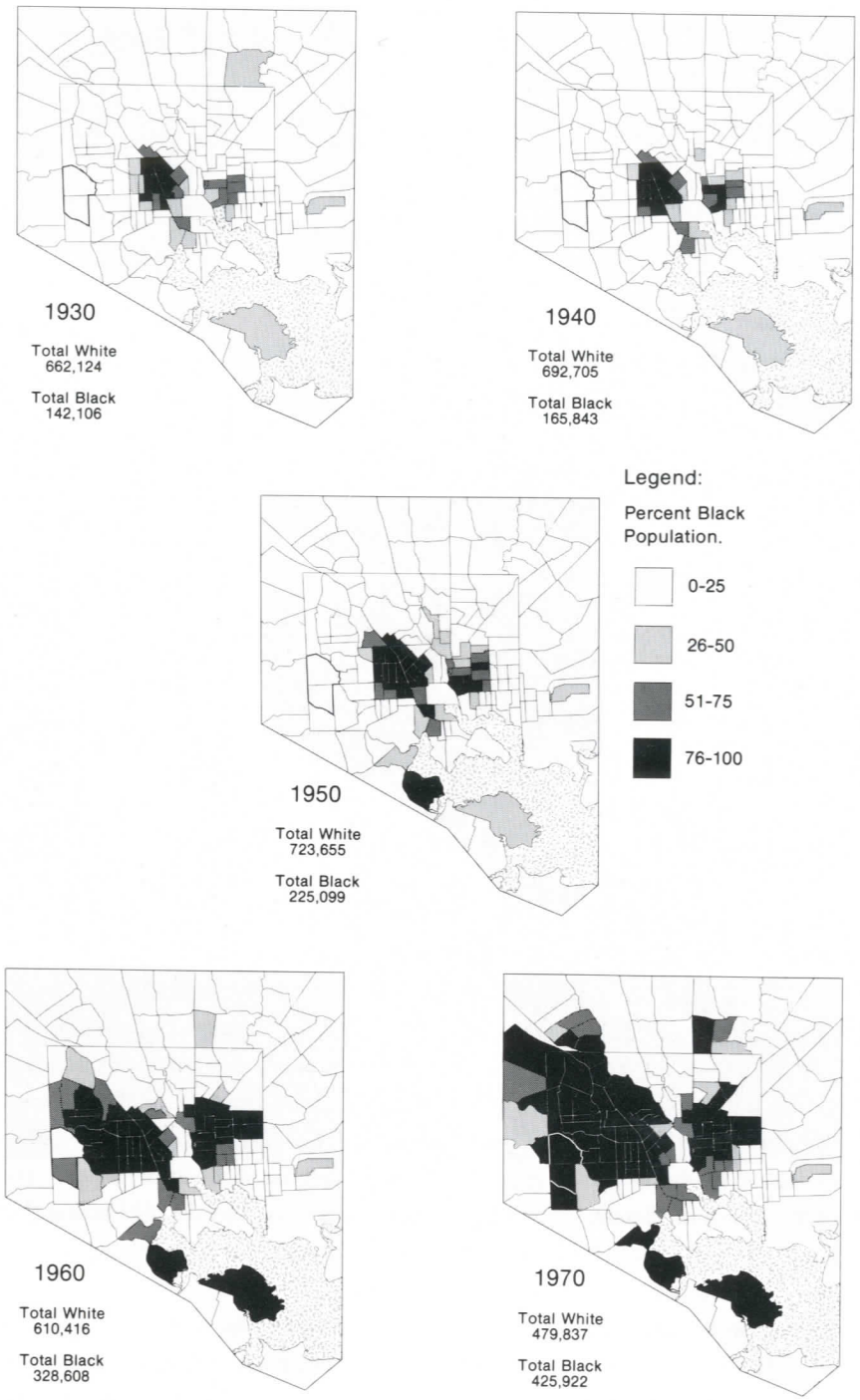
Appendix B: Maps of Baltimore City

