CAPITAL DILEMMA

Growth and Inequality in Washington, DC

Edited by Derek Hyra and Sabiyha Prince
HOME RULE FROM BELOW

The Cooperative Movement in Washington, DC

Johanna Bockman

In 1975, the District of Columbia formally began home rule. During the previous 100 years, the US Congress directly governed DC through the House and Senate Committees on the District of Columbia and through an appointed Board of Commissioners. For many of those years, segregationist congressmen, like John L. McMillan of South Carolina, chair of the House Committee almost continuously from 1948 to 1972 (Fauntroy, 2003), dominated these committees. In addition, neighborhood associations composed mostly of White residents made local community decisions in the District (Travis, 2010). Rather than wait for society to change and offer equal participation in political and economic life, DC residents, in particular African Americans, excluded from these institutions built autonomous spheres to gain control over their lives and forged new resources in the District beyond formal government. When formal home rule did come to the District, it built on and expanded many of these already existing grassroots strategies to create areas of autonomy and local control in DC. Specifically, I argue that DC residents used the cooperative movement as a form of "home rule from below."

Long before formal home rule began, DC residents established consumer, worker, financial, purchasing, and housing cooperatives. African Americans had long supported cooperatives as a means to create economic wealth, political power, and cultural freedom. Cooperatives proliferated throughout the city under Mayor Marion Barry, whose tenure from 1979 to 1991 brought home rule from below into the formal government and created new structures to support citywide community development based on cooperatives. Cooperatives represented one way to forge a new society, a society in which all members might be equal.

Cooperatives are just one part of "the common," resources held in common, as nature, but also collective spaces, social activities involved in production and community building, and experiments in living that we create together. According to Hardt and Negri (2009), capitalists live off the common by privatizing it to make profits, thus destroying the common in the process. Private property is fundamentally different from the common. For Hardt and Negri, property is also fundamentally different from the common because public property held by the government represents state domination and constituted power from above, "which not only guarantees capitalist exploitation and upholds the rule of property but also maintains and polices all identity hierarchies” (2009, p. 355). In contrast to the constituted power of state sovereignty, the common expresses constitutive power, which can create autonomous spaces outside of private property and capital, and which can maintain equality and democracy through horizontal organizational structures. As a form of constitutive power, cooperatives in DC provided an avenue for residents to create a new world of emergent home rule from below, at a time when Washington, DC lacked formal home rule. To realize home rule fully, even after formal home rule was implemented, DC residents needed to maintain and expand the common.

As Hardt and Negri predicted, however, the constituted powers of formal government over time undermined this home rule from below. This chapter explores the history of cooperatives in Washington, DC in the 20th century and how real estate agents, developers, and politicians were able to exploit these structures for their own benefit, fundamentally altering home rule from below into a more limited home rule from above.

Cooperatives Before Home Rule

Washington, DC has a long history of cooperatives. In 1880, the Rochdale Cooperative Society of the District of Columbia began, and by 1894 had 6,000 members. This consumer cooperative provided members access to low-priced goods through contracted dealers. Later, it ran a number of stores (Cooperative Society, 1894). The name came from the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers founded in England in 1844 by a group of handloom weavers put out of work by machines (Conover, 1959). The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers operated according to principles now called Rochdale Principles and practiced worldwide, including democratic control based on equality ("one member, one vote"), open membership, and equal rights for men and women in all membership affairs (Conover, 1959). Later principles included requirements that cooperatives provide assistance to already existing cooperatives and help to create new cooperatives. Cooperatives, it was hoped, might spread to create a new kind of society.
Across the United States, from the 1870s to the 1890s, cooperatives were very popular. Cooperatives formed primarily among farmers, most famously assisted by the National Grange Association, which supported the use of the Rochdale Principles (Chaddad & Cook, 2012). In tandem, the Knights of Labor organized workers' cooperatives and the Sovereigns of Industry began organizing consumer cooperatives for urban workers. However, the District lacked cooperative laws that might allow cooperatives to incorporate as cooperatives, control who could use the name “cooperative,” and encourage new cooperatives to form. As a result, any cooperatives functioning in DC had to incorporate in another state, most often in Virginia, or register as a corporation. If DC cooperatives incorporated in Virginia, they were required to hold their meetings there, and Virginia law recognized only farm cooperatives. Any nonfarm cooperatives were not allowed to use the word “cooperative” in their names (US Congress, 1940). The expansion of cooperatives would have to wait for further developments.

