

National Park Service
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CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY REPORT

SUMMER IN THE PARKS (1968-1976)

A SPECIAL ETHNOHISTORY STUDY

Prepared by

Felicia Garland-Jackson, Ph.D

Debra Lattanzi Shutika, Ph.D

George Mason University, 2020

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Allen Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church	ACAME
Civil Rights Movement	CRM
Civilian Conservation Corps	CCC
Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative	CITI
Community Organizations	COMM ORGS
Congress of Racial Equality	CORE
Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit	CESU
Critical Race Theory	CRT
Department of Interior	DOI
District of Columbia	D.C.
District/Maryland/Virginia	DMV
Does Not Equal	≠
Experience Unlimited	EU
Federal Housing Administration	FHA
Franklin Delano Roosevelt	FDR
General Schedule (Government Employee)	GS
George Mason University	GMU
Grounded Theory	GT
Inductive Qualitative Content Analysis	IQCA
Internal Review Board	IRB
Library of Congress	LOC
Lyndon B. Johnson	LBJ
Martin Luther King, Jr.	MLK
Master of Ceremony	M.C.
Mayor-Commissioner	M.C.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	NAACP
National Capital Region	NCR
National Park Service	NPS
Office of Strategic Services	OSS
Primary Investigator	PI
Prince William Forest National Park	PWFNP
Public Works Administration	PWA
Recreation Demonstration Area	RDA
Resettlement Agency	RA
Rocky Mountain National Park	RMNP
Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum	SACM

Southeast	SE
Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee	SNCC
Summer in the Parks	SITP
U.H. Stewart Udall and George Hartzog, Jr.	U.H.
U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs	VA
Virginia	VA
Washington Educational Television Association	WETA
Works Progress Administration	WPA
World War I	WWI
World War II	WWII
Young Men's Christian Association	YMCA

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND GOALS

In July 2016, the National Park Service (NPS) National Capital Region (NCR) funded a Special Historical Study (SHS) of the NPS Summer in the Parks Program (SITP) [1968-1976], an innovative effort designed to bring District of Columbia residents into their local National Parks and other locations throughout the city for NPS-funded, free structured programming. SITP featured two distinct components: one, child enrichment such as surprise field trips, day and sleepaway camps, and various recreational activities; and two, an extensive and diverse music series targeted to all ages featuring both local and national performers. A coalition of NPS officials, local African American leaders, D.C. government officials, volunteer organizations, and public space experts collaborated on the planning and execution of SITP. The first iteration of SITP ended in late 1975 as NPS shifted institutional priorities and funding to other projects including the upcoming U.S. Bicentennial celebration.

The Folklore Studies Program at George Mason University (GMU) received the SHS grant to investigate this unique program under a Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit (CESU) agreement. The research objective was to locate, recruit, and interview past SITP NPS administrators, staff, as well as then-child and adult participants of the Washington D.C.-based program. The purpose of this cultural documentation project was to capture the experiences and perspectives of those involved in the SITP initiative in order to supplement and strengthen the existing institutional narrative. The research team consisted of Primary Investigator (PI), Dr. Debra Lattanzi Shutika, Dr. Felicia Garland-Jackson, the Research Project Manager, and several GMU graduate student staff members.

After a series of initial meetings with NPS stakeholders, the research team began its in-depth analysis of existing Park Service SITP records and investigation into the historical context of SITP's origination and execution. A large segment of this opening phase included conducting exhaustive historical background research of both the site Washington D.C. as well as the national social forces at work during the turbulent 1960s era. Of particular interest were perceptions of the city's climate after the April 1968 riots, under whose shadow SITP launched just three months later. The historical background also documents the District's often challenging relationship with its African American residents. On the one hand, the city

served as a refuge for blacks fleeing slavery and later, the Jim Crow South, offering more, yet still limited, protection under the Federal Government. While on the other hand, city officials and their collaborators maintained concentrated, successful institutional efforts to segregate blacks into undesirable, chronically poor areas of the city. The SITP SHS, funded under the African American Experience, centered primarily on documenting the voices of the District's black residents detailing their own relationship to their city, the Park Service, and the greater community at large.

The study also included a review of the problematic relationship between the Park Service and African American citizens as well as an in-depth investigating of the intersection of race and recreation and natural engagement. Theoretical considerations spanned several disciplines such as Folklore Studies, Anthropology, Leisure Studies, Sociology, History, and African American Studies. This interdisciplinary approach created multiple theoretical lenses from which to view the data including Critical Race Theory, Collective Memory, and Recreation and Leisure Studies.

Recruiting efforts were far-reaching including speaking events at community churches, senior events, and networking through key informants such as retired NPS Ranger, Mr. Steven Syphax. The established project scope specified approximately ten interviews for each from SITP staff, adult participants, and then-child participants. Researchers exceeded this goal with interviews recorded, transcribed, analyzed, and archived to document the era. Interviewees represented various perspectives from young, local African American staff who understood the positive effects of SITP on the black community, to child participants who spoke profoundly of the program's impact on not only their childhood but also on their creation of healthy behaviors carried into adulthood. Perspectives of administrators supported the junior SITP staff assertions of mission buy-in at all levels of NPS NCR and an institutional flexibility rarely found in bureaucratic organizations. Both interview data and Park Service archival documents disprove the long-held assumption that SITP was created after the 1968 riots to tamp down the simmering racial tension in the District. The planning, reflecting the NPS "Parks to the People" 1960s mission, had begun years earlier, though the project funding and scale increased in the immediate post-riot period.

Analysis of the interview data reflected themes of empowerment, nostalgia, ethnomusicology, and cultural expressions of blackness. Additionally, social and cultural capital opportunities as well as positive institutional interventions emerged from the data. Perhaps most importantly, the power of SITP in the lives of participants not only provided exposure to life-long adoption of healthy behaviors and natural engagement, but also the SITP experience is foundational to what many referred to as the best time of their lives.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In July 2016, the National Park Service awarded their Special Historical Study of the Summer in the Parks program (SITP) [1968-1976] to George Mason University, Department of Folklore Studies through a CESU agreement. Primary author Dr. Felicia Garland-Jackson and Primary Investigator Dr. Debra Lattanzi Shutika prepared the report.

The researchers would like to thank Ms. Eola Dance and Mr. Noel Lopez, NPS National Capital Region Cultural Anthropologists, for their guidance and assistance with this project. Additionally, many former SITP term and career Park Service staff participated in this project sharing their memories and experiences of this innovative program. Lastly, we are grateful to the SITP participant interviewees, without whom this project could not have succeeded. We appreciate their generosity and enthusiasm and are proud to have been a part of culturally documenting their voices for future generations.

ABSTRACT

Against the backdrop of the racial tension and rioting that enveloped Washington D.C. in 1968, the National Park Service (NPS) launched an innovative, community-based recreational program called Summer in the Parks (SITP). The program, created by coalition of NPS officials, local African American leaders, D.C. government officials, volunteer organizations, and public space experts, aimed to bring local residents into national parks and other locations across the city. SITP offered a variety of free, structured programming including concerts, children's enrichment programs, and recreational opportunities. From NPS' institutional perspective, SITP succeeded in correcting the organization's history of segregation while providing a diversion to mitigate violence. However, there was no effort during the era to document participants' perspectives, resulting in a one-dimensional historical account. As the 50th anniversary of SITP (1968-1976) approaches, this study focused on culturally documenting the participants' missing voices by gathering memories of their SITP experiences through in-depth, in-person interviews with metro D.C. area residents. Collected data underwent coding and analysis with findings reflecting themes of nostalgia, community and cultural identities, as well as institutional failures and the long-term effects of racism and segregation. This research and its collection of missing African American voices will further contribute to the important work of archiving oral histories of the African American Experience.

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CHAPTER ONE

CHAPTER ONE

“It would have been difficult for someone to be over 10-15 years old and not have participated in some way, unless you’re a recluse.”¹

In the shadow of the April 1968 Washington D.C. riots, the National Capital Region (NCR) of the National Park Service (NPS) launched an innovative, community-based enrichment and recreation program called Summer in the Parks (SITP). Though planning had begun before the disturbances, the riots had upped both the program scope and the urgency to meet the July 1968 launch date. SITP was a collaborative effort between NPS, local African American leaders, D.C. government officials, volunteer organizations, and public space experts. Designed to bring local residents into the national parks and other locations across the city, SITP’s free structured programming including children’s outdoor activities, community concerts, and recreational opportunities. No official accounting exists on the SITP attendance through the years of its initial iteration, 1968-1976; however, according to the NPS Director at the time, over 40,000 children participated in the first year of SITP child activities (NPS 1968). Anecdotal evidence also describes large concerts at Anacostia Park with tens of thousands of spectators. SITP activities were “the place to be” or as the above quote depicts, one would have to be a recluse to have not participated in some SITP activity.

Though the Park Service deemed the program successful through the testimonies of staff and administrators, there was no effort to collect the perspectives and histories of those children and adult SITP participants. This resulted in a one-dimensional historical account of the event. In preparation to celebrate the program’s 50th anniversary, NPS awarded a fifteen-month grant to George Mason University (GMU), under the African American experience, to locate, recruit, and record the oral histories of SITP participants and additional NPS administrators and staff. Through in-depth, in-person, open-ended ethnographic interviews with D.C. metro residents, the research team culturally documented the missing voices of SITP participants to create the context and recreate the SITP experience. This research and its collection of missing African American voices further contributes to the important work of archiving oral histories

¹ Steve Syphax, retired National Park Service (NPS) ranger and former SITP staffer.

of the African American Experience as well as informing additional research areas such as public health, ethnomusicology, and citizenship.

Further investigation into the historical relationship between blacks and NPS provides insight into possible roots of conflict resulting in, what is often, a generational underutilization of the national parks. Existing literature demonstrates the complexity of this relationship that continues to be influenced by the agency's history of overt segregation, discrimination, and its ultimate institutional failure in protecting and providing access and resources to African American citizens. This project adds to current scholarship in the area of race and recreation by providing empirical evidence and local perspectives drawn from SITP participants' past and current experiences, attitudes, and perceptions of the national parks. Study data also inform NPS's ongoing quandary of how to rebuild or reformulate its relationship with blacks and other minorities as the agency faces a precarious funding future with rapidly changing population demographics. Park engagement is tantamount to funding, and without appealing to what will soon become the minority-majority of Americans, NPS's institutional survival becomes uncertain.

Methodology utilized the inductive qualitative content analysis (IQCA) process, where the full transcripts served as the level of analysis. Data underwent sorting, coding, as well as interpretative analysis. Development of findings and emergent categories completed the project. Final themes consisted of nostalgia, community and cultural identities, as well as organizational confusion, institutional failures, and the long-term effects of racism and segregation.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Before addressing the overarching research question of "What were participants' perceptions of and experiences in the Summer in the Parks program?", it must be recognized that there is a power dynamic operating in the historiography of the SITP program where those with power, in this case the government, write the history and later generations are left with only a partial telling of their experience. Part of the power differential is revealed in simply who gets to decide whose memories, perceptions, and voices matter and are documented-and whose are not. Yet without gathering perceptions from

others involved in the events, we risk only receiving solely the institutional version of the historical account. This study documented participants' memories of their personal SITP experiences and outcomes in an effort to present multi-layered perspectives to provide balance or counterbalance to NPS's own successful SITP narratives and organizational assessments. Additionally, outside of the official institutional documentation, this project allowed an opportunity to collect the voices of African American SITP staff consisting of many lower-income youth from the same neighborhoods the program was designed to assist. This group offered a unique standpoint of being both part of the African American community while also being part of the institutional organization. Documenting this perspective brought an even greater level of understanding of the effects and outcomes of the SITP program.

Questions to participants investigated their individual SITP realities, memories, and outcomes, as well as behaviors that became life-long habits. Also of interest was to evaluate any existing relationship to the national parks, e.g. family activities, church picnic sites, etc. Considering the magnitude of social change during the era, including the recent riots, the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, and the Home-Rule campaign, capturing the context of the day and participants' everyday lives would prove integral to the project. According to NPS public records, SITP continued into the 1970s until declining funding and decreased organizational interest effectively ended the program as NPS shifted its attention and resources to the upcoming 1976 Bicentennial celebration. Private transcripts from NPS officials cite the decline of SITP as a consequence of change of management, congressional and local political pressures, and push back by park administrators demanding more autonomy over their parks' budgets and expenditures. Yet, a tension remains. It is rooted in the ambiguous motivations of SITP itself.

ORIGINS OF SITP

The current institutional narrative positions the SITP program as the Park Service's response to correct its legacy of segregation and discrimination of African Americans. However, contemporary literature as well as administrator interviews indicate the main motivation was to get the local residents off the streets and into the parks to mitigate further violence. If the Park Service's objective was to correct past injustices, did ending the

program in 1976 imply the correction of the legacy of racism was completed? Institutional pressure from Congressional appropriators, Department of Interior (DOI) officials, as well as negative local media coverage contributed in varying degrees to the end of the program as SITP became known to some as the “summer pacification program” (Hoffman 1975). However, getting to the root of the official funding strangulation is as much as a quixotic mission as establishing the primary originator of the program.

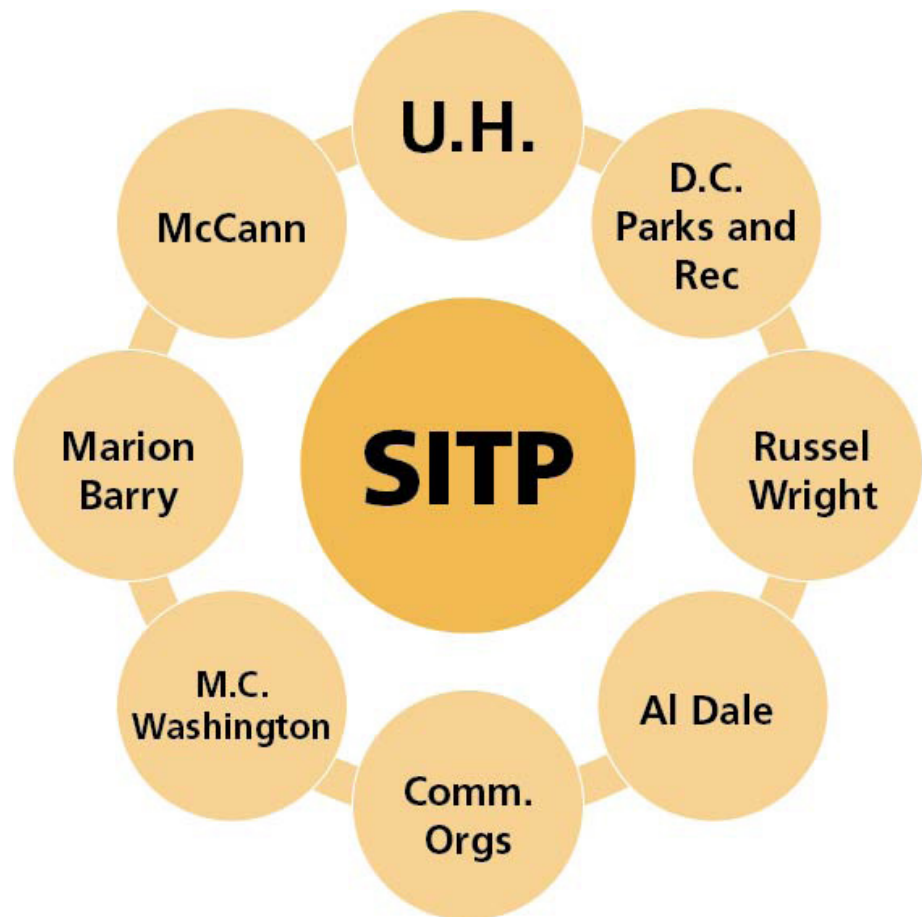


Figure 1. *SITP Organization*

The above chart indicates several individuals and organizations credited with creating the SITP program. This information was collected from media accounts, institutional archives, and interviews with NPS and non-NPS affiliated participants. Some on the chart are NPS officials including Al Dale, the NPS National Capital Region (NCR) public affairs official, and Theodore “Ted” McCann, from the NPS Office of Urban Affairs. The abbreviation (U.H.) also indicates a collaboration between then DOI Secretary Stewart Udall and then NPS Director George Hartzog Jr., who combined in a top-down leadership initiative. Russel Wright was the public space expert and designer working with NPS to develop SITP. Washington D.C. is represented by D.C. Parks and Rec as well as Mayor-Commissioner Washington and community organizer Marion Barry, who would later become Mayor of the District. Lastly, community organizations are woven into the narrative as having spearheaded the program.

Attempting to excavate the fifty year trail to how SITP came about is a messy, inexact process. It is also unnecessary because the origination confusion reflects the exact design of the program. As a collaborative program, all parties were involved to some degree, however, what is clear is that NPS primarily bankrolled the operation committing over \$500,000 to the first year (1968) alone, a sum, when adjusted for inflation totals nearly four million in today’s dollars. From study participants’ points of view, it was money well-spent, filling tangible and intangible voids in the city ranging from providing kids’ with structured summer natural engagement activities, e.g. swimming, overnight camping, to concerts that united the community in post-riot D.C. Perhaps most importantly, for many SITP participants from chronically poor, urban African American households, SITP offered the opportunity for youth employment, positive activities, and escape from socially and economically straining conditions.

Future applications of this study of the potentially positive effects of SITP participation, especially on youth, can be tied to what is perhaps the most impactful statistic found in the Bogle et al.’s Urban Institute’s (2016) recent Census data analysis. According to the Park Service’s SITP 1968 planning figures, the then-current census data of the District’s primarily black neighborhoods east of the Anacostia River, reflected an annual household income of \$4200, with many families living below the poverty line. Though decades have passed since SITP’s 1968 inception, Bogle et

al. (2016) found that poverty continues to remain firmly rooted in D.C.'s primarily African American communities and that children, especially in Anacostia, are among the most economically adversely affected as evidenced in the child poverty rate of 53.18%. As these numbers indicate, there is still a need for institutionalized interventions such as the SITP program in many of the District's communities. The recaptured voices of SITP participants along with current scholarship demonstrating the positive relationships between nature and one's overall well-being, as well as the evidence-based findings of the long-lasting benefits of children's enrichment programs and community belonging, may be enough to request a congressionally-funded reincarnation, or a 21st century SITP program.



CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND

To place Summer in the Parks (SITP) into a particular period requires revisiting historical and social events that affected race relations in the United States. The period of the 1960s, following the aftermath of Civil Rights legislation, was an increasingly turbulent time as the nation struggled with integration and desegregation as well as economic factors, including intense income inequality and chronic poverty. Violent race riots had taken place in several urban cities across the nation as African Americans became frustrated with the slow pace of change. The framing of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) as the solution to the continuing strife of black Americans was itself problematic. As with many social equality measures, it failed to distinguish not only the distinct difference between de jure and de facto discrimination, but also the subjective nature of enforcement and adoption. Winant (2001) describes this period as a time “When the very future of democracy, the survival of principles of equality and social justice, hung in the balance as the civil rights movement awoke, advanced in all its gallantry, and then was forced to retreat from the battlefield with no more than a partial victory” (p. 148). Blacks’ second-class citizenship treatment by the dominant class continued, permitting on-going police brutality, housing discrimination, and the underfunding of substandard, black schools and recreation facilities (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Green 1967; Kushnick 1991).

SEGREGATION IN RECREATION

The long history of segregation in public schools often overshadows how recreation served as a site of segregation. Other sites, such as department stores, restaurants, and buses also receive significant attention as sit-ins, pickets, and boycotts were primary measures of black agitation and resistance. Missing from much of the civil rights’ narrative are the intense struggles related to racial integration of public recreation facilities and accommodations. The February 1968 report from the President’s National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders² not only publically acknowledged recreation as a site of segregation and discrimination, but also noted blacks’ significant lack of access to recreational activities and facilities as a critical component fueling the continued racial unrest.

² Commissioned by President Lyndon B. Johnson-executive order 11365 July 29, 1967-also known as the Kerner (Chairman) Report-published February 29, 1968 [<https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/8073NCJRS.pdf>]

The Commission's conclusions, stated in the Kerner Report (1968), cited the top ten causes that led to the nationwide string of 1966-1967 race riots, listing "poor recreational facilities and programs" as number five, showing just how much the lack of access and opportunities to recreate affected the inner-city, urban black populations. Findings also revealed the majority of rioters were young, black teenagers focused on not only the lack of structured recreational summer programming but also the high rate of youth joblessness that plagued the inner city with few job training and placement programs in place to assist with youth employment. These factors, combined with substandard, dense housing, high unemployment, and chronic poverty, further complicated by hot weather and few organized activity options, lit the fuse of a riot powder keg in cities with simmering racial tensions.

CHICAGO'S WARNING: A LEGACY OF RECREATION SEGREGATION

Chicago offers an excellent example of how recreation served as an historic site of segregation and how this contributed to deleterious outcomes for the city's black population. The city's history of recreation segregation includes several bloody episodes of white violence against African Americans attempting to exert their right of access to public facilities and accommodations (Wolcott 2012). This included having both tangible and intangible lines of demarcation from the beach sand into the water indicating strictly enforced white and Negro sections (Wolcott 2012). In 1966 at the height of summer, a violent race riot erupted in Chicago's predominantly African American West Side neighborhood: it lasted three days, resulted in 3 deaths and over 300 arrests, causing widespread property damage to the local community.

Yet, the power of the story is not in the riot itself, but in the cause of the conflict. Donald Henry, a local black man, had broken the law by illegally opening a city fire hydrant to provide relief to the neighborhood on a blistering hot summer day. As the police attempted to arrest Henry, a crowd gathered and began attacking the officers. The rest of the story follows the all-too-common features of race riots: long-standing, simmering anger and unrest, mixed with fear and escalation on both parts yields to violence. Not surprisingly the question asked in the post-conflict analysis was, "Why did Henry open the fire

hydrant?” The answer is not simply, “It was hot.” As James G. Allen, a black Westside resident, wrote in his letter to the *Chicago Defender*, July 16, 1966-

This all started over a fire hydrant. We live in the slums, an area that was built to house 10,000-and there are 70,000 living there including 25,000 shut up in the new vertical slums-the housing projects. We can't go to the beaches unless we fight when we get there and fight our way back. We have no swimming pool in this area, so the only way to cool off is the fire hydrant. There was a swimming pool but they tore it up for Mayor Daley's expressway. There are swimming pools in the next white neighborhoods that we can't go to without getting beaten so there is only the fire hydrant. Now they say it is not legal to use them for other than fires. Are we supposed to suffer in this 100 degree heat? I say “No!” If this is the only way to cool off and show the white man that we get hot, too, then I say “Do it”.

Additional commentary from local officials following the incident noted that there were nearby cooling off options for the black neighborhood residents suffering in the mid-summer heat. In fact, there were three public pools within one mile of their community that were, by law, accessible to all citizens. Yet, there were few African American takers. Why? In theory, the entire community had access to a pool without exception, but “access” is a complex issue especially when placed against the backdrop of the racial volatility of the 1960s. Further complicating this issue is the fact that New Deal era programs, such as the Work Progress Administration (WPA), built many of the white-only swimming pools with federal dollars meaning that the pools, by law, could not be segregated facilities. However, federal enforcement of blacks' right to access and equal accommodation to public facilities would fall woefully short. As Allen wrote, blacks who attempted to cool off in the nearby pools, all incidentally located in white-only neighborhoods, risked bodily harm upon entry. This was not an urban legend concocted to deter African Americans from integrating de facto White-only spaces. There is historical evidence of violent incidents including the beatings of black swimmers attempting to access public pools and beaches in Chicago despite their being legally entitled to do so (Allen 1966; *Pittsburgh Courier* 1962; *New York Times* 1960, 1962; Wiltse 2007 / 2014; Wolcott 2012).

Having long ignored the simmering tensions, local municipalities decided to act. For perhaps the first time on record, city officials, including Chicago

Mayor Daley, formally recognized that recreational facilities, primarily swimming pools, were necessary to suppress simmering racial tensions and accompanying violence in Chicago's black neighborhoods (Chicago Tribune 1966). Yet, officials did not opt to prosecute white offenders or provide security to protect its black citizens exercising their right of access, a theme that will be repeated throughout the history of race relations as white violence is deemed acceptable when protecting their way of life. Instead, city officials sought to solve the immediate problem by quickly purchasing ten prefabricated pools for immediate deployment to Westside neighborhoods with long-term planning to build 100 additional swimming pools that would, in practice, be black-only. This decision would succeed in temporarily deescalating the violence and providing black neighborhoods with long-denied recreational access. However, this minimal measure to address the city's overarching racial inequality would only defer large-scale efforts to ameliorate widespread racial segregation and its effects (Janson 1966; Wiltse 2014).

WASHINGTON D.C. AND SUMMER IN THE PARKS

Chicago was just one of the many cities in the United States experiencing racial upheaval during this period. Growing racial tensions over lack of access to basic rights and entitlements, including ready access to recreational public spaces, was also taking rapid shape in the District of Columbia within its majority black communities. The Chicago riots provided cities like Washington D.C. with a glimpse of the chaos that was likely to emerge in their own African American communities if they did not pursue racial tension-reducing measures. Adding further emphasis, the February 1968 Kerner Report from the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders had publically acknowledged recreation as a site of segregation and discrimination and linked blacks' lack of access to ongoing urban racial unrest. While it remains unclear just how much influence the Commission's report or lessons learned from the 1966 Chicago's riots (or Newark or Los Angeles 1967) motivated D.C. officials, the National Park Service (NPS) decided to undertake violence prevention action. The National Capital Region (NCR) of NPS began shortly thereafter to work on progressive summer programming called Summer in the Parks (SITP). Park officials reasoned that by offering the public free, structured activities, and hiring local black youth, African Americans citizens would choose to participate and engage in these public spaces.

NPS contemporarily and historically framed SITP as the Park Service's activist effort to combat its legacy of segregation and discrimination against black citizens in the hopes of bridge building and becoming relevant to this population. Previous NPS urban outreach efforts, such as the Parks to the People campaign, sought to bring African Americans into the National Parks; however, it also emphasized providing urban residents with an alternative to the asphalt and crime of the "ghetto" (Everhart 1972; Hartzog Jr. 1988). Foresta (1984) echoes this intention but also noted, "Not incidentally, the program might also keep ghetto youth off the streets and out of trouble during a long, hot, late 1960s summer" (p. 178). In what could be viewed as an exercise in social control, bringing blacks into parks for structured, monitored activities under the purview of Park Police could also provide what will later be called, a "summer pacification program" (Hoffman 1975:B1). According to then NCR Deputy Director, Russell E. Dickenson, who would later become the Department of the Interior (DOI) Bureau Chief, alluded to this dual motive in his public remarks on the SITP noting, "the whole idea [of urban parks] fused with the burning of Washington [riots], it showed we could be activists" (Foresta 1984:178).

Despite the ambiguity surrounding the organizational goals and motivations, planned SITP activities would feature concert series with local and national performers, enrichment programs for children, and community-building activities. A coalition of agency officials, local African American community leaders, and public space experts, including primary SITP architect Russel Wright, created programming designed to attract a wide demographic and appeal to all ages (NPS 1968). Programs included a variety of recreational opportunities and social gathering for adults, as well as children, who were afforded the chance to attend sleep away camps at Catocin Mountain National Park nestled in the nearby Maryland and Prince William Forest National Park in Northern Virginia. Inviting park sites boasted recent significant improvements funded through the Mission 66 NPS initiative³ as well as First Lady Johnson's Beautification program (Everhart 1972). According to an undated review of SITP's first year, NPS

³ Mission 66 was a decade-long NPS plan (1956-1966) to revitalize its National Parks that had fallen into disrepair during WWII and the Korean War. With President Eisenhower's support, the \$800 million (\$7,358,925,373.00 in 2018 dollars when adjusted for inflation), was approved by Congress and quickly put to work to improve the National Parks to meet the 1966 50th Anniversary.

Office of Urban Affairs official and SITP administrator, Ted McCann, the Park Service had spent over \$250 million dollars in D.C. area parks.

Early promoters of public parks, such as Teddy Roosevelt, a champion of what would later become NPS, and legendary park designer Frederick Law Olmsted, touted the long-term health, social, and emotional benefits that engagement with nature offered individuals. In addition to the more tangible immediate health gains, SITP provided opportunity to build cultural capital, by gaining knowledge of a global world and its various people and their cultural traditions, as well as natural capital through access to recreate and engage in green spaces. SITP programming also afforded children the opportunity to participate in middle-class suburban White America's leisure pursuits, which offered them, in a sense, the perception of possible class mobility and social capital gain. Exhibits and performances such as Ghanaian drum circles, Native

American POW WOWs, and dog and horse shows would introduce SITP participants to a world beyond their immediate communities. Creative expression through art and music was fundamental to the program as noted by the inclusion of interactive art lessons, art exhibits, theater plays, local musical performances, and free tickets and transportation to orchestral performances at Wolf Trap. Opportunities to learn to swim, play tennis, horseback ride, boating, and even attend a formal reception at the White House in their finest clothes allowed black children a peek into cultural rituals and routines that comprised the day to day leisure lives of white middle class children.



Figure 2. *SITP White House Reception/NPS*

SITP IN THE SHADOW OF THE D.C. RIOTS

John Beall was born in 1670 and was one of Ninian's sons by his second wife, Ruth Moore (Gelders 1976: 5). On April 13, 1686 John surveyed a tract known as "The Barrens," or The Barrons, a portion of his father's original patent for "Fife Enlarged" that containedBy early 1968, SITP planning was well underway with a launch scheduled for the upcoming July when the assassination of

Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4 ignited an already simmering powder keg of D.C. race relations. The D.C. riots followed many aspects found in the recent racial disturbances in other urban cities across the United States. For example, what would begin as looting and bottle throwing by a predominantly young crowd of black protestors, would escalate into an armed military intervention with strictly enforced curfews. Lessons learned from other urban riot cities and the growing racial tension within the District had local black leaders warning of an upcoming “revolution of rising expectations” (Asch and Musgrove 2017:354). Whereas episodes of police brutality initially sparked riots in Newark and Detroit, a common practice also seen in the District in blacks’ interactions with Metro police, the D.C. riot had instead begun as a relatively peaceful gathering on 14th and U streets to grieve collectively the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. (MLK) earlier in the day.

Stokely Carmichael, the local leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and a group of followers participating in the gathering approached shops in the area to close out of respect for MLK. According to Asch and Musgrove (2017), the SNCC group was peaceful; however, other individuals who did not have the same non-violent intent later joined them. Looting and bottle throwing broke out and the situation quickly devolved into a riot, overwhelming the undermanned Metro police. Similar to Newark, local African American Civil Rights leaders and Carmichael himself, attempted to tamp down the escalating conflict. Nevertheless, the



Figure 3. D.C. Riot Damage
1968/*Washington Post*

rioters ignored their pleas and the looting, violence, and fires intensified throughout the night. Mayor-Commissioner Washington toured the damaged city during the riots commenting, “There was sort of a holiday gaiety about it all, people laughing and talking” (Asch and Musgrove 2017:356).

Day 2 began with a boisterous rally led by Carmichael, having abandoned any peaceful sentiments, now brandished a handgun, encouraging the escalation of violence ginning up the crowd with “Don’t loot-shoot!” (Asch and Musgrove 2017:357). More rioting followed but after 6 days of

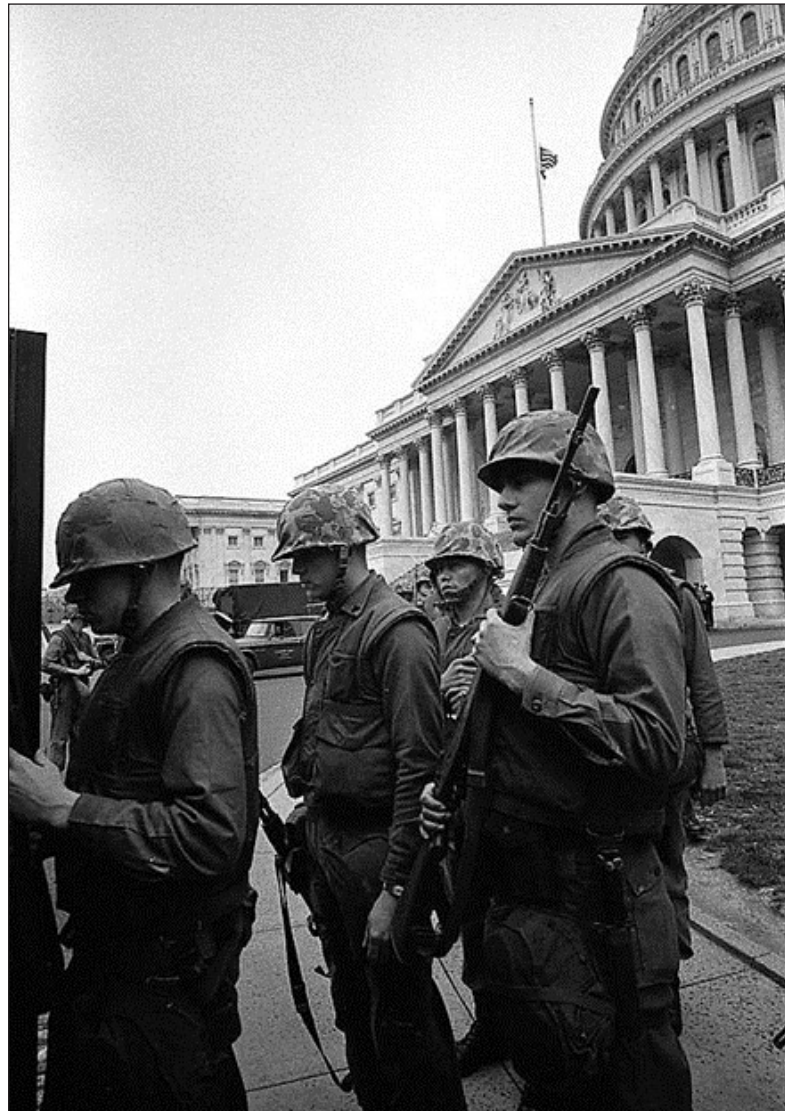


Figure 4. *National Guard Protect the Capitol April 8 1968/Leffler*

violence, 10 deaths, 1200 injured, 7600 arrests, daily curfews, and a force of 13,600 National Guards deployed to the city's streets, a precarious order was restored to the communities (NPS NCR). While public officials' institutional intervention contained the volatility of the moment, unrest and mass discontent remained in many of the District's black neighborhoods. There would also be no phoenix immediately rising from the ashes of the burnt out city blocks in D.C.'s black communities as the area residents faced the consequences and outcomes of the upheaval.

SITP PLANNING AND EXECUTION

In the shadow of the April violence and the imminent arrival of summer, NPS approached SITP with a new urgency well captured in a letter written the week after the riots by NCR administrator and SITP advocate Tedd McCann. "If last week's events carry any message, it does say that we can no longer wait; we have run out of time. Tomorrow is now and it is 'show me' time. Whether this program costs \$500,000 or \$1,500,000 no longer is important in terms of what last week will cost or what the cost will be next time" (NPS 1968).

McCann, along with local park administrators and famed designer Russel Wright, were instrumental in collaborating with African American groups, local volunteer organizations, and federal resource personnel to ensure SITP launched as planned and stayed loyal to its stated mission to engage and encourage African Americans to participate in the National Parks experience. Hartzog, Jr., in a Park Service press release (1968), detailed the extent of the collaboration noting that partners included other federal agencies, Boy Scouts, YMCA, Big Brothers as well as the sixteen local Community Councils. The latter held special significance in that they were given a primary function in choosing the local SITP park sites as well as what activities would best serve their area residents. Not only is this point of collaboration worth emphasizing because SITP was not a top-down institutional initiative where government officials single-handedly determined the programmatic content and implementation, but the level of local empowerment and self-determination was critical to SITP program success. By including the African American community representatives in the planning process and decision-making, many blacks felt ownership

of SITP, an ongoing theme found in effective social program reform targeting their own communities (Monti, Borer, and MacGregor 2015).

NPS records also detail SITP's success and history through its own activist-centered narratives detailing the impactfulness of the program. Data, including photographs and transcripts of interviews with park administrators, police, and staff, document SITP's success. D.C.'s Mayor-Commissioner Washington (1967-1972), even publically praised SITP for preventing further summer violence on the scale of the April riots (Foresta 1984). From an institutional perspective, it appeared the Park Service had a winner on its hands.

SEGREGATION, CONTESTATION, AND AGITATION OF RECREATIONAL SPACES

While much of the turbulent history of segregation and desegregation in America tells the stories of American public schools, significantly less attention focuses on recreation as a site of segregation, contestation, and agitation. The two sites share many commonalities in their complicated pasts of being subject to both de jure and de facto discrimination. The de jure racial separation that had long been institutionalized through public laws and codes was importantly reinforced as constitutional under the 1896 Plessy versus Ferguson Supreme Court decision (163 U.S. 537). This statute allowed for segregation of public accommodations including schools, train passenger cars, swimming pools, and even green spaces such as parks and baseball fields (Feagin 1991; Finney 2014; Kornbluh 2000; Wolcott 2012). The case deemed segregation permissible based on the “inherently unequal”⁴ policy of “separate but equal,” which asserted that as long as African Americans had access to their own “equal” (to whites’) facilities, there was no need to institutionalize desegregation and integration to enforce blacks’ civil rights of equal access.