Redlining in 1937



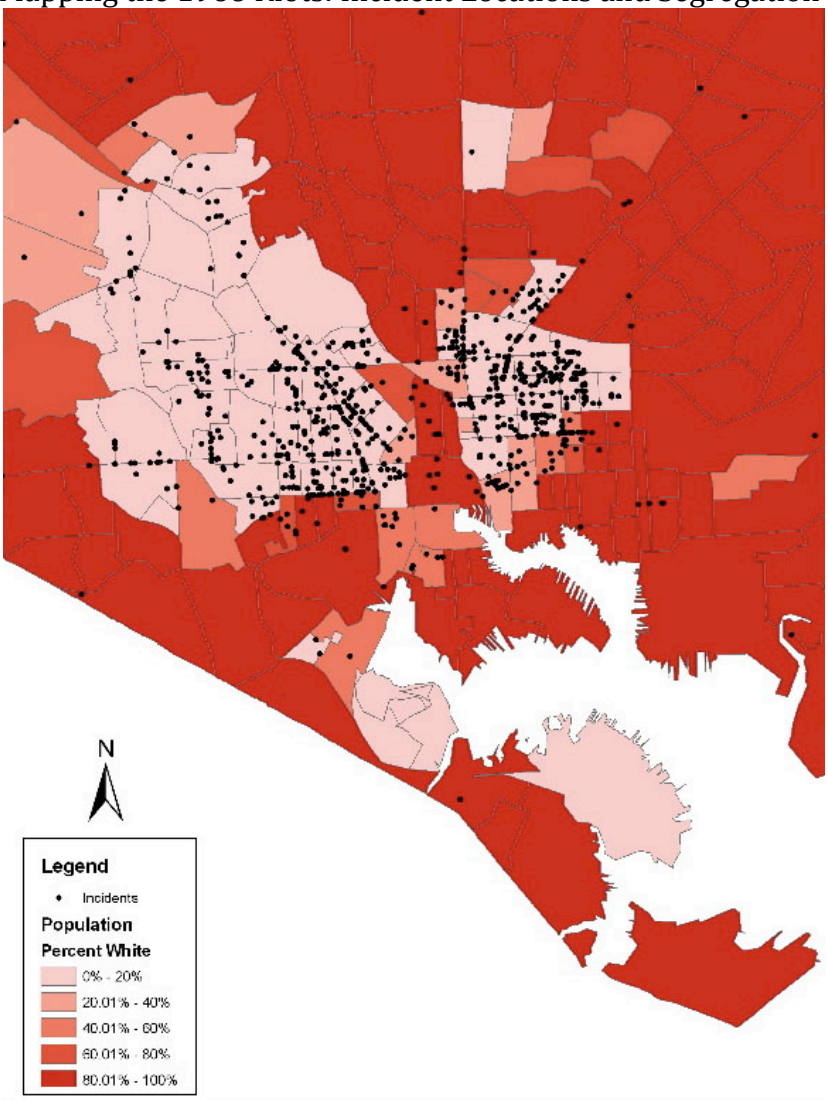
(Pietila 2009)