The DC cooperative movement gained support from people like Kansas senator Arthur Capper, who headed the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia. Before his arrival in DC in 1919, he was a national supporter of cooperatives. Capper successfully sponsored the 1922 Capper-Volstead Act and later laws allowing farmers to form cooperatives to process and market their products, rather than leaving farmers at the whim of larger corporate distributors. Capper also sought to encourage nonfarm cooperatives. Once he arrived in DC, he submitted a Senate bill (S. 3066) to allow the formation and incorporation of cooperatives in DC itself. In his report accompanying the bill, Capper wrote, “The organization of cooperative in character, in the whole United States run up in number into the thousands, and 33 of the States of the Union have provided special laws facilitating their institution, the District of Columbia being one of the relatively few backward jurisdictions.” He also voiced his hope that Congress would allow DC residents to create cooperatives functioning according to the Rochdale Principles. Unfortunately, while Capper successfully helped farming cooperatives across the country, Senate Bill S. 3066 did not pass until 1940.

In spite of these legal setbacks, cooperatives spread widely in DC because of the collapse of the economy during the Great Depression. The 1933 Federal Emergency Relief Act encouraged the formation of cooperative and self-help associations “for the barter of goods and services.” The Federal Emergency Relief Agency also provided grants and surplus government buildings and materials to these associations. By 1935, the Division of Self-Help within the District of Columbia Emergency Relief Administration helped establish 13 self-help cooperatives with 722 members, predominately African Americans and women (Parker, 1935). The majority of the cooperatives sewed bed and bath linens, while some also provided other services, such as shoe repair, barbering, and building. The members could use labor credits to purchase items or services. Thus, the members produced for each other and exchanged their surpluses with other

Cooperative Movement in DC

In the words of one observer at the time, “It is the general practice among self-help associations not to sell their products for cash nor in such a way as bringing them onto the competitive market” (Parker, 1935, p. 606). Most famously, civil rights activist Nannie Helen Burroughs set up the Northeast Self-Help Cooperative, later renamed Cooperative Industries, Inc., in Lincoln Heights. This cooperative served approximately 6,000 people in far Northeast DC between 1914 and 1938. The government additionally supported the Greenbelt cities and their cooperatives (MacKean, 2013).

The cooperative movement developed a momentum of its own. In 1934, a group of DC residents formed the Washington Consumers’ League, which two years later created two cooperative groups. The first was Rochdale Stores, Inc., a group of cooperative groceries located in Takoma Park, Bethesda, Georgetown, Cleveland Park, Mount Pleasant, and Falls Church (US Congress, 1940). It sold Co-op branded foods and had 700 members. The second, Konsum, was a dining and oil cooperative that started as a single rented pump at a private gas station and became a cooperative gas station at 21st and Virginia Avenue, NW. African Americans also pushed forward the cooperative movement during the 1930s. In 1934, African Americans formed the Capitol Cab Company, which, according to Ebony in 1962, was "the largest cooperatively owned taxi fleet in the world" with 1,500 taxicabs (p. 48). According to the author of Negro Business and Business Education, Joseph A. Pierce, African Americans in DC formed branches of the Rochdale Stores, which provided them jobs and brought them into large interracial groups: “To Negroes, who are usually excluded from business ventures more than very small local value, the prospect of finding employment in the large and growing co-operative movement offers a definite hope for the future” (1947/1995, p. 178). In 1938, the Washington Bookshop, also called The Bookshop or the Bookshop Association, formed as a cooperative that sold books and phonograph records at a discount, and also functioned as an interracial social club, art gallery, and lecture hall (McReynolds & Robbins, 2009). During the 1930s, cooperatives flourished in DC as a means to cope with the massive unemployment and economic crisis caused by the Great Depression, and as a public space for interracial sociability.

In 1941, the Washington Bookshop could change its name to the Washington Cooperative Bookshop because, just a year earlier, Congress (with the help of Senator Capper) passed the DC Cooperative Association Act (S. 2013). The DC Cooperative Association Act provided cooperatives with a legal structure, including one vote for every member, and allowed cooperatives from across the country to register in DC. However, the Washington Cooperative Bookshop soon came under attack by the House Un-American Activities Committee, allegedly for being subversive (McReynolds & Robbins, 2009). In 1945, the House held hearings on whether cooperatives were un-American and a threat to private enterprise in the United States.” Because of the increasingly
The Oppressive Political Environment of the 1950s, Very Few Cooperatives Formed In The District.