⁴ The U.S. Supreme Court’s Brown versus Topeka Board of Education decision (1954) ultimately struck down the Jim Crow policy of “separate but equal”, describing it as “inherently unequal” and an unconstitutional violation of blacks’ rights of equal protection.

SCHISMS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

It is important to emphasize that African Americans were (are) not one monolithic group with one set of ideas and beliefs. Though united in the mission of advancement and uplift of the community, there were (are) significant disagreements regarding not only how to accomplish these objectives but what exactly constituted success. This difference of opinion and preferred methods is rooted in the historical struggle of black civil rights and equality. Historical examples include Booker T. Washington's accommodation model versus the Duboisian equal rights confrontational agitation path, and eventually in the schism between civil rights and Black Power. For instance, many African Americans in the District did not view court-ordered integration as a total victory but instead, as a threat to their way of life and their children's futures (Green 1967).

Many in the black community were concerned that Negro schools were often the only employment option for black teachers and administrators and desegregation would see these positions turned over to whites. It is important to note that even before integration, many whites occupied senior administrative positions in the primarily black-only District schools, a fact often seen in the complicated history of the intersections of race and institutions (Green 1967).⁵ Parents worried that even though their children had received a substandard education with fewer resources and funding when compared to whites, school integration would leave black children with second-class treatment and further behind when competing academically against the educationally advantaged white students. Additional concerns centered on changes to the curricula at the black-only schools where black history and lessons of empowerment had often been included. The premise of "leveling the playing field" by standardizing the education of both black and white children most likely meant the loss of opportunities to focus on black potential and success. After all, black schools served as cultural sites imparting shared history, meanings, and racial pride to advance and uplift the next generation.

Recreation faces similar contested perspectives as some blacks demanded equal access to facilities, while others preferred their own "equal" (to

⁵ Essentialist arguments that African Americans, as a race, lacked the intelligence, discipline, and capacity for learning were often used to deny employment, promotions, home and land ownership, and perhaps most importantly, franchise and the right of self-determination, e.g. Home Rule in the District.

whites') accommodations. Of course, there was a third option: the path of least resistance, which was acceptance of less, perhaps believing that "some is better than none". This may have meant one day of access per week (e.g. certain public swimming pools) or one day a year (e.g. certain amusement parks), which may have been considered by some as "progress". McQuirter (2000) offers an interesting example of this in highlighting the lack of "open" bathing (swimming) beaches in the District. The Tidal Basin had originally been an open, non-segregated swim area, available to both blacks and whites. However, after an improvement to the facilities in 1921 notably a time that Jim Crow policies were becoming further entrenched, the Tidal Basin reopened as white-only. D.C. black residents protested, requesting their own swim spaces and going so far as to indicate on a map a small separate area at the Tidal Basin when they could recreate. Officials refused, instead proposing alternate locations in Maryland or Virginia. Deeming these unacceptable options, there was no progress as the space continued to be the subject of racial tension.

Amusement parks, dance pavilions, swimming pools, and skating rinks-areas with close physical contact-were also subjects of intense conflict with many blacks professing to prefer to be with their own race where they could be safe and enjoy their leisure time (Wolcott 2012). It is notable that whites also expressed this theme in defense of violence against blacks to preserve their white-only spaces, from leisure facilities to housing⁶ (Mowatt 2009; Wolcott 2012). Recreation race riots were fought to deny blacks' access and equality in order to keep the contested white space safe and secure, thus free from "disorderly", "undisciplined", and "colored unruliness" (McQuirter 2000:151) of black bodies. These labels of "blackness" would serve for generations as effective barriers to integration and continued denial of black civil rights.

RECREATION'S LEGACY OF CONTESTED SPACE

The sharing of space significantly informs the history of segregation of public accommodations and facilities. Wolcott (2012) argues that "Blacks desired not to be loved by whites but to coexist with them-and to use swimming pools, roller-skating rinks, and Funtowns [amusement parks]

⁶ Interestingly, for blacks, Massey (2001) found that housing, which also requires a level of spatial sharing, is one area where blacks prefer integration associating race-mixed living to better neighborhoods, schools, and resource allocation.

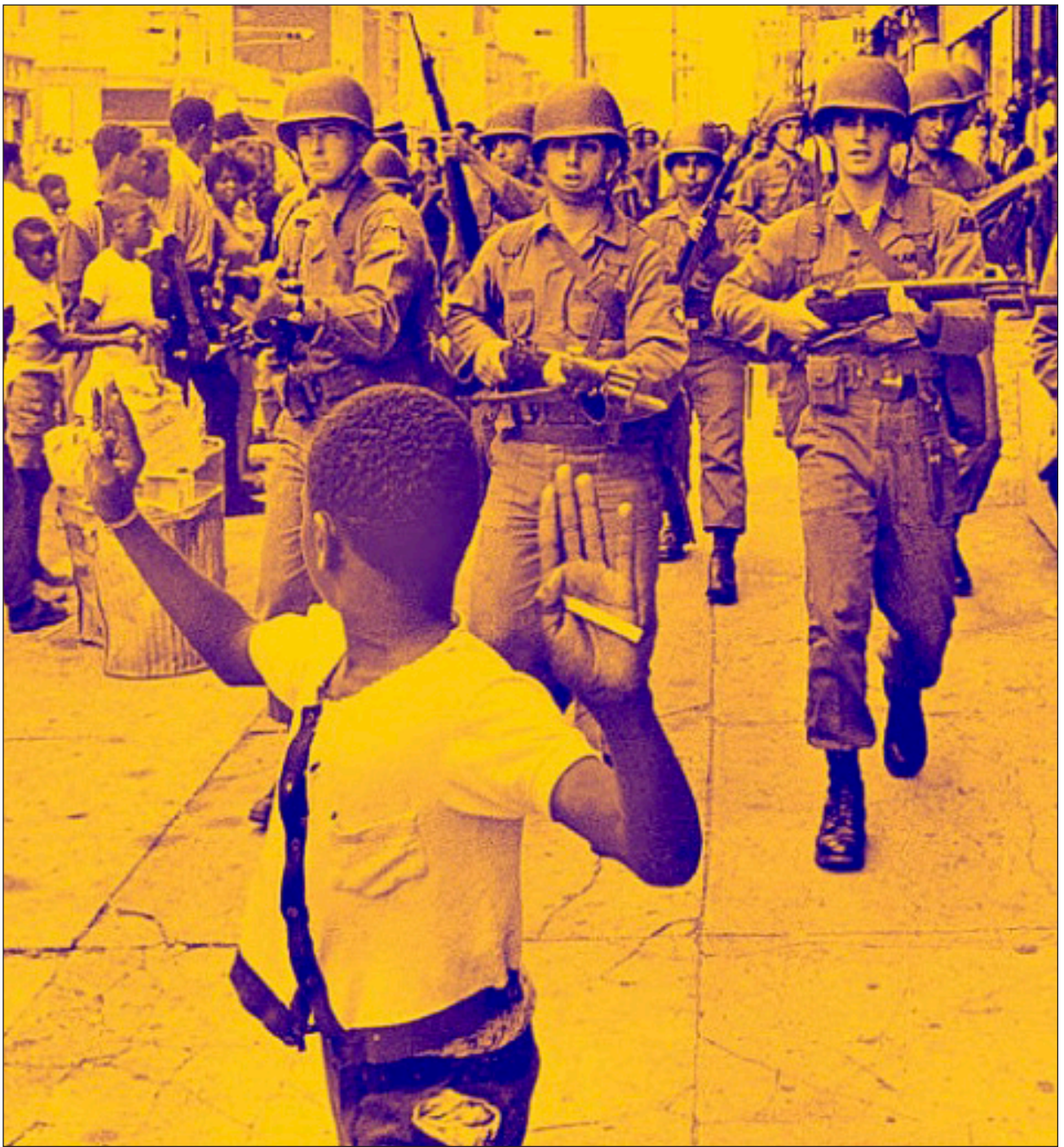
that make urban life, in the mid-twentieth century America pleasurable” (pp. 1-2). Nationwide agitation by black individuals and organizations, e.g. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), along with interracial groups, picketed, boycotted, and litigated against private and public entities in the name of African Americans’ equality and civil rights. For blacks, to secure these entitlements would have meant a final recognition of citizenship denied since emancipation.

However, for many whites, much of the fight for continued segregation hinged on an ideological racism and rejection that blacks were equal and deserving of sharing the same spaces and privileges of citizenship. This is an interwoven theme in the contestation of segregation in recreation, but there are many nuanced facets to whites’ refusal to grant or share access with African Americans. One is the resistance to physically sharing facilities with blacks whom many whites considered to be contaminated with “blackness”, which encompasses both being literally unclean, to the more metaphorical, meaning blacks were infected with a subordinate status (Wiltse 2007 / 2014; Wolcott 2012). The contamination argument was used by both private and public institutions who, when after being ordered to integrate facilities such as swimming pools, assigned blacks one day to swim a week, the day before the pool was to be drained and cleaned.

Shumaker (2009) described the federal government’s own Jim Crow discrimination of black citizens at Hot Springs National Park, in either directly refusing entry or restricting access to the park’s bathhouses, e.g. after 2:30 pm certain days per week, to address whites’ refusal to physically share the same facilities as blacks. What is worse perhaps in this instance is that even when African Americans submitted applications with the requested funds to build their own black-only bathhouses, the park administration and regional headquarters denied them. This is especially important because it again highlights government indifference to enforcing its own non-discrimination policies, often deferring to local codes and customs in racial separation as well as its indifference to providing funding for 'separate, but equal' recreational facility.

Another part of whites’ refusal to share recreational space with blacks is whites’ desire to protect white women from African Americans, both men and

women (Wolcott 2012). In a theme drawn from Black Feminist Theory, the idealization of white women depicts them as delicate, pure, and wholesome thus deserving of protection to police their virtue (Collins 2000). Close physical contact, e.g. dancing with black men, would infect white women with “blackness” and expose them to violence based on the greater white narrative that black men are unable to control themselves or know their place when tempted by the “ideal” woman. Black women, positioned in the dominant narrative as overly sexual, immoral, and aggressive, also posed a threat to white women through potentially polluting their purity or as being dangerously capable of violence toward the dainty, delicate white girls (Collins 2000; Wolcott 2012). Protecting the sanctity and purity of white women has been the source of centuries of socially acceptable white violence toward African Americans and seen in many aspects of the ongoing struggle for racial desegregation, equality, and civil rights. Following this overview of the intersections of race, recreation, and institutions, will be a more specific background of SITP site Washington D.C. and NPS.



CHAPTER THREE

WASHINGTON DC HISTORICAL CONTEXT

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WASHINGTON D.C. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter provides historical background of the SITP site of Washington D.C. as well as additional context of institutional efforts and effects in the battle over segregation and Civil Rights. To establish the context of SITP's era in the District requires excavation of the city's own complex set of race relations. For example, D.C.'s complicated relationship to its black citizens reflected many influences including effects of its unique subordination to the federal government whose policies and appropriations often adversely affected the black community. The long-term effects of institutional measures, including redlining, segregation, and discrimination, play predominant roles in how the District became densely-populated and maintained, concentrated pockets of impoverished blacks in floundering neighborhoods.

However, poverty and other social issues were not solely found in urban neighborhoods, especially in the period following the Great Depression. The disadvantaged, including minorities and poor rural whites, faced long-term challenges in bridging the economic and social equity gaps to middle and upper class whites. A series of federal institutional initiatives were designed and implemented to alleviate social and economic constraints within the District as well as nationwide. This chapter will provide background on these federal efforts, and more specifically those of the Park Service, that would pave the way for SITP-type programming. Conversely, the Park Service's history of segregation, even in contradicting establish federal policies will also be explored. Lastly, a deeper inspection of institutional efforts such as the government's Kerner Report (1968) is included to locate the root and details of the country's powerful race riots of the 60s contributes to establishing the overall context of the SITP era.

WASHINGTON D.C.: UNIQUENESS OF THE NATION'S CAPITAL

The District holds special significance as the nation's capital and its symbolic representation of America's values and commitment to its founding democratic principles. D.C.'s unique subordinate position under the authority of the federal government⁷ has positioned it, at times, at the forefront or stubbornly at the rear of social change. Similar to other cities, often the whims and mindsets of

⁷ The period in discussion is pre-Home Rule Act (1973) when the District received a limited amount of autonomy to self-govern from the federal government.

those local politicians in power dictate these positions. However, unlike other cities, legislators from across the country decided the majority of the District's social, political, and economic policies, including funding decisions. Green (1967) describes the pre-Home Rule era of Washington serving as a type of petri dish where Congress could perform experiments their own constituents would not tolerate. Examples include a stronger enforcement of non-discrimination Reconstruction policies such as suffrage, employment, and housing protections for African Americans (Green 1967; DC.gov N.d.). It should be noted that progressive laws, known as the "Lost Laws" (1872-1873), passed in the District during Reconstruction specifically designed to protect blacks' constitutional rights, would ultimately be "found" and used to dismantle long-standing Jim Crow discriminatory policies in the early 1950s (Asch and Musgrove 2017).

This experimental activist mindset can also be seen in the District's early emancipation of slaves (pre-dating Lincoln's Emancipation Declaration) and the accompanying reparations program that paid owners for lost property while providing newly freed slaves funds to relocate out of the district (DC.gov, N.d; Davis 2010).^{8 9} Yet even within a perhaps more liberal environment, the District was not immune to the effects of racial stratification, as race was (is) deeply woven into the fabric of the country and embedded into its institutions. The city's complicated history of race relations is an essential component in understanding the dynamics at work that led to the Civil Rights era and, in particular, its activist-minded, non-discriminatory, inclusive programs (e.g. SITP).

To provide context to the District and its relationship with its African American population, it is important to establish the characteristics and events that resulted in D.C. having such a large black population, and further, how that population became geographically concentrated in pockets of poverty. Historically, D.C.'s physical location, essentially sandwiched between slave states, Maryland and Virginia, along with the District's reputation as having a less harsh climate toward blacks and a large free-black population,

⁸ The "relocation fee" paid to newly freed D.C. slaves reflected the ongoing concern of city administrators to reduce the burgeoning Black population in the city (see Green 1967).

⁹ According to Washington D.C.'s government website, the federal government expended over one million dollars (@ 18 million dollars 2017) on the compensation reparation program. See Davis (2010) for D.C. slave reparation applications from federal archives.

produced multiple waves of in-migration of Southern African Americans (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Green 1967; Lesko, Babb, and Gibbs 2016).

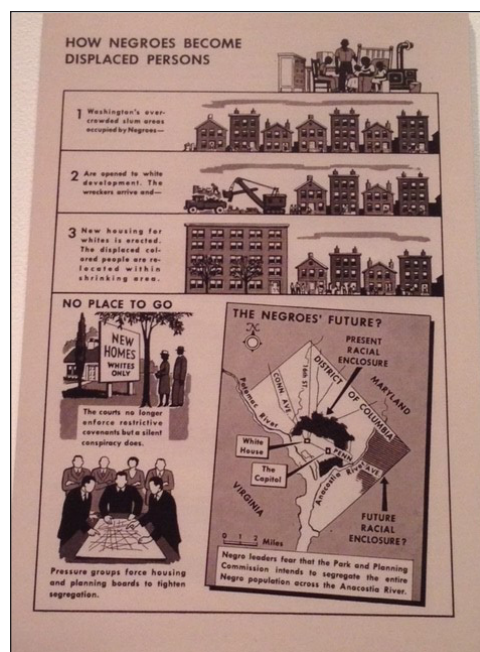
In the period before and during the Civil War, refugee slaves took sanctuary in many of the District's black communities, swelling the African American population. Lesko et al. (2016), in their historical study of the displacement of Georgetown's black population, notes that during the Civil War, the area's black population grew by over 50 percent as, "Footsore, ragged men, women, and children escaped slavery in Virginia and Maryland and settled in every part of Georgetown" (p. 20). The periods after the Civil War, WWI, WWII (Great Migration) also witnessed waves of Southern blacks moving into the District, often into already impoverished black communities. Southern black in-migration into the District had historically been a source of the growing black population, especially in the 1940s when blacks flocked to D.C. for economic and social opportunities (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Green 1967; McQuirter 2000; Taylor, Jr. and Hill 2000).

However, in-migration was not the only factor in firmly rooting pockets of concentrated black poverty in the city. Out-migration also affected the District's demography with both whites and, to a lesser extent, middle-class African Americans moving from the city to the suburbs -leaving many of the disadvantaged areas that were rapidly becoming majority black and poor (Massey, Gross and Shibuya 1994; Wilson 1987). Federal officials presented efforts such as the Alley Dwelling Act (1934) as remediation measures for the substandard housing conditions experienced by many poor blacks in the District (Green 1967; Lesko et al. 2016). However, the destruction of the substandard buildings actually effectively displaced entire groups of African American to other densely populated, poor, primarily black neighborhoods such as Anacostia, Trinidad, and the H Street Corridor. Once in these communities, an array of institutional measures and socioeconomic barriers effectively blocked African Americans from moving other areas of the city (Massey 2001). Consistent links between black isolation in urban areas and cyclical, generational poverty defined much of the District's African American population.

HOUSING IN D.C.

As noted, several factors affected the District's racial demography including in-migration, out-migration, urban renewal, and displacement. Yet, perhaps most influential, were the rigid racial housing segregation de jure and de facto policies that dictated white and black sections of the city. Federal and local agencies, as well as business organizations, utilized a series of efforts to create, protect, and maintain Jim Crow segregation in the District's housing. For example, "urban renewal" efforts effectively displaced black residents to areas where they were welcome and could afford, which meant those areas primarily east of the Anacostia River. Once leveled, targeted "urban renewal" areas, e.g. Georgetown and Southwest D.C., became new housing constructed for white federal workers that effectively eliminating blacks, who could no longer afford the rent, mortgage, or taxes, or barred from purchase through de jure restrictive covenants, from reentering their old neighborhoods.

Figure 5. Displacement
Poster SACM 1968 Exhibit



Local and federal authorities justified "urban renewal" projects under the protection of the aforementioned federal Alley Dwelling Act (1934), originally legislated to improve housing conditions, e.g. ghettos, slums, and tenements, in major U.S. urban cities. Locally, this legislation supported efforts to remediate substandard housing conditions experienced by many poor blacks in the District (Green 1967; Lesko et al. 2016). Many dwellings lacked indoor plumbing and electricity, even into

the 1960s when, "12 percent of black homes in the city lacked running water; more than 16 percent lacked electricity" (Asch and Musgrove 2017:291). Authorities utilized common methods of removal including paying less than fair market value or seizing the properties through eminent domain. Originally framed by the city as a "temporary displacement",

temporary became permanent swelling the black population in areas east of the Anacostia. These displacement episodes are significant in how they contributed to the collective memory of the community and how broken promises and distrust weakened the relationship between government and its citizens (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Green 1967; Lesko et al. 2016).

Much is learned from the District's legacy of black displacement projects, however most significant perhaps is the complete demographic shift of the neighborhoods. Not only were "urban renewal" projects disruptive for the area's African American population, the events also destroyed long-term historic and generational ties to communities. For instance, the razing of Georgetown not only ruptured blacks' history as the primary settlers of the community, it also decimated the area's black-owned businesses (Lesko et al. 2016). Georgetown was deeply rooted in African American history as a long-standing, welcoming community of both generationally free blacks and emancipated slaves. Though a large segment of the area's population suffered from low-incomes, unemployment, chronic poverty, and substandard housing conditions, there were also middle class black families who resided in the community. The plan was to raze much of the substandard housing, which housed the area's poor residents, but what would become of the black middle class' well-maintained stately homes that remained? "Urban renewal" also displaced many of these families with white in-flight families buying the houses, leaving only eight black families in the once proud African American sanctuary (Lesko et al. 2016). High rents, taxes, and restrictive covenants precluded the return of black residents to their old neighborhood whose new homes went instead to white federal workers in the newly white majority area.

HOUSING DISCRIMINATION IN WASHINGTON D.C.

"No property in a white section should ever be sold, rented, advertised, or offered to colored people" Washington Real Estate Board¹⁰

Perhaps nothing contradicted Washington D.C.'s status as the nation's seat of democracy and equality more than the rampant discrimination in housing within the city. Bankers, realtors, local authorities, and the federal government through its mortgage lending programs, aggressively collaborated to create and maintain firmly redlined and white-only areas through a series

¹⁰ Cited previously in Asch and Musgrove 2017:294

of de jure, e.g. restrictive covenants and de facto, e.g. threats of violence, measures to protect white-only spaces. Green (1967) describes the long-standing concerns of white residents and local officials to the waves of black migrants swelling the African American population of the District. Historic concentrated efforts such as Lincoln's inclusion of paid reparations to D.C.'s slaves only if they leave the city, are evidence of attempts to drive blacks further from the city center. Decades-long "urban renewal" projects effectively displaced the black population and then morphed into white-majority spaces. However, the root of racial separation is not as clear-cut as simple cases of discrimination and racism. More nuanced social and economic factors were significant in preserving the city's rigid racial demarcations.

HYPODESCENT BUT IN HOUSING?

Hypodescent, or the one-drop rule, determined one drop of black blood made a person officially black, thus inferior and unequal to whites. While it is obviously an essentialist notion, the one-drop offers a deeper meaning, from white neighborhoods to white women, especially in terms of whites sharing space with African Americans and protecting of white purity (Collins 2000; Jerkins 2018; Wolcott 2012). This theme, effectively utilized to prevent integration in close physical spaces, is integral to the understanding of race relations, especially in the areas of schools and recreation. The contestation of recreation section of this dissertation will further discuss the labeling of blacks as "unclean" thus "infecting" facilities such as swimming pools (Jerkins 2018; Wiltse 2014; Wolcott 2012). Yet the theme of warding off the threatening scourge of intruding blacks into white neighborhoods had very real consequences and long-term effects to Washington D.C.'s demography. Beyond whites' disdain of integrated neighborhoods in sharing physical space, they also faced severe negative social and economic outcomes for failing to hold the racial line in housing segregation. "White Americans considered the movement of African Americans into their neighborhood as an 'invasion' and 'declaration of war'" (Taylor, Jr. and Hill 2000:10).

Collaborating white residents and authorities efficiently used discrimination tools, such as redlining and restrictive covenants, for decades to prevent integration of their neighborhoods. As with the one-drop rule, if just one African American household were to move into the neighborhood, it

would be marked by real estate, local officials, and bank executives as “in transition”, resulting in deleterious outcomes for white residents such as lost property values and increased racial tensions (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Green 1967). White homeowners and city officials, especially the Washington Real Estate Board through its own housing codes, went to great lengths to preserve white-only areas. One example is the acceptance of white violence against “interloping” black families in order to protect the white way of life, a topic seen in race riots over recreation segregation.

REDLINING D.C.

The term “redlining” refers to the sectioning off an area on a map by literally drawing a red line of demarcation through segments deemed “less desirable”, usually minority neighborhoods, for investment by financial organizations and notably, the federal government. Many parties shared in the complicity of redlining including realtors, city planners, and developers, but the practice would not have been able to thrive without the integral participation of the District and federal courts upholding and enforcing housing discrimination

laws and codes (King 2016; Pritchett 2004). The federal government’s own Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans’ Affairs (VA) agencies, tasked with providing equal opportunities to all citizens, were also actively involved in maintaining redlined areas by barring the financing of loans in “transitional” or black neighborhoods, even for African American WWII military veterans the VA was charged with supporting (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Green 1967). The failure of federal agencies to adhere to their own policies



Figure 6. Segregation Poster / Prologue D.C

of non-discrimination is especially significant in that it effectively prevented blacks from building economic wealth from home ownership furthering the cycle of generational poverty and lack of economic capital both historically and presently (Daniels 2018; Lipsitz 1998; Oliver and Shapiro 2001).

RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

Condoned by federal and local authorities, restrictive covenants were the primary tools utilized by realtors, homeowners, and homeowner associations to maintain rigid segregation lines in the District. Decimated and displaced by aggressive “urban renewal” institutional campaigns, combined with the steady influx of black in-migration, many African Americans found themselves without adequate housing options, resulting in moves to already majority black and poor areas subsequently increasing the density of these spaces. These maps, culled from the Mapping Segregation in DC project, demonstrate just how ingrained and effective restrictive covenants, both by deed and petition, were in concentrating blacks in isolated parts of the city.



Figure 7. *Restricted Community Sign/ Prologue D.C.*

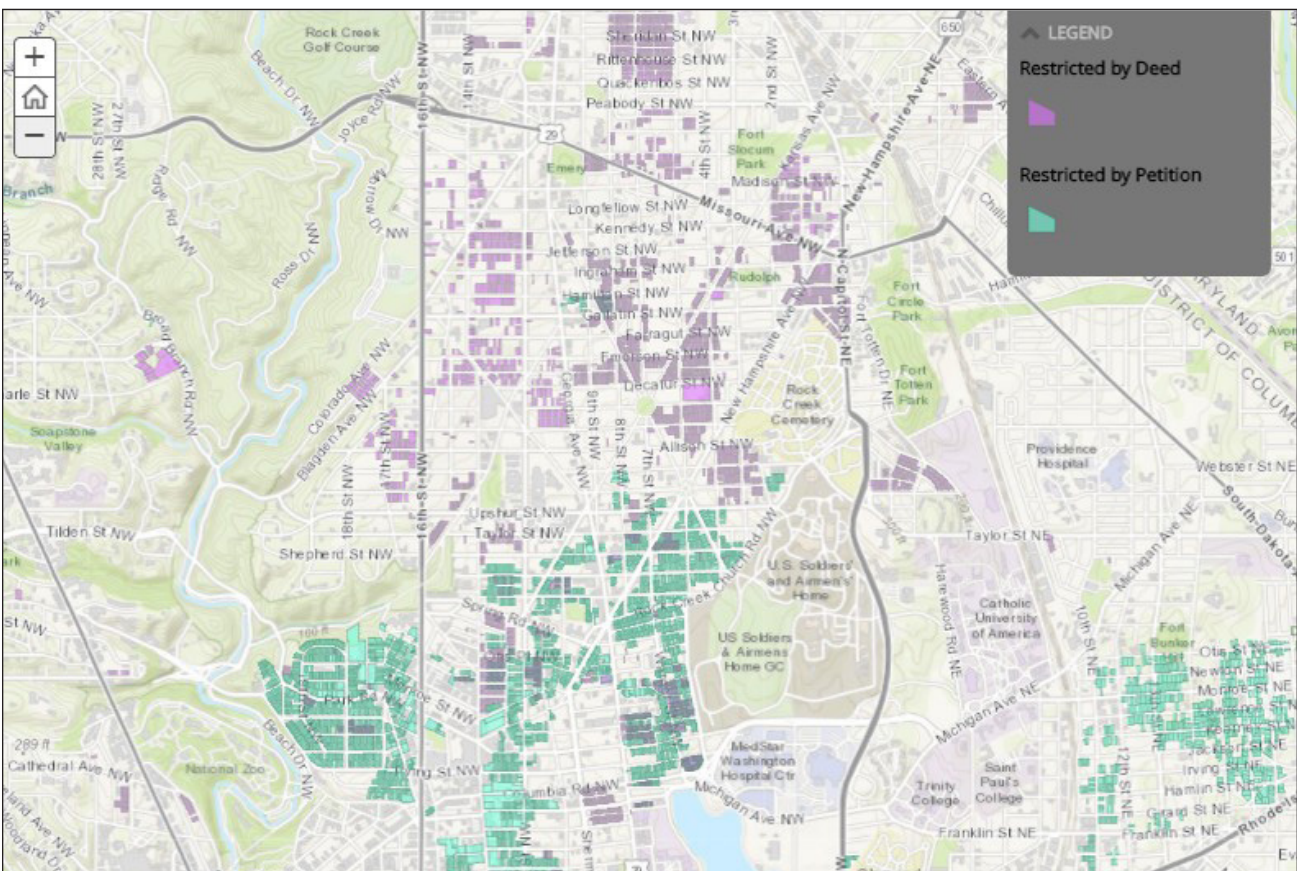


Figure 8. *D.C. 1920 Restrictive Lots Map*

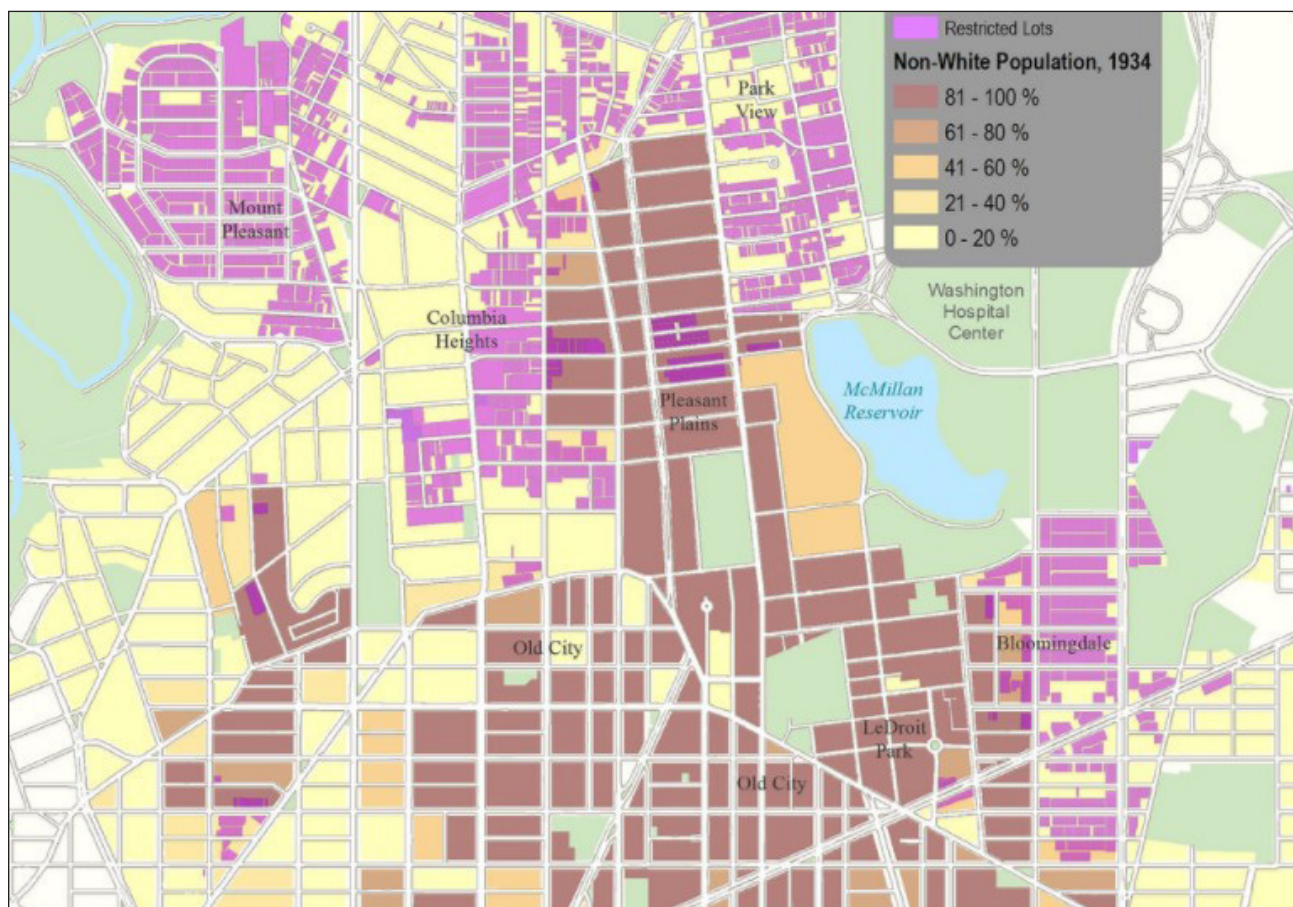


Figure 9. D.C. Restrictive Covenants 1934 Map

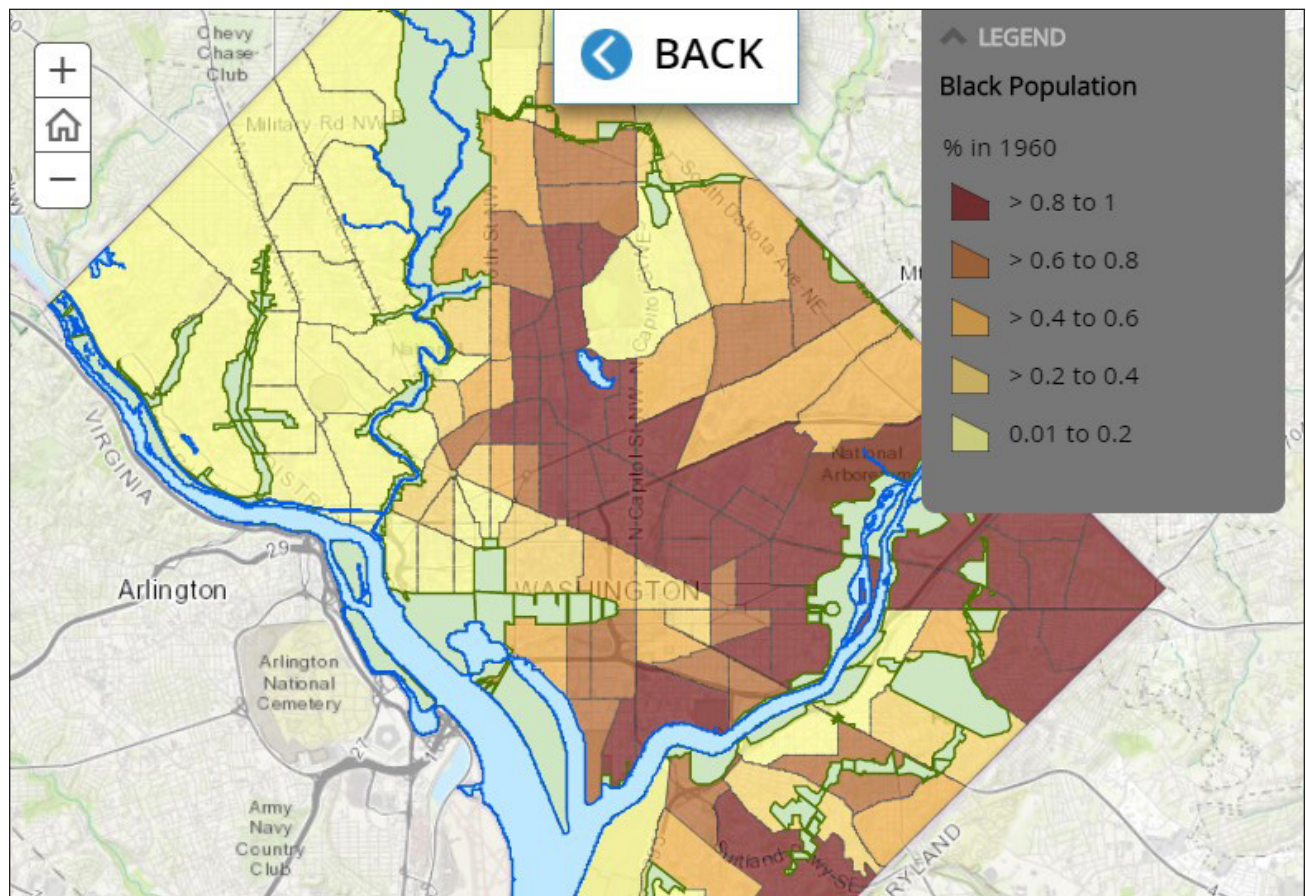


Figure 10. D.C. 1960 Black Population Map

The effects of de jure Jim Crow efforts such as redlining and restrictive covenants deserve emphasis because they affected entire African American populations, both in the District and beyond, even those with enough resources to buy in white-only neighborhoods. As Kushnick (1991) notes, these “legal forms of racism denied fundamental rights to all blacks under its sway, irrespective of their class” (p. 160). Even life-long civil rights legend Mary Church Terrell (1947), a member of Washington’s black elite (Gatewood 2000), spoke of her frustration of the constriction in housing options based on the color of her skin. However, it is worth noting that not all blacks lived in areas east of Anacostia. A smaller percentage of well-heeled professional African Americans were able to take advantage of certain areas abandoned by whites as their neighborhood became “transitional”. However, these segments of the population do little to offset Washington’s D.C.’s Jim Crow legacy and its effects in creating stubborn pockets of concentrated poor African Americans.

THE EFFECTS OF NATIONAL SOCIAL FORCES ON RACE AND RECREATION

A series of historical events and shifting social attitudes affected the situatedness of African Americans within and beyond the District. These social forces set into motion not only a recognition of the persistent need, e.g. chronic poverty and substandard education, for the innovative and inclusionary, inner-city programs such as SITP, but also the funding, resources, and reach for federal agencies to effectively perform in a social change functional capacity.