Change in Racial Landscape, 1930-1970



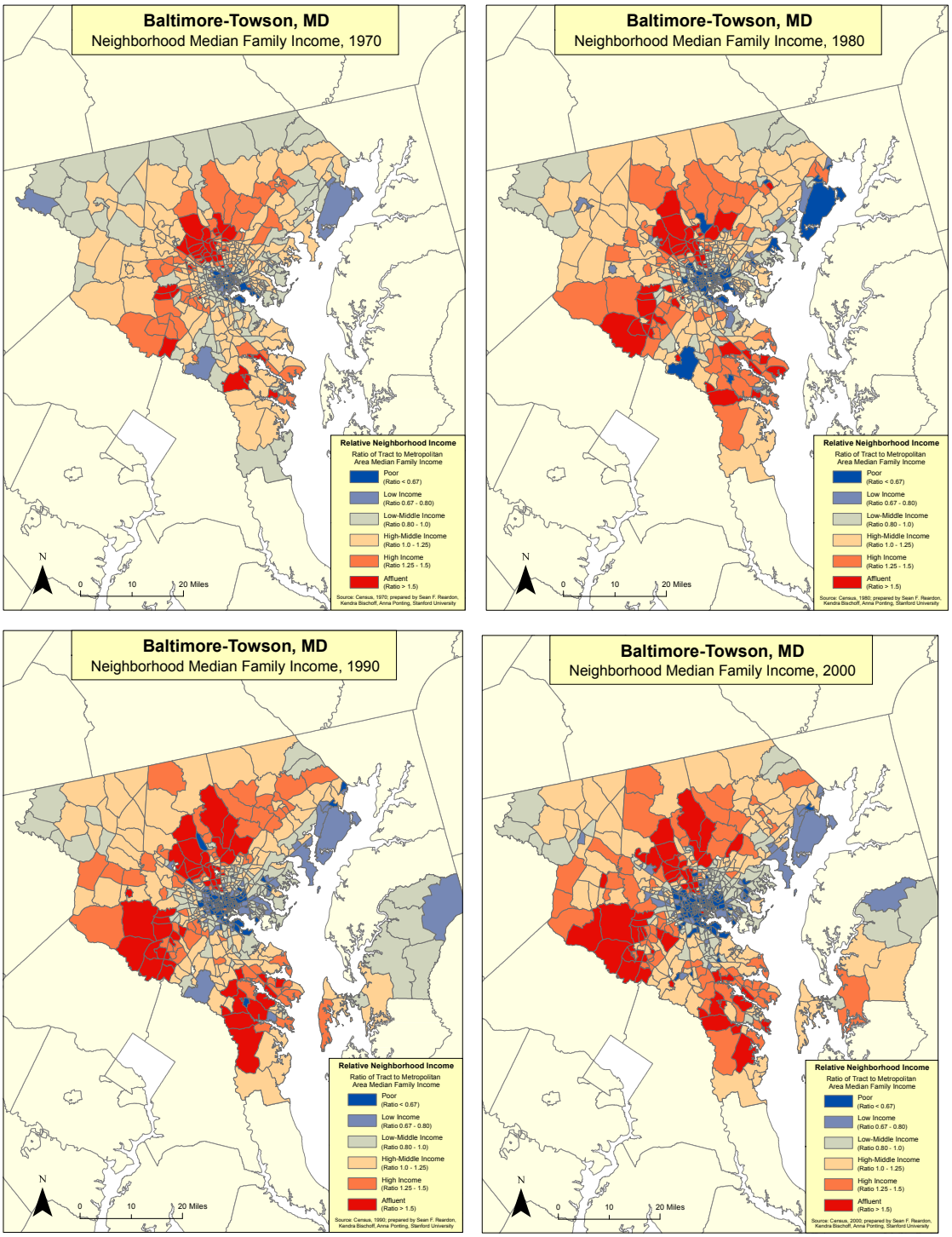
(Fee, Shopes, and Ziedman 1991)

Mapping the 1968 Riots: Incident Locations and Segregation



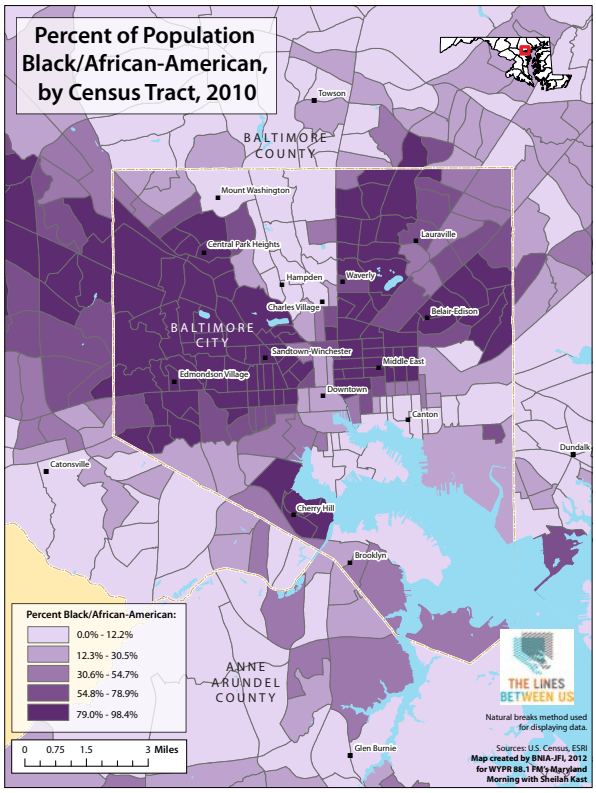
(Miller 2011)