The 1960s brought an upswing in cooperative formation. At this time, many food cooperatives and buying clubs formed because inflation made food expensive for many low-income people and many grocery stores had moved out of the city, leaving what we now call "food deserts." However, community organizers were motivated by much more than inflation. For example, in 1966, community organizers on Capitol Hill worked with Greenbelt Consumer Co-op, and later with the Anacostia Buyers Club, to create a food-buying club involving the poor. In 1970, community organizers at the Friendship House, with the help of Black Markets, Inc., turned the buying club into the nation's first co-op in public housing, MLK Cooperative Store No. 1 (see Figure 4.1). While concerned about inflation, these organizers believed "in the co-operative idea" that would help "Black progress" in DC, especially among the poorest residents. Significantly, MLK Cooperative Store No. 1 was located in the Arthur Capper public housing project, named after the now deceased Kansas senator who had helped DC legally recognize cooperatives.

By 1975, this broad range of cooperatives provided DC residents spaces of autonomy and control, a form of home rule. This home rule from below not merely recreate an individualistic consumer society, but rather imagined a new society based on the common. The civil rights movement supported a wide variety of cooperatives because people, especially those marginalized from mainstream White society, could take control of their economic lives and create an alternative to individualist consumer society (Gordon Nembhard, 2014; Ransb...)

Cooperative-Based Home Rule

Starting from his first days as mayor in 1979, Marion Barry brought home rule below into the DC government. In the Mayor's Office, Barry established the Energy Office, which brought in people like Jack Werner from United Plan-Organization (UPO) to set up energy cooperatives and support food cooperatives around urban gardening. He brought Jerome S. Paige, who worked on housing cooperatives, into the DC Department of Housing. Barry also appointed his "Cornbread" Givens, who moved to DC when Barry became mayor, to lead the umbrella organization for cooperatives, the Mayor's Commission for Cooperative Economic Development.

Cornbread Givens was a civil rights leader and a national advocate for cooperatives. Givens was born in Newark, NJ. He worked in unions and owned his own construction company. In 1965, he was one of the first African Americans to vote in a major city, Jersey City. In the late 1960s, he also became a leader in the Poor People's Campaign, which he helped transform into the Poor People's Development Foundation (PPDF). Incorporated in the District in October 1968, the PPDF sought to help poor communities develop cooperatives.

The PPDF began working with farmer cooperatives of Southern tenant farms. In 1971. These cooperatives formed in response to the backlash against the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Southern tenant farmers who decided to register to vote, were, in retaliation, evicted from their tenant farms. Cooperatives were seen as means to help these tenant farmers survive and exercise their right to vote, as well as realize civil rights more generally. Cornbread Givens worked to connect Southern farmers' cooperatives with consumer food cooperatives, farmers' markets, health food stores, and collective warehouses, which he set up around Newark, NJ and New York City. Members of the PPDF trucked food up to Newark and New York City to be sold in farmers' markets and health food stores.

During the 1970s, Cornbread Givens helped to put cooperatives on the National Democratic Party platform and on "The National Black Agenda for the 80's." Givens envisioned an entire development plan in which each community would integrate:

- producer cooperatives (particularly important for job creation)
- consumer cooperatives
- credit unions
- low-income housing cooperatives

FIGURE 4.1 Martin Luther King Food Co-op. From: © 2015 Roland L. Freeman.
a local charity (funded by profits from the other cooperatives to develop social action programs like schools, hospitals, and child development centers), all organized by a community-wide cooperative.\textsuperscript{21}

Givens understood these cooperatives as necessarily working together, thus forming an integrated model of community development. In addition, institutions at the national level, such as the National Consumer Cooperative Bank, for which Givens successfully advocated in 1978, would assist in implementing these community plans.\textsuperscript{22}

Mayor Marion Barry supported Givens’ vision as a model for DC. Barry made Givens the chairperson of the Commission for Cooperative Economic Development. According to the PPDF records, Barry “indicated that he will use his good offices to establish Washington, D.C. as a [a] ‘demonstration’ city for cooperative development.”\textsuperscript{23}

At a February 1980 conference, Barry said:

In Washington, as in every other major urban center in America, we have whole sections of our city which have been abandoned and neglected by the mainstream of economic activity. ... Although private enterprise has neglected or abandoned some areas of our city, we must not give up the fight. It is time for the citizens of these areas themselves to become owners and providers of the basic services needed for daily life. The cooperative movement is just what is needed to provide this opportunity.\textsuperscript{24}

By May, Barry had established his Commission for Cooperative Economic Development and enlisted others in his program to use cooperatives to create jobs and solve the inner-city food crisis.\textsuperscript{25} According to Givens, the Commission was “the very first Commission of this kind anywhere in the nation.” As chairperson of the Commission, Givens gained the opportunity to realize his community development model based on cooperatives throughout DC.