NEW DEAL

The immediate period after the Great Depression witnessed the New Deal, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s (FDR) effort to activate and engage the considerable powers of the government to address several crises affecting many Americans. Hunger, joblessness¹¹, poverty, and lack of opportunities plagued the nation as it struggled to regain its economic footing. Creation of specific agencies such as the Work Progress Administration (WPA), Public Works Administration (PWA), and the

¹¹ In 1933, the year FDR took office, many sources, including NPS, cite unemployment at 25 percent, however, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, this number is an estimate because official national unemployment statistics recordkeeping began in 1940. See [<https://www.dol.gov/oasam/programs/history/chapter5.html>].

Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), addressed job placement and training for the unemployed while undertaking the significant infrastructure projects that had languished during the Great Depression (Everhart 1972). Inter-agency collaboration between PWA, CCC, and NPS would ultimately lay the foundation, literally and figuratively, for the children's outdoor recreation and engagement aspects of the Summer in the Parks program.

Created by the Emergency Conservation Works Act (1933), the CCC, according to FDR's vision, was to use the program as a vehicle, "conserving both jobless youth and the nation's resources" (Everhart 1972:31). This involved bringing young men, ages 17-25, into parklands, primarily national parks, to create new or repair neglected accommodations, facilities, trails, and roads (Paige 1985). CCC programs existed in many parts of the country and were encompassed and supervised by NPS whether in or out of national park land. The reach, power, and outcomes of the CCC are evident in the sheer scope of the program, operating over 1000 camps nationwide and serving more than 300,000 young, jobless men (Everhart 1972). According to NPS¹², the National Capital Region's own Prince William Forest hosted over 2000 men from 1935-1942 whose tasks included clearing approximately 11,000 acres of wooded areas and "sub marginal"¹³ farmland to create the Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Area (RDA).

RDAs, while being the less well-known component of the CCC's mission, are significant to SITP history in that these spaces created a recreational area near large urban centers where disadvantaged, primarily minority, youth and families could access and engage nature (Everhart 1972; NPS). According to the Park Service's Prince William Forest National Park's (PWFNP) online cultural history,

¹² See Prince William Forest National Park Culture and History [<https://www.nps.gov/prwi/learn/historyculture/ccc.htm>].

¹³ The assignment "sub marginal" to farmland acquired by NPS is a heavily contested argument between local residents and the U.S. government. This process, often presented as a well-intentioned poverty alleviation measure, resulted in the displacement of generational farming families to convert land to federal ownership. See Shenandoah, Prince William Forest, Manassas Battlefield, and Catoctin Mountain National Parks for a small sample of this practice

The goal of the RDA program was to have recreation available to large portions of the population. By the 1930s, most national parks were in the West. State parks were also inaccessible by the lower classes. Forty-six RDAs would appear before the end of the decade, all within reach of the country's major cities. The maximum distance from these cities was thirty-five miles.



Figure 11. *Chopawamsic RDA Camp 1930s/NPS*

CCC constructed RDAs at Catoctin Mountain and Prince William Forest National Parks would later serve as SITP sleep away campsites, transporting inner-city Washington D.C. youth to engage in weeklong camping adventures. This model followed RDA usage by the District's African American youth and families during the 1930s-1940s as part of local church and community groups recreational summer outings.

Two areas of note regarding the RDAs, first, as indicated by the photo (Figure 11), the Chopawamsic RDA camps and cabins, though constructed with federal dollars, and thus in theory "non-segregated" by constitutional protections, instead followed local Virginia codes (Public Assemblage Act 1926) and customs making them rigidly

segregated facilities. Though heavily disputed by NPS Assistant Director Conrad Wirth, the segregationist views of state and local authorities dictated the racial division of parkland space (NPS; Wirth 1980). Racial separation, deemed imperative, required the park to have separate roadway entrances to the parks' cabins, camping, and day use areas (Strickland 1986), with physical signs clearly marking the racialized spaces: NEGRO and WHITE.



Figure 12. *NPS Chopawamsic RDA Segregation Map/NPS*

The second area of note concerns the processes utilized by the federal authorities to secure the land for federal government use. A NPS-commissioned study on PWFNP (Payne-Jackson and Taylor 2000) investigated the primarily African American populations displaced by the U.S. Resettlement Agency, (RA), through a series of strategic maneuvers under the umbrella of eminent domain. Pushed from the area were approximately 150 black households of generational freed slave farmers in the Cabin Branch community to create the RDA. This effectively destroyed the towns of Joplin, Batestown, and Hickory Ridge with residents' property purchased, condemned, or taken for no payment by the federal government (Payne-Jackson and Taylor 2000). According to the PWFNP cultural history,

At first, the RA only focused on the forty poorest families. The amount each family received varied by quality of the land, and sometimes, whether they held out or not. The families that held out were often threatened with a smaller payment. Thus, by 1942, a majority of local families voluntarily sold their property to the RA. The remainder had their properties condemned and seized. Not only did they receive smaller payments, but they had less time to relocate.

The aforementioned “sub marginal” land label allowed the government to declare that residents’ poverty stemmed from their low-quality land and they and their families would essentially be better off moving to other areas, a fact that usually meant renting new housing versus owning their own homesteads. The Chopawamsic RDA dispute grew especially contentious when, after the initial push to displace the majority of families, final federal efforts were successful in driving out the few families that had remained to fight federal encroachment until the end. With less than two weeks’ notice, the families involuntarily departed to make way for additional WWII preparation military training facilities for Quantico Marine Corps Base and the Offices of Strategic Services¹⁴ (NPS N.d.). This removal process, expedited by the devaluing and loss of land which in many cases represented African Americans’ only asset of value, spiraled families into deeper poverty in a pattern often seen in U.S. history. Interestingly, this pattern appears driven more by class and power than by race in that it does not racially discriminate. The government has also attached the “sub-marginal” farmland to poor rural, white landowners whose ownership was subordinate to the government’s authority to seize land for public use (see Shenandoah and Catoctin National Parks).

According to Payne-Jackson and Taylor (2000), the government’s legacy of displacement of African American communities to create the Chopawamsic RDA was life changing and contemporarily influences local blacks’ lack of visitation to PWFNP and distrust of federal authorities. This episode joins black collective memory of instances of NPS and the federal government’s unfair treatment of its African American citizens. Additionally, the irony of creating the RDA to give poor, black, and urban District residents a nature sanctuary, through the removal of poor, black, and rural farmers exemplifies the “good intentions, deleterious consequences” model that often appears at the intersection of African Americans and governmental institutions.

¹⁴ For more information on RDAs converted to OSS facilities 1942-1945 see NPS History [<https://www.nps.gov/articles/office-of-strategic-services.htm>]

THE RESISTANCE 1940S-1950S

“The outcome of the struggles of any people is determined not merely by their will and determination but also by the range and balances of forces against which they are struggling and the range and balance of forces on which they can call”-Kushnick 1991:160

The period of the 1940s-1950s represents a boon to some and a bust to others, depending on one's perspective and situatedness. Post-WWII America offered significant opportunities for many to achieve higher education through the GI Bill leading to stable, secure employment and positioning solidly in the burgeoning middle-class strata. Out-flight from cities to the sprawling suburbs that featured better schools, more resources, and the wealth building of home ownership. As discussed in the previous section, social acts (Wilson 2009) such as Jim Crow policies and projects, including “urban renewal”/displacement and restrictive covenants, prevented many African Americans from benefitting from opportunities to enter the middle class. Discriminatory constraints not only affected blacks' housing opportunities but also the quality and quantity of educational opportunities and resource allocations. For instance, public schools in majority black neighborhoods continuously suffered from being overcrowded, understaffed, and underfunded (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Green 1967; Kushnick 1991; Wilson 2009; Zamudio et al. 2001). Not only were segregated D.C. black schools under-funded in violation of federal law, they received unequal per student funding, when compared to white-only schools, per local budgeting and federal government appropriations (Green 1967; Wilson 2009).

Employment discrimination also severely limited the opportunities for African Americans to progress socially and financially, especially in federal government hiring which had a sizeable impact on the District's black community. Taylor, Jr. and Hill (2000) note just how important positive federal labor policy development and enforcement affected the black community, “the right policy created circumstances that facilitated their advancement and constructed a venue for filing grievances and demanding the redress of wrongs” (p. 13). Massey (2001) also points to the physical isolation of segregation, with communities bisected by highways often with substandard transportation options, or “job spatial mismatch-the notion that work and

people are in two different places” (Wilson 2009:10). The racial isolation via highways was especially impactful on the District’s black communities, increasing residents’ transportation challenges and limiting job opportunities.

After WWII, and to a lesser extent post-WWI, the U.S. had faced severe international criticism for its hypocrisy as representing itself as the world’s beacon of democratic principles, while oppressing its own citizens and failing to protect their constitutional rights (Kornbluh 2000; Kushnick 1991; Winant 2001). African Americans also heavily criticized their government for preaching the value of Human Rights while oppressing its own people even going so far as to seek relief and intervention from the United Nations (Winant 2001). According to the U.N.’s own Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), an effort spearheaded by Americans including Eleanor Roosevelt, “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”, but for the U.S. this was more in word than in deed, as continued de jure and de facto segregation constrained African Americans mobility and opportunities (Kornbluh 2000). Domestic criticism of U.S. race relations, often through interracial efforts, would also bring attention to America’s hypocrisy and its institutional failure to protect its own citizens.

Additional domestic and international backlash against the federal government continued as more blacks and progressive whites engaged in agitation and resistance coupled with intense media coverage of the deeply rooted and ongoing second-class treatment of black Americans. Pritchett (2004) and Green (1967) described the fallout of Myrdal’s book *An American Dilemma* (1944/1962) and The National Committee on Segregation’s report “Segregation in Washington, D.C.” (1948) as the nation’s capital Negro problem gained worldwide attention. Myrdal’s monograph was especially impactful, and prescient in retrospect, in communicating to white American how deeply the angst and desperation of African Americans had begun simmering into a boiling rage. One black clergyman, a Dr. J.S. Nathaniel Tross, interviewed by Myrdal stated, “I am afraid for my people. They have grown restless. They are not happy. They no longer laugh.” (p.1013). Myrdal’s work is significant in that he interviewed both whites and blacks and presented his findings in a relatively objective style. This, along with his position as a foreign Swedish Nobel laureate economist, aided in the reception of his findings and his avoidance of partisan race labels, e.g. communist sympathizer.

In Myrdal's discussing the "Negro Problem", one concern that piqued the conscious of many white Americans was the continuous drafting of young black men to fight America's wars abroad while being denied rights at home. Without privilege, resources, or the protection of higher education, many black men would die serving a country that, in word and deed, did not consider them full citizens. From Myrdal (1944), "A young negro, about to be inducted into the Army said, 'Just carve on my tombstone-Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the protection of the white man'" (p. 1006). It is against this backdrop that a multi-front, interracial attack launched to dismantle de jure and de facto Jim Crow policies and secure African Americans' constitutional civil rights both in the public and private spheres.

The 1940s and 1950s represents a foundational shift in the fight for black civil rights as African Americans organized themselves and often collaborated with like-minded progressive whites to strategize a resistance campaign. From boycotts to legal efforts, the resistance would agitate on multiple flanks. Black organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Urban League harnessed collective black energy, media, and resources to demand equal protection and civil rights (Kornbluh 2000; Kushnick 1991; Taylor, Jr. and Hill 2000; Wolcott 2012). Washington D.C. organizations such as the Committee for Racial Democracy in the Nation's Capital and the Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of the D.C. Anti-Discrimination Laws represented an interracial effort to combat ongoing segregation and oppression (Asch and Musgrove 2017).

Attacks on the legal flank proved a rich area to agitate for change and racial progress. Black attorneys, many educated locally at Howard University, were at the forefront of legal challenges to dismantle Jim Crow. Supreme Court cases from the District, including *Bolling versus Sharpe* (1954), an education segregation companion case to *Brown versus Topeka Board of Education*, and *Hurd versus Hodge* (1948), a restrictive covenant housing discrimination companion case to *Shelley versus Kramer*, were fundamental to reaffirming civil rights for African Americans (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Zamudio et al. 2011).

Much debate centers on the strength and speed of the federal government's efforts to protect the constitutional rights of its black citizens; however,

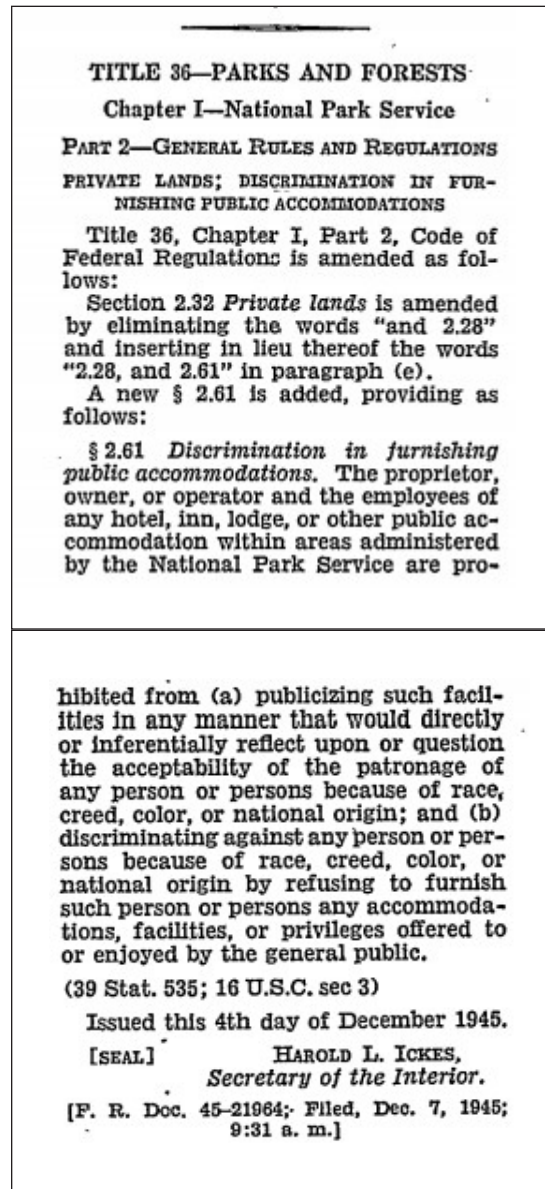


Figure 13. DOI Order 14855
 / Federal Register LOC

certain policy improvements during the 1940s and 1950s did positively affect outcomes for African Americans, especially D.C. residents. The actions of President Harry Truman, including creation of the President's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947 to "study and report on the problem of federally secured civil rights" and the effected change from the Committee's final conclusions would significantly impact the lives of African Americans (Kornbluh 2000:95). Advancements such as military integration and the reformation of civil service system, along with the elimination of discrimination in federal hiring, would somewhat widen the narrow paths to the middle class that had previously been closed to blacks.

One particular measure in the "secured federal civil rights" project to eliminate de jure and de facto Jim Crow policies would also officially reconfirm that all federal accommodations and facilities were, by law, non-segregated (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Green 1967; Kushnick 1991). The Truman administration's, Department of Interior Order 14855 (December 4, 1945), expressly forbade segregation and discrimination in all NPS facilities and accommodations, ultimately paving the way not only for park integration but programs such as Summer in the Parks (Federal Register 1945; Green 1967).

THE GREAT SOCIETY

As previously discussed, the early 1960s were a period of intense racial tension, violence, and ongoing discrimination that, even in the face of de jure gains from the Civil Rights Movement, continued to plague the nation. However, the struggle for equality for African Americans was just one of the many fronts in President Lyndon B. Johnson's (LBJ) fight for

racial, social, and economic justice and equality for many disadvantaged groups including poor, rural whites, Native Americans, the elderly, and the disabled. Recognizing that countless Americans had not only been left behind in the boon years following WWII and the growth of Capitalism, but many were essentially trapped in generational confines based on their race, age, and/or class. Social change had brought about a renewed interest in understanding how and why these marginal groups suffered from the long-term effects of discrimination, negligence, and poverty. LBJ sought to exercise the considerable power and reach of the federal government to “level the playing field” so all groups could flourish in the “Great Society” through programs such as Head Start (early childhood education), Medicare (medical coverage for the elderly), Job Corps (youth employment), or the School Lunch Program (child nutrition). From simply conservative to the more “laissez faire racism” (Wilson 2009:16) points of view, the policies and programs that grew out of this effort were viewed by many as government handouts to undeserving masses, detrimental actions of government overreach, and/or attempts to redistribute wealth to promote economic equality.

In spite of the negative narrative espoused by detractors, LBJ and his administration moved forward with its multi-pronged plans to address many social and economic ills that had long been part of the nation’s fabric. Ultimately, the purpose of the “Great Society’s” efforts were to address inequality not through immediate relief from an injection of cash or other gains, but instead through long-term uplift activities, laws, programs, and policies (Zeitz 2018).

The presidential aides who conceived and implemented its [The Great Society’s] component parts rejected policies that would enforce equality of income, wealth or condition. They did not broadly support quantitative measures like cash transfers or a guaranteed minimum income but, rather, believed that qualitative measures like education, workforce training, access to health care, food security and full political empowerment would ensure each American a level playing field and equal opportunity to share in the nation’s prosperity. Governing in an age of unmatched prosperity, the architects of the Great Society were convinced that the means to a more just society was not cutting the pie into smaller slices so that everyone would enjoy an equal share, but baking a larger pie.
- Zeitz (2018)

The “level the playing field” terminology is an ongoing narrative that significantly impacted programs such as Summer in the Parks (SITP) and other innovative efforts to provide primarily disadvantaged populations the social and cultural capital opportunities to increase their life chances at success and self-sufficiency. Demonstrable research on parks and green spaces had also determined the power and advantage of natural engagement to overall health and well-being, thus opportunities for natural capital would become part of the larger effort to expand access to disaffected communities.¹⁵ Several federal initiatives launched under the far-reaching umbrella of LBJ’s “Great Society”, including the Park Service’s “Parks to the People” Campaign. This NPS effort demonstrated a fundamental shift for the agency, the largest holder of urban parkland in the U.S., to redirect its intense focus from the vast expanses of its Western Parks, to its urban locations either in or near disadvantaged communities (Everhart 1972; Foresta 1984; Hartzog Jr. 1988).



Figure 14. George Hartzog, Jr. / NPS

PARKS TO THE PEOPLE

Independent NPS efforts as well as wider federal inter-agency initiatives provide evidence of the Park Service’s commitment to activism and uplift. One of these initiatives, Parks to the People, was a NPS campaign launched in 1964 by the Department of Interior’s Secretary, Stewart Udall and the Park Service’s new Director, George Hartzog, Jr. The program addressed the lack of connection between the National Parks and urban communities, especially those located near national parks. According to Hartzog Jr.’s NPS biography, the project was designed “to make the system [NPS parks] relevant to an urban society” who could then benefit from the effects of outdoor recreation and natural engagement.

Summer in the Parks (SITP) was just one of the many programs instituted under the Parks to the

¹⁵ For example, NPS funded “The Park, Parkway, and Recreational Study Act of 1936” to further investigate existing recreation and future recreational use of NPS parklands to respond to the ongoing benefits of and demand for outdoor engagement and recreation.

People project, which also included creating an Office for Urban Affairs and minority hiring efforts to increase diversity within the primarily white organization (Foresta 1984).¹⁶ However, while Hartzog, Jr.'s vision to reach and engage minorities was methodologically innovative, it was not the first federal effort to establish a connection between the black population and the institution. Prior federal inter-agency efforts to address inequalities and lack of access would significantly lay the groundwork for later NPS urban African American outreach programming.

EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

By 1967, the years of race-based rioting in the country's large, urban centers, had left public authorities and communities grappling with questions of how to address this ongoing crisis. The period following the passage of 1964's Civil Rights Amendment had not been an idyllic, timely, peaceful transition into establishing equal rights of access and accommodation for African Americans. While the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) could effectively eliminate de jure Jim Crow segregation from public laws and codes, it could not eliminate de facto discriminatory policies nor make much progress toward correcting past injustices and structural inequalities (Harris 2009). Black economic and social gains were not immediately forthcoming post-legislation as the history of U.S. institutional racism had long constricted blacks' growth and opportunities, especially for the post-WWII boon years. Racism was (is) persistently and deeply embedded in the fabric of the nation.

It is an unsurprising result as Kushnick (1991) notes, "Institutional racism determines resource allocation: access to goods and services and opportunities-including education, employment, healthcare and housing-and assures that, compared with blacks, whites get privileged access to scarce resources" (p. 158). Massey (2001) echoes this notion in that usually, "As people and families improve their socioeconomic circumstances, they generally move to gain access to these benefits [better housing, schools, less crime]" (p. 391). Yet, for many segregated African Americans, the "barriers

¹⁶ Despite decades of efforts to increase diversity within the Park Service and its parent agency, the Department of Interior (DOI), the most current figures (2014) from the U.S. Office of Personnel Management state DOI remains a primarily white staffed organization at over 74 percent white and fewer than 7 percent self-identifying as African American or Hispanic (Green 2018).

to spatial mobility are barriers to social mobility” (Massey 2001:392). The ideological win of the CRM, de jure racial equality, provided little support to mitigate the encompassing negative effects of segregation on the life chances and life course trajectories of blacks. The slow pace of noticeable change in their everyday lives frustrated African Americans, leading to their increased awareness, race consciousness, and political action (Harris 2009).

KERNER COMMISSION

The previous chapter feature a brief overview of the Kerner Report however the work of the Kerner Commission deserves deeper discussion because it serves as one of the most accurate reflections of the country’s racial climate and urban attitudes at the time. Additionally, the commission, as a federal entity, indicated a clear understanding by federal authorities to the desperate situation within many of the nation’s urban centers and a call to action for all federal and local agencies to attempt programming and resource improvements to address the racial tensions. Following intense summer disturbances across the nation in cities including Watts, Newark, Detroit, and Chicago, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order 11365 in July 1967 to create the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to study the roots of the violent conflict and suggest recommendations to improving the volatile state of U.S. race relations. According to the Commission’s executive summary, their task was “to answer three basic questions: What happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again?” (p. 1) Chaired by Illinois Governor, Otto Kerner, Jr., the Commission began its work by visiting the riot cities and conducting a series of interviews with public officials, local community leaders, and city residents. Additionally, commission members investigated the local and national institutional treatment of African American citizens and the challenges and effects of systemic racism. The commission’s 1968 conclusion, reported in the named Kerner Report, that “Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal” (p. 1).

Investigating the process and product of the Kerner Report is essential to understanding several areas of influence to the National Park Service’s Summer in the Parks program. Firstly, the report offers context to the national state of racial tension at the time. Though riots may have occurred

in cities geographically far from Washington D.C., e.g. Watts, Chicago, intense coverage of the disturbances and violence against blacks, especially coverage from African American newspapers, created national black awareness and contributed to their collective memory, which fueled a deeper angst amongst the population (Harris 2009). It is also important to note, at the time of the Kerner Commission investigation, the District had thus far avoided recent large-scale race riots¹⁷; however, the conditions affecting the studied black communities were clearly present in D.C.'s African American neighborhoods, including chronic poverty, dense overpopulation, and high unemployment (Ashe and Musgrove 2017; Green 1967). It is possible that the riot cities' reported conditions and outcomes served as a prescient warning to D.C. of what was to come if rapid social and economic change did not occur in the near term in the area's black communities.

In addition to offering a contemporary account of the volatile state of race relations, the Kerner Report also detailed an abbreviated history of what documented actions had taken place that laid the foundation to spark the particular conflicts. For example, the majority of cities such as Detroit and Chicago had a long, violence-plagued history of police brutality directed to its African American citizens. Instances and patterns of police violence and aggression had fueled a contemptuous relationship between the factions as the dominant group's narrative represented police as white enforcers of social order while blacks represented societal "disorder" (Wolcott 2012). The Commission also found that dramatic media coverage of black crime had increased white fear and reinforced the stereotype of African American criminality. This last point is especially significant in that these perceptions also extended to the urban centers' police officers, thus increasing the likelihood of fueling police brutality events. Moreover, blacks' individual experiences of oppression and persecution at the hands of institutional actors fed into the collective's greater "communities of memory" (Bellah,

¹⁷ In the summer of 1919 Washington D.C. was the site of one of the many violent race riots that occurred nationwide. The spark of the D.C. disturbance, which involved roving bands of armed whites attacking unsuspecting blacks across the District with no police intervention, was the oft-used rumor that a black man had sexually assaulted a white woman. In this case, the fact that the wife, rumored to be a Navy wife, brought recently returned white WWI veterans into Southwest's black neighborhoods seeking "justice". With no police assistance, blacks began arming themselves thus escalating the level of violence. In response, President Wilson ordered a military intervention to bring "order" back to the D.C. streets. For more information, see [<http://www.blackpast.org/aah/washington-d-c-race-riot-1919>].

Sullivan, and Tipton 1985) narrative that sustained ongoing resentment and agitation (Harris 2009). Additional institutional failures also centered on issues of exclusion in representation noting that few if any blacks served as police officer or city representatives in the riot-affected cities.¹⁸ By answering, at least in broad strokes, the reasons for the racial disturbances, the Kerner Report could also serve as a blueprint of possible actions to mitigate continuing rioting and future violence. The report's blueprint significantly informed SITP and other urban enrichment-centric programming.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders' findings point to ongoing institutional failures and white complicity in unfair housing, employment, and education practices that limited blacks from not only forward progress, but also from providing support for themselves and their families. The Commission ascertained that society must address the history of racial injustices and systemic racism with corrective measures recommended to attempt to stem the tide of chronic poverty, joblessness, isolation, and tension, ultimately reuniting a broken nation. Going further, they warned that,

¹⁸ Washington, D.C. would join this list of urban cities with underrepresentation of African Americans on the police force noting that during the 1968 riot, 80 percent of the Metro police were white (Asch and Musgrove 2017).

To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values.

The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society.

This alternative will require a commitment to national action--compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on this earth.

From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and, above all, new will.

The vital needs of the nation must be met; hard choices must be made, and, if necessary, new taxes enacted.

Violence cannot build a better society. Disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice. They strike at the freedom of every citizen. The community cannot--it will not--tolerate coercion and mob rule.

Violence and destruction must be ended--in the streets of the ghetto and in the lives of people.

Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans.

What white Americans have never fully understood but what the Negro can never forget--is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created It, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.

- Kerner Report Executive Summary (p. 1)

THE ROOTS OF THE RIOTS

The voluminous final report (1968) was impactful not only because of its granular level of investigation, but also due to its unwavering transparency, demonstrating the disastrous consequences of the confluence of “flummoxed officials, poor decisions, inaction, overreaction, prejudice and miscommunication” (Coyne 2007). As noted in the executive summary (1968), “The civil disorders of 1967 involved Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society, authority and property in Negro neighborhoods--rather than against white persons” (p. 5). This point is significant and discussed later regarding blacks’ motivation for recreational integration as well as institutionally acceptable white violence to enforce segregation in leisure activities and accommodations. The commission concluded that the root of the 1967 riots was a combustible frustration among many African Americans with their continued second-class status, inferior treatment, and lack of resources and opportunities. Additionally, the continued failure of federal and local governments, along with their agencies, e.g. police, to protect its black citizens or enforce its own policies of non-discrimination demonstrated a rupture to the social contract and democratic promise of equality to all persons (Ashe and Musgrove 2017).

Many of the disputes, namely Detroit and Newark-the largest of the disturbances producing the most arrests, deaths, and property damage-began with police harassment and brutality toward black individuals. After the original events, a series of rumors and unfortunate responses by some local African Americans and authorities, including local police and the activated National Guard, set off a domino effect of escalating violence. The 1967 Newark riot offers an excellent snapshot of how one spark can set off the powder keg of simmering racial tension and unrest. Newark police arrested black cab driver, John Smith, for alleged minor traffic offenses and resisting arrest resulting in his being beaten and booked into jail. In response to later press inquiries, police released a report accusing Smith of “tailgating” and “driving the wrong way down a one way street”, using “offensive language and punching” on arresting officers (Hayden 1967). However, black bystanders of Smith’s police encounter disputed this narrative, stating that Smith was the subject of police harassment and violence; he had simply driven his cab around a double-parked police car.



Figure 15. 1967 Newark Riot/NJ.com

The bystanders sent word of Smith's arrest to local Civil Rights organizations, e.g. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), requesting they intervene with local authorities on Smith's behalf. Representatives asked and received jail access to the heavily beaten Smith, whose battered condition led them to demand his immediate transport to a local hospital (Hayden 1967). As word spread and day turned to night, a peaceful protest of fellow black taxi drivers along with local black citizens began near the precinct where Smith was imprisoned. Similar to Washington D.C.'s riot the following year, what had begun peacefully quickly devolved into a day of chaos, violence, and ultimately, military intervention.¹⁹

More specifically, the Commission found that size, tension, and intensity of the conflicts escalated quickly with the militarization of law enforcement seen in the deployment of the National Guard into what had been local police efforts to quell disorder. Janowitz (1969) echoed this noting how small disturbances escalate into full-scale riots when weapons, beyond simply police pistols, are introduced into what originally was a rock and bottle throwing conflict. Residents interviewed by the Commission, spoke of their cities being under siege, not by rioters but by the military who patrolled the streets appearing ready for war in combat vehicles and gear carrying long

¹⁹ The militarization of law enforcement through urban National Guard activation during the 1960s' riots substantially and meaningfully informs several areas such as Crisis Management (see Miller 2001), Military Science (see Rasmussen 1999), and Urban Sociology (see Janowitz 1969).

rifles. Adding to the tension was the fact that the majority of National Guard units deployed in urban riots cities such as Detroit and Newark were not racially integrated as the Guard had “been resistant to federal directives [to integrate] and Negroes accounted for less than two percent of its personnel” (Janowitz 1969:507). What this meant for fearful black residents of these riot-torn cities is that not only were the streets of their African American neighborhoods full of soldiers-they were full of white weaponized soldiers.

Another significant component in the Kerner Report’s findings centers on the seemingly overreactions by local and federal authorities that were fueled by unsubstantiated rumors, which in Newark’s case, claimed there were black snipers in the ghettos poised to take out law enforcement and military personnel (Coyne 2007).

On Saturday, July 15, [Director of Police Dominick] Spina received a report of snipers in a housing project. When he arrived he saw approximately 100 National Guardsmen and police officers crouching behind vehicles, hiding in corners and lying on the ground around the edge of the courtyard. Since everything appeared quiet and it was broad daylight, Spina walked directly down the middle of the street. Nothing happened. As he came to the last building of the complex, he heard a shot. All around him the troopers jumped, believing themselves to be under sniper fire. A moment later a young Guardsman ran from behind a building. The Director of Police went over and asked him if he had fired the shot. The soldier said yes, he had fired to scare a man away from a window; that his orders were to keep everyone away from windows. Spina said he told the soldier: "Do you know what you just did? You have now created a state of hysteria. Every Guardsman up and down this street and every state policeman and every city policeman that is present thinks that somebody just fired a shot and that it is probably a sniper." A short time later more "gunshots" were heard. Investigating, Spina came upon a Puerto Rican sitting on a wall. In reply to a question as to whether he knew "where the firing is coming from?" the man said: "That's no firing. That's fireworks. If you look up to the fourth floor, you will see the people who are throwing down these cherry bombs." By this time four truckloads of National Guardsmen had arrived and troopers and policemen were again crouched everywhere looking for a sniper. The Director of Police remained at the scene for three hours, and the only shot fired was the one by the Guardsman. Nevertheless, at six o'clock that evening two columns of National Guardsmen and state troopers were directing mass fire at the Hayes Housing Project in response to what they believed were snipers.

-Kerner Report Executive Summary p. 3

The Kerner Report's dissection of the Newark riot offers an interesting blueprint that in many ways would mirror what would happen in Washington D.C. on April 4 the following year. Events that would precipitate an urgency and add significance to the already planned SITP program scheduled to launch in July.

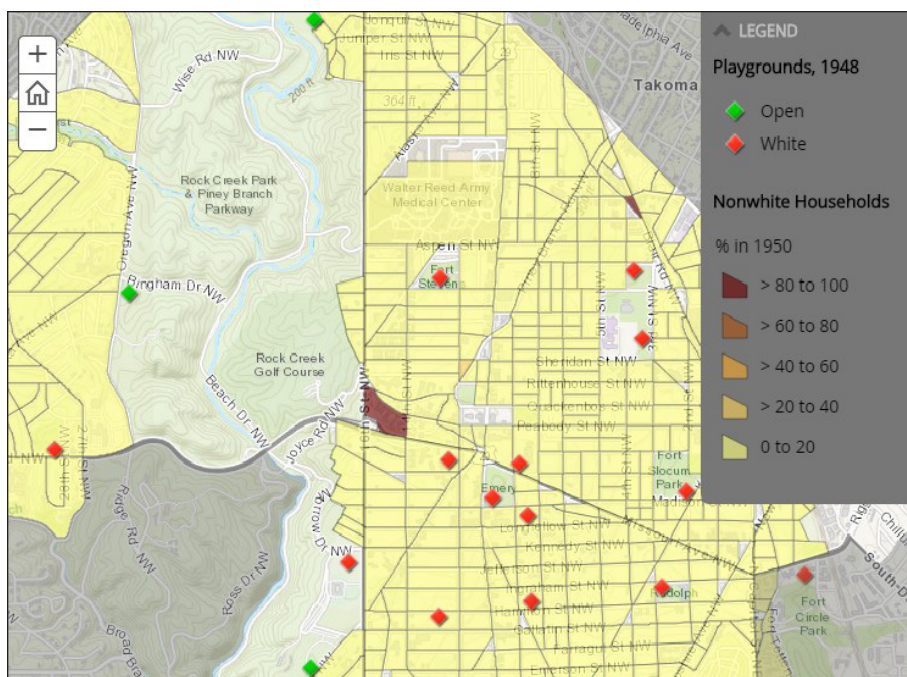


Figure 16. D.C. Segregated Playgrounds 1948

Perhaps nothing can better demonstrate the historic effects of recreational segregation and lack of facilities for the District's African American communities more than this impactful map (above) indicating the dearth of "open" (non-segregated) playgrounds available in 1948. Segregation even affected the federal playgrounds at Rock Creek National Park, which were open to all by law. However, the D.C. Recreation Board managed many federal park facilities, operating them under strictly segregationist policies (Prologue D.C. N.d.). The assumption would be that the District, long considered a federal city due to its subordinate status to the government, would follow the public laws and policies of the U.S. government, yet

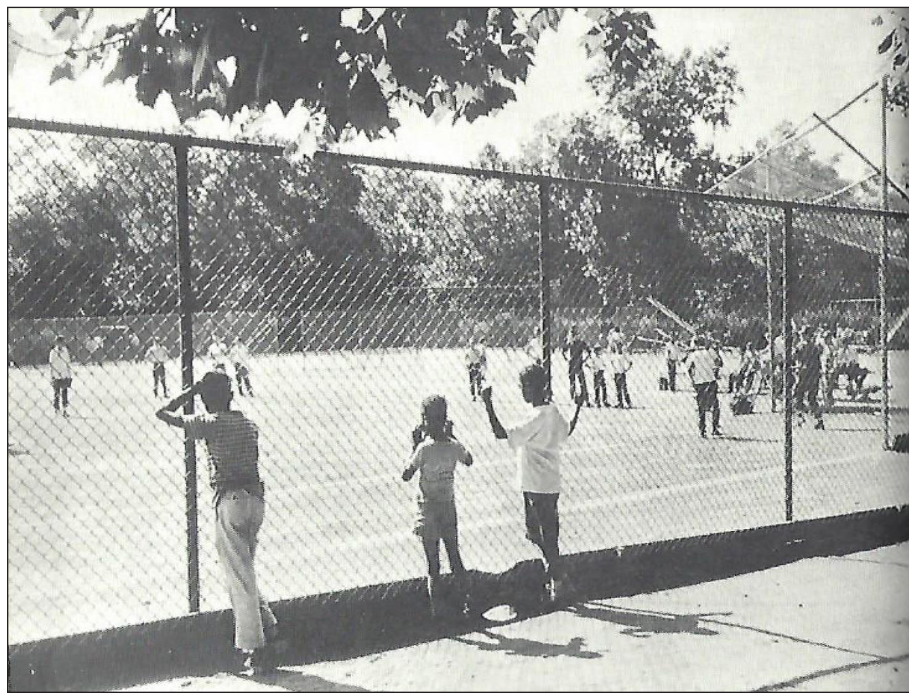


Figure 17. *D.C. White
Playground 1949 / Green 1967*

local commissioners (appointed by Congress) and city administrators often implemented and maintained segregationist policies that directly contradicted the federal government's non-discrimination policies. The practice of de facto segregation occurred not only under the purview of the government, but on federally owned properties, e.g. D.C.'s Department of Interior-owned pools, parks, and playgrounds. In violation of federal law, access for African Americans taxpayers to recreational facilities consisted of admittance to typically lesser quality, black-only segregated sites and complete denial of access to white-only, better-outfitted recreation locations.