Changing Median Family Incomes, 1970-2000

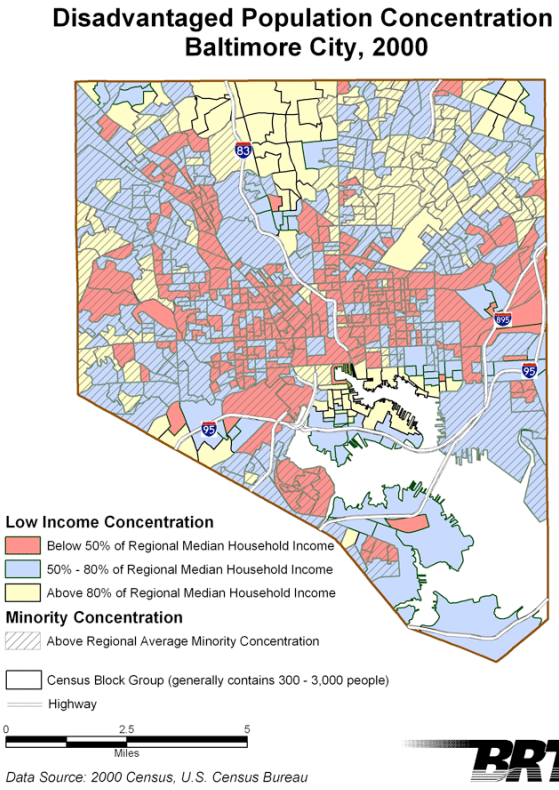


(Reardon, Bischoff, and Pointing 2013)

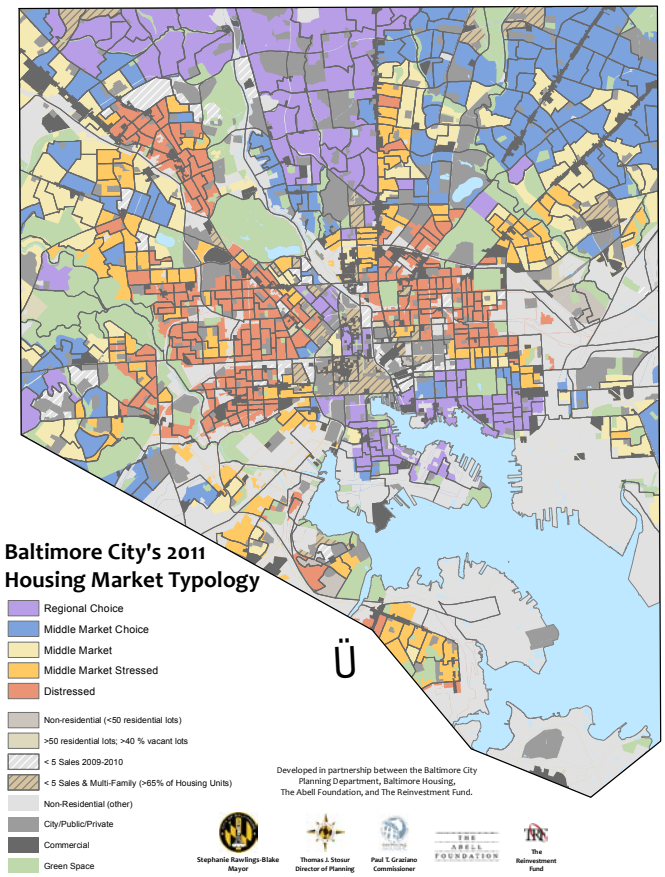
Contemporary Demographics and Disdavantage: Maps from 2000 to Today