Givens interpreted his mandate as broadly as possible. Barry declared that the Commission should identify needs for cooperatives in different parts of the District, provide technical support, and develop legislation and support structures for cooperative economic development. Barry also established the Commission specifically to support the formation of cooperatives in housing, food, and home heating oil (Consumer Cooperatives, 1980). Givens sought to go far beyond this mandate. For example, at a public hearing in 1981, Givens suggested an enormous range of cooperatives:

1. Food stores, supermarkets, clothing and furniture stores, shopping centers, drugstores, gas stations, auto repair shops, home heating oil cooperatives, energy conservation materials cooperatives, construction rehabilitation cooperatives, insurance companies, etc.

Light industries: clothing factories, shoe and furniture factories, machine shops, industries to supply federal and District government needs, etc.

Services cooperatives: neighborhood health services, hospitals, child care centers, schools, all forms of recreation, including bowling, skating, cable TV, major league baseball, basketball and football teams, etc.\textsuperscript{27}

Givens thus imagined that the DC economy might be run entirely on cooperative principles. Reflecting his earlier commitment to PPDF, Givens continually emphasized that the Commission must assist low- and moderate-income residents in establishing cooperatives, especially cooperatives that created jobs.

Givens envisioned the proliferation of cooperatives as a way to forge economic and political power among low- and moderate-income residents.

The District government’s support of cooperative development spurred the growth of new DC food cooperatives during the 1980s. In 1980, seven families began the Shepherd Street Collective, a food-buying club, which expanded and formed into Community Based Buying Clubs (CBBC) to help similar groups form and improve their buying power (McCall, 1982). CBBC held People’s Market Days, during which Agricultural Teams, Inc., an African American-owned agricultural cooperative in North Carolina, brought food directly from its farms to sell at different locations in DC. As can be seen in Table 4.1, many new food cooperatives formed.\textsuperscript{29} By 1986, the Arthur Capper public housing project was no longer the only project with a food cooperative; at least five other projects had food cooperatives all run by their residents, most supported by PPDF. These included: Arnold Capper, Barry Farms,\textsuperscript{30} Kenilworth Parkside (Sugarman, 1986), senior public housing buildings Horizon House (Eisen, 1982) and Judiciary House (NCHA, 1984), and Sursum Corda.\textsuperscript{31} Figure 4.2 shows the Judiciary Home Senior Citizens Food Co-op.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.1 Home Rule-Era New Food Cooperatives</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Name</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Very Garden</td>
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<td>Fields of Plenty</td>
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<td>Shepherd Street</td>
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<td>Takoma Park-Silver Spring</td>
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<td>Judiciary House</td>
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<td>Kenilworth Parkside</td>
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<tr>
<td>Market food co-ops</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glut</td>
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<td>MLK No. 1</td>
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Note: The dates with an * are approximate years.
The Commission was also mandated to encourage the development of housing co-ops. DC had long experienced gentrification and displacement, from the 1930s and 1940s in Georgetown and the 1950s on Capitol Hill to the economic crisis of the 1970s that brought large-scale evictions and homelessness in DC. In response, the new District government passed some of its earlier laws to stop displacement (Huron, 2012; Wells, 2013). The Condominium Act of 1976 required that developers stop the conversion of affordable apartments into condominiums, which led to a complete moratorium on conversions in 1978. The Real Property Transfer Excise Tax of 1978 was the country’s first urban tax on land speculation (Huron, 2012). The Rental Housing Sale and Conversion Act of 1980, more popularly called the Tenant Opportunity to Purchase Act or TOPA, gave tenants the right to purchase their buildings if they went on the market (Huron, 2012).