Recreational facilities, similar to public schools, were not only segregated, but also unequally funded based on race, resulting in poor conditions, fewer options, and overcrowding in black communities (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Green 1967; Verbrugge 2015; Verbrugge and Yingling 2015). Segregation in recreation proved to be an ongoing challenge in the tug-of-war between the city's black residents, the Washington D.C. Recreation Board, who served as the sites' operators, and the ultimate owner of the sites, the U.S. Department of the Interior (DOI).²⁰ For example, the federal government continued to

²⁰ See *Camp v. Recreation Board for District of Columbia* – U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia 104 F.Supp. 10 (1952) – Lawsuit – defendant African American

publicize that its recreational facilities were open to all by law, reinforcing this policy through the Park Service's own Order 14855 (Federal Register 1945). However, the Recreation Board continued its discriminatory actions by openly marking and enforcing sites as "white-only or colored-only" spaces (Verbrugge and Yingling 2015). In what is perhaps the largest uprising over integration of Park Service D.C. pools, a riot broke out in 1949 as black youths and young white sympathizers attempted to swim together in the de facto segregated facility. White swimmers, Recreation Board workers, and ultimately Park Police physically and verbally assaulted the group.

The riot photo below, featuring a beaten white sympathizer apparently struck down by the armed mounted police officer, threatened to put the District's hypocrisy, as the representative of Democracy, again on national and international display. The fallout from the riot depends on which lens one uses to view "progress". On the one hand, the event did intensify the ongoing power struggle between the DOI and the D.C. Recreation Board over continued "illegal" segregation of federal public facilities. On the other hand, the unresolved dispute between the two groups ultimately resulting in closing the pool, which left many blacks with yet another episode of institutional failure to protect their rights.

As the government sought to give the District more autonomy, resources, and facilities, DOI, however, refused to give ownership of its pools, playgrounds, parks, and golf courses to the city because of the Recreation Board's continued segregationist policies (Green 1967; Verbrugge and Yingling 2015). This pattern of segregation in recreational facilities proved combustible in the struggle for civil rights both in D.C., in episodes such as the Anacostia Pool riot, as well as, in events across the country (Wolcott 2012). The findings of the previously cited Kerner Report (1968), noting the lack of recreational facilities and programming in black communities, was also evident in the District.

A review of the historical analysis of national and local race relations and public sites of discrimination quickly reveals the structural racism of previous federal

children sued the Recreation Board, the Superintendent of Recreation, Commissioners, Board of Education members, Secretary of the Interior, and the Director of NPS over substandard segregated recreational facilities. Case dismissed, as court ruled that facilities were satisfactory and permitted continued segregation under *Plessy versus Ferguson*.



Figure 18. *Anacostia Pool
Riot / D.C. Public Library*

and local governments' discriminatory policies and actions that ultimately affected African Americans' relationships with not only public spaces, but with their government (Erickson et al. 2009; Green 1967; Magnum 2012). The District's stubborn resistance to desegregation and integration, while actively violating federal law, further fractured many African Americans' public trust in the local government (Magnum 2012). Yet, the city is not solely responsible for the volatile race relations within its borders, especially the segregation of recreational facilities. The legacy of exclusion of African Americans from D.C.'s Department of Interior-owned parks, pools, and playgrounds also illuminated the institutional failure of the federal government to enforce its own policies in protecting access and resources for all tax-paying citizens. The contemporary NPS institutional messaging positions the original intent to create the Summer in the Parks program was, in part, to address this legacy of failure.



CHAPTER FOUR

LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER FOUR

Developing a comprehensive literature review for Summer in the Parks (SITP) could encompass multiple areas of study. However, it is best to look to the program itself for guidance into what areas to pursue. The original purpose of the program was to provide local children with free structured recreation and natural engagement activities primarily in the local national parks. Considering the main SITP site of Washington D.C., which was over 70 percent African American at the time, the primary users of the program were black children from across the city. Recognizing the dearth of green space in many areas of the District's urban landscape, considerable planning focused on natural engagement activities, thus providing opportunities for inner city kids to "escape the asphalt" of their daily lives. Literature exploring the intersections of race and recreation provided a rich starting point to this project. With much of this scholarship grounded within critical race theory, it illuminated how deep the embedding of race is in social relations and institutions. This section will also include literature reviewing African American engagement with national parks that offers an historical overview of how the United States and its government institutions' complicated race relations legacy has long-lasting effects on black American citizens, including park and public space usage.

Portions of the race and recreation scholarship point to social and cultural factors that may influence African Americans' recreation and social behaviors. For example, prior research has sought to link how black collective memory influences behavior and cultural norms. Represented in the literature are discussions of how certain outdoor engagement activities such as camping are considered by many blacks, not a "black thing" to do whereas other activities such as picnicking and fishing are deemed culturally acceptable. A deeper investigation into how collective memory forms, maintains, and influences group members will comprise the next section of the literature review. More specifically, what role does collective memory play in shaping group culture, shared beliefs, and appropriate behaviors (Harris 2009; Wilson 1984)? Further investigation into how both individual and collective memories of the African American experience influences and shapes narratives and patterns further establishing socially appropriate behaviors and cultural expectations. A developing tension is uncovered in this area between ethnic groups' prerogative to define their own culture while resisting efforts to assimilate and assume the taste and habits of the dominant group versus the potential

consequential adverse outcomes that arise from the failure to adopt activities that provide cross-population emotional, social, and physical benefits.

RACE AND RECREATION

Considerable research and literature has been devoted to developing theories and comparative analysis of race and ethnic-based differences in recreational activities, usage, and access. The fields of leisure studies, urban sociology, and geography have spent decades investigating and analyzing how discrimination and segregation were, and in some cases continues to be, practiced in many sites including public recreational spaces. Though specific sites will vary, from swimming pools (Wiltse 2007, 2014) to roller coasters (Wolcott 2012) to Washington, D.C.'s own public playgrounds (Green 1967; Verbrugge 2015; Verbrugge and Yingling 2015), what is clear is that these sites feature their own complex set of race relations. Theories or explanations of African American usage of public spaces, namely, national parks, has been summarized into essentially four different non-mutually exclusive theories²¹ centered around economic, geographical, historical, and cultural areas. One important factor concerning this line of research is that the majority of studies only consider the Western region national parks, e.g. Yosemite, Grand Canyon, Sequoia, etc., failing to include not only urban parks, e.g. D.C., Golden Gate Park, but also historical sites also operated by NPS.

The turbulence of the 1960s and the Civil Rights Movement spurred an increase in the number of race-related studies seeking a more nuanced lens into the everyday lives of African Americans. This trend appears in leisure and recreation studies' evolution past its prior one-dimensional theorizing of African Americans' relationship with national parks and other public outdoor spaces (Johnson et al. 1997). Johnson et al. (1997) presents a thorough review of the evolution of black recreation that concisely summarizes and tracks the advancing research phases. The authors found that the majority of early studies (1960s-1970s) investigating why so few blacks ventured into and recreated in these public spaces, focused solely on "compensation theory" or in a more sociological term "compensation factor", the economic

²¹ We use the term "theory" here to be consistent with Leisure Studies where it describes the potential dynamics or influences that may explain the phenomenon. In more sociological terms, we would most likely refer to these as "factors".

perspective based on the prohibitive cost of long-distance travel and related expenses (p. 2). The compensation factor explanation held that African Americans primarily lived in urban locations far away from the Western national parks and could not afford transportation, housing, and equipment to vacation in these spaces (Meeker, Woods, and Lucas 1973; Washburne 1978). Closely tied to the compensation factor, again black leisure theories are not mutually exclusive, is “opportunity theory”, or “opportunity factor” which combines lack of money with extreme distance or spatial mismatch (also known as “geographic theory” or “geographic factor”) to explain the lack of black attendance and participation (p. 2).

However, challenging these theories are qualitative and quantitative data that found blacks do travel far distances, often farther than whites, to visit family and/or participate in alternate recreational activities, e.g. cruises (Carter 2008). Additionally, evidence indicates that African Americans usually spend the same amount of money as whites on their vacations, yet vary in their modes of travel and activities (Agarwal and Yochum 1999). While it is likely that economic and geographic factors may contribute to explanations of the lack of black engagement to wildland and public spaces, specifically Western national parks, leisure studies researchers began to delve deeper into potential historical and cultural factors that may further inform this group’s recreational choices. The historical-based factor is wide-ranging and often disputed as contradictory evidence paints a very different picture of blacks’ relationship to the outdoors.

HISTORICAL FACTOR

As leisure studies researchers developed a deeper understanding of the role history plays in shaping culture and behaviors, their focus shifted to include more historically based theorizing to explain low black outdoor engagement in public spaces. Rationale includes the segregationist, elitist, and exclusionary legacy of the national parks, which has led African Americans to feel marginalized and unwelcome in these spaces (Johnson et al. 2007; Kafarowski 2003; Weber and Sultana 2013). Another historically based argument is that the lack of black engagement with nature reflects the continued ramifications of slavery and Jim Crow era violence against African Americans. Due to slaves being subjugated and forced to work the land, Meeker, Woods, and Lucas (1973) argue that this creates an aversion to the

outdoors, even as a site of recreation. Johnson and Bowker (2004) go further noting the aversion is due to “past associations with slavery, plantation, agriculture, lynching, and compulsive work in the forest industry” (p. 259). Outside of slavery, historical events such as the Great Migration of Southern blacks to northern, urban, industrial cities indicates a shift away from the outdoors as status and class mobility in African American communities became marked by “the number of degrees they are away from the soil” (Eldridge Cleaver 1968 cited in Meeker, Woods, and Lucas 1973:5).

Yet, the historical factor assertion faces challenges on several fronts from empirical examples of black engagement with nature to accusations that the concept itself is complicit in the continued marginalization of African Americans. For instance, empirical evidence includes the history of the Buffalo Soldiers, tasked with protecting the Western areas that would become the national parks with the creation of NPS (1916). Moreover, also part of the empirical evidence are the stories of African American farmers that had and continue to have strong ties and roots to the soil and lastly, the entrepreneurial black outdoorsmen seeking their fortunes in timber and other natural resources (See U.S. Forest Service Lewis and Hendricks N.d). Finney (2012) connected the continued focus on the historical exclusion of blacks, in what she refers to as the “environment” meaning nature and the outdoors, creates a self-fulfilling marginalization that keeps African Americans from national parks and outdoor spaces. The long lasting effects of historical events and marginalization becomes especially significant in the cultural explanation factor concept discussed further in the next section and later in how collective memories shape group culture and behaviors.

CULTURAL FACTOR

Perhaps organically, after considering how historical events may contribute to the lack of African American attendance in national parks and black engagement in outdoor recreation, leisure studies researchers began to embrace several culture-based explanations. This cultural difference area demonstrates the benefit of more nuanced social science research as race, class, and gender gained more traction as lenses through which to view certain groups. Much of the theorizing that informs the SITP project is based in critical race theory (CRT) as researchers look to how blacks’ relations to the dominant group

influences their behavior and outcomes. Here an understanding of Omi and Winant (1994) is critical in how power embeds into the dominant group to organize society, policies, behaviors, and institutions. Under Leisure Studies' cultural factor umbrella is a weighty assemblage that represents many of the notions surrounding black/white relations. Assimilation, segregation, desegregation, discrimination, and domination among others, get collapsed and combined, then put to use as the explanation as to why so few African Americans venture into national parks and other public recreation spaces.

Stepping outside of recreation literature enhances the understanding of how the failure of assimilation (see Sociology-Park 1914) and the effects of segregation (Urban Geography-Ellis, Wright, and Parks 2004; Wilson 1984) create long lasting effects in differing race-based cultural practices. The long-carried assumption that African Americans would adopt the dominant group (white) tastes and habitus (Bourdieu 1984), including the use and similar choice of recreational activities, has failed to fully materialize as indicated by the low attendance of minorities in national parks and outdoor engagement (Erickson et al. 2009). Much of the recreation literature focuses on discussion of "whiteness" as not only the norm, but also the standard by which all subordinate minority groups are measured (Mowatt 2009; Roberts 2009). Floyd (1999) points out the white norm when he questions why the Park Service represents African Americans as having "under-participation"- when perhaps whites have "over-representation". The concept of whiteness appeared consistently throughout the literature encompassing the creation of the parks as white spaces to the deletion of African Americans from the wild spaces landscape in the American narrative (Finney 2012). Finney (2012) goes further in documenting this phenomenon in her detailed study of the lack of African Americans representation in government and private sector media of outdoor activities and locations.

The exclusion of blacks from the narrative and media creates its own cultural difference as African Americans internalize and normalize these images, creating and confirming that outdoor engagement and activities, such as hiking or swimming, are not part of a normative black performance (Erickson et al. 2009; Finney 2012). Erickson et al.'s (2009) study of African American attendance at Rocky Mountain National Park (RMNP) provided empirical evidence that local blacks do not come to

the park because it is not a “black thing”. One participant responded, “There are a lot of little things in the black community and it comes across like, whoa, black people don’t do that. Black people don’t ski. Black people don’t hike” (p. 540). This self-policing of behaviors also emerged in recent discussions concerning African Americans and swimming.

For instance, Wiltse (2007, 2014) notes the contradiction and evolution of blacks’ pre-Jim Crow love and skill of swimming to its later categorization of not being a “black thing”, thus outside of normative black activities.²² Participants in Erickson et al.’s (2009) RMNP study also discussed feeling marginalized and unwelcomed in the park, noting concerns such as “being stared at” or out of their comfort zone”, which the authors point to as indicative of the cultural gulf between races (Erickson et al.: 537). Additionally, Finney’s (2012) participants spoke of experiences of overt racism from white park attendees and NPS staff. Events such as these, along with economic, geographical, historical, and cultural components, ultimately formulate individual and collective memories that affect long-term group behavior patterns and associated outcomes.

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND THE AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The assertion that collective memory serves as knowledge production and cultural meaning finds support in the literature, with certain significance emphasis on the African American experience and history. The oppression of blacks, from slavery to present day discrimination, has shaped and continues to shape cultural practices, that is, the behavioral norms, patterns, and beliefs across black communities. As Rosenblum (2009) states, “Memories of domination, violence, and humiliation, and stories of shared fate, are cultivated and sustained by groups” allowing these memories to produce and reproduce the group’s defining cultural meaning (p. 77). Several factors complicate how African Americans’ collective memory informs their relationship to outdoor spaces, specifically national parks. First, not only do the parks have long

²² Noting the deleterious effects of the lack of swimming skills amongst African Americans- according to USA Swimming-Black children are five times more like to drown than white children [https://www.usaswimming.org/_Rainbow/Documents/ed59861a-c433-4932-b638-cd4390eb5654/ResourceGuide2016AfricanAmericanV3Hyper.pdf].

histories of their own as sites of discrimination and exclusion, but they also represent by extension, the federal government with whom blacks often have a contentious relationship. Second, African Americans, as subordinate “Other” to the dominant group (whites), are missing from the American narrative of the great outdoors, and worse, often missing from their role as co-creators of the nation (Finney 2012). Thus, the national parks slogan, “America’s Best Idea”, only applies if you were part of the white elite that defined “America” and were part of that separate collective of shared ideas (Weber and Sultana 2013:437).

Collective memory of recreation spaces as sites of segregation and discrimination contribute to the larger African American narrative of subjugation and oppression that serve as a type of Foucauldian (1977) counter-memory in the struggle against the dominant historiography and “open to all” government-sanction propaganda narrative of the dominant group (Olick and Robbins 1998). The production and maintenance of collective memory plays an important role in both identity-making and cultural knowledge production as well as shaping social activities in everyday life (Harris 2009). While individuals within the group may have never personally experienced the acts which contribute to the memory, e.g. racial violence, segregation, group members are “generationally imprinted” with the collective memory of oppression (Olick and Robbins 1998:123).

Harris (2009) positions his research from the perspective of how blacks’ collective memory influenced the group’s social organization and political activism during the civil rights era. Instead of pointing to the landmark decisions of *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* (1954) and the Civil Rights Act (1964) as the defining factors influencing collective memory, he points to the failure of these initiatives to produce impactful change as the real defining movements and motivations behind black civil disobedience. Ongoing institutional failures to protect the rights of African American citizens lodged into the collective memory, effectively transmitting distrust for the government, its word and agencies, through generations of members of the black community (Magnum 2012). Issues such as historic oppression, lack of trust in the government, and the continuous struggle against the pull of assimilation of the dominant group’s tastes and habits, often complicates African Americans’ relationships with national parks and outdoor wild spaces.

For example, within the literature are several studies and narratives detailing local Washington D.C.'s segregationist legacy of violent racial encounters at parks and pools as black children attempted to enter these "open to all" spaces (Verbrugge 2015; Verbrugge and Yingling 2015).²³ These events serve not only as collected memories from those who experienced the violence, but also contribute to the collective memory as parks and other recreational spaces are not welcoming toward blacks or not a "black thing" (Erickson et al. 2009; Finney 2012). This may also compel blacks away from recreation assigning it as a white activity or attempt at forced acculturation. How collective memories shape identity and culture, including acceptable behaviors, is especially meaningful to the area of African Americans and outdoor recreation. Finney (2012) points to the adverse effects of lack of African American attendance in parks and recreational places as well as the lack of voice in the environmental justice area as major concerns for the black community, whose neighborhoods are often the recipients of toxic water and pollution. Studies, too copious to include in this literature review, abound in several areas, health communications, urban demography, public planning, etc., demonstrating the poor outcomes, including chronic health conditions, from lack of engagement with nature and exercise for all races and ethnicities.

Segments of the literature also challenge the static nature of black collective memory and suggests instead the adoption of a more inclusive attitude toward recreation. Finney (2012) suggests creating new narratives for the collective memory by focusing more on past and present African American environmental engagement as well as on the importance of demanding proper acknowledgement and inclusion in both media and national historical accounts. Perhaps instead of viewing recreation and outdoor engagement as forced dominate group cultural transmission projects blacks could embrace the activities' cross population benefits. In other words, could the collective memory that tries so hard to preserve and police African American culture shift to gain the social, emotional, and physical benefits of outdoor space without acceding to white assimilation. Will hiking in Yosemite even become a "black thing"? Perhaps, yet many of the studies investigating ways to get African Americans into national parks seem to focus primarily on the reasons why

²³ It is important to note that periods of racial violence at D.C. recreational facilities occurred within one generation (1930s-1950s) of SITP (1968) possibly affecting parents of SITP child participants. Local violence continued into the 1960s at non-integrated District/Maryland/Virginia (DMV) private facilities (see Glen Echo Park).

blacks do not come, instead of theorizing solutions to reframe the narrative and reshape the collective memory to increase black attendance (Erickson et al. 2009; Johnson et al. 1997; Montes and Butler 2008; Weber and Sultana 2013).

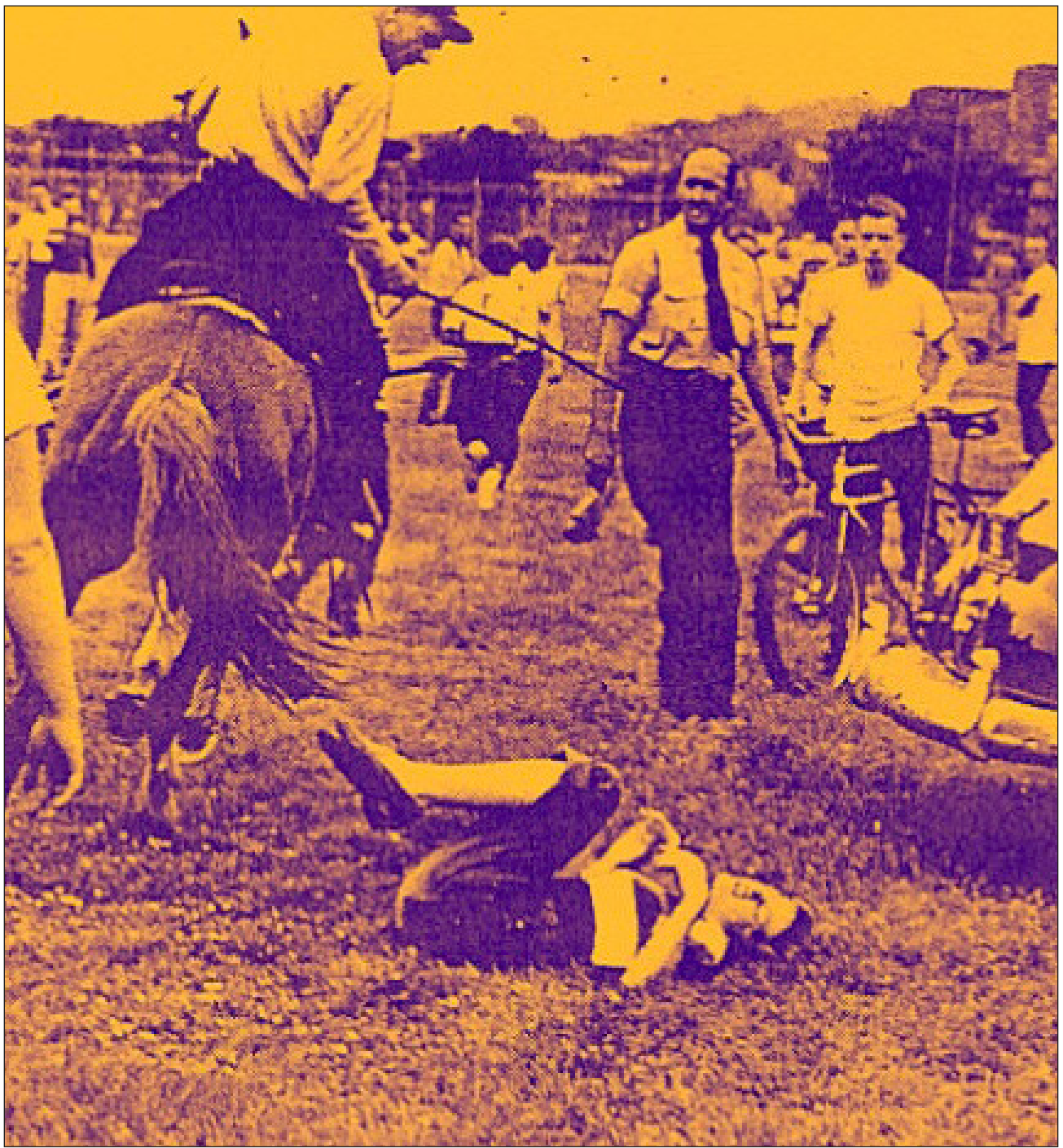
While this research is valuable, there are more action-oriented and evidence-based efforts detailing the innovative and collaborative advances that strive to reframe African American nature engagement narrative. For example, ParkRx D.C., a collaboration between the D.C. National Parks, National Recreation and Park Association, and Unity Healthcare²⁴ recognized the need in the community to educate and encourage outdoor activity. Acting on published recommendations from the medical community, namely a Robert Wood Johnson funded study (2011)²⁵ investigating the connection between health and social needs, ParkRx D.C. created a program that focuses on the emotional, social, and above all, physical benefits of outdoor recreation in order to address or overcome many of the cultural barriers that prevent park engagement. Zarr, Cottrell, and Merrill (2017) describe the process where Unity medical providers write physical activity prescriptions for their patients to venture into local national parks where park staff and recreation professionals provide convenient mapping, inclusive activities, safe environments, and easy access. Though a child may receive the prescription, the outdoor engagement often becomes a family activity, essentially mitigating the cultural notion that African Americans do not engage in outdoors, specifically national parks. Longitudinal tracking of program success may provide published metrics to encourage wider adoption in the U.S. Program adoption may one day become motivated from within the African American community. As Harris (2009) reminds us, collective memory can serve to either make blacks insular while focused on past wrongs and protective of their cultural differences or it can serve as a motivator for collective action to demand a seat at the table and their fair share of benefits such as access to social and natural capital producing better health outcomes.

This collection of varied literature offers a better understanding of the current climate and history of African Americans' relationship with recreation, national parks, and other outdoor spaces. While the Park Service's SITP

²⁴ Unity Healthcare is a primary medical provider in Washington D.C. for 100,000 low-income minority patients (72 percent Black/17 percent Hispanic), 25,000 of whom are children (nearly 100% receive Medicaid). See parkrxdc.org.

²⁵ Robert Wood Johnson Foundation-Health Care's Blind Side: The Overlooked Connection between Social Needs and Good Health (2011) http://www.rwjf.org/content/dam/farm/reports/surveys_and_polls/2011/rwjf71795.

institutional motivations may have been ambiguous, the concrete mission was to get African Americans into the national parks. This challenge has been present for decades, as indicated in the recreation section of this literature review, as researchers strive to determine the causes of low black attendance and outdoor recreation participation numbers. In this investigation, America's economic, social, and cultural legacy of segregation deserves consideration because it adds an important component to establish the national and local context in which programs such as SITP were developed and executed. Inclusion of collective memory also highlights the strong role it plays in shaping African American culture, including habits, tastes, and recreational activities that are part of the everyday African American experience. This collection of literature provides a solid foundation to understanding the dynamics that surround SITP and black outdoor engagement as well as their positions within the legacy of U.S. race relations.



CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER FIVE

To commemorate the upcoming 50th anniversary (2018) of The Summer in the Parks (SITP) program, the National Park Service (NPS), National Capital Region (NCR), awarded George Mason University (GMU) a 15-month historical study grant to provide context and recapture participants' and administrators' SITP experiences and perceptions. Under a Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit (CESU) agreement with George Mason University, many of the data collection, research, and archival aspects of this project were predetermined through the grant specifications process. The contracted final report provided historical context, excerpts of collected oral histories, general themes, and recommendations of future SITP-type NPS programming. This dissertation differs from the NPS deliverable in both its level of data analysis and its use of a critical lens to view the historical intersections of race and institutions. This chapter will detail the methodological components of the SITP project from recruitment through analysis.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This ethnographic qualitative study included thorough historical research of NPS administrative records, photos, collectibles, newspapers, contracts, and federal congressional documents in addition to photos and ephemera provided by interviewees. We collected data year-round while serving as the grant's research project manager supervising a staff of graduate students. Additional research was conducted through an intensive six-week summer graduate course, the Field School for Cultural Documentation. Multiple participant observation events as well as in-depth, semi-structured formal interviews with approximately thirty one SITP participants (child and adult), staff, and administrators were conducted as part of the study. Sampling for the interview pool, gathered through a variety of methods, was purposive and convenient, with SITP participation and residency in the Washington D.C.-metro region during 1968-1976 being the primary qualifiers. Collected data was analyzed utilizing inductive qualitative content analysis (IQCA), with hand-coding and thematic development. All data was archived in accordance to Library of Congress (LOC) specifications and will reside with the Park Service for historical documentation and possibly with the LOC Folklife Center under the African American Experience.

INTERNAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB) AND CONSENT

The IRB has approved this project under Primary Investigator (PI) Professor Debra Lattanzi Shutika, November 1, 2016- Title: Summer in the Parks- OSP #117124. Felicia Garland-Jackson served as Project Research Manager and have current certification to conduct human subjects' research under the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI).

Study participants consented to “formal” interviews, meaning their names and addresses would be recorded both on the consent forms but also attached to all project data stored with the federal government. Participants' images (photographs and videos in some cases) as well as their voices would also become public. All interviewees executed two separate consent forms agreeing to these terms, one from NPS and one from GMU (see appendix). The limitations section of this paper will include further discussion on formal interview concerns.

RECRUITMENT

The project was originally designed to conduct a total of thirty interviews, divided evenly with ten adult SITP participants who had attended concerts; ten then-child participants; and ten NPS administrators or staff. However, what became apparent through the course of data collection was that many participants crossed categories. For example, Michelle Washington, who began as a child participant taking part in SITP activities at Rock Creek Park as a teenager, later became a SITP counselor with the program. SITP staff often participated in the adult concert series as attendees, mingling with residents of their communities. Thus, there are not clear lines of demarcation between groups of participants, a fact that points to not only SITP's commitment to hire locals from the neighborhood to best serve those the program was designed to impact, but also the reach and effect of SITP on the District's culture.

In preliminary study meetings with the Park Service we were given a contact list of current and former employees who had participated in the SITP. Many had begun their NPS employment as SITP short-term (summer) employees which led to eventual long-time careers with the Park Service. Retirees were contacted via phone and email to request interviews where they, in turn,

provided additional contacts who were likely to participate. No current Park Service employees agreed to formally participate in the study.

As noted above, the primary qualifications for study participation were to have attended or staffed SITP events during the years of 1968-1976 and been a resident in the D.C. Metro region during that time period. NPS retiree Mr. Steve Syphax, a life-long D.C. resident and former SITP youth employee and Cultural Resource Officer for Rock Creek Park, served as the project's key informant spending considerable time culling through his networks to locate willing subjects. His outreach included both former SITP employees as well as participants, vouching for both myself and the study. Additional multi-pronged recruiting methods were utilized including outreach events, advertisements, cold-calling, networking, and participant observation.

OUTREACH EVENTS

Throughout the course of the study, Felicia Garland-Jackson scheduled and staffed multiple formal and informal recruiting events. Formal events describe those where the project had an official space, e.g. tent or table, devoted to SITP recruitment. Informal events describe being a featured speaker during another larger event. Formal events included NPS National Park sites, such as Kennilworth Aquatic Gardens for the Lotus and Water Lily festival in Anacostia, and community sites, such as the Haynes Senior Wellness Center on K Street. Outreach to the African Methodist Churches also included sponsored²⁶ events, e.g. Allen Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church (ACAME) on Alabama Avenue, where Felicia Garland Jackson served as a program hostess providing the dessert course and speaking to the gathering of the monthly senior ministry meeting.

Informal events were fortuitous opportunities because they were often embedded in programs hosting an engaged, age-desirable crowd. For example, speaking at the WETA launch of their 1968 documentary at the Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum (SACM) brought in significant interest in the SITP project. Additionally, the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee (SNCC) – see 1960s D.C. Riots section-

²⁶ Sponsored here means funded through my GMU Provost Summer Research Fellowship to advance doctoral progress.

continues to operate a chapter in the District and addressing this assembly was fruitful with many decades-long SNCC members accessible.

A SITP flyer was developed featuring the project's purpose, Facebook page, GMU website, phone number, and email address. NPS printed and posted the flyer to multiple National Parks in the District while the GMU student staff and we distributed the flyers to multiple locations throughout the city, including churches, storefronts, museums, and pedestrian thoroughfares. With budget, time, and scope limitations (maximum thirty interviews per study specifications), it was decided to not place newspaper or online advertisements. The research team also worked through a lists of African American churches and Senior Centers in primarily black neighborhoods seeking permission to post advertisements and/or speak to their attendees regarding study participation.

The nature of this project, such as no anonymity, required an exceptionally high level of networking to gather participants. we collaborated with several area academic and community organizations including a SACM curator, a local university History professor, and the Leadership of the African American Civil War Museum, to secure participants. Recruiting followed a typical snowball sampling model that relied on a foundation built from a series of successful interviews (Schutt 2012). Once the interviews were completed, recruits would then open their networks offering referrals to family, buddies, and even bandmates. In the most basic terms, recruits would commit if someone they knew had already given an interview. However, the challenge with snowball samples is that they can represent a fairly homogeneous group since they are from many of the same networks. This study sample began to heavily represent musicians, however, we tapped other social networks to gather a more varied sample. This will be discussed more at length in the limitation section of the conclusion.

Much of the recruiting for this study was accomplished through participant observation activities in several locations. Research was conducted in NCR National Parks, including Prince William Forest, Meridian Hill, Anacostia, Fort Dupont, and Oxon Hill, to inform both current African American park usage and potential SITP participants who may continue to engage in these spaces. Additional activities were conducted as street interviews in locations

that loosely followed the 1968 D.C. Riot Map, with a primary location of H Street Corridor. Five months (July 2016-December 2016) of multiple site visits to H Street introduced me to long-time residents and business owners who continue to live and work in this rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. Site visits to National Parks, especially Anacostia, contributed many informal interviews that provide substance to the context of SITP while visits to Meridian Hills and Fort Stevens National Parks contributed to the recruitment of formal interview participants. Midway through the recruiting phase, it became apparent that signage featuring the SITP logo significantly increased responsiveness during interactions with the public. This will be further discussed in the limitations section.

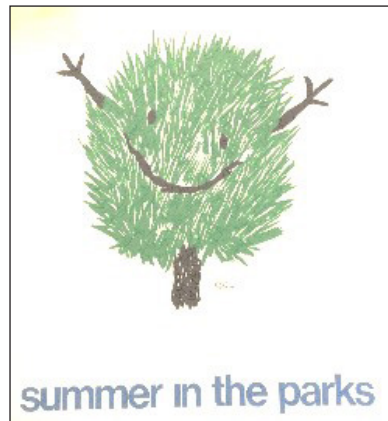


Figure 19. SITP Logo / NPS

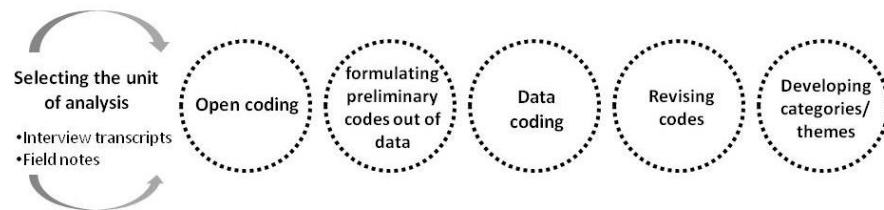
THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

Respondents to interview requests, either via phone or email, were told that interviews would last approximately 30-60 minutes and would be audio, and in some cases video, recorded. Additionally, photographs would be taken of the participant and any ephemera or personal photos collected would be scanned on site, archived, and returned. Interviewees were asked to choose a location and time that was most convenient for them. It should be noted that with the exception of me, all students, either in the field school or grant staff, conducted interviews in teams of two, one student conducting and another serving as recordist. All interviews were conducted in-person at a variety of typical locations, including local national parks, schools, residences, and libraries. However, depending on the participants' schedule, other interviews took place in less-typical locations such as in a downtown club between music sets, an upholstery shop, or on the street outside the White House at a T-shirt stand.

Interviews began with introductions, followed by a review of the consent forms. As participants reviewed and signed them, the research team set up the equipment, attaching lavalier microphones to interviewer and interviewee. After interviewees completed their forms, the researchers

asked if there were any questions before taping began. Most follow up questions requested copies of the final study report or an invitation to the final public brief. With participants' questions addressed, the interviewer advised there would be a brief sound test to check their volume followed by an announcement that taping had started. Interview length varied, from the shortest, 24 minutes, to the longest, 105 minutes, with an average length of 63 minutes (see appendix for master interviewee-length of interview list).

Figure 20. *Inductive Qualitative Content Analysis Process/ Cho and Lee (2014)*



INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Development of the set of semi-structured, open-ended interview questions was a collaborative effort between myself, the project PI and NPS staff. Due to specifications established by NPS along federal guidelines, certain demographic questions were not to be asked such as age, income, education level etc. To have requested this information would have required a complicated, time-intensive federal review and approval process that exceeded the needs and scope of the original historical study. We determined that this information was also non-essential for a project focused on oral histories and the exclusion of current demographic status would not affect the final outcome.

After establishing participants' relationship to SITP and confirming residence in the district during the period of 1968-1976, interview questions centered on three inter-related areas: I) context of SITP participation; II) experiences with the program; and III) outcomes of participation.

- I) The context line of questioning for child and adult participants included any memories or perceptions of the 1968 riots and pre-SITP activities, e.g. "before SITP I just played around the streets with neighborhood kids in the summer" or "we mainly socialized at house parties to listen to music and dance". Additional questioning on family history, e.g. part of the Great Migration, provided additional histori-

cal and empirical insights for the project. For NPS administrators and staff, the context line of questioning included their memories and perceptions of the riots and work and life experience, e.g. “I was a college student who worked for NPS during my summers”.

- II) The experience with SITP questions includes both recreational e.g. concerts, recreation, camping, and work activities such as NPS staff and administrators’ roles in the functioning of the program. This discussion area included some interviewees’ childhood and later adult participation as well as staff and administrators’ progress as junior “term”²⁷ summer employment to full-time, year round NPS staff.
- III) Outcomes of SITP program participation questions were designed to be open-ended to let participants share what they considered to be the most important takeaways from the program. Interviewees were asked to share their outcomes from their SITP participation whether it helped to maintain engagement with nature from early exposure or if it made them develop a sense of belonging stemming from the large community events. The nature of the questions followed the course of the interview in what impacts the participants considered to have had the most effect in their lives.

TRANSCRIPTION

All formal interviews were recorded on TASCAM-40 professional equipment with files uploaded into both a portable hard drive and an online one drive storage SITP file. All audio interview files were transcribed in full with sixteen audio files transcribed by researcher and staff and fifteen files transcribed by NPS contractors funded by the Digital Archival project. Transcripts were then printed one-sided for hand coding and theme development processes.

²⁷ “Term” employment for NPS refers to an employee hired solely for 1 season or a set period, often 120 days. Many SITP staff began their NPS careers as term employees, often repeating employment during summers before becoming a full-time, year round NPS employee.