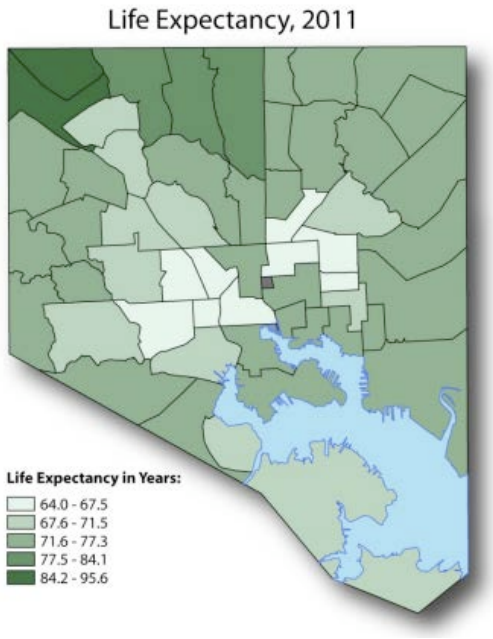
(BNAI-JF 2012)

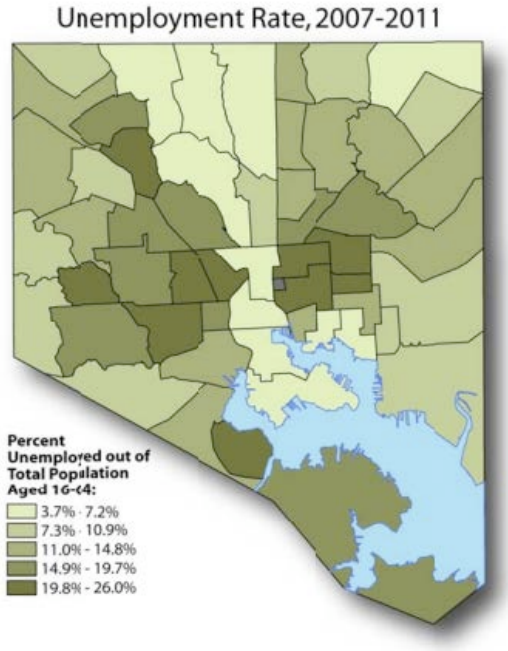


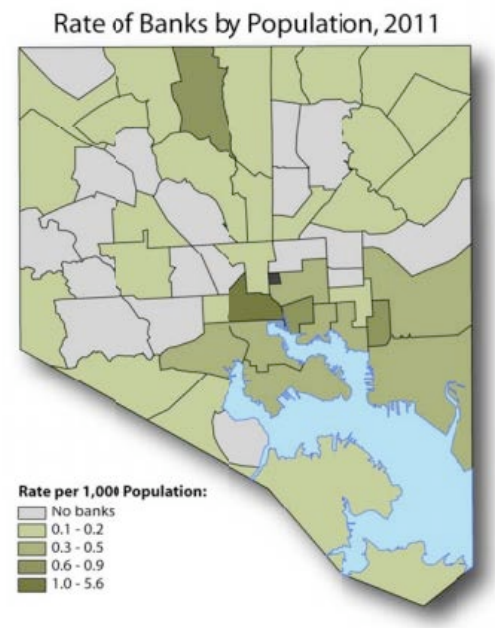
BRTB (EJT 2010)