With home rule, housing activists put forth cooperatives as a means to end displacement. They specifically advocated limited-equity cooperatives (LECs). LECs set limits on the resale value of cooperative units, so that they remain affordable, and/or involved shares in the cooperative, rather than private ownership of units, and required tenant participation in management. In 1979, the Metropolitan Washington Planning and Housing Association (MWPHA) set up a Coop Housing Services Program to assist apartment tenants in the conversion process to cooperatives and set up a revolving loan fund for these conversions. Low-income residents soon began to use TOPA to buy their buildings and create long-term affordable cooperative housing. MWPHA also helped develop a network of tenant groups and housing cooperatives, such as the Columbia Heights Federation of Housing Cooperatives and the Sojourner Housing Ministry, both in the 14th Street area. Additionally, Ministries United to Support Community Life (MUSCLE) formed in 1977 and began to provide similar assistance to buildings where at least 50% of the tenants qualified for Section 8 housing (Paige & Reuss, 1983). Already by late 1980, DC tenants' associations had created 17 LECs with 1,000 units and 20 more tenants' associations were in the process of buying their buildings to turn into LECs. The numbers continued to increase. By the late 1990s, while New York City had more LECs

absolute numbers, Washington, DC had more proportional to its population (Huron, 2012).

DC residents also started other kinds of cooperatives. In 1979, the Women’s Community Bakery Collective moved from Hyattsville, MD, to Capitol Hill. The bakers' cooperative made about 500 loaves of bread per day, as well as rolls, doughnuts, cookies, muffins, and cakes, which resulted in a half million dollars in business each year (Landman, 1993). Three years later, the DC Urban Produce Cooperative registered as a cooperative on North Capitol Street near 1st Street, NW, near R Street. And credit unions continued to expand during home rule.

Home rule provided an environment open to expanding the social, political, and economic world of the common. DC residents created new cooperatives and other experiments in common property. However, at the same time, home rule remained limited for a variety of reasons. One, Congress continually interfered in DC government, which limited home rule. Two, during the 1970s and 1980s, the nature of city governance changed across the United States. The 1973 economic crisis and then the Reagan administration’s federal budget cuts significantly reduced city budgets. Thus, cooperative economic development had to compete for a shrinking pot of money with many other programs and priorities. Even the cooperative movement also suffered from the problems of the Barry Administration.

The Cooptation of Cooperatives and Home Rule from Above

In 1985, Ivanhoe Donaldson, a high-level District government official and close associate of Barry, pleaded guilty to embezzling DC government funds. Some of these embezzled funds had moved through Cornbread Givens’ PPDF and, while Givens did not go to jail, he did lose citywide support for cooperatives and the momentum of the PPDF (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994). “It knocked us out… It set back the whole effort. We were on a roll. It just winded down…. I’m still disappointed in Donaldson. He has never apologized,” Givens later remembered (Cherrett, 1999). At the same time, elite worldwide implemented neoliberal policies, which increasingly relied on private business motivated by profits to provide—or public goods and services. In this environment, shifting away from a political or leader-based cooperation and the common and toward one created by the privatization of the public and the common, cooperatives began to be used in isolation from Givens’ broader community model to dismantle home rule from below and support a new kind of political order, home rule from above.

The redevelopment of the Ellen Wilson public housing project, located on Capitol Hill at 7th and I Streets, SE, demonstrates this shifting environment. In 1988, the DC Department of Public and Assisted Housing closed Ellen Wilson
for major renovations and moved out all of the 129 families living there (Lan
1999). In 1992, homeless veterans occupied the vacated buildings and began
renovating the languishing public housing project. Interestingly, 10 years earlier,
one of the veterans occupying Ellen Wilson, Cecil Byrd, had proposed to Corn-
bread Givens’ Commission on Cooperative Economic Development that it form
a Housing Rehabilitation and Energy Training Cooperative for Vietnam Veter-
ans. Within six months, Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly evicted the veterans from
Ellen Wilson, which would allow for the privatization of this space (Naylor, 1992;

From all accounts, the Ellen Wilson redevelopment started out quite inclu-
sively, although the veterans were not included. The main organization
groups—the Ellen Wilson Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation (a Com-
unity Development Corporation [CDC]) and the Ellen Wilson Community
Advisory Council—brought public housing residents from Ellen Wilson and
from the neighboring Arthur Capper and Carrollsburg projects to the table with
homeowners and business owners. Ellen Wilson residents enthusiastically sup-
ported the possibility of housing cooperatives because they might allow them to
own their own housing, although they feared they would not be allowed to live
in the new development. Church leaders and members understood the redevelop-
ment of Ellen Wilson as a step toward social justice that would also improve
the lives of individual Ellen Wilson residents (Blagburn, n.d.). These groups put
together a plan to use federal HOPE VI funds for Ellen Wilson’s redevelopment.

While at least public housing residents had fears that the promises might not be
realized, residents across Capitol Hill took part in the planning for a new Ellen
Wilson housing development.

