

Progress and Neglect Within the Same City: Analyzing the Perspective of the Community in Southwest Detroit on Gentrification

Honors Thesis

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ABSTRACT

Southwest Detroit, a predominantly Latine neighborhood, is located near Detroit's rapidly gentrifying downtown area. In response to devastating economic challenges, Detroit has taken a "growth first" approach to revitalization. In the past decade, this approach has become apparent through the city's focused investments of its limited resources in Downtown Detroit and the improvement of pathways to the business district, such as the construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge. Drawing on the concept of revitalization as a paradox and the significance of culture and place, I investigate how residents of Southwest Detroit have been affected by these changes and how their sense of belonging and place is impacted. I conducted 21 semi-structured interviews to study how residents in Southwest Detroit perceive these changes. The findings of this study suggest that the "growth first" approach results in poor infrastructure outcomes within Southwest Detroit due to disinvestment and exacerbates issues, including legal insecurity, displacement, and pollution. This approach has also brought gentrification to Southwest Detroit, along with a declining sense of belonging and sense of place among Southwest Detroit residents. This study furthers research on the role of gentrification in shaping belonging and attachment to place. Within Detroit, it contributes to expanding conversations about revitalization beyond Black-white relationships by capturing the perspectives of a predominantly Latine community.

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INTRODUCTION

I began interviews for this study in the summer of 2021, which was an unexpected period of heavy rainfall. I was home for the summer in Southwest Detroit; however, I was conducting interviews online due to COVID-19 restrictions. That summer, our basement flooded, power went out, and many bridges and freeways flooded as well. Just as I began the interview process, I received messages from residents who needed to reschedule our Zoom call due to power outages. On one occasion, I had to reschedule because our power was out, and I was not able to travel elsewhere because our home was surrounded by bridges, all of which were flooded. This was not a unique incident. Detroit had previously experienced severe flooding and the consequences of poor infrastructure in 2014, 2016, 2019, and 2020 (Witsil, 2021). This reflected decades of disinvestment and was just one example of city infrastructure failures that disproportionately impacted residents of color. Disinvestment in certain communities allowed for the city to invest its limited resources elsewhere. The neglect of infrastructure in communities of color, like Southwest Detroit, reflected decisions made in response to Detroit's economic challenges, which dated back to the start of its decline.

In the 1940s, Detroit was at its peak of economic power and dominance of global capitalism; however, systemic racism within the housing and labor sectors disproportionately impacted its rapidly growing Black population. A variety of factors, such as racial covenants, racially discriminatory banking and real-estate practices, and rising racial tensions, confined Black residents to some regions of the city (Sugrue, 2014). Black residents were pushed into overcrowded neighborhoods with poor housing conditions. Affordable housing was limited because there was a preference for single-family homes (Sugrue, 2014). Following this transition, Detroit remained

segregated as a result of the heavy influence of white homeowners, lending institutions, and real estate agents on housing policies.

These changing demographics, along with deindustrialization, led to Detroit's decline following its success during World War II. Detroit transitioned from having a population of 1.86 million in 1950 to losing over half of its population over the next fifty years (Gillette 2022). In his book, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, Thomas Sugrue argues that while Detroit's decline was not inevitable, it resulted from decisions made by a variety of stakeholders, including the federal government, policymakers, and others.

By the late 1960s, with the departure of the auto industry to the suburbs, Detroit was getting closer to becoming a majority Black city. These shifting trends led to politicians, both Republican and Democratic, adjusting their agendas to gain the support of Black residents (Gillette, 2022). This led business owners and corporations to support economic assistance to marginalized residents, through organizations such as the Economic Development Corporation of Greater Detroit in 1978. However, many of these efforts failed, which led to a transition toward revitalization that centered on economic growth rather than a redistributive process (Gillette, 2022). Over the next years, policymakers focused their efforts on bringing Detroit back from its economic challenges; however, these challenges persisted and culminated with Detroit filing for bankruptcy in 2013 (Gillette, 2022). In his book, *The Paradox of Urban Revitalization*, Howard Gillette uses the term “growth first” to describe the approach that Detroit has taken in response to its economic turmoil. The “growth first” approach refers to an approach that prioritizes business growth. It was apparent through Detroit's focused investments in its downtown area and its implementation of strategies, such as providing tax abatement to developers, to incentivize investments in the city.