CODING AND ANALYSIS

Inductive qualitative content analysis (IQCA) served as the method to condense, code, and interpret the collected data. Preferred over traditional grounded theory (GT), findings from IQCA would better represent the desired goal of a descriptive project capturing participants' perspectives instead of theory making through the assembled data. The objective was to utilize coding to establish themes and then investigate any similarities and relationships among the themes that could inform the overall project findings (Cho and Lee 2014; Mayring 2000; Sandelowski and Barroso 2003). Additionally, unlike IQCA, GT required a fully inductive process, with theory making at the conclusion of the project. In framing this study, critical race theory (CRT) and collective memory became considerations due to not only the research question but because of primary situatedness of participants. Collective memory of past injustices and oppressions often informs perceptions, beliefs, and meanings, particularly those of African Americans (Harris 2009; Rosenblum 2009). Applying a CRT lens to the data allows a deeper understanding of how macro operations such as systematic racism affected participants' life courses and life chances.

MEMOING

While GT and IQCA are similar in employing codes and themes, the latter is considered less abstract and less transformational to the data (Sandelowski and Barroso 2003), an important component to this particular study. Yet, one shared characteristic of the methods that proved useful was creating memos. One powerful example is during interviews when participants discussed the physical devastation to their neighborhoods post-riots. From the burnt out blocks to their local grocery stores and other areas they had frequented, what stood out was the emphasis placed on how long (decades) the shells of buildings were left untouched and how they felt abandoned. "No one could afford to leave and no one who could prevent it was moving in". The analytical memo describes strains of institutional failure, lack of citizenship, and "some new version of redlining and segregation" to tangle with later in the analysis process.

THE PROCESS

According to the IQCA, the process (above figure 20- Cho and Lee 2014:11) begins with establishing the unit of analysis, which for this study, were the interview transcripts' content or data. Content, transcribed verbatim from all formal in-depth interviews, then began the coding process. In a multi-part coding activity, Felicia Garland-Jackson and Debra Lattanzi Shutika read all transcripts and open coded, establishing a set of preliminary codes, e.g. family, school, music, recreation, National Park Service (institutional), SITP, riot, community, blackness, etc. to sort blocks of data. Development of a second set of preliminary codes, applied to NPS staff and both participants and non-participants, permitted institutional analysis of SITP. In a second pass of the transcripts, data was line-by-line color-coded (similar to Strauss and Corbin 1990) using the same codes. Following IQCA, preliminary codes were then refined and revised to spot identify emergent themes from the data.

Here is an example of color-coded content pulled from an interview excerpt. The participant was speaking to the benefits of bringing back SITP-like programming,

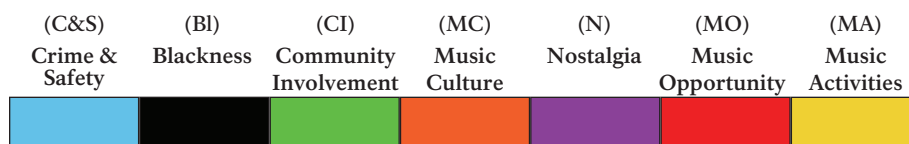


Figure 21. Codes

Crime would decrease. ————— C&S

Because you're still bringing unity. ————— Bl, CI, MC

See, everybody's so about the dollar now. ————— N

It's not about that. You've got to empower people with knowledge, ————— MO

wisdom, and just ————— MO

basic musicianship,  BL, MO, MA

like bringing people together.  BL, MO

To see people come together, it can help motivate other people.  BL, MO

Instead of seeing, like, they're having a show at National Stadium.  N

Tickets are \$100. You're only going to get for so -- a few amount of  N, MA

select people that go there. They have the \$100 to go there. But when  N, MA

you come like Summer in the Parks, you have free entertainment in  N, MA

your community. You don't have to catch the subway or the bus.  N, MA

You're right there in your backyard.

Table 1. *Codes First Set*

Table 2. NPS Administrators and Staff Additional Set of Codes

Preliminary Codes	Sub Codes	Key Phrases
Opportunity	Job	"be part of something bigger"
	Exposure	"saw stars"
	Career Service	
Activism	Poor People	"poor people's march" "MLK "
		"helping underprivileged"
	Helping Their Neighborhoods	"from my neighborhood"
	Natural Capital	"instill a sense of wonder-natural engagement"
	Life long commitment	"to helping others" "charity work"
Empowerment	Community	"Hire local"
	Money	"We had all the money we needed to make up programs"
	Job	"give local employees power, resources, and autonomy" "musician ≠ table"
		"Working within bureaucracy to get things done"

We reviewed and grouped codes into categories that would emerge as themes (Cho and Lee 2014). The processes above described the exercises involved in analyzing, revising, and refining the codes, along with the data that ultimately formed the themes. Categories collapsed and merged in interesting ways, such as the “Music as Distraction” and “Crime/Safety” codes expressed themselves through blackness, race behavior expectations, and realities. Meaning both codes took on the dominant group’s expectation of disorder and violence from congregated black crowds. However, “music as distraction” conversely represented a positive release of tension instead of conflict in the group setting. Similarly, “Crime/Safety” contradicts the disorder race narrative in participants taking pains to make it clear that SITP events were safe and well organized. Expanded discussion of the final themes (below) will occur in the findings chapter to follow.

Table 3. Final Themes

Final Themes
Empowerment
Blackness
Nostalgia
Activism
Access & Opportunity
Institutional



CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS

CHAPTER SIX

ACTIVISM

The theme of activism appears strongly throughout the narratives of both SITP participants and NPS administrators and staff. Not only does it encompass the SITP period, but becomes a trait carried into adulthood. In many cases, the experience of working so closely with disadvantaged children profoundly influenced participants' career path. In other cases, working to help one's own communities, whether through youth programming or providing free, local opportunities to unify and socialize, provided the inspiration to "be part of something bigger".



Figure 22. SITP 1973 Joe Lawler (adult right) / Photo Courtesy Joe Lawler

CHILDREN'S NATURAL CAPITAL

Natural engagement served as one of the crucial components of SITP by providing opportunities to learn, experience, and recreate in outdoor space. For Joe Lawler, originally a young, term SITP worker, who would eventually go on to a NPS career later becoming NPS National Capital Region (NCR) Director, his memories of working with urban kids in park settings deepened his understanding of how NPS could make a difference in their lives.

You know, it's easy to look back now and say I'm glad I was part of that [SITP]-it made a difference. These kids learned a lot. Now the side benefit of that was it was something worthwhile. You can see that, and I can see that now better in hindsight than I could. In hindsight you realize how neat, innovative, possibly what's the word...nurturing and inspiring to these people eventually. I would say most of these children probably never had a real in-depth exposure to a forest or natural environment. You know, understanding what it's like to sleep out under the stars and cook s'mores over an open fire-those kinds of things. So it was sort of neat, it was probably very eye opening for some of them. Hopefully. The idea was to instill in them not only a getaway from their everyday schedule something different but you know, along the way, they're going to pick up a little bit of environmental ethic because that was because part of what you wanted the kids to learn.

You can just see from that one photo (above). He's holding the snake and their eyes are popping up. Can I touch him? Can I touch him? I'm reaching out to touch him too but yeah, so that was...normally...unfortunately people see a snake, even a harmless one, their first reaction is run or kill. So it was interesting to see their looks when they could see that someone could hold it and you can actually pet it. So it was like...yeah that's really cool. And I think that's what the program did. It opened up the kids' perspectives, what's out there? Is that really scary? Respect it and enjoy it and I think that it's a little bit of an awakening for a lot of these kids. (P.13)²⁸

Lawler's early experience influenced his continued commitment to preserving and promoting natural engagement opportunities for underprivileged children, throughout his Park Service career and later, in retirement, serving on several boards, such as Fairfax County Park and Recreation Board and C&O Canal Trust, who support child programming. Interestingly, he played a role in continuing a SITP legacy program during his time at Wolf Trap National Park,

It was a very long-standing tradition at Wolf Trap; it's called the Children's Theatre in the Woods. And for some years, children came...children came free to those performances. And there'd be musical, there'd be dramatic, there'd be puppet shows, there'd be a variety of things for...very, very successful every summer. And it was...and then we did...what was called the Chapter 1 Festival which and this was for underprivileged kids, many of

²⁸ All excerpts all pulled from the project transcripts with archive catalog included in appendix.

them from Maryland. Again, a weeklong program of busing kids in for these cultural programs. Hopefully they got maybe a lifetime of days in the park. Maybe it sunk in. maybe there, you know, you just don't know how deep and long lasting that effect may have become over time. (Pp. 24-25)

UNDERSTANDING DIFFERENCE

Kenny Statom, a NPS summer worker, also worked directly with black youngsters, but presented a narrative that suggests a different experience having gone into disadvantaged neighborhoods to conduct SITP activities. Statom's standpoint, as an African American male distanced by class and geography from the poor communities, provides a deeper understanding of what

SITP meant to disadvantaged children and those that worked with them. The differences between Statom's home in the Crestwood (Rock Creek East) area and the poor asphalt world of Southeast (SE) D.C. significantly changed his worldview. Venturing into Anacostia for the first time in an SITP activity van:



Figure 23. Kenny Statom / GMU SSN



Figure 24. SITP Activity Van Retrofitted Mail Truck / NPS

I remember going out way out in southeast where I had never ever been before. Different -- a whole different kind of world to me. Wow, I was like, oh, boy. Different, you know. Sparse, you know, no greenery, concrete sides -- you know concrete playgrounds, no grass. It was like strange, you know, because you know. But we were there, and the kids were -- the kids love -- you know, the kids -- little kids love attention. And if they know that someone is going to come out and bring them stuff that they've never seen before -- kids are loving. They -- kids love you. You know, kids love you.

I've been lucky enough to travel all around the world, a lot of places in Africa; I go to villages, kids love you know. You bring a bottle of something, oh, my God. Some candy, they love you. So, kids in America, black neighborhoods, the same as kids in Africa. You know, you bring them something, you act like you care -- and I do care. I mean, I think everybody who worked with us cared because they knew that these -- some of the areas that we were going to were -- they needed something. Because, you know, even if it wasn't for the riots, you know, life out in some of those areas was bleak. And you could see that they had rec -- rec centers that were rec centers, but there was no facilities, no games. You know, basketball courts with no basketballs. You know, picnic tables with no covers over them. You know, and it's -- you know, blacktop and heat, summertime, it builds more heat. So, when you go out there -- like, I know a couple times we went out with ice cream trucks and, you know, some ices and stuff like that, cold water, cold drinks. And kids -- you know, kids loved it. (P.7)

The memories of the children's "bleak" communities would inspire Statom to continue to serve disadvantaged youth into adulthood through teaching African dance and drumming as well as coaching track and field. His goal was not only to give back but also to instill self-worth and positive behaviors the children could take into their adulthood:

I coached track and field with youth kids for 10 or 12 years, and I build relationships with the kids. The kids love that. I like being with the kids. In, I guess, the 90s I was working really close with an African dance and drumming group. And we -- you know, we taught kids dance, African dance, and drumming. So, those relationships, those bonds, you know, you build.

Yeah, it's [coaching track] -- it's a lot of work. A lot of work. It's like the most expensive volunteer job I've ever had in my life. Like, why am I in my pocket for this free activity? It's free for some people. It's not free for me. But, you know, then I felt like I was actually doing something because I was with the kids. And I had kids for like seven or eight -- no, nine seasons so you start to see them -- you know, kids who can't run two steps

without tripping over themselves now they're running a mile and two miles. Okay, yeah, that's -- you see something there. (P.24)

John Carrington, an African American retired NPS NCR ranger, holds special significance not only for his integral role in SITP's success, but also for his unwavering commitment to providing resources and activities to those from underprivileged communities. His narrative is, in some ways, more in line with a resourceful, well-connected community organizer, than that of a federal bureaucrat. Carrington's relationship building and deep understanding of the needs of the underserved areas, was, and continues to be, impactful. A fuller discussion of his SITP activism appears in a later institutional section; however, it is notable that his continued post-NPS involvement with underprivileged youth signifies his activist bent. Carrington, having worked so closely with communities, understands difference and is inspired to fill the gaps that result from unequal resource allocation and simple poverty. Whether it is networking to provide or personally funding recreational equipment, even giving golf lessons himself, he remains committed to instilling positive behaviors and interests that promote self-pride while keeping kids out of trouble.

"PLAYING" IT FORWARD

As a child, and later adult, SITP participant, Greg Peete offered an insightful perspective on the dynamic effects of the program on the local adults and children in the local community. His childhood memories of the free, structured local activities take on deeper meaning when viewed retrospectively, especially as a parent. SITP offered kids the advantage of having a fun, safe option for summertime where they could learn, socialize, and have fun all close to home. Kids and adults' exposure to live music through the SITP concert series and showmobile visits, served to unite and entertain the close-knit community. Peete recalled:

Summer in the Park was like, you know, I grew up in a lower-development home, so and growing up in music, around music, any time there was live music playing, guys, girls from my neighborhood would just gravitate towards it. Summer in the Parks was um, one of the heights of live music and fun and family and just coming together as, you know, a group of people with unity, love, and respect for one another. Sometimes we would all just get on our bicycles and ride like 50/60 deep just from, cause I lived on 58th and East Capitol so it was like, either we would walk or we

would catch the bus or we would ride our bikes to the park. Basically, riding the bikes and Summer in the Parks kind of went together, you know, so. It was uh, fun times for me growing up, um. (P.1)

In Peete's narrative, SITP takes on much of the activist institutional messaging. From his perspective, the program succeeded in community and relationship building by offering free entertainment in a safe atmosphere. In giving residents something to do, especially on hot summer nights, they could escape the poverty of their daily lives and relieve tensions in a wholesome environment. Music was the uniting influence bringing both children and adults into the parks. As an adult, Peete understood the value and power of live music having grown up in a talented musical family with up-close access to performers. His goal was to continue the legacy of SITP, "playing it forward", by recreating the events that positively affected his own childhood and, in his view, the entire community:

I would create groups, create scenes at the park, go up to the park, go up to the Department of Recreations, get permits, go to the police station, get you know, them involved, and stop the violence or you know, we always would have something going on in the park to give them. In the summertime, kids need something to do, they love music, and nothing soothes people more than just having a nice time. So yeah, Summer in the Parks definitely was instrumental in me making, you know, um, groups and having events at the park as well. So I followed the footsteps of those that's before me and if you stop it now, you're, you're amputating, you know, you're amputating the progress. If it keeps going, kids that you know can experience [it] just like I had. And to keep it going gives them and inspires, you know, and the vibe is just so good when you have people coming together and having a nice time. (P.5)

Howard Banks, a decades-long part-time SITP NPS employee, captures the "play it forward" mentality of Al Dale, the legendary NPS NCR public events specialist, credited by many as the founder of the program. According to the New York Times (1986), what Dale had started as local dances at Anacostia's Fort Dupont National Park, morphed into concert programming that would later become the signature, and for some the defining, event series SITP. Dale and Bank's personal activism shines through in Bank's narrative in describing not only the community impact of SITP, but also its inclusive reach,

We did stuff for the prisons. We did shows for Lorton and what would happen is, we'd take the same band that's in for Ft Dupont and take them down to



Lorton in daytime and have a show down at the prison. And I'd pull somebody like off the radio to do the M.C. [Master of Ceremony] and we'd go into the prison and do a show. We did shows at D.C. Jail, Christmas show for women. That was sad because they were all crying because they can't get out. You know, that's a tough thing. But you know, you had. . .but it was a part of the city but you brought things out for people that were here. (Pp. 22-23)

Bank's narrative also enforced previous Dale interviews²⁹ reiterating the importance of distractive programming,

Figure 25. *Howard Banks / GMU SSN VP*

recognizing the pitfalls of kids with “too much energy and time” on their hands. For both men, the draw and power of music would positively influence the lives of African American youth. Exercising personal activism through work is one thing; however, Banks represents the trend of how this activism continues through even retirement. He goes beyond simply elaborating on remaining community needs, by engaging directly to effect change. He explains the importance of now,

Especially with so many new people coming into the neighborhoods wanting to see what's DC about. I think we should show the best side of the city. It's too. . . too often people come in and just want to see the sights that everybody knows. I want people to go into the community. I want people to come here. I want people to go to Capitol Hill. I want people to go to Shaw area. I want people to go to Anacostia. I want them to see the real city and not just the tourist spots, you know. Because, every part of the city is part of the story. See. And that's what we are all about. So I think with the new museum on African American history, they're willing to do a lot of outreach things now. So I'm getting ready to team up with them to do some things in jazz. My push is jazz pretty much and so because the history of jazz, I'm worried that a lot of the kids in school don't know the history of the jazz and that's what we're trying to communicate.

²⁹ Al Dale passed away unexpectedly two weeks before interviews for this project began.

I do a lot of jazz history on a high school level. So I'm working with the museum to do some things in the high schools and elementary schools. (P. 22)

ACCESS AND OPPORTUNITY

Participants' SITP narratives are heavy with examples of how the program provided access and opportunities. We approach this section by separating the data into two distinct sections: kids and adults. As noted in the introduction, there were essentially two main components of SITP, a children's cultural and recreation program and community (adult and family) music and arts events. Children participants' SITP experiences varied from environmentally focused activities, such as gardening and camping, to attending neighborhood show and skate mobile events. Adult participants encompass both those that attended concerts and those that performed them. As with many parts of this study, there is overlap between the two groups. For example, participant Greg "Sugar Bear" Elliott, of the acclaimed Experience Unlimited (EU) D.C. band attributed his early childhood exposure to live music at SITP concerts as a powerful influence to his musical pursuits, which would later include performing on SITP showmobiles. Elliott, among several of the local D.C. musicians, would credit SITP with providing the access and opportunity to establish life-long, successful entertainment careers. Also notable perhaps in the most literal sense, SITP employment provided young people, many of color, to have stable, often well paid, jobs in the summer, with some continuing on to fulltime NPS careers.

CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMING

"Parks to the People"

The narratives of the child participants vary, yet all remembered defining moments of their SITP experience. The stories of Carroll Wallace and Sandy Waters intersect as both participated in SITP events in their neighborhood national park, Fort Circle. They recalled hearing music from their houses as the showmobile brought its musical showcase in for summer weekends. Joining other neighborhood kids in the festivities, Wallace and Waters have strong memories of music, food, socializing, activities, and fun conveniently located at the end of the block.

I would mostly go on the evening because they would start grilling hot dogs and things and sodas, they would have sodas, hotdogs...sweets I think like cotton candy, I believe. That's what I can recall. And then you

know, it was just all kids playing and then the bands would start getting together and they would play music and things like that. (P. 2)

When asked his thoughts about the live music from the showmobile, Wallace elaborated,

It was very, very exciting because you got to see someone live in person and experience that. So it's like you know, it's most definitely a difference when seeing someone perform versus listening to something on the radio-without a doubt. Big, big difference. (P.9)

After that, I started looking forward to going to other concerts and as I got older . . . I went to different places where they would have Summer in the Parks. (P.11)



Figure 26. *SITP Live Theater Performance / NPS*

Wallace's narrative also highlights the opportunities presented through SITP events to build relationships within the community,

I feel that I, and other peoples' kids in the neighborhood, got to meet at the Summer in the Parks and we did...it was...it was community thing. Because it was almost like people got to meet one another and you might not have known who lived necessarily around on the other side of the blocks and that's how we actually did meet. Believe it or not. (P. 10)

Sandy Waters offered a somewhat different experience in that she attended an area recreation center during summer days; however, she originally failed to identify the center as an SITP program. She thought it was just her local rec center but when shown the SITP logo of laughing tree, she realized that it was the same logo from the community center.³⁰ Waters' experience exemplified many components of SITP, including surprise field trips to Carter Barron, museums, and even a production of Jesus Christ Superstar³¹.

Waters, though not the only participant to attend summer camp, was the only one who could identify she most likely went as part of a SITP trip to Catoctin Mountain. In one of the most highly anticipated interview questions, "what was it like being transferred from the city into the mountains and forest for a weeklong adventure?" The response was a bit anti-climactic. Waters explained her arrival and experience at Catoctin,

It was not like I was totally shocked, I had been places. We used to go to the parks sometimes Rock Creek parks and all that. So I had been to other places, so I wasn't totally alarmed but I hadn't necessarily like ventured out into the woods to find...you know...and when we learned poison ivy, don't touch that, like oh my god. Did we ever see that before...yeah. We weren't even in tents. We were in the cabins so it wasn't bad. You know. But that was like the first time maybe I'd...you know, we all took the big showers, like a dorm type thing. Like 6-7 beds in one room, y'all have a chaperone and all that. So that was fun. The first night...it was not...I think it was so exciting just to be gone. I don't think I was...I didn't miss...I wasn't crying to go home or anything like that. I was not one of those kids. (P. 9)

³⁰ SITP held events at over 1300 locations across the national capital region.

³¹ Other events Waters participated in such as steady bowling outings could have been SITP, or D.C. Parks and Rec, or another organization's activities. Surprise field trips (listed above) generally match with historical SITP NPS information.

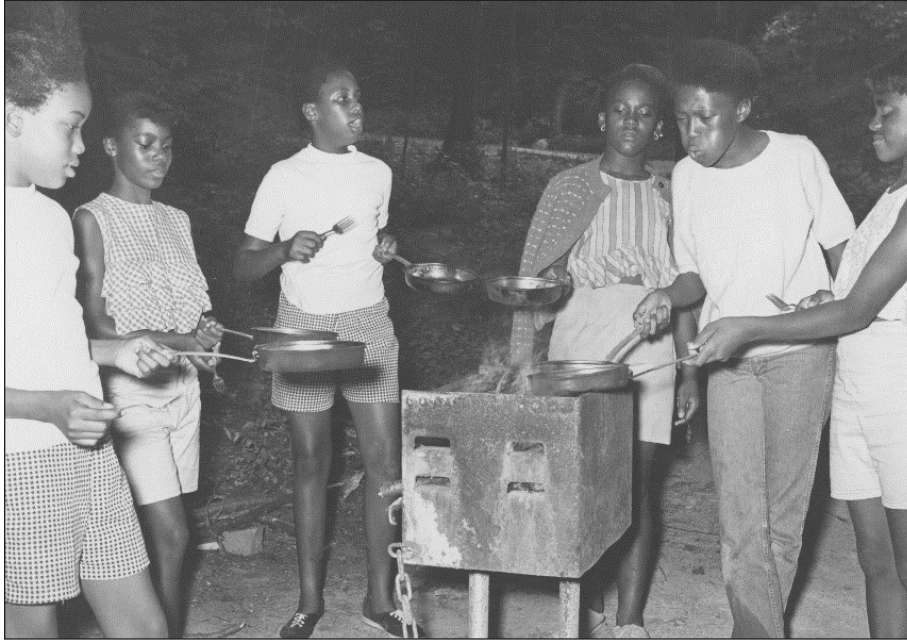


Figure 27. *Catoctin
Camping Trip/NPS*

Bringing music into neighborhoods, as witnessed by Wallace and Waters, represents the inclusionary messaging that was part of the greater SITP mission. Reaching out beyond the large facilities such as Fort Dupont, Rock Creek, and Carter Barron National Parks also embodied the “Parks to the People” NPS mantra embraced in the Civil Rights era. As mentioned in the activism section, the outreach of SITP, especially the music programs, to include all members of the community, even those outside of the immediate vicinity, e.g. Lorton (VA) prison, demonstrates the importance of access and opportunity. The ability for urban children to engage with nature for a week of free camping presented perhaps the only opportunity they may have had to capture this experience.

Environmental and Social Impact Programming

Other SITP activities also presented children with access to nature in addition to the day and sleep away camps and local national park excursions. Events at Rock Creek Park and Oxon Hill Farm also focused on timely social issues as America began to understand its relationship with the natural environment. Michelle Washington participated in Rock Creek Park children’s environmental SITP program, spending her days doing arts and crafts while learning about gardening, food sources, and nature. Kids were bussed to

Figure 28. *SITP Green Scene /*
Courtesy Winne Frost (adult center)



activities, which included physically learning the basics of gardening by planting seeds in a community garden off Blair Road and North Capitol Street.

We went and we learned a lot of important fundamentals. Hoeing, making rows. It's not like today where you go to Home Depot and get your starter plants. We'd put seeds in the ground and we really tended them and it was very exciting as the summer moved on and things began to bear fruit. Literally. (P. 11)

Figure 29. *SITP Event Michelle*
Washington - child left/ Photo
Courtesy of Ms. Washington



Washington also provided a glimpse into other activities and, in her own words, expressed the impact of access and opportunity of SITP,

We were taken around places. Probably driven through places in, let's say, Rock Creek Park, that you may not have necessarily been or paid attention to before. But just given the sense of its size and what was around. It wasn't just about a one way of exposing kids to things or giving them arts and crafts and gardening to do... but there were things built into it where they had, they did get

people out, grown-ups, politicians, leaders, to interact on these special days. That was down on the mall, close to Congress. I remember it was a big festival-like atmosphere. Different displays, probably speakers and that kind of thing. So, that was important too. To see other people, and for them to see, to see this group of kids, they may otherwise...um...very important. (P. 12)



Figure 30. *FLOTUS Mrs. Nixon SITP Event / NPS*



Figure 31. *SITP White House Reception / NPS*

Though incomplete, Washington's unsaid words are actually important to the access and opportunity theme of SITP. From White House receptions to events on the National Mall, the youth of SITP did get to see and interact with the leaders of their country, but perhaps more importantly, the leaders got to see and interact with kids who were directly benefitting from federal appropriations to agencies for programs, such as SITP.

SITP Concerts

Children also attended both child-centric and family events such as concerts and theatrical performances. Frank Lloyd and Greg Peete discussed how their experiences of childhood SITP concerts at Anacostia Park inspired their musical career pursuits. For Peete, a member of a musical family, SITP strongly influenced his love of performing on stage. Often repeated throughout the data, the power of live performance narrative

stands out in the memories of participants who experienced it as attendees and those who performed. According to Greg “Sugar Bear” Elliott, the feelings experienced during performing are intensely fulfilling,

When you playing, to me, when you performing and you see a crowd bobbing their head or clapping or dancing and whatever. . . That’s like a high you can’t buy. You can’t pick it up off a store and drink and all. No, it’s a good feeling. Like you scored an A on an exam. It’s -- you can’t describe it. (Pp. 31-32)



Figure 32. Greg "Sugar Bear" Elliott and friend/GMU VP

For Lloyd, the impact of SITP’s early exposure to music would change his life’s focus from sports to musical performing. He elaborated,

I know I participated [in SITP]. . . I was down there. You know, quite frequently when they had the entertainment. But that’s how I got an interest in performing. After I was leaving one particular time at the swimming pool, there was this guy playing kumbas, he had three kumbas and he was playing by himself. So, you know he sounded so good-so he invited me to play. I didn’t know I even wanted to play music. . . .so that’s how I started playing music. If I weren’t at that park [Anacostia] I probably wouldn’t have played or been playing music for almost 40 plus years. Yes. So. That’s

how I got my start. It made me a musician. So I don't know what I probably would've been doing but. . .but you know, playing music, you know it played a significant part of my life. It made a significant difference. (P. 5)



Figure 33. *SITP Music Children's Music Performance/NPS*

The transformative effects of SITP on the lives of the children it served are perhaps the best testament of the reach and impact of the program. From developing a love for nature, music, or simply deeper feelings of belonging to community, the narratives of child participants offer strong evidence of the social, cultural, and natural capital gains from SITP access and opportunity.

ADULT PARTICIPANTS

Strong evidence of the effects of SITP access and opportunity is present in adult participants' narratives with comments ranging from the simple inclusiveness of "free" activities to particular events that would alter participants' life course trajectories. In the most literal sense, SITP offered stable, paid employment to

many young people, particularly African Americans. Additionally, with the majority of SITP events free³², there was theoretically, unlimited access to every member of the community.³³ There truly was something for everybody. For fledgling musicians, the high school to SITP performer pipeline provided not only the opportunity to perform (and make money) but also provided access to more established performers that would alter the careers of the youngsters.

Employment

This is an especially important point to this study in that several participants worked for the program during college summer breaks, making enough money to carry them through their school year. Banks and Statom began as field crew workers who coincidentally both described the death of their crew leader, as one of the most significant memories of their SITP early work experience. Their stories similarly share how hard, hot, and physical the labor was on their crews, along with the good times when they could let loose and have fun too. Both mentioned that they were “well-paid”, but Banks remembered just how well paid. “Our salaries were pretty good. You know in those days, this was ‘73 now; we started at \$8.25 an hour, which was pretty good in those days, so you pulled people right away” (p. 3). This hourly wage is worth noting in that it emphasizes the magnitude of the SITP work opportunity. According to the U.S. Department of Labor³⁴, the federal minimum wage in 1973 was \$1.60 per hour, so youth SITP employees had a serious moneymaking advantage over other summer job workers. To demonstrate the difference, Joe Lawler, mentioned earlier, who would go on to lead the NPS NCR, began as a SITP term GS 5 federal park technician, making “an annualized \$6000.00” (approximately \$3.00 per hour). A difference Lawler attributed to skilled labor (crew set up) versus unskilled labor, or having a “talent or special ability,” is “paid a higher rate” (p. 2).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, connections paved the way for the federal SITP jobs as Banks discussed the “Wilson hookup”,

³² Note: Carter Barron SITP concerts often required paid entrance tickets.

³³ Barriers, mainly transportation, prevented residents from attending cross-town events. Examples include many participants, Santiesteban, Peete, and Wallace who biked to nearby SITP events.

³⁴ See Department of Labor Minimum Wage [<https://www.dol.gov/whd/minwage/chart.htm>].

My freshman year of college, my sophomore year of college-so we were athletes, and we pretty much recruited other athletes, so a lot of us went to Wilson. A lot of the guys went to Wilson and worked for Summer in the Parks in those days. Even the [SITP] teachers were Wilson teachers. Because they got jobs with the Parks service also. So it was a Parks Service hook-up. So, a lot of the guys were Wilson and I was a part of Wilson team. (P. 5)

Free to All

Instances of the free nature of SITP events linked to access and opportunity are consistently present in the data. Participant Aldo Santiesteban noted that, “At the time, it was really -- the only way to really, like for me, to see a live band performing since my parents were just starting here [from Cuba]. We didn't have the money really to, you know, for us to go shows” (p. 20). His cousin, George Waters, echoed this adding that free admittance to SITP concerts is what allowed him to go. Recently discovering a 1971 paycheck, Waters noted that his pay was \$1.90 per hour, but his only expense to the concert was the \$0.25 bus fare.

Free events, especially concerts and festivals, brought families out the National Parks, often staying all day, picnicking and playing, waiting for the evening programming. “Festive”, “safe”, and “fun” were three words associated with family attendance at SITP events with “Sugar Bear” Elliott commenting, “They [SITP attendees] started multiplying younger and younger. People brought their kids out back then. And families would come out there and put their blankets down or whatever, bring their chairs and all that” (p. 28). Participant Frank Lloyd attributed consistently full capacity attendance at Fort Dupont concerts to their being free and open to the public (p. 2). According to Howard Banks, SITP’s program focus was to get families into the parks and this started with the kids. Planning for activities stemmed from a collaboration between community organizations, NPS staff, and other local and federal authorities. In a little known detail, Banks discusses the Anacostia Park amusement park,

So if you want to bring the families out, you have to have things for kids. So they began Anacostia amusement park. Which was a small amusement park, not far from the skating rink. And they had...um...rides 5 days a week down there. You could pay a small amount of money, you know, and just ride all day. And this was for kids. And it was just...if the kids were just neighbor kids they may have paid, you know a quarter or something to come in to ride. But if it was a camp, they would come in for free. (P. 2)

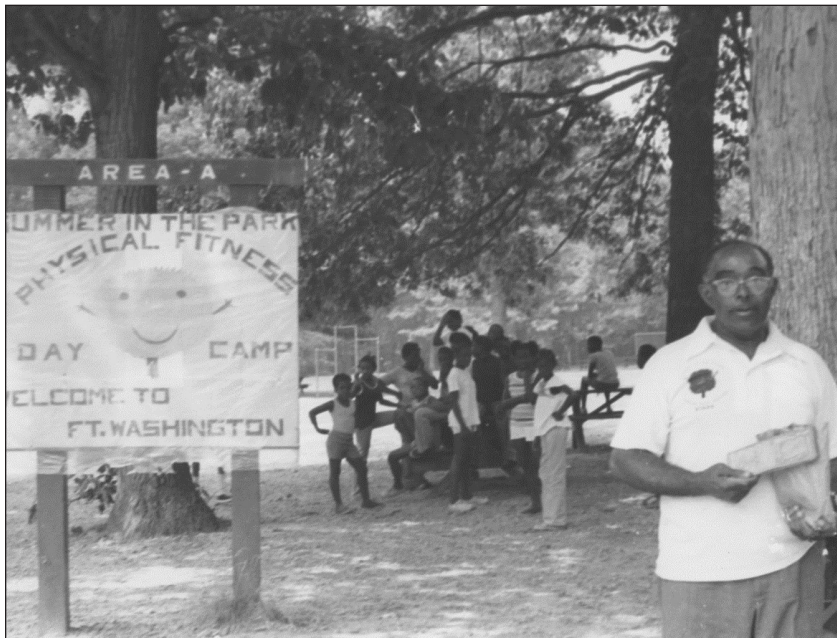


Figure 34. Fort Washington Day Camp / NPS

Families of child SITP attendees, either for day camp, events, or overnight camping at Catoctin or Greenbelt³⁵, benefitted greatly from free programming. It deserves mentioning that not all participants were underprivileged or African American. The program was inclusive, yet considering the concentrated black populations in parts of the city, different activities were overwhelmingly black-only. Statom's young SITP participants in Anacostia, Waters' fellow campers at Catoctin, Washington's Green Scene fellow attendees, and observations from

concerts goers, especially in Anacostia, noted the non-diversity of attendees. Many participants were also chronically poor a fact that harkens back to NPS Office of Urban Affairs Ted McCann's SITP's original planning which noted the average 1967 income in Anacostia was \$4200.00 annually, placing the majority of families barely above the poverty line.³⁶ Moreover, a majority of participants resided in single mother, or grandmother-headed households, with several siblings, which was a significant factor in poverty predictions.

³⁵ Greenbelt National Park hosted short, usually one night, SITP camping trips for children bussed in from the District.

³⁶ According to the U.S. Census, the 1967 poverty line for a nonfarm family of four was \$3,335. However, the high occurrence of maternal single head of households in African Americans communities indicates lower annual incomes. See [<https://www2.census.gov/prod2/popscan/p60-055.pdf>].

When interviewees mentioned their mothers, it was usually in the context of giving their children permission to attend local SITP events or the youths themselves seeking employment to help their single Mom household, e.g. with groceries. Programming, especially day camps, perhaps provided a vital resource for poor parents in having a safe option for their kids in summertime. Statom confirmed this when asked if he had much interaction with parents in his time working with SITP kids, “No, because most of the parents were working, struggling to make a living and the rec center was the place to send the kids during the daytime” (p. 7).

Adult SITP

SITP opened many doors for local D.C. musicians by providing not only multiple performance platforms, e.g. parks, showmobiles, but also connecting a network of young and experienced performers. Many attributed SITP to establishing Go-Go as an international music phenomenon, casting a spotlight on both the District and its musicians. By far, music dominated interviews and according to participant Greg Peete, “When you mention Summer in the Parks to a real Washingtonian, the first thing they’re gonna think about is Anacostia Park” (p. 2). This an assertion was echoed in comments gathered through participant observation that focused on the SITP concert series and not children’s programming. We found that the D.C. music scene has strong ties and deep roots as entertainers celebrated others’ successes while extending a hand or more appropriately, a hook up, to those coming up.

High School to SITP Pipeline

Perhaps nothing demonstrates SITP’s access and opportunities better than its contribution to the musical fabric of D.C. According to several participants, the program launched their start as (paid) musicians. Well-known participant performers such as “Sugar Bear” Elliott, Frank Hooker of the Young Senators, and Luci Murphy got their starts or big breaks on the SITP platform. Most were either still in high school or shortly out of high school trying to break through to regular gigs. Elliott related that at 17, his summer job while in high school was riding around D.C. in the showmobile playing the bass guitar at two parks per week and getting paid for it! Luci Murphy, who continues her career as a singer, got her start performing with Mother Scott and other members of St. Stephens Church, in paid lunchtime

SITP performances in places like Farragut Park. For her, it was a heady time, “It seemed like we just showed up, played, and got paid” (p. 8).

As with many parts of this project, there are blurred lines between which institutions or organizations performed what activity. For example, participant Jerry Lenix’s teenage experience definitely fits into the SITP showmobile model, yet he says it was D.C. Parks and Recreation,

Then, when I was in high school, I started working with the D.C. Department of Recreation showmobile. And the showmobile was a trailer that would open up into a stage, so you could take it to different locations. And one of our main groups that would play would be the Ambassadors. That was D.C.’s recreation group. And we did a lot of different shows on the showmobile. I don’t know if the showmobile has anything to do with the Summer in the Parks or not. (P. 2)

SITP employee and retired ranger John Carrington attempted to explain the jumbled history of NPS and D.C. Parks and Rec. when it came to the showmobiles. At times, NPS would loan their showmobiles to D.C. Parks and Rec and other times, Parks and Rec would perform with their own showmobiles at National Parks. Not only does this blurring makes it impossible to separate the two outfits, but also excavating forty to fifty-year-old memories is challenging at best.