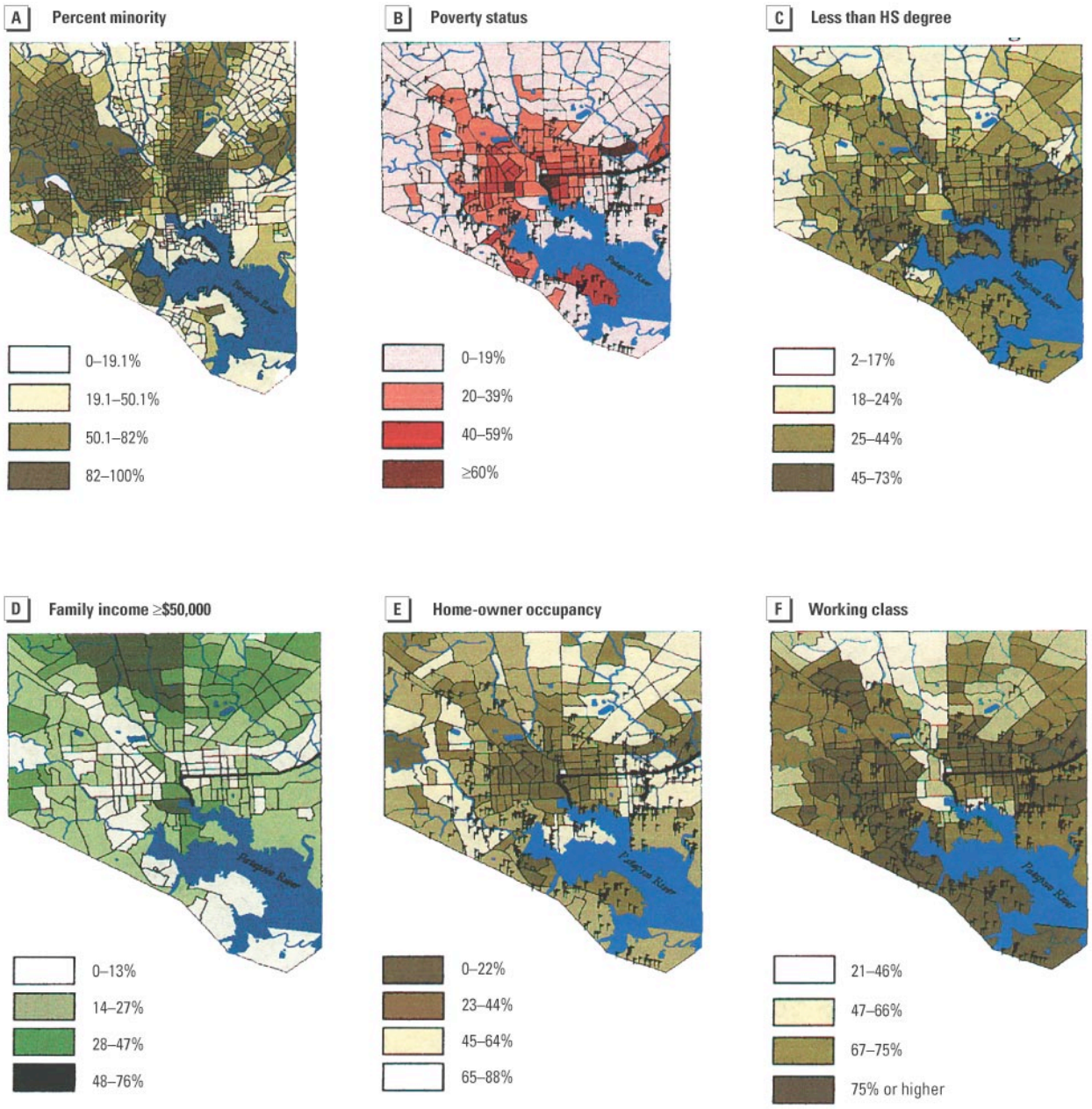
(Baltimore City Government 2011)


Life Expectancy, 2011
Life Expectancy in Years:
64.0 - 67.5
67.6 - 71.5
71.6 - 77.3
77.5 - 84.1
84.2 - 95.6


Unemployment Rate, 2007-2011
Percent
Unemployed out of
Total Population
Aged 16-64:
3.7% - 7.2%
7.3% - 10.9%
11.0% - 14.8%
14.9% - 19.7%
19.8% - 26.0%


Rate of Banks by Population, 2011
Rate per 1,000 Population:
No banks
0.1 - 0.2
0.3 - 0.5
0.6 - 0.9
1.0 - 5.6

(BNAI-JF 2013)



(Martin's AP Human Geography 2010)