Gillette argues that revitalization brought by “growth first” approaches have led to growing inequality, keeping residents of color at a deep disadvantage. I wondered how residents of neighborhoods near Downtown Detroit, the center of business developments, felt about growing gentrification. Particularly, I focused on analyzing the perspectives of residents in Southwest Detroit, a predominantly Latine community. Latine residents have a long history in Michigan, particularly in Detroit. Since the 20th century, Latine people have played a key role in the American economy. Many arrived in 1915 during the Industrial Revolution, when there was a high demand for labor. By 1920, Detroit, which was once populated primarily by European immigrants, became home to 4,000 Mexican citizens (Balderrama and Rodríguez, 2006). The journey for this community was not an easy one, as white supremacy and the fear of job loss began to take hold, resulting in increased discrimination. In the 1930s, when the Great Depression occurred, many undocumented immigrants were not able to receive economic support and were forced to leave the city, decreasing the Mexican population from 15,000 to 1,200 (Balderrama and Rodríguez, 2006). Following the depression, America was in desperate need of labor workers. The sugar industry was reestablished by Roosevelt's New Deal which employed many immigrants (Balderrama and Rodríguez, 2006). With the establishment of the Bracero Program in 1942, millions of Mexican guest workers were brought to the United States. Despite the numerous hardships, Detroit continues to be home to Latine residents of diverse backgrounds, including Salvadorians, Guatemalans, Hondurans, and others.

In this study, conducted in partnership with Congress of Communities (COC), a non-profit organization located in Southwest Detroit that supports local community members through its diverse programs, I focus on Southwest Detroit, a large and

predominantly Latine neighborhood. Detroit's proximity to Downtown Detroit allows us to explore the impacts that focused investments in Detroit's downtown area may have on nearby neighborhoods. With the support of COC, I recruited and interviewed 21 Southwest Detroit residents to learn about their perspectives regarding recent developments. This research asks the following questions: In which ways has the "growth first" approach that Detroit has taken to revitalization impacted Southwest Detroit residents? and How has this approach affected residents' sense of belonging and sense of place? The results from this study suggest that the "growth first" approach that the City of Detroit takes leads to an unequal distribution of resources and the worsening of displacement, pollution, and legal insecurity in Southwest Detroit. Additionally, this approach has made Southwest Detroit residents feel as though the city's recent developments are not for their benefit. Residents feel like their well-being and needs are not prioritized, resulting in declines in their sense of belonging and sense of place.

After reviewing the literature on gentrification, belonging, and that specific to Detroit, and describing my research methods, I will share the findings of the study. In Chapter 1, I will analyze how residents of Southwest Detroit respond to disparities in infrastructure investments between Downtown Detroit and their neighborhood. In Chapter 2, I will explore how the construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge will exacerbate already-existing issues that disproportionately impact Southwest Detroit communities and explain how this reinforces a lack of priority for the needs and well-being of residents in Southwest Detroit.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Race and Gentrification

Gentrification is one of the most debated topics in urban studies. The term *gentrification* was originally coined by Ruth Glass in her study of London's changing working-class neighborhoods. She used the term to describe a process in which middle-class professionals were moving into working-class neighborhoods, resulting in numerous changes (Glass, 1964). This piece developed a term to describe shared experiences across the nation and the world, resulting in debates surrounding the causes and impacts of gentrification. Early research on gentrification focused on exploring the potential impacts that residents living in affected areas faced, such as resident and social displacement (Laska and Spain, 1980), and followed the trajectory between disinvestment and reinvestment (Lees, et al., 2008). Some scholars argue that there is not sufficient evidence to prove high levels of displacement and that there are potential benefits to gentrification such as higher sales for local businesses, increased jobs and opportunities, safer communities, and contributions to the community through corporate social responsibility programs (Cortright 2015; Galster 2002; Lees, et al. 2015). While scholars have taken a range of approaches and have had different focuses, the term *gentrification* has been used across time to identify a transition in which higher-income residents move into lower-income neighborhoods, resulting in changes to the neighborhood dynamics. In this paper, I will use the term *gentrification* as other scholars have to describe this process in Detroit, particularly as it begins to unfold within Southwest Detroit.