Another participant, musician Donald Sellers, elaborated on the opportunity of playing at SITP,

In Washington, D.C., getting back to that, you know, like that showmobile/ Summer in the Parks thing, I mean, like all the, you know, up-and-coming young bands that -- you know, basement bands. So, people would come out to see that and they really wanted to see guys get off on the guitar and just make -- shred it and everything like that, man. You know, and a heavy bass player getting off and a drummer have his -- everyone would have a turn. Yeah. So, the whole thing was a music thing, really, back in those days, and the message was just like to be cool and, you know, have fun and be conscious of what’s going on around you. And it was conscious -- cosmic consciousness. (P.20)

Frank Hooker, one of the District's most successful musicians who went on to play with Eddie Kendricks from the Temptations, offered a different perspective. His career was further along with an album released already and regional bookings for his band, The Young Senators. For Hooker, SITP presented an opportunity for exposure to blacks and whites,

I just knew [about SITP] from the, gigs that we got. I thought it was a great idea, you know because it was, it gave people an opportunity; you know to come out and hear us, if they hadn't heard us. [chuckles] You know, and our audience was, like I said, you know whites and blacks to come out, you know especially during that hippie movement time, you know when the hippie, you know what I mean, people were more free in their minds. (P. 10)

Similar to Hooker, Don Tillery, most well known as the Chuck Brown and the Soul Searchers' longtime trumpet player, also had established a successful touring career before joining the steady work on SITP showmobiles. For Tillery, however, it was more than steady work; it was an opportunity to play. He explained, "See that's the thing about musicians-it's always about playing" (p. 24).

"Each One-Teach One"

The title of this section were words spoken by "Sugar Bear" Elliott as Felicia Garland-Jackson attended his interview with a Cultural Documentation field school student. He believes he has an obligation to mentor and teach those coming up behind, giving them the tools to be successful. For him, Chuck Brown served as a mentor, scheduling Experience Unlimited (later known as EU) as the opening act in SITP and other shows. Beyond extending just the opportunity, Brown also shared experience and wisdom with the young musician. Elliott, who described himself as a "Jimi Hendrix madman" (p. 49) would add riffs of Top 40 songs to his act, to which Brown advised, "Man, you got a lot of talent. But you got to play what people want to hear" (p. 26). After the adjustment, Elliott's career took off.

Luci Murphy also discussed the influence of her mentor Pastor William Wendt from the time she was a young girl. He inspired his congregants to "realize their talents and find their mission" even buying instruments with the Church's discretionary funds (p. 26). Don Tillery, spoke fondly of his

former band director and mentor, Mr. Greene, who promoted and advocated for his current and former students to get paid work performing for SITP,

There was the Ambassador's orchestra. You know, these young guys were like from McKinley, Cardozo. We had Mr. Greene, he was like the director of the band. And this band it was one of the top bands in D.C. Because it was a, you know, a school, a high school. You take -- invest in violin players, you know, cello. He had -- they were nice. They were doing a lot of Rhythm and Blues music which made it even better. But we were young. So, he had that locked in, you know, like with the Showmobile you can almost tell they're always on the show, you know. And sometimes they would play behind the singers who, you know -- and they'd give them the music and stuff. It was hip. Mr. Greene had that -- I miss Mr. Greene. He was the man. Every musician knew Mr. Greene. (P.30)

What is clear is the D.C. music scene was and is very close-knit where musicians contribute to each other's success whether that be from a hook up or simply career guidance. Many of these successful musicians would not have gotten their start without SITP and its multiple performance platforms extending both access and opportunities.

EMPOWERMENT

The term empowerment has multiple definitions that spring from many disciplines. In this report, we utilize two concepts of psychological empowerment, the first is individual empowerment, which is "defined as the active, participatory process of gaining resources or competencies needed to increase control over one's life and accomplish important life goals" (Maton and Salem 1995:632). The second is empowerment in community settings, which encompasses several areas of the SITP program and is consistent with more of a social change purpose than commercial organizational success. Maton and Salem (1995) developed four factors that contribute to effective empowerment in community settings: a) a shared belief system that "is focused beyond the self"; b) opportunities to share and grow in other organizational roles; c) "a support system that is encompassing, peer-based, and multifunctional"; and d) "leadership that is inspiring, talented, and shared" (p. 631).

I used both concepts above in developing the empowerment theme, and as with many components of this study, there is overlap. Meaning individual acts of empowerment, such as an employee receiving the autonomy to plan SITP activities designed to best serve the population, can also reside in the organizational sense of empowerment. The theme of empowerment, interwoven into study narratives, also closely relates to themes addressed earlier, especially activism and blackness. This is an especially interesting link considering previous studies have found successful empowerment of black youth often includes adult black male mentors giving back to their communities (Watts 1993). This concept emerges from the SITP data as the act of empowerment serves as the vehicle for activism and the cultural identity making of blackness.

To start with obvious examples of empowerment, the basic premise and goal of SITP is about individual empowerment as cultural, social, and natural capital are passed on to children through exposure to recreation and cultural activities. Further, engaging children in free, structured safe programs was empowering to parents often struggling under financial duress by mitigating their fiscal constraints while providing capital to youth. Yet for this section, the focus of empowerment is on a select group of NPS African American SITP employees from the local neighborhoods who, through their active interventions, are able to push for and bring SITP to the African American community.

Tedd McCann, from NPS Office of Urban Affairs, began planning SITP around a Recreation Demonstration Area (RDA) model of Anacostia Park. He noted three components that were required to be successful: 1) engage the local community in decision-making; 2) Hire Local; and 3) Provide services the community needs. Discussion of how SITP fared in meeting McCann's original vision of the three tenets will appear in a later section, however, the second tenet - Hire Local- significantly informs the empowerment theme found in the data. SITP was a collaborative effort where no one person determined its success, yet one individual's failure could have doomed the entire program. One small incident at a concert or one poorly planned and executed activity carried tremendous risk of bad publicity that threatened SITP appropriations and approval. Steve

Syphax, John Carrington, and Howard Banks offer unique perspectives of their work at SITP from eye-level, day-to-day operational positions.

NUMBERS ARE FOR BEAN COUNTERS

Several SITP initiatives began from scratch, which left open possibilities of either being ineffective due to overwhelming bureaucracy or open to an effective outside the box tactic. SITP's Green Scene was one of these initiatives that adopted the latter approach.

The program benefitted from top to bottom mission acceptance to reach as many people as possible and give them programming that served a purpose. The execution of that programming lay in the hands of the team itself. In discussions with Syphax, a local D.C. youth, and members of the Green Scene, including Winne Frost, young staff under the purview of a relatively young landscape gardener, Bart Truesdale, who headed the new

program, planned the day-to-day activities.

Instructions to Syphax and team were to incorporate the overall environmental agenda into children's programming while essentially keep the kids entertained and learning. This sense of empowerment to set agendas, request funds, and arrange logistics allowed for creating effective, well-received programming. Syphax, who grew up with Rock Creek Park as his backyard, could impart his love of nature into engaging activities, ranging from botany to gardening, embedding them into plays and exercises.

Additional Green Scene adult activities included venturing to areas downtown to host lunch hour environmental workshops for District workers. Syphax and Frost usually staffed these events, with no supervision or required proof of deliverables. When asked if they actually counted the number of participants to deliver official counts back to

Figure 35. *SITP Green Scene*
Syphax (left) 1973 NPS





Figure 36. *SITP Green Scene Play Nd/ NPS*

the office for reporting, Syphax said only in something like “Hey, there were A LOT of people there!” (Syphax, Frost, and Truesdale notes p. 6) Fe questioned Truesdale on this about the lack of bean counting numbers for a government-funded program. He replied that he did keep general numbers and pooled them into other events, adding that the program was popular and received good press, which helped to escape any scrutiny for underperformance.

Syphax also commented on their planning which included creating a requisition list and purchasing supplies for activities. Asked again how such a junior staff member was empowered to handle government funds without paperwork and bureaucratic oversight, Syphax responded that they were trusted to get what they needed, adding that the program had considerable funding so that they had everything they needed. Even considering the decades’ difference between today and the past, this level of empowerment represents a freedom to be successful. Their jobs as junior employees was to be creative and engaging, while the administrators handled bureaucratic functions such as funding and paperwork.

SITP’S COMMUNITY ORGANIZER

NPS recruited former Boy Scouts of America and Job Corps employee John Carrington to fulfill the Park Service’s objective to diversify its workforce. In this interview excerpt (p. 19), he described his hiring,

Figure 37. Retired NPS Ranger
John Carrington/GMU VP



JC: They [NPS] needed to infiltrate the Park Service with young black people that were able to deal with the community work and deal with the various activities that they wanted to pursue in this metropolitan area.

FGJ: Right. So specifically for the urban parks?

JC: Right. Yeah.

FGJ: So, they wanted an urban person who could work with the urban population, if you will.

JC: Exactly.

FGJ: So, a black person.

John Carrington: A black person.

Carrington excelled in this capacity – so much so that his connections to the community remain to this day (see activism section). As with the Green Scene, the Office of Urban Affairs was a new entity with a firm mission, but few operational details. How does one engage with the community? Carrington elaborated that his role was to do everything related to public relations, which meant building relationships with community councils and other organizations, e.g. Boy Scouts, to begin to assemble the collaboration that would become SITP. Whether attending neighborhood meetings or reaching out through local visits and networking, Carrington built connections with “the right people” who

could get things done. The empowerment of his role was to blaze trails into communities that were often wary of engaging the federal government. Once connected, he embodied the qualities of a community organizer by essentially getting groups to coalesce around the shared SITP vision.

Once the details of the community needs were in place, Carrington made sure that the Park Service provided what they had promised, including having facilities in place. Once SITP launched and performed as planned, communities began reaching out to Carrington with additional suggestions for programming. Even after the program suffered funding cuts in 1976, he continued advocating within NPS for continued SITP-type programming because he believed there was still a need in many communities. However, with funding lines rigidly drawn, he developed a series of “work-arounds” targeting both private and other organizational donors,

We lost the funding. And we couldn't do a lot of things. So, we had to be creative. We started doing co-op programs with D.C. Rec. And there were a lot of programs that were in our areas that the D.C. Recreation had programs in those areas, too. So, we were co-sponsor things- [share] the funding for instance. We had to seek out funding from various organizations such as Budweiser. And Miller High Life, if you recall. Yeah, and there were a few other companies such as that they we would lean on for big money. For the concert series that took place in the local parks and Carter Barron, Fort Dupont, any places like that. That's where you got the big funding from. And that, along with the little funding we were getting from the parks to take care of the maintenance and things of that nature, sewed important things back together. (Pp. 43-44)

Carrington began to operate in a small, yet resourceful, group to keep some iteration of SITP together.

MUSICIAN ≠ TABLE

Howard Banks, later under the tutelage of Al Dale, did not remain a manual laborer assembling stages for SITP concerts. He had moved into a production manager role, perhaps more appropriately described as a utility player, handling everything from booking concert acts to managing concert operations. Banks' narrative exemplifies individual empowerment and his

skill of making a slow-moving bureaucratic federal agency accommodate the fast-paced characteristics of show business. However, his narrative also exemplifies organizational empowerment through shared mission, opportunities to contribute to planning, and guidance from effective and inclusive leadership. This is especially true in Banks finding “work-arounds” to the rigid rules and regulation of government. He elaborates on one example,

So I'd have...let's say I'd have [John Smith]³⁷ and opening act at Dupont. So I'd do all the paperwork for that. Get the contract signed. Make sure that check is ready. That's another part. The government looks at a musician... music performance like ordering a table. Like if that table come in and it's not paid for--well we got 30 days. No no, when a musician comes in, they play. And if there's no check for them, they're not going to play. So there's a big difference. So getting the government to transition in getting the checks lined up when we needed them there, that was a big pull. Because we had to pay the bands. Musicians, never, never use checks. They use cash. That's why when they come to town, we want cash. Because they got to pay their bands out. So we had a special account with Riggs National Bank. Biggest bank in D.C. Main headquarters is down on Pennsylvania avenue right by the White House--15th and Penn. So every Friday I'd call over, I'd say this is the kind of checks we need to cash on Monday. As long as they knew when we were coming and how much we were going to bring-- they were ready. We would cash [John Smith's] check. [John Smith] had a check for \$30,000 plus another \$5,000. And so, they'd have to have that cash in the bank. And he'd just take...put it in the suitcase take it on the train. Just like in the movies. No security. Nah I'm alright and just get on. (P. 15)

Empowerment in these cases encompassed both the ability to blaze one's own path without restraints, which often choke efficiency and help develop creative “work-arounds” when encountering threats to mission accomplishment.

BLACKNESS

Many participants spoke of the effects of SITP concerts on themselves and their communities. In the post-riot period, a time Don Tillery describes as “heavy days” (p. 32), residents were still dealing with the destruction and remaining racial tensions. A long-time barber on H Street remarked

³⁷ Named changed for third party anonymity.

during a street interview, “They [authorities] left us here to fall in on ourselves. They say-that’s what happens to you when you burn up your own shit”. SITP’s mission was to bring programming to the city to not only fill a void but also prevent future rioting. Yet, the concerts actually did more than this: they brought together the black community and offered an opportunity to build cultural identities and collective memories.

RIOTS AS PROGRESS

Not to ignore the inclusiveness and multicultural attendance of the events, several participants still expressed black pride and ownership of SITP. Several interviews referenced “Chocolate City”, a recognition that the District was majority African American at the time of SITP. For many participants, the program itself was a celebration of blackness, or in some cases, the power of blackness. Post-riot D.C. was different, fractured, but perhaps progressively moving forward in other ways. Peete described the period, “the times were bad but then they turned out good because a lot of people got closer together after that” (p. 7). Artist Lou Stovall recounted his post-riot memory of how, from his perspective, the riots forwarded progress,

Well, actually, it had quieted down, um. . .it was just access to places that were, you know, lots of people had never thought of going there, you know? Suddenly it was just, it was just fine, you know. It was mostly restaurants and, uh, where people felt uncomfortable going and sitting. And all of a sudden, that wasn’t a problem anymore, you know. Um, for years, uh, the Hecht’s Company-black people felt uncomfortable going in there and sitting at the counter in order to order a sandwich or whatever, but they were able to shop in the store. And all of a sudden, that stopped and people were able to go in and, uh, and have lunch, you know, whatever. (P. 22)³⁸

Study participant Ronald Bland offered an interesting perspective of the riots being more of black retribution for blacks’ ongoing exploitation by whites in the District,

Well the exploitation was the. . .people who ownedose businesses were absentee ownerships and they took the money out of that community but they never put anything back. I didn’t recognize that there were many African American businesses because they were fronts. . .for people who had been

³⁸ Note: Excerpted from Di and Lou Stovall’s joint interview not Lou Stovall’s individual interview.

long since gone. . . . they owned the building, they owned the business and they had basically exploited those neighborhoods and that's what I saw basically, was. . . . this is payback time. You know, D.J. Kauffman who sold some of the most bizarre clothes to black people you ever. . . . you could ever imagine. I mean they kind of sold them laughing at you. You know. You people are. . . . are somewhat bizarre in that you would even consider to put this on. But they were exploiting that. . . . that. . . . this group of people who would gravitate to those kinds of places. So I saw this as being. . . . you're getting paid back for something that you did and you did it because you were basically greedy. And you weren't putting anything back into the neighborhood that would actually enhance your business. (P. 32)

Framing the riots as progressive measures or as a flexing of Black Power offered a contrast to other participants who found the city sorely in need of unification after the burst of violence. Sarah Glover remembered that people in her neighborhood were still angry after the riots and Dr. King's assassination. To her, SITP offered an outlet for the black community, "I think it probably gave people a sense of escape, you know because when you are listening to the music and having a good time you're not thinking about the seriousness of the situation that surrounds you, you know" (p. 10). Banks added, that SITP "definitely had a unifying effect on community-it brought people together" (p. 24). Carrington echoed not only the escape narrative but also the importance of educating African American youngsters to outside possibilities, to go beyond their surroundings thinking, "This is all I have" (p. 33). Part of the exposure was a strong African pride element embedded in many SITP activities, from Ghanaian drum circles to African dance performances.

CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS OF BLACKNESS

Floyd and Taft strongly recalled the unifying power and celebration of black pride of African Liberation Day Festival at Malcolm X Park, which for many, resided under the

SITP umbrella. This destination itself reflects blacks' feelings of ownership of the District. The Park is officially Meridian Hill National Park, yet every African American interviewed referenced it as "Malcolm X Park". No explanation, or "we call it", or "you might know it as"-



Figure 38. Taft at Meridian Hill
"Malcolm X Parkway" / GMU VP

just a given, Malcolm X Park³⁹. William Taft, who, for over 35 years has facilitated the continuing Sunday drum circle at the park, ties the activity as a legacy of SITP. Both are expressions of blackness and black culture as Taft explains his relationship to the weekly drum circle:

So, when I got to the circle, the circle helped me because Malcolm X died. He was assassinated, right? Remember, the first thing was Martin Luther King's assassination, right? He and Malcolm X died. Then the black people said, "We have to salute this great leader, so we will do an African salute to him." So, all of the drums in the city came to Meridian Hill Park and we proclaimed it Malcolm X Park on our spirit, and then we just drummed all night into 1:00 because the park service didn't care. We knew about that. We played until 1:00 that night drumming for him, and we just didn't feel like we had done enough. We came back the next weekend, and the next weekend, and the next week and then that circle began to be here in Meridian Hill Park. (Pp. 3-4)

Within the Taft narrative are strong associations of Park Service and city officials' attempts to rein in the drum circle activity and continued discrimination and persecution against African Americans. Efforts to

³⁹ William Taft took exception to the term "Malcolm X Park", explaining that it is actually "Malcolm X Parkway, where the culture was" in "Chocolate City" (p. 3).

dismantle events such as SITP (successful) and drum circle (ongoing) are attacks against black cultural expression. He elaborated that affronts came from multiple directions, including D.C. public schools,

It was Chocolate City back then. It was Chocolate City. D.C. was 68 percent black back then, so culture was everywhere. Back then, they had music in the schools. The instruments were in the schools, so the kids could take the instruments home so then they learned how to play with the kids in school regular music, but then they went home and started playing Go-Go music because they had the instruments. Then they took all of the music out of the class and so then crime rose, you know, in the '70s and then D.C. became Dodge City, Crime City, because there was no way to express your art. So, our culture was stopped. (P. 3)

"IT WAS OUR MUSIC"

SITP offered a variety of music, including folk, blues, rock, R & B, funk, as well as the local favorite, Go-Go. Different locations, including National Parks, either featured a rotating style line-up, e.g. Carter Barron, or stuck to the same type of music performances. Fort Dupont and Anacostia Park's focus during SITP was primarily funk and Go-Go. This fact is important in that it explains why so many local residents flooded the venues, often walking from their homes, to enjoy "their music". Chuck Brown's wise words to Greg "Sugar Bear" Elliott, to give the people what they want to hear, is fundamental to the SITP as expressions of blackness. The federal government funding for events where blacks could have fun, free and close to home, with music that catered to their tastes encapsulates the roots of black ownership of SITP and their city. Donald Sellers recounted the power of black music on the community, "The music was really kind of like a -- in a message thing and about unity and black cohesion and, you know, that whole Black Power Movement and so forth" (p. 9).

PROTECTIVE BLACKNESS

For some participants, growing up in the District during 1940s-1950s meant limited mobility, or restrictions to places one could go to, this emerged in discussions in relation to commercial, recreational, and entertainment interests. For example, both Santiesteban and Stovall mentioned Hecht's Department Store as unwelcoming to blacks, with the former describing his adult experience with store personnel,

And as I'm walking around thinking what am I going to buy with this gift certificate, another black person goes, "Hey, boy, you're being followed."

So, I turn around and sure enough, every time I would go, there was one of the security following me everywhere I went. And I'm like okay, I see you. Okay. So, I gave them the runaround. Just kept going, you know. And I think he followed me for like half an hour. And finally, I found what I wanted, went and paid for it. And he really got -- you could tell he got mad. (P. 22)

Many participants shopped exclusively in the black commercial sections of D.C., e.g. H Street, where Sarah Glover described shopping trips with her mother to the area and her sadness when many of the stores failed to survive the 1968 riots.

The practice of staying within zones where one feels welcome and safe has long been part of the black community. Don Tillery, who toured the country as a musician during high school (early 1960s), noted the challenges of finding hotels and restaurants that would serve blacks. For him, it would serve as a welcome reprieve to return to D.C. where African Americans were the overwhelming majority. In response to an inquiry if she had ever experienced overt discrimination in the District, Sandy Waters stated that she never had, because "it's pretty much Chocolate City" (p. 20). There was safety in numbers, especially post-riot, from racial confrontations with angry whites who had long left for the suburbs. Kenny Statom offered an insightful perspective of leaving the protectiveness of blackness and the regression of race relations during a recent trip to West Virginia,

I was coming back in, a woman walks out of the gas -- of the convenience store with a shirt, and the shirt said, "Stop crying; abort black babies." Yeah. Yeah. And this is not -- This is not very far from Washington D.C., 90 miles. But it's rural. And it's like, "Woah, Jack." I've had to stop doing some of the trips I want to do solo. My wife says, "You can't go out there. Not now, all by yourself. No." "You're right."

I'm afraid. I mean, I'm afraid to stop at gas stations in West Virginia now. You know, I'll go to -- I'll find some gas station on the highway, like, because it's -- you know, the climax for hate in this country has just escalated. It's gone rampant. But it wasn't like that. I mean, yeah, we had the riots, but it was -- I never ever, ever felt as unsafe, you know, in certain parts of this country than I feel right now. (P. 12)

NOSTALGIA

Nostalgia is a dominant theme throughout the data, which is unsurprising considering the nature of the study, a cultural documentation of participants from a program 40-50 years ago. Calling on participants' nostalgic imaging, centers on excavating their lived experiences (Davis 1979). However, for this project, much of the nostalgia focused on community or more specifically, on place, both in the literal and figurative senses. Stewart (1988) perhaps describes this best as the time when "a person's life turns most clearly knit into a bigger fabric of experiences common to others in similar locations" (p. 232). There is also a key element of nostalgia in the yearning for this lost period and place, back when the community was different, closer, and tighter-knit when you knew your neighbors (Cross 2015). This shared sense of place as well as shared meaning of their experiences includes participants' memories of SITP events, but also of their childhood, neighborhoods, and the local context of the time.

SITP SOCIALIZING IN THE PARKS

For the majority of interviewees, SITP represents summer evenings spent with families or friends listening to music, socializing, and having fun in a safe and welcoming environment. From big acts, e.g. Earth, Wind, and Fire, to local bands, e.g. Young Senators, music was a large part of SITP nostalgia. The social gathering aspect is pervasive in that, as Greg Peete noted, "Before there was social media, there was social meetings...you might have lost contact with somebody, but chances are you'd run into them at the park, and you know, you would meet some people for the first time and you become lifelong friends. So that was the type of atmosphere, that type of vibe" (p. 5).

Participants also bemoaned today's lack of festivals and outdoors events such as SITP. Lloyd remarked how highly anticipated SITP was in the community, while Santiesteban, remembered planning his weekends around what bands were playing. Several particular aspects of SITP appeared in multiple narratives. For example, Lenix, Sellers, Peete, Statom, and Santiesteban all nostalgically recalled the waves of young and old bicyclists that took part in SITP events:

And that was the time we were all riding bicycle and had a whistle.
So, we would ride it, and 'Hey everybody, come blow your
whistle.' So, I was part of that group walking around [and riding]
with a whistle chain around my neck. (Santiesteban P. 23)

"And everyone had bicycles back then and they'd be riding down the
streets with like - 30, 40 bicycles and it was like they were in the Tour
de France or something, with a whistle in their mouth, and they'd just
come through the neighborhoods and so -- [mimics whistling], you
know. It was really wild. (Sellers P. 21)



Figure 39. *Lenix and Sellers/ VP GMU*

In the excerpt below, life-long buddies Jerry Lenix and Donald Sellers (above) demonstrated not only participants' nostalgia for this carefree time but how individuals with shared nostalgia create and maintain a collective identity (Davis 1979):

Donald Sellers: I remember Anacostia Park.
Jerry Lenix: Yeah. Anacostia Park.
Donald Sellers: Oh, man.
Jerry Lenix: -- that was the place.
Donald Sellers: Really. All along Anacostia Park --
Jerry Lenix: Yeah.
Donald Sellers: -- on the other side of the bridge, I think what they call east of the river now. I'm not sure if that's a -- I don't know-but anyway, this what they call it.
Jerry Lenix: Yeah.
Donald Sellers: Anyhow, so --
Jerry Lenix: The --
Donald Sellers: -- there were a lot of concerts all down there.
Jerry Lenix: Lot of concerts down there.
Donald Sellers: Yeah, really free, and you could just ride --
Jerry Lenix: [affirmative]
Donald Sellers: -- everybody got in their vans. Vans were in, you know. I mean, the Chevy vans and everything with these sound systems and mattresses and beds and stuff in them and everything -
Jerry Lenix: Yeah.
Donald Sellers: -- and all that. And everybody would pull up and open their doors and crank their sound system and everything like that. I mean, hundreds of people would sit out there.
Jerry Lenix: They cut all of that out, boy.
Donald Sellers: And all the girls walking around. Yeah, really, you know.
Jerry Lenix: Damn, that was a --
Donald Sellers: It was beautiful.
Jerry Lenix: -- a big park.
Donald Sellers: We had like, you know --
Jerry Lenix: It's gone.
Donald Sellers: -- the bellbottoms and, you know, dashikis with the medallions and all that stuff like that. Huge afros --
Jerry Lenix: Yeah.
Donald Sellers: -- and so forth like that, man. So, yeah, and the platform shoes and stuff. So, you know -- and you know, the girls would be wearing hot pants and all that stuff --
Jerry Lenix: Oh, boy.
Donald Sellers: -- like that, so -- you know, like Rod Stewart talking hot pants and all that other -- so, yeah. That's going on. It was a beautiful time, you know.
(Pp. 22-23)

CHILD PARTICIPANTS

SITP child participants separate into those who attended child specific activities, e.g. rec center, environmental programming, and those who attended the concerts that were for everyone. For child-activity participants, SITP was memorable, not so much the experience themselves, but the void the program filled at that time in their young lives. This blends into their nostalgic expressions where attending SITP events, for example, gave Wallace something fun to do to escape his parents' recent divorce. For Washington, interacting with other children and engaging in activities brought the introverted child out of her shell. This is not to say that their SITP experiences were unimportant, with Washington recalling with fondness how her childhood curiosity of the environment and gardening matured into a life-long interest. Wallace's riding the trails of Fort Circle Park with SITP friends harkened back to simpler, carefree times.

TIMES WERE DIFFERENT THEN

Two main nostalgic narratives also ran through the data: one centering on the closeness of social connections and community ties, and the other on crime and safety. A main component of nostalgia is framing the past against today, thus both narratives contain critical comments on the status of neighborhoods and social relations (Davis 1979).

"The Neighborhood"

Sarah Glover is one of the participants who reminisced over how all the kids and families in the neighborhood knew each other back then,

We used to walk to school, so we knew all the kids in the neighborhood, you know. So it was very different. It's very different, because you knew everybody around you, yeah. We, we had to walk, there was not a bus that went to our school and, um, so we walked like seventeen blocks and along the way we would keep, we would pick up kids along the way, so we knew everybody, you know, for blocks around and then you went to school with them all day, you know, so it's very different now, you know, for the kids. (P. 11)

With the majority of activities centered on the neighborhood, families could build relationships. SITP was one of these sites as Banks described how families bonded at Fort Dupont,

We would start playing music around 4 o'clock, so you could bring your family around 4 and just sit down and just wait for the show at 8:30. And you had a great time just talking to folks. So eventually we had people that would come every Friday or Saturday at the same time, so we had families that got to know each other and grew up together. And then they brought their kids the following generation over time. (P. 8)

In a narrative often heard across populations, neighbors would look out for not only each other but especially after their children. Older kids would keep an eye out for those younger and other mothers, particularly in African American communities, who might discipline neighborhood children even though they were unrelated. Wallace responded to a question of how he, as a pre-teen, went about going to his local SITP site, Fort Circle, ostensibly by himself:

I don't recall my mom coming down. Because we had the older people looking out for us but back then also it was like they said... it was like everybody was like real family oriented so everybody was being watched even the older [kids] you know, that's what was so lovely too. That everybody knew who everybody was in a sense. (P.10)

The key to Wallace's nostalgic memory is that they may have left their house alone, but they were never really alone because they were always under the watchful eye of neighbors. Greg Peete echoed this:

To actually go that distance away from home, I would say about 10 or 11, cause my whole neighborhood would go, and back then, everybody looked out for one another. You know, it took a village to raise a child, so we would say "Ma, can we go? Everybody's going!" "Alright, you be safe" you know, so, she would allow us to go. (P. 5)

There is also a tone of resignation to the gentrification taking over their neighborhoods. Participants nostalgically recall a time when there were folks like them in their neighborhoods, often from the same Southern roots that came North during the Great Migration. Jerry Lenix elaborated:

Well, for me -- okay, I'll just give you my situation here -- is that the people next-door are from the same place that my parents were and that's South

Carolina. It's the same town and everything. And me and my next-door neighbor, we're like family, but you know, there's a lot of changes happening now. A lot of people have been moving in. I would say in this block itself, within the last year it's been maybe like seven houses that have been renovated and people have moved in. Most of them seem friendly and stuff. Some of them reach out to you a lot. They might even invite you over.

So, it's just, you know, it's different when you're a kid and you're coming up and you know all the kids in the neighborhood and all of that. Then, say, like you just move into a neighborhood, you know, with just new people and stuff, so I would say that I don't know. I just don't know what the future is going to hold. Maybe these programs [SITP] and stuff will start back up, and then maybe I'll get to know my new neighbors and all of that, because a lot of them seem pretty friendly. (Pp. 30-31)

"Nobody Died"

The most challenging aspect to nostalgia emerging from the data is crime and safety. Challenges abound even in the categorization process since nostalgia involves the erasure of negative recollections, focusing instead on positive memories (Davis 1979). However, what if there is no erasure of negative memories for that particular person? What if the memories represent their authentic experience and are similar to others in the same community? Discussion on this topic will follow in the next section. However, this section will highlight examples from the data on nostalgic statements on crime and safety.

For the majority of African American participants, crime and safety during the SITP period is peppered with comments, including "there was no crime", "there was little crime", or "it was safe back then". Notable exceptions include Michelle Washington who elaborated that she was aware that parts of the district were "unsafe" after the riots, and Howard Banks who stated that Southeast D.C., e.g. Anacostia, owned the crime-afflicted label in the city's press. The title of this section, "nobody died" (p. 28), is from Greg "Sugar Bear" Elliott's account of how SITP events may have had a bit of pushing and shoving, or fisticuffs, but had experienced little to no sizeable acts of violence. Frank Lloyd added his perspective of SITP safety,

It was safe. You didn't have to worry about nothing. No comparison [between then and now]. People were probably getting high from smoking 'reefa

and all that kind of stuff back then. I wasn't, but that was what they did.
But it was definitely safe. (P. 6)

Lloyd also discussed crime in his Barry Farms neighborhood,

Well the area was...pretty...it was a rough area. You know you had to grow up; you had to fight or whatever. You know people had the tendency to take advantage of you if you didn't stand up for yourself. So, you know. But I mean, it wasn't...it wasn't no, it wasn't, no comparison to now. I mean you may have fought or fight but you was friends, you know the next day, you was alright with each other. But now, they get into disputes/arguments, and they want to kill each other. It wasn't really none of that back then. There's a lot more violence now. I mean you did a lot of fisticuffs fight it wasn't no big thing. Like I said, you'd be friends the next day. (P. 4)

Street interview participants also shared this viewpoint that the streets were generally safe during SITP days. Interviewees responded that people back then fought with fists, not guns, adding that times changed in the 1980s, as crime in the District became a national headline. Greg Peete acknowledged that occasionally there might have been issues while dispersing the crowds following concerts, with "one bad apple, but I couldn't recall a horrific event, everything was just, cool" (p. 5). Peete's last statement is interesting in that Human Kindness Day 1975 was exactly the type of horrific event that would alter the course of SITP.

The link between this event and SITP is tenuous but since both festive NPS funded activities took place in the summer on federal parkland, many believed SITP and Human Kindness Day were two components of the same program. As Hoffman (1975) noted in a post-Human Kindness Day article in the Washington Post, "The bread and circuses approach to tranquilizing the more dangerous segments of the population failed a few days ago" (B1). Thus, the outburst of violence, e.g. 600 muggings of mainly white victims, at the Stevie Wonder concert on the National Mall by bands of black teenagers damaged any narrative of safety. Howard Banks, the SITP concert production manager, blamed the violence on "dead air": too much inaction on stage makes crowds restless and sows chaos. He explained,

They had special themes like Human Kindness Day, that was a big Parks Service day. They had three of them. And the first two went well, the third one did not go that well. And they cancelled it after that. They were some disruptions. They had dead air. You know, they had the one thing you can't have. A late show and nobody on stage and then you have problems. (P. 20)

Labeled by some as “summer pacification programs”, NPS would end both Human Kindness Day and the original iteration of SITP citing funding and safety concerns.

INSTITUTIONAL

The label “institutional” refers to the role of NPS, the organization, found in the data. Ideally, framing this section around Ted McCann’s three tenets of the SITP mission and providing evidence of each, would sufficiently cover this section. However, much of this overlaps with other previously presented themes. For example, the success of McCann’s #1 tenet, include the local community in planning for SITP-type programming, emerged in John Carrington’s efficiency in community organizing to promote and execute SITP. Tenet #2 - Hire Local- appeared in sections discussing how SITP provided employment opportunities to many local residents who served as summer and long-term NPS employees and going further, how NPS empowered their local SITP employees to ensure program success for their communities. Evidence of tenet #3- give the community what they need- runs through all the themes presented in the findings, perhaps most notably in SITP’s effective unification of community in the post-riot period. However, two institutional segments warrant inclusion and discussion in the findings: the lack of understanding expressed by many participants as to the scope and reach of NPS and the dismantling of SITP.

ORGANIZATIONAL CONFUSION

Within the data are several examples of how participants may have erroneously assigned many of the SITP programs and activities to non-NPS organizations. Comments point to a misunderstanding of the structure and nature of the program, a point that may or not be important depending on the stakeholder. Lending to the confusion is the inability, in many cases, to distinguish who was responsible for what activity. Sample statements include:

“D.C. Parks and Rec ran programs during the day
and Summer in the Parks at night”

“It wasn’t the Park Service, it was at my local community center”

“The event was at Wheaton Regional Park, so it wasn’t Park Service”

“It was D.C. Park and Rec’s showmobile”

“Marion Barry created Summer in the Parks”

More discussion on organizational confusion follows in the next chapter; however, it is significant that many non-NPS affiliated participants only understood SITP in the context of concerts. Several had no recollection that SITP recreational and cultural kids’ programs existed. Yet, this point may be somewhat debatable because attendance at day music events at National Parks, e.g. Anacostia, was often part of the SITP kids’ programming. The Blands, who lived blocks away from Rock Creek Park with school-age children, had no knowledge of the summer programs, other than the concerts. Though heavily advertised in the media, SITP never made it on their radars. They could only tangentially connect through a daughter’s paid horseback riding lessons at Rock Creek’s stables relating them to a Park Service function and location.

“PAY THE MAN”

Confusion was most apparent in the relationship between D.C. Parks and Rec and NPS activities, particularly showmobile events. This takes on special significance in interviews with musicians who seemed to either service both organizations or slid from NPS to D.C. Parks and Rec after the decrease in SITP funding. Jerry Lenix recalled his performance on the showmobile, noting that he worked for D.C. Parks and Rec,

Then, when I was in high school, I started working with the D.C. Department of Recreation Showmobile. And the Showmobile was a trailer that would open up into a stage, so you could take it to different locations. And one of our main groups that would play would be the Ambassadors. That was D.C.’s recreation group. And we did a lot of

different shows on the Showmobile. I don't know if the Showmobile has anything to do with the Summer in the Parks or not. (P. 2)

Not to question Lenix's recollection, however, according to other sources, including Don Tillery, the Ambassadors also played on NPS showmobiles. Decades-long memories are fuzzy and complicated by co-sponsorships between the two organizations, but it becomes important when participants attach blame for the demise of stable employment. The Don Tillery interview excerpt below highlights my efforts to make a distinction between the groups in discussing the post Human Kindness Day 1975 SITP funding cuts,

Don Tillery: Because I think at that time funds was getting -- I think what they did they stopped some of the funding for the recreation center. Because I know the headquarters used to be down on 16th Street. We used to go the D.C. Recreational. And we used to go in there, you know, we had to fill the forms out if you wanted to be on the Showmobile and all that. Yeah, it was kind of -- we kind of knew that things were going kind of downhill. Because we would be regulars. Like, sometimes we had a regular check coming in. But then, you know, the checks got kind of short -- well, man we don't have the money; we'd have to wait about a week, two weeks to get the money.