Once the plans were submitted to the US Department of Housing and Urban
Development (HUD), however, the situation changed dramatically. As one news-
paper article noted in 1995, “The size of the grant has increased as plans have
changed. And the income levels are much, much higher than those of the people
who used to live at Ellen Wilson or of D.C. public housing residents in general,
which are generally below 12 percent of the median income” (Haggerty, 1995).

Many homeowners and business owners rejected the redevelopment plan, sought
to eradicate the cooperative housing plan, and pressed to reduce the number
of units for low-income residents. In the end, it is not clear that any former
Ellen Wilson residents were allowed to return to the development. According
to Blagburn (n.d.), Ellen Wilson residents were displaced because, while they were
organized, they were not connected to influential elites, who could make certain
the plans were realized and the promises kept.

In this transitional period in DC, housing cooperatives were implemented in
isolation from Givens’ integrated community model and could be used to displace
the poor. HUD had long supported limited-equity cooperatives. In 1985, a former
HUD employee, Marilyn Melkonian, created the non-profit development firm
Telesis, which soon specialized in converting public housing to limited-equity
cooperatives. In contrast to calls for cooperatives as a way to create real home
ownership, 76 Telesis understood limited-equity cooperatives in a very specific sense.

A journalist summarized the Telesis plan: “While there will be a ‘homeown-
er-board’ of residents, neighbors and public agency representatives, the
onsite management company will dominate, choosing ‘tenants’ and enforce-
propertv conduct.” A group calling themselves the “Coalition to
Save Ellen Wilson,” argued for a cooperative tenant council that would organize
housekeeping-type chores.” No one spoke about these cooperatives as part of
the broader community model Cornbread Givens had envisioned. Cooperatives
regularly functioned as a means to push through the demolition of Ellen Wilson
and the displacement of its residents.

In contrast to public housing residents, the Capitol Hill business commu-
ity could realize its neighborhood vision without public housing. The business
community was organized and had connections to realize its interests. President
George Bush’s HUD secretary from 1989 to 1993, Jack Kemp, sought to realize
his conservative libertarian views through his programs to sell public housing to
homeowners and business owners. As Karl Zinsmeister, a neighbor of the Ellen
Wilson project, wrote a letter to Capitol Hill Restoration Society:

I think a meeting with Kemp and assistants is probably the most important
step for us (though I think we ought to meet with the DC people first). I’ve
worked a lot in the Kemp wing of politics and I can tell you this project
ought to ring all the right bells for him right now: private sector involvement
in solving social problems, fostering tenant empowerment and demanding
individual responsibility, using market-based solutions to minister to human
needs, property privatization, etc. etc. This makes a lovely little test case on
its merits, and being located so conveniently for presidential walk-throughs.
We ought to start thinking about a strong meeting with Kemp soon .... We
should also start thinking about economics soon. My back-of-the-envelope tells
me the Ellen Wilson site is worth maybe 15 million dollars. 41

A small group organized around the local National Capital Bank, the Capitol Hill
Restoration Society, local real estate agents and businesses, as well as politically
connected neighbors like Zinsmeister, to realize a neighborhood without the
public housing residents. They used narrowly understood housing cooperatives to
place these residents.

Changes in city finances also helped this small group. With fiscal crises and
reduced federal funds, cities even more desperately relied upon private investors
to fund city projects. By the 1980s, unprecedented levels of foreign capital flowed
into the US economy due to worldwide deregulation and removal of restraints on
the flow of credit, and due to high US interest rates, which lured these funds into the United States (Krippner, 2011). Then, the 1986 revision of the federal tax code introduced the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC). Soon, Wall Street investment houses invented tax-credit investment tools to draw thousands of affluent investors to finance low- and moderate-income housing, especially projects that would dismantle public housing and replace it with mixed-income housing (Gallagher, 1990; Kremen, 1988). The availability of investment funds made the redevelopment of housing projects like Ellen Wilson imaginable to, and very lucrative for, organized local developers, real estate agents, banks, and investors.

In 1995, the Congress created the District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority (the Control Board), which officially dismantled home rule from below. The Control Board was organized because “[a] combination of accumulated operating deficits, cash shortages, management inefficiencies, and deficit spending in the current fiscal year have created a fiscal emergency in the District of Columbia.” The five-person Control Board could override decisions by the elected Mayor and the City Council and implement its own policies. The Control Board reorganized the District government and implemented significant budget cuts.