Race, the basis for discriminatory policy in the past, continues to have long-standing effects on the ways in which communities of color navigate the world

today. Studies that refer to history to explain contemporary disadvantages and vulnerabilities have grown significantly (Moskowitz 2017; Safransky 2018; Doucet 2020). In Detroit, a city that is racially and ethnically diverse, studying the influence of race in the past and present is crucial to comprehensively understanding the impacts that historically disadvantaged communities face today and the ways in which those impacts can be addressed in the future. In his work, Gillette speaks of

Belonging and Involvement

Belonging has been approached distinctly across fields of study, with each discipline having distinct definitions of the term and different focuses on its study of it. Within psychology, belonging stands out as a basic psychological necessity for humans, making it something humans desire and navigate great lengths to acquire (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1962). According to the belongingness hypothesis, a hypothesis proposed by psychologists, people develop attachments to others regularly and resist their split (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Sense of belonging has been highlighted in a variety of theories relating to motivation and achievement, particularly among students (e.g., Appleton et al., 2006). Studies have also provided evidence that a sense of belonging is related to academic achievement (Pittman and Richmond, 2007), motivation (Hausmann et al., 2007), and persistence (Hausmann et al., 2007). These outcomes are indications of increased involvement in their classroom. Though much of the research in psychology studies sense of belonging within the classroom, these studies highlight the importance of sense of belonging in impacting an individual's involvement within their environment. Considering the psychological significance of belonging is critical in this study, as it contributes to our understanding of the

psychological significance of belonging and the consequences that result from a lack of belonging.

Among urban sociologists, belonging has been used widely in a variety of contexts. Generally, belonging has been defined in two ways—as a social and a spatial concept. In studies of belonging as an attachment to a social group, scholars have studied family, community, and national attachment (McCarthy 2012; Schein, 2009; Anderson, 1983). While many scholars have focused on belonging as social, the study of belonging as spatial has grown in recent years. Scholars have studied the spatial aspects of belonging, which are often known as “place belongingness” or “place attachment” (Antonsich, 2010; Mee and Wright, 200; and Wood and Waite 2011). Feeling connected to one’s environment, or having “place belongingness” has been regarded as a critical aspect of belonging (Antonsich, 2010). Belonging has also been observed as a concept that is inherently spatial, meaning that there are essential relations between place and belonging (Mee and Wright, 2009). Some scholars further explored the emotional and affective elements of belonging (Wood and Waite, 2011; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2014, and Thompson Fullilove, 2004). Among these works, Fullilove’s contributions have been particularly notable because her work draws connections between urban development and emotional well-being.

Research, like that of Fullilove’s, has contributed to the literature by taking an interdisciplinary approach to belongin.. Fullilove develops the term, “root shock” to define the traumatic stress reaction that comes with displacement. Her research implies that the impacts of displacement are not just social, but also political and cultural, relating to the work of others on cultural and political displacement (Fullilove, 2004; Hyra, 2015; Hyra, 2017). In his work, Hyra uses cappuccino coffee as a metaphor for

describing shifting demographics in Washington DC and the impacts of these shifts on neighborhoods of color. He argues that the limited benefits of revitalization are counterbalanced by resulting political and cultural displacement (Hyra, 2017). Both Hyra and Fullilove highlight the relationship between cultural and political displacement. Hyra argues that “cultural displacement occurs when the norms, behaviours and values of the new resident cohort dominate and prevail over the tastes and preferences of long-term residents” (Hyra, 2015). As their communities begin to reflect the needs and wants of new residents, previous residents become less involved and lose political and organizing power over time (Hyra, 2015).

Focusing On Detroit’s Story

Detroit has been widely studied (Sugrue 1996; Kirshner, 2021; Gillette, 2022). While there has been significant research on Detroit, much of it has focused on Black-white relations, leaving other racial and ethnic groups out of the picture. By focusing on Southwest Detroit, a predominantly Latine community, my research will bring more information to conversations about Detroit.

METHODOLOGY

Overview

In this study, I adopt a qualitative approach to analyze how the “growth first” approach that Detroit takes to revitalization affects residents in Southwest Detroit. I explore both the material and psychological outcomes of this approach.

I define material outcomes as physical or tangible outcomes that result from growing developments in Downtown Detroit, such as physical displacement. Psychological outcomes relate to the felt sense of belonging and sense of place of residents in Southwest Detroit.

I collected data from 21 Southwest Detroit residents who completed an hour-long process, which consisted of a demographic survey and a semi-structured interview. The survey was primarily to verify if participants were over the age of 18 and were either current or previous residents of Southwest Detroit, which were both requirements to participate in the study. The survey was conducted through Google Forms and asked multiple-choice questions about gender, age, race/ethnicity, employment status, and home ownership or renter status. A question regarding gentrification, “Overall, how do you view the effects of gentrification?,” was initially included in the survey but was later removed following the start of the study to avoid swaying the direction of the discussion. I recognized that the term may have been unfamiliar to some and may have caused confusion. I wanted residents to drive the conversation. If they mentioned the term, “gentrification,” we explored it, otherwise we continued the conversation. None of the instances where I explicitly asked residents about this topic were used in the final summary of the findings so it would not have any impact on the present study.