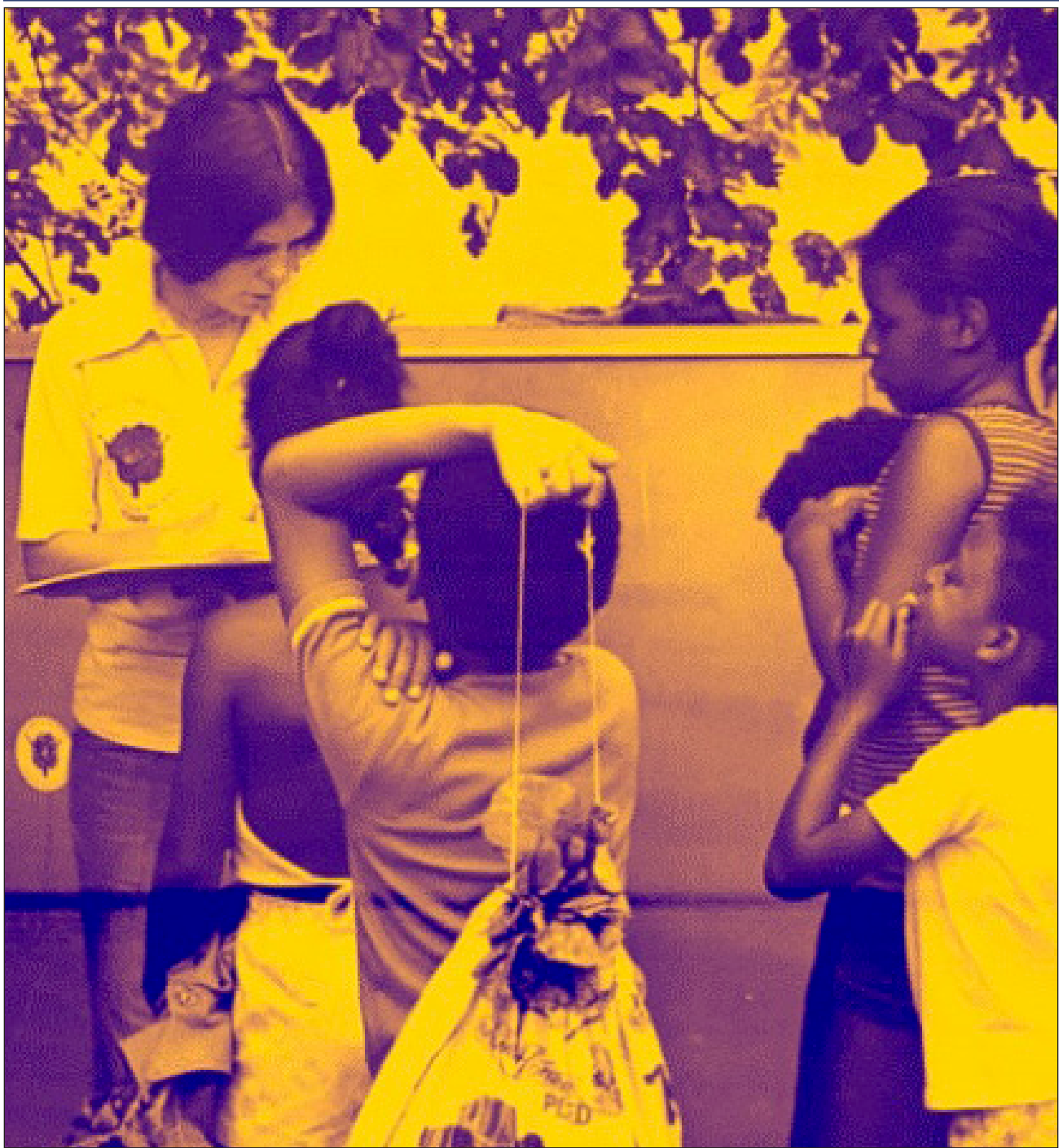
FGJ: Was that the Park Service or D.C. Rec?

Don Tillery: No, that's Park Service. And, you know, we wouldn't get our money. And then, we'd get our money and the money wasn't right. Pay the man, wow I mean dang we did three full days and this is all we get, you know. The money started slacking and, you know, it took so long to get the checks. Because you don't get them right at the end of, you know. Mail them to you and all that. It was a mess. You know, I think from that point on musicians started wearing away, you know. It wasn't like it was when it first started, you know. (Pp. 32-33)

The demise of SITP affected the entire community but was especially hard on local musicians offering fewer opportunities for pay and exposure (See Elliott, Lenix, Sellers, Tillery, Hooker, etc.). Some participants, such as Taft and Peete, posited that the lack of activities for families and children led directly to an increase in crime in the city. Lastly, Kenny Statom contributed the most critical institutional comments in questioning the mission, motive, and effectiveness of SITP,

You know, it's -- D.C. gets hot in the summertime, and they just wanted to have places for kids to go and not get into trouble. Did it really make a difference? I don't think so. I mean, you're happy in the summertime, you're out, you're having fun, but you know, did the schools change? Did the economics change? Did they fix up the neighborhoods? The store fronts were burned out, no [negative], no. It's a placebo. Give them a little bit, throw some crumbs out there and folks will be happy. (P. 5)

Discussion of the findings and emergent themes will follow in the next chapter.



CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Kerner Report (1968), issued in the post-riot haze following the '66-67 national disturbances, issued a call to action to any local or federal organization to muster all their resources to create programming that addressed the root causes of racial tension. The National Park Service (NPS) responded with an innovative program designed to engage Washington D.C.'s residents and bring them into their local urban national parks, creating Summer in the Parks (SITP). This study operated under the basic research question, "What were participants' perceptions and experiences of the SITP program?" In order to develop a deeper understanding of how the narratives inform both the context of the program as well as the era, in this chapter, we examine the project's thematic relationships and their relationship with prior studies and theoretical implications that inform these areas.

TWO SIDES OF BLACKNESS

On one side, SITP united the black community around music and festivities in the post-riot period. Expressions of black culture, e.g. music, dress, space, and place, established a collective identity for SITP participants of all ages and established a sense of belonging to the community. However, on the other side, that same groupness (Lamont, Beljeau, and Clair 2014) and overt expression of blackness also brought into the open cultural processes that result in meaning making. According to Lamont (2014), cultural processes "take shape around the creation of shared categories or classification systems through which individuals perceive and make sense of their environment" (p. 815). Two of these processes emerge from the SITP project, primarily recognition and stigmatization that ultimately contributed to the demise of SITP. There are two interrelated points within this argument, both of which have to do with dominant group and institutional treatment of African Americans.

Referencing SITP and other inner city events as "summer pacification programs" (Hoffman 1975) demonstrated the categorization and stigmatization of blacks as undisciplined and disorderly (Wilson 2004; Wolcott 2012). These negative stereotypes fed into an ongoing crime narrative affecting funding decisions by not only NPS but also the Congressional Appropriations Committee. A 1976 Washington Post article detailed not only the proposed severe SITP program budget cuts but also documented the personal antagonism felt by a senior decision maker toward the program

(Zito 1976). Nathaniel Reed, the Department of the Interior's Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, in comments to the Congressional Appropriations Committee, stated, "I think it's time for the Park Service to stop subsidizing the performing arts. It just doesn't seem right to me that almost all the money is going into facilities and programs in the Washington area" (Zito B1 1976). According to the article, Reed's irritation with SITP stemmed from the Human Kindness Day violent debacle that reinforced the blacks equal crime and disorder dominant narrative. Moreover, embedded in the post-event commentaries are a series of racially-charged statements by officials that denigrated African Americans, as well as statements that open activities for blacks in public D.C. spaces should be curtailed for fear of violence during the upcoming Bicentennial activities (Novitski 1975).

The cultural process of recognition also played a role in the allocation of resource decisions that result in producing and reproducing inequality (Lamont, Beljeau, and Clair 2014; Wilson 1987). According to Lamont (2014), "Recognition is central in establishing groups as worthy and valued members of the community, as individuals endowed with full cultural membership" (p. 816). This becomes integral in understanding how African Americans, especially the inner-city poor, having been framed as "lazy", "welfare single mothers" and "dependent" (see Collins 2000, Wilson 1987) or as the "broken, pathological, Negro family" (Kushnick 1991), have drawn the short end of the stick in resource allocation. The determination of "worth" or "deservingness" is key in recognizing blacks as creditable recipients of institutional resources and intervention programming such as SITP. Also affecting this outcome is long-standing institutional racism that "determines resource allocation: access to goods and services and opportunities-including education, employment, health care, and housing" (Kushnick 1991: 158). The size and success of SITP, evidenced by its crowds of primarily black folks especially at concerts, perhaps introduced or reignited a quandary for many whites, including decision makers. Was the \$575,000 for the first year of SITP (\$3,992,994.37 in 2018 dollars)⁴⁰ going to people "deserving" of this federal largess? Perhaps the 1976 fund strangulation of the SITP program suggests the answer to this question. From an institutional perspective, the decision was a business one as the priorities of the Park Service shifted to other objectives.

⁴⁰ When adjusted for inflation, dollartimes.com calculator.

NOSTALGIA

As previously mentioned, nostalgia is unsurprisingly present in this study of a program launched in 1968. Participants expressed nostalgic comments framed in traditional notions of nostalgia; most are devoid of negative aspects, painting the past in positive terms. Additionally, comparisons of today to yesteryear appear, many noting how the “past” was so much better: safer, neighborly, and fun. However, within this study, nostalgia subtly revealed racial overtones. Racial nostalgia is not new nor is it an under-researched area, as race has become a primary factor in how society organizes itself. Several research areas reside under the racial nostalgia umbrella, including those investigating connections to color-blindness, whiteness, and blackness.

Studies of color-blind racism support the concept of white racial nostalgia (see Bonilla-Silva E, Goar, and Embrick 2006; Forman 2004). Additionally, whiteness research excavates and illuminates how everyday racism is often rooted in events, e.g. Hurricane Katrina, that demonstrate the role racism plays while continuing to thrive in today’s society to the continued detriment of people of color (Forman and Lewis 2006). Within the wide-ranging area of Whiteness Studies there are several research threads from anti-affirmative action attitudes and movements, designed to level the playing field (Pierce 2012) to the positive outcomes and privilege of those in possession of whiteness (Lipsitz 1998). Leisure and Race Studies often focus on how the memories of whites’ experiences in not only outdoor engagement but also recreational activities such as dance halls, roller rinks, and swimming pools, harken back to times when they could safely recreate without disturbance (See Mowatt 2009; Wolcott 2012). In this case, that “past” speaks to the good ‘ol days before integration, thus racial nostalgia. In the view of many whites, once blacks gained access, the facilities and white recreating experience devolved into ruin. Urban amusement parks shut down and swimming pools went private or into non-existence as cement filled holes to prevent and protest integration. What is notable here is that racial integration itself served as a disruptor and threat to one’s way of life that stimulated production of racial nostalgia (Maly, Dalmage, and Michaels; 2012; Milligan 2003).

This same effect appears in the production of blackness nostalgia as disruptive change in communities and individuals provoke yearnings for an earlier time. Jim Crow nostalgia is also a line of research that investigates

how many African Americans developed a sanitized version of the era, reframing the era as being positive for black cohesiveness. Boyd (2008) elaborated on blacks' steps to create Jim Crow nostalgia, particularly in Chicago's historic African American neighborhood Bronzeville,

The first [step] is that nostalgia portrays the history of urban black neighborhoods as a “rise and fall” narrative. That is, it portrays the Jim Crow period as a golden era in black history, a high point from which the community descended as the twentieth century wore on. Second, nostalgic interpretations posit cultural explanations for that rise and fall: they suggest that racial solidarity was an “ironic” or “unanticipated” benefit of segregation; that such unity was responsible for the growth of neighborhood institutions; and that desegregation destroyed those institutions— and thus the communities as a whole— by seducing away the black middle class. (P. 2)

This Jim Crow nostalgic narrative also appears in the literature of race relations in the District, noting that not all African Americans embraced integration. As previously discussed in the background section, residents feared the disruption to black communities' cohesiveness, the demise of black-owned businesses, and the harm to African American children who would be behind educationally advantaged white children with integration. While Jim Crow nostalgia is one aspect of blackness nostalgia, SITP represents a different type of blackness nostalgia. Presented in Chapter VI, African American participants' nostalgic recollections represent a form of protection and ease in being part of a black majority. From this viewpoint, D.C. was “Chocolate City”, “their city”, and their “neighborhoods”, which enable them to recreate in peace and safety, without the disruption of being outside of one's comfort zone.

The timing of SITP also offers a rich opportunity to frame a blackness nostalgia. With political and social advancements, e.g. constitutional amendments, organizational strength, African Americans were empowered to effect change and demand full citizenship rights. Though unrest remained with both the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, blacks could flex collective, organized power. As discussed, even the riots became expressions of black power in the blackness nostalgia narrative. For some SITP participants, the federal government's funding, curation, and execution of concerts targeting this demographic meant something, or more specifically, they now garnered attention.

THE POWER OF MUSIC

As stated earlier, the majority of respondents in informal and formal interviews viewed SITP through a musical lens. Music in and of itself has a multitude of well-being benefits, including positive physical health outcomes (see contemporary neuroscience research into its healing powers Iyengar 2017 and Neergaard 2017). Music also offers a wealth of social benefits as evidenced by the SITP program. Narratives describing the events as community unifiers and expressions of black culture inform several interdisciplinary areas, particularly, ethnomusicology and the study of social movements.

ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

According to the Society of Ethnomusicology, the discipline “approaches music as a social process in order to understand not only what music is but why it is: what music means to its practitioners and audiences, and how those meanings are conveyed”.⁴¹ By specifically studying the cultural role behind the significance of black music to black people, it can offer a deeper understanding of the nostalgic memories of this study’s participants. Music as a social practice, that is the act of bringing together individuals in shared cultural activities, served to unite the community while establishing and strengthening its ties and collective identity.

The previously discussed cultural processes of recognition and stigmatization also contribute to the ongoing dominant group's African American essentialist narrative that frames certain attributes as inherent to the race. “Disorderly”, “lazy”, “unintelligent”, and “violent” are just a few of the biodeterministic arguments used historically to deny blacks equal rights and access to resources. Another essentialist trope is that “blacks are a musical people” narrative that denotes there is something inherent in their physical makeup that predisposes them to developing musical talent and appreciation. Gaunt (2002) points to this “fallacy” as a limitation in the study of black music, offering that “academic courses tend to undo the concept of music as or in culture, and thus sustain the common fallacy that black are solely by nature musical” (p. 373-374). She argues that the key to learning how African Americans experience music differently from other groups and how “this difference-shaped by historical inequalities of race, gender, and class-is an embodied difference inhabited and passed down differently” (p. 374).

⁴¹ See <http://www.ethnomusicology.org/?page=whatisethnomusicol>

Participants' narratives support this assertion that music is not only a form of Black cultural expression but also, as an activity either performing or passively listening to live music, a defining cultural factor. While SITP program featured live music activities, other studies of black music and its cultural impact also include other mediums such as Masters of Ceremony (MCs) activities and recordings. As several interviewees commented, for them, there is a difference between live and recorded music. As Kenny Statom exclaimed, "Black people love live music!" Outside of the performers' experience, previously described in the Access and Opportunities section in the Findings chapter, SITP concertgoers spoke movingly about how important the events were for them and were the defining moments of their youth. It seems that there is a clear link between performers and attendees in that the concerts were experienced as one body, indicating participants played a vital role in the experience as much as performers. These events were sites where everyone could let loose, release tensions, and celebrate the shared experience. Both participant groups, musicians and spectators, indicated that the level of interaction with performers was an integral factor in the power of lived experience. Interaction, or the "call and response" nature of much of black music,⁴² provides insight into the cultural difference Gaunt (2002) refers to in how African Americans experience music.

GO-GO

For many participants, nothing exemplifies the SITP musical cultural contribution more than its role in launching Go-Go. This homegrown style of music, often incorporating crowd participation, boasts its own effects in unifying the community and serving not only as a source of Black Pride but perhaps more importantly, local Black Pride. SITP enabled Go-Go to expand beyond its small platform of local clubs into the spotlight, watched by thousands, on national park stages in the black community. The fact that the majority of performers were local area residents and products of D.C. area schools further strengthened the connection of Go-Go to the community. SITP Go-Go shows became emblematic of "our music, in our city" narrative that defined and created much of "Chocolate City's" music scene.

⁴² "Call and Response" interactive music style is rooted in the black community and closely associated with and influenced by African American churches.

MUSIC AS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The timing of SITP, 1968-1976, positioned it at a unique time in the nation's history during both the Civil Rights and Black Power movements. Also embedded in this era is the local Home Rule movement as the District struggled to gain the right of self-governance and self-determination. African American D.C. residents' anger is also set into this context where it continued to percolate over the slow progress following the 1964 legislation, ultimately boiling over into riots that fractured their communities. In addition to findings that support SITP's role in unifying the community, SITP contributed to ongoing social movement projects, especially the Black Power movement. Genres such as funk and Go-Go spoke directly to the "blackness" and urban roots of youth-based efforts such as the Black Panther Party, and less to the genteel non-violence of the earlier Civil Rights era.

The connection between music and social movements offers an interesting feature of SITP that goes beyond simply bringing together primarily African Americans into a shared cultural experience in the making of black identity. Events such as the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (1963) demonstrated how black collective action burned into black collective memory, as the sheer size of the effort reflected racial empowerment and uplift. The power drawn from large assemblages of shared space with so many other black faces either at marches or in the case of SITP, concerts, offered opportunities to utilize culture to cement collective identity. Eyerman and Jamison (1998), investigating the connection of music and social movements, argued that the cultural tradition of music "becomes a mode of cultural action [that] are redefined and given new meaning as sources of collective identity" (p. 6).

In a Durkheimian framing of culture, music serves as the social practice that bonds groups through shared symbols, traditions, and meanings. Here, musical traditions are collective rituals, comprised of concerts, festivals, as well as other platforms, that entered the collective memory and provided a sense of belonging to the group members. "Music, in particular, embodies tradition through the ritual of performance. It can empower, help create collective identity and a sense of movement in an emotional and almost physical sense" (Eyerman and Jamison 1998: 35).

Interviews nostalgically compare the SITP era's wealth of gathering opportunities to something that is lacking today in the District. Indeed, there are fewer current opportunities, e.g. SITP concerts, to share space and pass down traditions, meanings, and beliefs, including collective Black Pride and shared purpose in the neighborhoods and across generations. Transmission of Black Pride is an especially important concept when considering the bleak economic and social conditions experienced by many members of the group. Hartzog, Jr. (1988), the NPS Director at the start of SITP, described the target program demographic as being in "isolation in dreary environments of concrete, crime and chaos" in need of uplift "from their painful burdens of despair" (pp. 157-158). Small (1987), in his investigation of U.S. black music, recounted how slave spirituals often focused on reveling in their identity in times of misery and oppression. With SITP, music was a means of celebrating their blackness in the face of adversity. He argued that the two co-joined acts of music and dance affirm not only the collectivity of the group, but interpersonal relationships, attributing these to what gives black music its power.

For Du Bois (1903), slaves' "sorrow songs" were deeply rooted into African Americans' collective memory, transmitting both shared history and purpose in the mission of racial uplift (p. 155). The tradition of passing down the spirituals to later generations served as political impetus to bring about change in the future. However, it is important to note that Du Bois considered the "sorrow songs" as authentic black music and forms of cultural expression, while dismissing later iterations of black contemporary music as attempts to appeal to whites (Eyerma and Jamison 1998). It is likely that SITP's Go-Go and funk genres, experimentation from the urban black sphere, would not have had Du Boisian support, which hints at the class divide of SITP and D.C.'s black population that will appear in a later section.

SITP's inclusion of African performances also reinforced racial pride and support of Black Power and its potential, from acts such as the Ghanaian drum circle to today's legacy event, the Malcolm X Park weekly drum circle. Several participants, e.g. Taft, Lloyd, Lenix, and Sellers, were (are) long-time drum circle performers who considered the transmission of culture and tradition through music as necessary to maintain ties and racial advancement. The protection and preservation of cultural ties and

pride appears in the lessons of participant Howard Banks's jazz lessons to high schoolers, and in Don Tillery's free informal concerts played around the community to maintain people's connection to live music.

CAPITAL OPPORTUNITIES

SITP programming offers evidence of Bourdieu's (1984) theory of capital(s) in several areas. For both children and adults, SITP exposure to art, music, theater, helped to transmit cultural capital while gaining social capital through the development of deep social ties and networks through life-long friendships and close neighborhood connections. However, Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital applies in its most abstract sense because aspects of SITP do not fit perfectly into his conception of legitimate culture. For example, his work, primarily focused on the middle and upper classes, subordinated the working class as having uncultivated tastes and lifestyles. By his measure, musical preferences such as Go-Go and funk would not qualify as true expressions of legitimate culture. While it is accurate that SITP did provide many opportunities to build social and cultural capital, these areas have been fairly well investigated (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Furstenberg and Hughes 1995; Laureau 2003; Lee and Bowen 2006). However, there has been a significant absence in developing a deeper understanding of the role urban natural capital plays in the overall well-being of children. This is critical to understanding one of the primary objectives of the SITP program: to bring people into the parks. This section will discuss the power and benefits of natural capital.

NATURAL CAPITAL

Outside of Bourdieu's traditional use of capital is my utilization of the term "natural capital", a concept borrowed from urban ecology. Though the term appears throughout the social sciences with various meanings, here, natural capital is defined as open green spaces, outdoor recreational areas, community gardens, and bodies of water that significantly impact the social, emotional, and physical components of well-being (Tzoulas et al 2007; Wilkie and Roach 2004). Programs such as SITP, with its natural engagement programming, allowed for the acquisition of natural capital, especially for children. Research demonstrates that children who, through families, schools, and the greater community, have access and opportunities to engage with their local natural capital are far more advantaged than children who do not (Douglas 2011; Kuo and Sullivan 2001; Matsuoka 2010; Russell et al. 2013). Arguments and data that support and strengthen this assertion include evidence that links outdoor recreation and engagement to better physical fitness and healthy behavior patterns as well as the emotional and social benefits related to natural

engagement and child developmental milestones such as learning to swim or understanding human connections to and impact on the environment.

For many of the child participants of this study, early exposure to nature through SITP activities provided the foundation for continued natural engagement activities into adulthood. For Greg Peete and Carol Wallace, their youthful SITP adventures continue as healthy behaviors such as walking trails, swimming, and bicycle riding in local parks. In Michelle Washington's experience, her environmental engagement continues in active gardening and climate activism. Perhaps more importantly, child participants transmitted their natural capital to their children and families by developing healthful habits such continued national and local park activities as well as other natural engagement. This finding is especially meaningful to public health research, as early childhood exposure to nature can potentially combat the deleterious health effects of inactivity in urban neighborhoods.

THE IMPACT OF NATURAL CAPITAL

One of the many perceptions of children from high density, “asphalt”, low-income urban communities is that they are lacking in natural capital due to the lack of green space in their physical locations. Other assumptions reflect a generalization that many urban communities of color do not participate in healthful behaviors due to social and cultural beliefs that prevent the utilization of natural capital. Further supplementing the natural capital deficiency view are multiple studies that link high instances of chronic conditions associated with impoverished at-risk urban neighborhoods, e.g. heart disease, obesity, and Type II diabetes. However, the suppositions of natural capital deficiencies are often problematic when considering many urban areas actually boast nearby parks, public gardens, and open recreational fields. For example, this study, based in the Washington D.C. metro area shows that many of the city's national parks are in walking distance from most neighborhoods. With this said, it does appear that there is a disconnection between blacks and local outdoor engagement. The Park Service's own figures point to the current underutilization of the parks by nearby minority residents⁴³.

NPS last collected specific demographic visitor data on park attendance in 2008-2009 when national African American attendance stood at 7% of 274.85 million total visitors, thus subsequent demographic numbers of urban parks require distillation from individual parks' studies and anecdotal evidence from park rangers and area residents. To access the 2009 NPS report: [<https://www.nature.nps.gov/socialscience/docs/CompSurvey20082009RaceEthnicity.pdf>].⁴³

This, however, was not always the case. My research into the NPS attendance archives clearly found large increases in usage of the National Capital Region's (NCR) national parks' during the SITP years. Yet, not only are these figures inexact due to free admission, but there is no definitive way to attribute increased attendance to SITP. Additional factors may also complicate any effort to demonstrate accurately the SITP effect on D.C. national park attendance. For instance, one factor would be the recollection of Bart Truesdale, the SITP Green Scene administrator, that he had "pooled" his programs' attendance numbers into other NPS locations and components. Another challenge is that the NCR National Parks' attendance data reflect their cumulative attendance; however, there are a few exceptions. Fort Washington and Greenbelt National Parks have their own historical figures and both were SITP sites.

Year	Recreation Visitors
1951	5,931
1952	6,378
1953	10,279
1954	11,900
1955	10,100
1956	14,100
1957	12,600
1958	12,400
1959	9,400
1960	12,900
1961	16,600
1962	51,700
1963	53,100
1964	70,900
1975	649,600
1976	838,800
1977	717,700
1978	739,286
1979	496,921
1980	488,614
1981	334,867
1982	332,693
1983	256,219
1984	304,382

Table 4. Fort Washington NP/ NPS

Year	Recreation Visitors
1964	29,600
1971	181,900
1972	271,539
1973	224,500
1974	249,000
1975	1,040,200
1976	1,049,600
1977	160,000
1978	495,012
1979	250,595
1980	283,365
1981	231,632
1982	277,869
1983	217,141
1984	261,142
1985	332,849
1986	311,053

Table 5. Green Belt NP / NPS

When Felicia Garland-Jackson asked the current Chief of Visitor Services for NPS NCR, Ranger Vince Vaise, about the gaps in attendance records, he shared that there is no definitive answer to explain it and he too wished they were complete. In my view, the lack of accurate information, along with the failure to capture participants' real time perspectives during or directly after the program, does not necessarily indicate a shortcoming of NPS. Instead, data collection of this nature is considerably different today since significant value focuses on evidence-based findings for program efficacy. Regardless, the above charts illustrate that something significant occurred during the SITP years that substantially boosted attendance. We can only speculate that it was SITP's success that brought more people into the parks, or more specifically, more black people into the parks, however, the notion is only supported by anecdotal NPS data.

ACQUISITION OF NATURAL CAPITAL

Part of the challenge confronting public health professionals is how to get more urban disadvantaged minorities, especially children, into local parks and other green spaces. Public health and recreational experts investigate

answers to two major questions. Firstly, is there a lack of understanding in the communities of the power of natural capital? Secondly, if there is an understanding of natural capital and its presumed benefits, why are not more of the local minority community members using these open green spaces to improve their well-being? A growing research area focuses on the cultural and social barriers that prevent the acquisition of natural capital. This study also contributes in this arena by providing participant data that described activities such as camping as “not something we [blacks] do” or “other than [SITP] music there was no reason to go to the parks”. Participants split between those who continue to engage in outdoor recreation and nature, and those who do not, except when there is an enticement, e.g. outdoor concerts.

This finding illuminates an interesting division in how the District’s African Americans utilize local natural spaces. The proximity of local national parks for the local black population seemingly throws a wrench into a sizeable body of leisure studies literature. Opportunity theory (discussed in the literature review section) merges the economic and geographic challenges to explain why blacks do not go to national parks (Meeker, Woods, and Lucas 1973; Washburne 1978). It posits that not only are the parks too far away to be accessible for inner city blacks, but costs associated with getting there would be beyond the financial means of many black families. However, what if certain parks, e.g. in the NCR, were local and free, thus eliminating the spatial mismatch and associated costs of attendance constraints? Perhaps this suggests the pursuit of other avenues might be necessary for proper investigation into the lack of park usage, including specific demographic studies of urban parks. It is also worth noting that bias appears in much of the leisure studies literature in its framing of national parks along the Western park ideal. This concentrated focus on wide, open, Western spaces instead of the more nuanced inclusion of urban parkland, perpetuates the problem of failing to understand the relationship between potential of urban parks and the local disadvantaged, minority communities.

Additional leisure studies’ data suggests both internal and external influences contribute to the categorization that many healthful behaviors such as outdoor natural engagement are “not a black thing” or “not something we do” (Erickson, Johnson, and Kivel 2009; Finney 2012; Haile 2017). Significant media attention surrounding the 100th anniversary of NPS (2016) also focused on the disconnect between minorities and the National Parks, including

discussions of miniscule minority park attendance and critiques of how minorities, especially African Americans, are missing from the National Parks greater narrative. Finney's (2012) excellent media content analysis has found that activities in nature such as swimming, camping, and hiking are often portrayed primarily by white people in advertising and media who communicate the message of exclusion to communities of color. Unfortunately, this exclusion from certain natural activities is not only accepted, but also perpetuated by the black community in labeling many aspects of natural engagement as culturally inappropriate norms and behaviors. Consequently, these activities effectively become de facto "white" activities, thus eliminating the well-being benefits for those in urban, disadvantaged communities.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

CRT AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

In a Weberian sense, the government can exercise its legitimacy, authority, and power in many ways, including its allocation of resources (1968). For programs like SITP, the government can give and take away, especially programs that are based more in noblesse oblige than official entitlements. Through a Critical Race Theory (CRT) lens, where race becomes central in how both society and institutions function, organize, and allocate resources, the dire need for SITP programming in the District's African American communities demonstrates the effects of persistent racial inequalities (Gillborn 2005; Yosso 2005). From poorly funded black schools to chronic poverty and unemployment, many of the effects of long-term segregation and isolation had become part of the collective memory of black residents (Massey 1990; Wilson 1987). Greg "Sugar Bear" Elliott's comments on growing up in Section 8 housing in Anacostia effectively demonstrated how notions from collective memory take on shared meaning and truth to the community. For instance, Elliott acknowledged that he and his entire community knew, because of their poverty and location, they would be the last to receive anything from authorities. They generally believed their poor treatment and neglect from institutions resulted from their lower socioeconomic status and physical location, which points back to the cultural process of recognition discussed earlier. For many, in the attitudes of greater society, Elliott's chronically poor, black community did not possess the level of standing as "worthy" or "deserving" of first-rate and bountiful resources and opportunities.

The significant and historic power imbalance between not only poor African American D.C. residents, but also all blacks in general, to the federal government introduces elements of power-dependence theory (Emerson 1962). The two groups are far from being mutually dependent on each other with both fulfilling the others' needs. Though the government requires its citizens to follow customs and norms, while respecting the social order, e.g. pay taxes, follow laws, the expectation is that the government would reciprocally fulfill the social contract to its citizens by providing equal resources, protection, and maintenance of order. However, as noted in the background section of this dissertation, there are many historical instances of institutional failure to fulfill and extend full democratic equality to all of its citizens, especially those seen as unequal and unworthy.

Though there has been much progress in the institutional treatment of African Americans, e.g. constitutional amendments, non-discrimination laws, and policies, for many of the chronically poor and segregated, it may be too late to reverse the effects of generational neglect. For example, studies have demonstrated the considerable wealth gap between black and white families, including the significant difference in home-ownership rates (Daniels 2018; Lipsitz 1998; Massey 1990). Similarly, deficiencies in historic black education opportunities and school funding inequality further demonstrate how African Americans were constrained in obtaining many of the advantages that build long-term capital(s), financial wealth, and stability (Asch and Musgrove 2017; Du Bois 1903; Green 1967; Wilson 1987). Reich's (1994) social stratification theory research has found that racism is so deeply rooted in U.S. institutions that efforts by fellow economists to measure its effects on the black community can never fully capture how unequal institutional treatment ultimately affects one's life course trajectories and life chances. He found that "No single quantitative index could adequately measure racism in all its social, cultural, psychological, and economic dimensions" (p. 469).

CRT AND SOCIAL CONTROL

When considering the motivations of SITP, an interesting contradiction enters the discussion. From the institutional perspective, the program would address the Park Service's legacy of segregation and discrimination by welcoming everyone, particularly blacks, into their neighborhood national parks. However when participants affiliated with NPS were asked for comment on the SITP

institutional mission of correcting past racial injustices, their responses indicated either a strong instance of “yes, but,” or a strong denial of the current organizational narrative. In his interview, Nash Castro, the Director of the National Capital Region of NPS who oversaw the original planning and execution of SITP, adamantly defined the program as a distraction to keep people off the streets and out of trouble (see Foresta 1984). Within a theoretical framework, this assertion points to Foucauldian social control of regulating bodies by bringing them into controlled spaces under the purview of teachers, counselors, and in many cases, Park Police. An interesting element also emerged from participants’ narratives when they described the SITP crowds as “well behaved” or “respectful”. This may speak to social control with African Americans following and conforming to authorities’ performance and behavior requirements. Moreover, the “well behaved blacks” narrative also speaks to the Critical Race Theory (CRT) assertion that society and institutions have labeled black bodies as inherently disorderly and criminal with expectations of chaos and mayhem. Yet, in this case, the “well behaved” narrative becomes the black counter narrative-another critical component of CRT.

CRT AND STANDPOINT THEORY

One of the fundamental parts of CRT is providing a platform for the marginalized to tell their own stories, in their own words, which is the exact purpose of this project. One of the many advantages to this process is that it empowers the storyteller in both sharing their personal narrative and their opportunity to offer a counterpoint to those who record history. CRT allows recognition of the power differential in those voices that are preserved and those that remain silent. According to Trouillot (2015), in the socio-historical process, “Silences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of sources); the moment of fact assembly (the making of archives); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of final instance)” (p. 26). The objective of this project was to give voice to those who were missing from the historical accounts of SITP and record the missing African American voices.

An ongoing counter narrative project appears in the recordings of missing voices in this study. As mentioned above, several participants commented on the “well behaved” concert crowds, which counters the essentialist narrative

that blacks are by nature “disorderly” and “undisciplined”. Reframing the narrative may also combat past local, national, and international damaging media representations of the District as “Dodge City” or the “Murder Capital” (Lardner 1978) - in the words of participant Howard Taft. Additionally, mentions of mothers as hardworking devoted and caring nurturers contradicts the dominant black women narratives of fertile “emasculating matriarchs” with loose morals (Bobo and Charles 2009; Collins 2000; Jerkins 2018; Moynihan 1965). Single mothers may have led families, yet participants’ narratives speak of tight family ties and community connections.

Perhaps in one of the most consistent examples, when we questioned informal and formal black participants if they knew how to swim, they often answered before the question was even finished.⁴⁴ “I was a lifeguard!” “I can SWIM!” “My Mom made sure I knew how to swim!” or the common response of “I know how to swim underwater!” This last response suggest that residents may not have had formal swim stroke lessons but could get themselves around in the water. Adding to this exercise in producing counter narratives to the “black people cannot swim” dominant narrative, the team also received emphatic statements that “I am NOT afraid of the water!”-this contradicts another false myth that “black people are afraid of water. We contend that comments from participants are attempts to counter societal and media derogatory labeling and stereotyping of African Americans.

STANDPOINT THEORY

Borrowing from feminist theory, standpoint theory also informs portions of this study in significant ways. Standpoint theory posits that the personal narratives of the marginalized emerge from their experiences and social locations, which makes them invaluable to representing an alternative point of view to the historical archive. In this study, the majority of non-NPS affiliated were African Americans, which prevents making comparisons with other ethnic voices and experiences. However, the sharing of individual perspectives, even intra-race, provides a deeper insight into the factors shaping participants’ worldviews. The power of collecting the context of participants’ lives, in addition to their SITP experience, is what gives added texture to the narratives.

⁴⁴ My original interest in this project centered on youth recreational opportunities, such as learning to swim, and how those opportunities inform the data that over 70 percent of African Americans cannot swim.

For instance, this theoretical framework provides context to federal government's complicity in producing and reproducing segregation and discrimination. It surfaces through not only the government's historic economic and social handicapping of the black race through laws, codes, and policies that limited African American resources and opportunities but also appears in the oral histories of individuals personally affected by institutional racism. For instance, offering an individual perspective of government complicity in housing segregation, an informal interviewee related her story of the personal effects of redlining. She spent her childhood as a D.C. resident because her father, a black Airman stationed at Andrews Air Force Base, could not secure housing near the base due to restricted covenants and discriminatory housing policies. She considered it a further insult that the government did not even protect its African American service members from the reach of segregation. She also shared that her education experience was lacking and overall negative because the D.C. school district changed her school three times in one year even though she did not move at all. Incidences of frequent student population reconfiguration, or shifting students from school to school to address imbalances or deficiencies, appear in the literature as D.C. schools struggled with overcrowding, substandard facilities, and lack of resources (Green 1967).