The Commission on Cooperative Economic Development had not regular meetings since 1986. The Control Board abolished it in 1998 and thus officially ended the integration of Cornbread Givens’ cooperative vision into the DC government. By this point, several cooperatives had already closed. In 1992, the Women’s Community Bakery Collective on Capitol Hill shut its doors. Many of the food cooperatives had closed. The DC Housing Authority went into a receivership headed by David Gilmore. Gilmore had the sole right to transfer property and negotiate the terms without public hearings (Fehr, 1998). Gilmore closed the Arthur Capper public housing project, thus also shuttering the MLK food cooperative inside. Gilmore also removed the obstacles to the Ellen Wilson plan, maintaining the cooperatives in their limited form (Van Den Toorn, 1995). Through these and other strategies, DC political and economic elites turned democratic home rule from below into technocratic home rule from above.

Conclusions

Before formal home rule, DC residents sought to build autonomous spheres to gain control over life, and forge new resources in the District beyond formal government, what I call “home rule from below.” As part of the common with its constitutive power, cooperatives were autonomous spaces outside private property and capital in which DC residents could realize and expand equality and democracy. According to Cornbread Givens’ vision, adopted by the Barry administration, communities should develop integrated systems of different types of cooperatives—producer cooperatives, consumer cooperatives, credit unions, income housing cooperatives, and so on—that might provide jobs, democratic control of life, equality, and community wealth. Givens understood the cooperative movement as particularly significant for African Americans and for residents of DC. DC residents struggled continually to maintain a broader home rule than that imagined by many DC elites. With the economic and governmental crises of the 1970s and 1980s, however, home rule from below was undermined, replaced by limited forms of governmental rule, or limited rule from above. In 1995, the DC Control Board removed vestiges of home rule from below within DC government, including using elements like housing cooperatives in isolation and in extremely limited form to realize this removal.

However, the cooperative movement continues today in Washington, DC. In 2011, a group of people interested in cooperatives put on a day-long conference with about 200 participants. The group maintains a Web site with a co-op directory, showing the wide range of cooperatives in DC today and announcing more cooperatives to come: http://coopdc.org/. It is not clear whether these cooperatives view themselves as part of a project of home rule from below, as part of broader community model like that of Cornbread Givens, or as part of the long history of cooperatives in DC. It is hoped that this chapter may provide a history to link today’s cooperatives with a broader form of home rule from below.

Appendix I

Mayor’s Commission on Cooperative Economic Development

Chaired Agency: Office of the Mayor

1. These people will serve until June 1, 1983: Cornbread Givens, Emma C. Minns, James D. Vitarello, Bruce Bryan, Ruth Jordan, Sylvia Correa, Caroline Cullen Ramsay, Georgia Clarke.

2. These people will serve until June 1, 1982: G. Mujahid, A. Beyah, Stame Straughter, Hank Albarelli, George A. Didden, Carol Ann Phillips, Larry E. Weston, William Washburn III, Leo M. Bernstein.

3. These people will serve until June 1, 1981: Sterling Green, Gwendolyn King, Richard Tolliver, William J. Barrow III, Bettye J. Mobley—Washington, Toni D. Schniegelow, Raymond H. Brown, Blenna A. Cunningham.

4. These people are government members and serve at the pleasure of the mayor: Julian C. Nicholas, Edward Meyers, Jack Werner, Herbert Simmons, Marie Nahikian.

Cornbread Givens is Chairperson and serves at the pleasure of the Mayor.

District of Columbia Register, Mayor's Order 80-260, October 22, 1980.
Notes

1 In 1973, Congress passed the Home Rule Act, which led to elections for mayor and city council in November 1974 and the swearing in of the new government in January 1975. The Home Rule Act also allowed for the election of advisory neighborhood commissioners. DC-based political scientist Michael Fauntroy has defined home rule as "a government status in which authority and responsibility for management of a unit of government (e.g., state, city, county, territorial) falls to that unit of government subject to the parameters set by a superior unit of government" (2010, p. 23). Home rule thus assured DC some level of self-government. However, congressional intervention in DC government continues today, thus limiting home rule and leading Fauntroy (2003) to ask whether DC has home rule or house rule, rule by the US Congress.

2 As Jessica Gordon Nembhard has argued, "African Americans have used cooperative economic development as a strategy in the struggle for economic stability and independence" (2009, p. 186). For more extensive discussion of African American participation in the cooperative movement, see Gordon Nembhard (2014).