SITP also launched at a significant time in the immediate aftermath of the District's 1968 riots, and interviewees shared their memories of these events that had wide-ranging effects on the lives and psyches of many community residents. Some participants shared childhood memories of watching the live riot coverage on TV while confined to home by their parents. Others reported seeing and breathing in the intense smoke and witnessing blocks of their neighborhood on fire. Another street interviewee recalled how his grandma "rescued" him via Red Flyer wagon from the flames of his H Street home back to the safety of her house in the nearby Trinidad neighborhood. Moreover, participants provided context to the social and economic issues that contributed to the ongoing racial tension in the city affected participants' everyday lives. Details such as growing up poor with a single mother in Barry Farms or getting a first instrument on a thirty-week layaway plan become important in capturing the challenges of chronic poverty. It also speaks to the need to grow up fast when getting

a summer job at 16 was not about gaining a little spending fun money, but, instead, to help with groceries and other household expenses.

Another demonstration of standpoint theory's power in collecting context is the physical devastation to black neighborhoods wrought by the riots. Interviewees' comments of burnt-out areas that stayed that way for a "long, long, long time" also point to a different, perhaps more modern iteration of segregation. It also speaks to an institutional neglect, as authorities' abandonment of the damaged areas left those residents who could not afford to leave essentially trapped and isolated, with no one new, who could possibly avoid it, moving into the devastated neighborhoods. These events and memories shaped participants' worldviews and inform not only SITP context but also establishes the need for the program in underserved, disadvantaged families.

Proximity

Proximity plays a particularly interesting role in investigating the participants and administrators' individual perspectives. In one way, this offers interesting support for the Outsider Within concept (Collins 1986) where two black female study interviewees used the term "plantation" in describing their work for the federal government. Both commented on watching administrators' repeated denial of qualified African Americans for promotions and opportunities. In addition, they spoke of how subordinate blacks did the heavy lifting and bulk of duties while white administrators took credit. Without mentioning "plantation" and the exploitation of black workers, one NPS-affiliated interviewee also did comment on how the agency had traditionally overlooked black employees for promotions, an action the interviewee attributed to the historic lack of black NPS employment candidates.⁴⁵

Proximity is also interesting when gauged by NPS-affiliated participants' relationships to NPS. Those summer-only employees were much more critical in their views compared with those that spent careers at NPS. Diplomacy is the key word here in that even Robert Stanton, the only African American NPS Director, was incredibly positive in his light criticism framing NPS racial issues as more of a contemporary reflection of the times instead of systematic racism or discrimination to uphold the

⁴⁵ According to the recent news reports, as of 2014 employment demographic figures, the Department of Interior (parent organization of NPS) is 74% white [Green 2018].

hegemon. Also of note in the proximity to NPS discussion, is the racial divergence in perspectives of the SITP mission. For instance, the program's environmental mission, or the "conservation messaging," was the focus of white NPS interviewees' attention, with added notes of distraction from violence. Conservation messaging describes SITP as an outdoor recreation program to introduce black kids to nature teaching to appreciate and engage with nature. Returning to the theme of capital, this message focuses on natural capital and is for the most part devoid of social and cultural capital opportunities. Also missing from the white perspective is an emphasis on uniting the post-riot community through concerts and other public events.

This divergence appears in my field notes written after my interview with Joe Lawler, the former SITP worker who rose to directorship of NPS NCR.

30 Nov 17
Lawler, J.
FGJ Field Notes

So there is an interesting elephant in the room – in interviewing white NPS workers compared to black workers. In Joe Lawler's interview, his perspective of SITP was on the value of engaging black urban kids in nature, to make them more comfortable and familiar with nature, respect for the environment, what I would call a conservation message. More of a sharing of how great nature is with kids who haven't been exposed to it. But from my perspective, why do people assume these kids should value it? Just playing devil's advocate-but do these kids care if you can pet a snake – considering the likelihood they'll encounter a snake in their neighborhoods at some point. Is this cultural transmission of dominant culture-you should know this and appreciate it. The natives must wear pants. Acculturation?

The topic is interesting and loaded with implications that range from the Park Service's mission to protect and educate the public of America's natural resources to the NPS focus on Western Parks over urban parklands. Additionally, in discussions of African Americans' outdoor engagement, is there a distinction between majority white organizations and agencies' transmission of dominant cultural tastes and behavior to minorities or is it simply practicing health promotion for the well-being benefits of nature?

Leisure studies researchers have weighed in on white norm representation of outdoor recreation (see Mowatt 2009 and Roberts 2009). Also within this area, is data of black under-engagement with national parks and organized green spaces, where Floyd (1999) questions the white norm of representation, perhaps whites are “overrepresented” instead of minorities as “underrepresented”? Moreover, Floyd asserts there should also be consideration that blacks in nature are may be undercounted, thus underrepresented, due to different cultural and social behaviors where blacks’ outdoor recreation may mean fishing in the closest non-park affiliated spot, an unmeasurable event.

Class Perspectives

Nuances of class are present in much of the SITP project, both in this study and the overall program. Though the activities were open to the public, the majority of attendees were middle to lower income D.C. residents, of which the majority were African American. Comments and overtones of class appear in SITP program usage, including the more middle-class participants who attended concerts at Carter Barron instead of Fort Dupont or Anacostia, and who paid for their children’s summer activities. Several interviewees noted the difference in crowds between the locations with specific mentions that the type of music was localized to appeal to area residents. This is notable in that Carter Barron represented a specific, often integrated clientele, preferring jazz or orchestral acts with paid admission. Seating for the facility at 4200 paid admissions also reflects an exclusivity. Solidly middle-class participants expressed their distaste for not only the genres played at the larger SE D.C. parks, Fort Dupont and Anacostia, but also in the locations themselves. Comments such as “Oh no-we wouldn’t go there because it was...out of our comfort zone” suggests a class division or safety concern, or possibly both. Gatewood (2000), Green (1967) and Asch and Musgrove (2017) expounded on the District’s history of intra-race class conflicts with roots in the recently emancipated slaves versus long-established freed black families. Also contributing to this discussion are the participants whose families either migrated to more middle-class sections of city or to Maryland or Virginia in the post-riot period.

There were also comments that accused the Park Service of discriminating in SITP event programming based on income-driven locations. The premise of the accusation was that parks and locations west of the Anacostia River received the bulk of the high quality programming such as surprise field trips

to museums and other favored locations, while children east of the River received the scraps, perceived as a high occurrence of arts and crafts and other perceived low-quality programming. These perceptions are perhaps the most profound demonstrations of how one's social location and experiences affect one's worldview. Yet, to refer to them as "perceptions" seemingly questions their authenticity. When interviewing NPS staff and administrators we asked for their opinions on this accusation. Most pointed to proximity to activities and simple programming options, stressing the collaborative forces behind SITP's solid attempts to equally distribute resources and opportunities throughout the city. Attempts to distinguish perception from reality are not useful here because child participants' perceptions are their realities.



CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER EIGHT

The purpose of this project was to capture and document the missing voices of the National Park Service's Summer in the Parks (SITP) program (1968-1976) participants, staff, and administrators. The interviewees represented a variety of experiences, from being involved in the planning and execution of the program, to childhood participation in enrichment activities and as adult SITP concert attendees and performers. Segments of the collected study data would not only establish the context of the era, e.g. in the shadow of the April 1968 D.C. riots, but also how participants' lives were enhanced through the program. Findings demonstrate the connection between early exposure to outdoor engagement and recreation leading to life-long healthy behaviors, to experiencing feelings of community belonging and celebrations of blackness. Through a wider lens, this study informs how institutional efforts, regardless of ambiguous origins, have the ability to reunite and strengthen communities while pursuing a social change agenda. The findings from this study can also inform and contribute to the scholarship of other research areas, in topics ranging from deeper studies of race and its intersection with institutions to African American family and cultural studies. Included in this chapter are study limitations encountered during the course of this project that affected the outcome to varying degrees. Lastly, the final section is the paper's conclusion that includes recommendations for future SITP-type programming and institutional effectiveness measurements.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This study provides several avenues of future research that can inform multiple areas of study. Avenues emerged through both the analysis and data collection processes. Some are deeper investigations into themes deserving of their own independent project that were limited by length, time, and scope limitations. While replaying interviews and rereading transcripts during the coding and thematic development stages, the research team discovered many paths that offer fertile and meaningful areas of future research.

ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

Perhaps a specific ethnography of SITP as an ethnomusicological site would provide deeper insight into the black musical experience by investigating the connection between African Americans and live music. We can only draw conclusions from our data on the power of collectivity, whereas an interview with questions specifically geared to capturing concert details and individual outcomes, e.g. enhanced political activism, Black Power or SNCC involvement, would perhaps provide evidence of music as factor in social movements. An African American-focused ethnomusicological investigation either framed historically with SITP as the site, or contemporarily, at events such as the Essence Music Festival, could also build on previous research of how participation affects individuals' sense of belonging and cultural identity.

As noted, this project primarily focused on African Americans, however, other groups also participated whose perspectives would enhance and supplement this research. For example, Fort Reno National Park promoted Hispanic-focused activities including large cultural SITP celebrations such as Hispanic Day. Interestingly, the immigrant experience would offer a particularly insightful perspective of SITP. For example, one study participant, Aldo Santiesteban, identified as African American, though he was originally from Cuba. Labeled black in Cuba, he found himself othered as Hispanic upon his arrival in D.C.'s African American community. In recounting his history, he spoke of challenges acclimating to U.S. culture and learning the language. Yet, his larger struggle was negotiating the identity-making process while developing his sense of black group belonging. He credited SITP concerts with finally giving him this sense of belonging and acceptance in the greater black collective.

ACCESS AND OPPORTUNITY

This study demonstrates the benefits of SITP for adults, children, and the community at large. However, it is important to note that the study narratives discussed in this paper are from people who participated in SITP, not those who did not. There were two interviews conducted with non-participants, where the resulting interview content was not included in the larger data collection and analysis. Though excluded from this project, these oral histories do offer significant potential to contributing to several future research areas.

Constraining Factors

The first oral history that informs future research describes the interviewee's familiar, yet distant relationship with the SITP program. The respondent was of age to participate in nearby SITP activities; however, his Grandmother would not allow him and his brothers to leave the confines of their small front yard to join their neighborhood friends in the program. Fearful of their safety in a "bad neighborhood" while she worked fulltime as a domestic, the boys could only go "fence to fence". He described wistfully watching from the porch, as the neighborhood kids would pass their house on the way to SITP activities. The interviewee explained that he developed into a cerebral child pursuing reading and other non-outdoor, non-athletic activities. As an adult he is plagued by poor health with chronic conditions leading to his being wheelchair bound.

This is not to say that his health is a direct result from childhood inactivity. However, it is possible that public health and child development stakeholders will be interested in the health outcomes of SITP child participants and non-participant children, especially as it translates into continued adult behavior. According to figures from George Hartzog, Jr., the NPS Director overseeing the launch of the program, over 40,000 children age 14 and younger participated in SITP programming in 1968 alone. This statistic indicates a potentially sizeable demographic of District residents to recruit for a future research study.

From a sociological perspective, the situatedness of the interviewee's family offers an interesting avenue into the social and cultural factors that constrain access and opportunities for disadvantaged individuals. For instance, many of this study's narratives discuss how "back then" everyone in the community looked out for each other and othermothers (Collins 2000) were integral to community child rearing activities. Were there additional concerns on his grandmother's part on why she did not count on neighborhood othermothers? Perhaps the added responsibility as the boys' only caregiver after the death of their mother influenced her decision. Maybe the grandmother had experienced a particular event that led her to determine that life outside the "fences" unsafe for young black boys. Another participant discussed how some parents confined children to the home because they considered their neighborhoods as too unsafe or were simply overprotective. He classified these children as limited to "riding the bike on the carpet", meaning indoor-only physical play. An additional interesting research area may lie in ethnographic exploration

of the challenges faced by parents, especially, single mothers in weighing the need and value of social, cultural, and natural capital opportunities to their children's development against economic and social constraints.

Lastly, Theresa Saxton was also of age but did not participate in SITP due to true limitations to access and opportunity. She lived in the small rural historically black settlement, Lyttonsville, Maryland, near Silver Spring. The area is significant because Lyttonsville, referred to period newspapers as "Monkey Hollow",¹ reflecting the discriminatory attitude that denied the area paved roads and running water into the 1960s and 1970s. In sharing her memories, many included her father's, the head of the local civic association, decades-long advocacy work with Montgomery County for resources for the small community. She explained conditions of her childhood; the family only had one car, which her father took to work in the District, leaving mother and children home without transportation. With the closest bus stop over three miles away, they did not have access to SITP activities. In a 2012 Washington Post article, Ms. Saxton's sister, Ms. Patricia Tyson, noted that cabs would not even venture on the unpaved roads in wet weather for fear of becoming stuck in the mud.

While the story of Lyttonsville's history contributes to the examples of race-based institutional neglect, another component of Ms. Saxton's narrative speaks to the ingenuity of mothers when faced with limited access and opportunities to capital development for their children. In this case, the answer lies in the "Busy Bee Club", a neighborhood effort spearheaded by Ms. Saxton's mother that involved structure indoor and outdoor activities designed to keep children busy, engaged, and learning over summertime. The club also incorporated cultural elements such as occasional weekend trips to plays and museums. Additionally, one informal study participant shared that she irregularly attended SITP community center activities due to her mother's heavy schedule of her own kids' summer cultural program. "We were always going somewhere. My mom would get the paper and whatever free activities were going on we were there. We took the bus. We went to a lot of museums and

¹ "Colored Man Charged with Murderous Assault Held for Grand Jury," Washington Evening Star, June 23, 1903; "Robbed a Store," The Evening Times, March 2, 1900. "Bethesda Citizens Seek Franchise for Bus Line," The Washington Post, February 22, 1928.

exhibits...symphony music-that kind of stuff". These examples point to the possible research areas of mothers' efforts to replace or supplement SITP-type enrichment programming to ensure capital opportunities for their children.

LEGACY OF SITP

Investigating the programming legacy of the federal initiative of SITP would also provide insight into how institutions can perform powerful roles in the positive outcomes of its citizens. After all, outgrowths of the SITP went well beyond the official end of the program's first iteration. The long-running Fort Dupont SITP concert series ran solidly for decades through external and internal individual park funding efforts. Concerts continued to provide opportunities for cultural expressions while building group belonging and community cohesion.

Another example emerges in the post-SITP child programming of Fort Dupont specifically. Tina Short,² the former Superintendent of Fort Dupont and other local national park sites, described how the site continued to operate a summer camp of sorts well through the eighties where neighborhood children could enjoy and learn in an SITP inspired environment. Natural engagement activities included caring for a small group of animals, e.g. turtles, and exploring the woods and green spaces of the park. The children also participated in additional activities, e.g. swimming at Anacostia Park and field trips to cultural sites. The summer camp was a product of both community need and individual initiative. As Short explained that during the time, there was a dearth in safe, affordable (free), well rounded childcare in the community, a service that Fort Dupont could provide and fund through its own budget. Parents assisted the efforts by contributing bottled water or other essentials to support the group.

While the Fort Dupont model offers an interesting avenue of legacy SITP program research, perhaps more impactful would be a more specific investigation into how small, usually discretionary-funded individual park efforts to create legacy SITP programs affected children's life course trajectories and life chances. For example, Ranger Short shared histories of

² Former Superintendent Ranger Tina Short could also qualify as a future research subject of possibly the first African American female park ranger in the NPS system. There is contestation within NPS and its former employees as to whether Ranger Short hold this distinguished role. Also of note, participant John Carrington (found in the activism section) hired Ms. Short, demonstrating his commitment to diversifying the Park Service's workforce.

several summer camp children who have grown into pillars of the community, noting their strong ties to the area especially to Fort Dupont. One aspect of the summer camp offers an excellent vantage point to how early exposure produces positive perceptions. Park Police held special significance to the summer camp experience. The children would interact regularly with the park police officers (and occasionally their horses), developing a rapport that contributed to the shaping of their young worldviews. Developing additional supporting literature of the importance of community outreach by authorities to neighborhoods and people of color in particular holds significant impact well beyond NPS and other federal agencies.

LIMITATIONS

SAMPLE

The number of interviews was predetermined according to the grant scope and timeline agreed to by the research team and NPS. Initial responses to interview requests arrived slowly, however, once interviews started and word-of-mouth spread, the leads got hotter as those contacted would quickly agree to interviews. On the one hand, we could blame the word-of-mouth referrals for causing the interview pool to be adult concert attendee and musician-heavy. On the other hand, the team struggled to recruit child participants, especially finding unicorns who attended sleep away camps. Therefore, in retrospect we are grateful for the performers and adult SITP attendees who shared their stories. With additional time, the number of interviews would have multiplied exponentially, but we cannot guarantee those interviews would offer variety, meaning significant child participants. This project could have been a multiyear interview process, because, as earlier stated, “everybody” went to SITP events, at least to the concerts.

RECRUITING

As discussed in the methods section, this project required extensive networking and relationship building to recruit participants. Many of the interviewees still play music together and have ongoing friendships. Steve Syphax, the NPS ranger retiree, who served as my key informant, networked extensively even reaching back through neighborhood connections to help find child participants. I also received contact information for the family members of my NPS contact, who had

grown up in the District. Other participants such as Howard Banks served as a gatekeeper opening his vault of contacts to this project.

Before taking on this study, Felicia Garland-Jackson met with GMU's Director of African American Studies, Professor Wendi Manual-Scott (History Ph.D. Howard University), for guidance on recruiting in the District. She advised that many African Americans were tired of doing interviews without seeing any significant changes stemming from their previous comments. Additionally, she cautioned that the team might also encounter reticence to participating in a federally funded study. We had an immeasurable number of refusals to participate, some pleasant and others less so, including being chased out of a store on H Street. Though we did not receive the above excuses, we cannot say these concerns did not play a role in refusals to participate.

For those that refused but elaborated, there was significant concern in participating in a formal interview, which meant documenting their recorded voice, current address, and photos for the archive. Many confessed to not wanting to be on the government's (NPS) radar in any way. Responses such as "I'm looking for a government job" or "I work for the government" were numerous. Additionally, "I can't remember much from back then" was heard enough to hint at the good times of the period. Street interviews were more successful, after assuring the participant our exchange was informal and my notes were just jottings for my own use. In these settings, informal participants could be freer in their comments, which often related to gentrification including, "who cares about Summer in the Parks when we're being displaced" or "they'll bring those programs back – but they won't be for us". This highlights the challenge of requesting one to wax nostalgically of their SITP past when their present is under duress.

Lastly, many of the demographic (@ 55 and over) were not social media users, thus efforts to recruit through these methods were unsuccessful for the most part. The exception is NPS SITP retirees who posted messages to their closed Facebook accounts with my contact information to assist in the recruiting effort. The recruiting avenues discussed in the methods sections, e.g. churches, senior centers, tents at NPS events, suggested that in-person recruiting would be required at multiple sites over extended periods of time.

ORGANIZATIONAL CONFUSION

As discussed earlier, the inability to distinguish what events were SITP, D.C. Parks and Rec, or other community organizations presented a challenge in both interviews and recruitment. This is especially significant in child participants because many stated that they did participate in youth programming but it was through Parks and Rec, or school, church, playground, etc. and not the Park Service. Some were emphatic in their memories that NPS was not part of it even though SITP programming took place in over 1300 locations across the city. While originally frustrating, we now realize this as an indication of SITP success. The mission was to create a collaborative program with

city officials, local organizations, and community councils, succeeding in being so interwoven it is impossible in many cases to clearly demarcate who did what and when. Somewhat helpful was near the end of recruiting process the grant purchased a banner of the laughing tree SITP logo. This did draw somewhat more interest but was more useful in confirming memories of child activities that took place at SITP locations outside of national parks.



Figure 40. SITP Logo / NPS

MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

The interview process for this project was a collaborative effort that included graduate students from GMU's Field School of Cultural Documentation class held summer of 2017. Felicia Garland-Jackson conducted interviews both on her own and as a participant in the students' team interviews. However, certain interviews were sole student efforts that followed general open-ended questions. The course objective was to train in the components of field research, from initial recruiting through interviews and transcription. Students were primarily young and not African American, which they described as factors in their hesitance to discuss race with interviewees. For instance, when interviewing an interracial couple (black male from the Northeast and Southern white woman) married and residing in the District for over fifty years, one would have asked if they experienced any overt discrimination particularly in post-riot D.C. or perhaps what was it like being an interracial

couple in Chocolate City? However, the student did not feel comfortable in this line of questioning, which we consider a missed opportunity to delve into unique situations that could contribute to the overall local context of the era. For example, how did the white wife negotiate the blackness of D.C.?

Another example of a missed opportunity resulted from simply the difference in levels of knowledge. Students had received background information on the era and SITP program, as well as social, economic, and cultural factors at work in the District. However, they did not have the exposure or the level of information. For instance, one participant mentioned in passing an event where she and her boyfriend had to walk miles home from Glen Echo amusement park after public buses had stopped service. This incident was historic for the local black community because it again exemplified institutional negligence by shutting down the only transportation many children had to get home from the amusement park. Unfortunately, some of the kids forced to walk threw rocks and created small disturbances that the media used to reinforce the perception of disorderly and violent blacks. The student interviewer would not have known about the significance of this event, thus she did not probe deeper.

Additionally, in some cases, black participants used playful but coded language to make subtle fun of the student interviewers. One example within the data takes place in a discussion about camping that notably followed the lines of “black people don’t camp” narrative. “We [African Americans] don’t do that [camp] but you definitely look like you’re a camper”-the participant playfully comments to the young white researcher. Not understanding the racial inference and tone in his comment, the researcher proceeds to describe her deep love of camping and other outdoor engagement. He then turned to the Asian Indian interviewer and stated; “now you don’t look like a camper.” She asked him why he said that and he demurred saying she just did not “look” like someone who camps.

The above examples reflect a retroactive assessment of the interview process that informs qualitative techniques, especially in teaching fieldwork. Issues such as power dynamics seen in the playful, subtle racial digs toward interviewers, or students’ lower comfort levels that appeared in their hesitance to discuss race with African Americans contributed to the limitations of this project.

CONCLUSION

The primary objective of this project was to collect the voices of Summer in the Parks participants that had been missing from the historical account of the program. Due to the location and era of the project, the majority of interviewees were African Americans who had spent the majority of their lives in the District. Their SITP experiences represent, for the majority, the best time of their lives. Many NPS staff and administrators, especially, young, local blacks, felt the magnitude of “being part of something bigger”, to really making a difference for their local community. Participants, for the most part, identified SITP as solely a music activity, the concerts acting as a salve to heal and unite the fractured community in the post-riot period. Gathering together at the large concert venues, e.g. Fort Dupont and Anacostia Park, to receive the power of live music, surrounded by mainly other African Americans, offers an interesting perspective to the cultural transmission of “blackness.” As participants sketched the context of their lives, many reveled in the freedom to be themselves at SITP events, yet being mindful that disorderly behavior or poorly executed events could be the death knell of the program. The era is also significant because of not only the 1968 riots, but also its being at the juncture of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements. Blacks across the nation and the District shared both frustration at the slow pace of change, but also a confidence that change was coming.

The running current beneath the nostalgic memories of participants is pride in their city. It was their city, at their time, and SITP was their program, designed especially for them. There was in pride in “Chocolate City”, the often-repeated nickname. The name itself signifies a time, during the SITP years, 1968-1976, that Washington D.C. was over 70 percent black. In post-home rule D.C., an elected mayor governed the city instead of a federally appointed commissioner reflecting a new sense of power that area residents could run their own affairs. However, as with many parts of this project, this pride in the city was not a uniform feeling in all participants. Dr. June Bland, one interviewee, commented that she actually hates the term, “Chocolate City” because she has always felt that so many things were (are) wrong-high unemployment, crime, bad schools, etc.-and blacks should not be proud of the institutional dysfunction of the District. She noted that it was not an example of black excellence; instead, it only served to reinforce negative perceptions of “blackness”.

BRING BACK SITP

All study participants expressed the importance of recreating SITP-type programming in the District. Many tied it to opportunities for their grandchildren to engage in free, structured outdoor engagement activities and recreation. These comments were often attached to longer discussions of the failure of youth to get off the social media and gaming systems to venture into the out of doors. Other respondents centered the need to bring back SITP based on the ongoing socioeconomic need of many in the city. The point of continuing need deserves emphasis because much of D.C., especially wards east of the River, e.g. Anacostia, remain predominantly black and poor, similarly, to when Ted McCann, the NPS administrator for the SITP program, ran the original 1967 neighborhood demographic numbers. Especially disconcerting is the level of childhood poverty stubbornly embedded in the District. The recent chart below from Kids Count, a D.C. based organization, funded by Annie E. Casey Foundation, committed to addressing childhood poverty across the district, demonstrates that almost 40 percent of Ward 8 is under the poverty line.

Location	Data Type	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Ward 1	Percent	14.3%	13.2%	12.9%	13.5%	13.6%
Ward 2	Percent	12.6%	12.5%	12.4%	13.4%	14.3%
Ward 3	Percent	8.4%	9.5%	9.9%	9.4%	9.1%
Ward 4	Percent	13.4%	13.2%	13.0%	11.9%	11.4%
Ward 5	Percent	21.2%	21.5%	20.4%	19.0%	17.7%
Ward 6	Percent	14.9%	14.6%	14.5%	12.5%	13.4%
Ward 7	Percent	26.1%	27.2%	26.3%	27.2%	27.7%
Ward 8	Percent	37.5%	38.4%	37.4%	37.7%	36.8%
DATA PROVIDED BY DC Action for Children						

Table 6. D.C. Poverty Statistics by Ward

Many participants, especially those related to SITP musical activities, either involved in planning, attending, or performing, expressed the need in the community for the festive large concerts to come back to provide opportunities for fun and bonding. Though some respondents did include a caveat that Park Police would need to have a strong presence to ensure success, because violence today is both more prevalent and more deadly, e.g. guns have replaced fists in settling disputes. Interestingly, participant Donald Sellers suggested that concerts might provide a solution to the ill effects of gentrification, if SITP could bring together new white residents and long-established black residents in the area's community to build relationships. Perhaps, he suggested, this would return the neighborliness to the neighborhoods.

INSTITUTIONAL ASSESSMENT

Applying sociological theory of institutional organization to NPS and the SITP program offers an interesting analysis of complicated outcomes. As previously described, the primary goal of SITP was ambiguous in that its purpose was to either address the Park Service's legacy of segregation and discrimination or to mitigate future violence by bringing local residents into area national parks and other locations for free, structured activities. While NPS may have been guilty of goal ambiguity, a challenge to institutional effectiveness according to Powell and DiMaggio (1991), both motivations, in my view, do not need to be mutually exclusive. Another point is that for institutions to survive they must demonstrate effectiveness and SITP certainly succeeded on many levels as noted in several sections of this dissertation. However, what is interesting here is that the Park Service actually became a victim of its own success. To elaborate, institutions must demonstrate effectiveness to external and internal stakeholders along with being good stewards of taxpayers' dollars. SITP's structure as a collaborative effort with local organizations and other local and federal agencies produced the organizational confusion that limits assigning major program success solely to NPS. That is, in the memories of community residents, the credit for many likely SITP programs goes to other members of the collaborative, e.g. day camp was D.C. Parks and Rec. This dilutes the recognition of institutional effectiveness; however, it also reflects the successful implementation of true

collaboration. Perhaps one should frame the program as a gift, given out of pure intentions, for which one does not receive acknowledgement.

To address one additional area of institutional organization is unpacking the comment that “SITP was a placebo” meant to pacify the people by giving them crumbs versus real social change. While we recognize and understand this participant’s point of view, within the study of institutions, organizations can only address social problems when they have the functionality to do so (Powell and DiMaggio 1991). Accordingly, NPS could not fix schools or city infrastructure, but it could provide outdoor and recreation activities and networks for wider social and cultural efforts. In reading old SITP documents from the NPS archives, it is clear that those employees involved in the planning were committed and thoughtful of the community’s needs. For example, in working closely with D.C. Public Libraries, bookmobiles traveled many of the same routes as NPS showmobiles to reach deeply into the area’s neighborhoods.

Lastly, in an effort to assess the effectiveness of SITP as an institutional effort, the most effective measurement is the three McCann tenets: 1) Include the community in planning; 2) Hire local; and 3) Give the community what they need. The findings all point to the successful accomplishment of the original objectives, and the possibility of even adding a fourth tenet of having long-term positive effects. SITP was for many participants, the best time of their lives. The program filled voids that existed in the lives of participants, in either youth employment, activism, or access to outdoor engagement and recreation. Additionally, the impact of providing a sense of belonging and pride in the community cannot be underestimated, especially considering the volatile post-riot period in the District. However, in concluding this project what is perhaps most impactful to me is the void that SITP filled in the lives of child participants. For example, Carol Wallace shared that his involvement with SITP Fort Circle activities brought him off his porch and down to the park for fun during a bleak and sad time after his parents’ divorce. He could go hang out and forget about his home life for a while and just be a kid. We are confident that there are many stories like his that demonstrate the impact, both large and small, of the Summer in the Parks program.

APPENDIX A



Summer in the Parks Project

GMU INFORMED CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

This research is being conducted to document this history and impact of the National Park Service's Summer in the Parks program. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in a recorded oral history interview.

RISKS

There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this research.

BENEFITS

There are no benefits to you as a participant other than to further research in the NPS summer programming

CONFIDENTIALITY

The data in study will be confidential. However, you have the option of having your name included on the oral history interview and other collected data. If you would prefer to remain anonymous, we will use a code place on the oral history interview and other collected data. In these instances, only the research team will be able to link the participant's oral history responses to his or her identity through the use of an identification key. Only the PI and research team will have access to the identification key.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. If you decide not to participate or if you withdraw from the study, there is no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no costs to you or any other party

CONTACT

This research is being conducted by Debra Lattanzi Shutika and the Folklore Studies Program at George Mason University. She may be reached at 703-993-1170 for questions or to report a research-related problem. You may contact the George Mason University Office of Research Integrity & Assurance at 703-993-4121 if you have questions or comments regarding your rights as a participant in the research.

This research has been reviewed according to George Mason University procedures governing your participation in this research.

CONSENT

I have read this form, all of my questions have been answered by the research staff, and I agree to participate in this study.

Signature

Date of Signature

APPENDIX B

NPS INTERVIEW AGREEMENT FOR SUMMER IN THE PARKS SPECIAL STUDY

This agreement is entered into by _____, interviewee, and the National Park Service. Both parties enter into this agreement in order to facilitate the future use of the oral history interview conducted on this date, _____, for research, historical, and educational purposes.

The National Park Service conducts oral history interviews as part of its research, education, and interpretive programs. Audio and/or video recordings and transcripts resulting from interviews conducted for the National Park Service become part of its museum and archival collections and are housed at the most appropriate repositories. They will be made available for National Park Service uses and may be made available to members of the public. Typical uses may include publications, audio/video recording in all existing and future media, interpretive talks, public exhibits, Web sites, online venues, and other media deemed appropriate.

Interviewee:

1. Consents to voluntarily participate in this interview as provided by this agreement.
2. Authorizes the National Park Service to record, transcribe, and edit the interview, and to use and re-use the interview recording and transcript in whole or in part.
3. Understands that the National Park Service shall have no obligation to use the interview and has no expectation of financial compensation for participation in this project.
4. Agrees to give and assign all rights, title, and interest, including copyright, of whatever kind from this information and interview to the National Park Service.

Date of interview: _____

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW LOG

Master Chart of Interviewees and Interview Lengths			
	Name	Time (mins)	
1	Nash Castro	58:05:00	
2	Lou Stovall	83:01:00	
3	Don Tillery	76:53:00	
4	Michelle Washington	105:45:00	
5	Howard Banks	64:56:00	
6	Robert Stanton	75:18:00	
7	Tina Short	67:13:00	
8	Di Stovall	75:23:00	
9	Frank Lloyd	24:03:00	
10	Sarah Glover	39:36:00	
11	Jerry Lenix and Donald Sellers	77:55:00	
12	Luci Murphy	51:07:00	
13	Loretta Neumann	76:16:00	
14	Greg Peete	46:26:00	
15	William Taft	54:06:00	
16	Greg Elliott (Sugar Bear)	39:21:00	
17	Mike Powell	66:48:00	
18	John Carrington	80:07:00	
19	Kenny Statom	57:28:00	
20	Frank Hooker	47:38:00	
21	Consuella Fox	70:31:00	
22	Aldo Santiesteban	51:35:00	
23	Celiana Lopez	52:15:00	
24	George Waters	57:20:00	
25	Sandy Waters	36:30:00	
26	McCarroll Wallace	32:13:00	
27	Debbie McKenzie Harris	42:20:00	
28	Teresa Saxton	72:55:00	
29	Ronald Bland and June Bland	95:31:00	
30	Joe Lawler	55:16:00	
Shortest Interview		Frank Lloyd	24:03:00
Longest Interview		Michelle Washington	105:45:00
Average Length of Interview		63:14:10	

APPENDIX D

RESTRICTIVE COVENANT EXAMPLE

Restrictive Covenant Deed and Excerpt (1931) for interviewees African American Ronald and June Blands' street (16th St.) in Crestwood neighborhood

D E E D

This deed, made this 2nd day of March in the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty-one by and between Ernest E. Herrell and P. Raymond Boesch, of the City of Washington, District of Columbia, as joint tenants, parties of the first part, and Nellie M. L. Jenkins, of said City and District, party of the second part:

Witnesseth, that in consideration of Ten dollars, the parties of the first part do grant unto the party of the second part, in fee simple, all that piece or parcel of land in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, described as follows, to wit: Lot numbered Twenty (20) in Mary Gresham Hachen's subdivision of lots in Square numbered Twenty-six hundred and thirty-six (2636), as per plat recorded in Liber No. 72 folio 96, of the Records of the office of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia.

Subject to the covenants that all buildings erected or to be erected on said lot shall be built and used for residence purposes exclusively, except that stables, carriage-houses, sheds or other out-buildings to be used only in connection with such residence, may be erected on the rear of said lot and not abutting upon 16th Street, or situate in proximity to the building line thereof; that only one dwelling house shall be erected on said lot; and that during the period of twenty years accounting from November 16, 1922, the said lot of ground shall not nor shall any part thereof, nor any building, nor part of a building thereon, be used for any trade, business, manufacturing or commercial purposes, and that no hospital, asylum, apartment house or flats, of any description, hotel, public house, livery stable, or public garage, shall ever, during said period or term or twenty years be erected or maintained on said lot or ground; and that no dwelling house shall be erected on said lot of ground during said term of twenty years, which shall cost to build, less than \$20,000.00, and that no house at any time during said period or term of twenty years, to be erected on said lot shall be designed or used for the occupancy of more than one family at a time; and that the said lot of ground shall not, nor shall any part thereof, nor any building, nor part of building, to be erected thereon, ever at any time whatsoever be leased, sold, transferred or conveyed unto, or in trust for, or for the purpose of occupation or use of, any negro or colored person or Jew, and in case of a sale and conveyance of said land, the purchaser thereof shall be required to covenant to this effect, together with the improvements, rights, privileges, and appurtenances to the same belonging: And the parties of the first part, covenant that they will warrant specially the property hereby conveyed: and that they will execute such further assurances of said land as may be requisite. Witness their hands and seals the day and year hereinbefore written.

In presence of -
 Julia C. Bunnigan (Ernest E. Herrell) (Seal)
 (P. Raymond Boesch) (Seal)

District of Columbia, to wit:

I, Julia C. Bunnigan, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, do hereby certify that Ernest E. Herrell and P. Raymond Boesch, as Joint Tenants, of the City of Washington, District of Columbia, parties to a certain Deed bearing date on the 2nd day of March 1931, and hereto annexed, personally appeared before me in said District, the said Ernest E. Herrell and P. Raymond Boesch being personally well known to me as the persons who executed the said Deed, and acknowledged the same to be their act and deed.

Given under my hand and seal this 2nd day of March 1931.
 (Notarial Seal) Julia C. Bunnigan, Notary Public, D. C. (Seal)

house at any time during said period or term of twenty years, to be erected on said lot shall be designed or used for the occupancy of more than one family at a time; and that the said lot of ground shall not, nor shall any part thereof, nor any building, nor part of building, to be erected thereon, ever at any time whatsoever be leased, sold, transferred or conveyed unto, or in trust for, or for the purpose of occupation or use of, any negro or colored person or Jew, and in case of a sale and conveyance of said land, the purchaser thereof shall be required to covenant to this effect, together with the improvements, rights, privileges, and appurtenances to the same belonging: And the said parties of the first part, covenant that they will warrant specially the property hereby conveyed: and that they will execute such further assurances of said land as may be requisite. Witness their hands and seals the day and year hereinbefore written.

In presence of -

Julia C. Bannigan

(Ernest E. Herrell
(P. Raymond Boesch

(Seal)
(Seal)

District of Columbia, to wit:

I, Julia C. Bannigan, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, do hereby certify that Ernest E. Herrell and P. Raymond Boesch, as Joint Tenants, of the City of Washington, District of Columbia, parties to a certain Deed bearing date on the 3rd day of March 1931, and hereto annexed, personally appeared before me in said District, the said Ernest E. Herrell and P. Raymond Boesch being personally well known to me as the persons who executed the said Deed, and acknowledged the same to be their act and deed.

Given under my hand and seal this 3rd day of March 1931.
(Notarial Seal)

Julia C. Bannigan, Notary Public, D. C. (Seal)
My commission expires Jan. 14, 1932.

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