4 Housing cooperatives often incorporated in Delaware. Michigan enacted the first cooperative law in 1886, followed by Wisconsin, Kansas, and Pennsylvania in 1887 (Chaddad & Cook, 2012, p. 177).

5 Arthur Capper differed significantly from the later, segregationist chairman of the House and Senate DC committees. For example, Capper was the first president of the Topeka branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and on the national board of the NAACP for more than 30 years.

6 The Capper-Volstead Act of 1922 and of 1926 provided for cooperative marketing and producers' associations. These acts have been called "the Magna Carta of Cooperative Marketing" (Socolofsky, 1962, p. 151), which brings to mind Linebaugh's later manifesto. For more on the commons in his The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All.

7 Mr. Capper submitted the "Incorporation of Cooperative Associations in the District of Columbia," Senate Report No. 310, which accompanied S. 3066, on December 2, 1919 (US Congress, 1919).

8 The federal government's Emergency Relief Administration supported some cooperatives, which could exchange but not sell their goods (US Congress, 1940).


11 Konsum had a second gas station in Mount Pleasant, but it soon went out of business.

The hearings began in April 1945 (US Congress, 1946).

Over several decades, Greenbelt, MD, had developed an extensive cooperative system that helped to form new cooperatives. For more information on Greenbelt cooperatives, see MacKean (2013).


I have no information about any cooperative policies by the first mayor, Walter Washington.

Personal conversation with Jack Werner.


PPDF worked with the Archer County Small Farmers Cooperative Association of Archer County, Florida; the New Communities Farm in Leesberg, Georgia, a land trust of more than 4,000 acres; the Eastern Georgia Small Farmers Cooperative Association in Waynesboro, Georgia; and the Sea Island Small Farmers Cooperative Association on John's Island, South Carolina. PPDF then helped set up a natural food store, The Urban Vegetable, in New York City. Ibid., "Statement of Capability," PPDF February 12, 1980, p. 2.


In 1978, Congress passed a law to create the National Consumer Cooperative Bank, for which Givens had advocated and which exists today as the NCB.


Ibid., Reel 11. PPDF newsletter, 1(1), March 1980.

An amended Mayor's Order (Appendix I) lists who was on the Commission, including Cornbread Givens.


29 I have included two Maryland-based cooperatives because they were important participants in the broader DC cooperative movement.

30 The co-op accepted food stamps (Sugarman, 1986).

31 It is unclear whether a food cooperative existed within Sursum Corda. An MLK Food Cooperative was supposed to exist on North Capitol Street, near the Central Post Office (Green, 1972).


33 For a list of DC cooperatives, see http://coopdc.org/coop-directory/.

34 In 1959, the National Capital Housing Authority (NCHA) was abolished. The DC Department of Public and Assisted Housing took over many of its activities and then was replaced by the DC Housing Authority (DCHA) in 1994.

35 DC Archives, Minutes of MCCED meeting, January 14, 1981 and March 19, 1981, as well as DC Archives, DCA 08-010 [Committees], Box 2/7 Coops, File "Commission for Cooperative Econ Dev.," "Community Cooperative Economic Development, Blueprint for Action," 1981-1983." In 1992, these veterans may have discussed creating a Cooperative Builders Yard, a cooperative that would train veterans in construction in Southeast DC. Personal conversation with Dominic Moulden.

36 In addition, personal conversation with Cecil Byrd.

37 For example, the Sousa Neighborhood Association and National Capital Bank's James Didden both rejected the proposals (Hagerty, 1995; Van Den Toorn, 1995).

38 "Although the original project planners intended to give priority to those who lived in the former Ellen Wilson dwellings, the Townhomes was not completed until more than a decade after Ellen Wilson was abandoned. By then, most former residents could not be located or had moved on. Invitations were then extended to people living in the nearby Arthur Capper project. However, Jones was one of the few Arthur Capper residents who was able to pass the Townhome's screening process and save enough money for the initial down payment" (Schulberg, 2013).

39 Meeting with developer Marilyn Melkonian reported in Rice (1995).

40 "Statement of the Coalition to Save Ellen Wilson," probably attached to "Letter from Karl Zinsmeister to Jim, April 3, 1989" in footnote 41.


The Control Board's official name was the District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority. For the entire text of the bill that created the Control Board: H.R.1345, District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Act of 1995 (Enrolled as Agreed to or Passed by Both House and Senate), http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c104:h.r.1345.enr.

According to Landman (1993), the main members closed it in 1992 because they wanted to try something else.

References