The semi-structured interview consisted of about 15 questions designed to gain insight into the perceptions that residents had on the relationship between race and access to resources and opportunities, changing neighborhoods, and gentrification. The semi-structured interview guide is located in Appendix 3. While the interview guide initially did not have open-ended questions and specifically made references to race and gentrification, I rephrased the questions in later interviews to ensure that the terms, “race,” and/or “gentrification” were not explicitly mentioned. If residents brought them up, we explored the meaning of these terms; otherwise, these terms were not profoundly explored. I mainly focused on questions relating to change and allowed the conversation to go in the direction residents took. Participants were compensated \$25 for the completion of the survey and semi-structured interview.

For this research, I take on the framework of Community-Based Participatory Research, which emphasizes equitable involvement both the community and academic partners throughout the process. I partnered with the Congress of Communities, a community organization that served the Southwest Detroit community. With their support, I was able to recruit and interview 21 Southwest Detroit Residents.

Overall, through this qualitative approach, I explored how the communities in Southwest Detroit were affected by the city's “growth first” approach. Additionally, I investigated how these changes influenced the sense of belonging and sense of place that residents have in relation to their neighborhoods.

Neighborhood Selection and Description

I chose to focus the study on Southwest Detroit because of its proximity to the rapidly developing downtown Detroit area, its diverse racial demographics, and due to

feasibility. I was interested in exploring how surrounding neighborhoods were affected by growing developments in Downtown Detroit. Southwest Detroit was an ideal area of study because of its proximity to the affected area. While Southwest is close to the downtown Detroit area, it is not directly connected to it. Southwest Detroit and Downtown are connected by Corktown, a racially and economically diverse neighborhood. Southwest Detroit's geographic location, one that is close with some distance to Downtown Detroit, would help us gain a better understanding of the extent of the impacts of gentrification primarily unfolding at the center of Detroit.

Southwest Detroit's racially and ethnically diverse population also makes it an interesting area of study. Latine residents represent 55.6 percent of its population. African Americans represent 23.8 percent of its population, followed by whites at 16.9 percent. Southwest Detroit's population is primarily made up of residents of color and is predominantly Latine.

I also decided to focus the study on Southwest Detroit because it allowed for the analysis of a focused sample. Southwest Detroit is a large neighborhood that comprises eight smaller neighborhoods—48217, Springwells Village, Delray, Chadsey, Condon, Mexicantown, North Corktown, and Corktown (Appendix 5). Focusing the study on Southwest Detroit allowed for the study of a specific sample. Additionally, it allowed for a better understanding of which areas of the neighborhood were most impacted by recent developments. We are able to see which areas in Southwest Detroit have been most affected or are at risk of being affected by recent developments because of the distinction of its neighborhoods.

To get the most accurate demographic figures and specify the boundaries of Southwest Detroit, I developed a map of the neighborhood by combining census tracts

on Social Explorer. This map and the included tracts can be found in the Appendix section (Appendix 5).

Recruitment

I recruited participants with the support of Congress of Communities. They supported me by granting me access to their contact and email lists, social media platforms, and website. I primarily recruited participants via social media by posting the flyer on Congress of Communities' social media platforms, including Instagram and Facebook. I also shared the flyer with other local community organizations, which they shared with their network, including Detroit Hispanic Development Corporation, 482 Forward, and Detroit Area Youth Uniting Michigan.

I decided to recruit on online platforms for two reasons: 1. To minimize the health risks of the COVID-19 pandemic and 2. To recruit a focused sample population.

The COVID-19 pandemic led to a variety of restrictions on research studies at Stanford. When I conducted the first iteration of the study in the summer of 2020, I was not allowed to interact with participants in person. To reduce the risks to participants, it made the most sense to conduct recruitment online. These restrictions became more relaxed in the summer of 2021; however, I decided that it would be better to continue recruitment online because of the success of recruitment in the previous year and to continue to minimize the risks of COVID-19.

Additionally, recruiting online helped me target a sample population of residents who engaged in community organizing or previously interacted with community organizations. Given the limited sample size, I hoped to recruit residents who were involved in their communities through organizing or had been previously supported by

community organizations. I figured that those who were involved with others in their community might have known more local residents and have the ability to make observations that affected their community as a whole rather than on an individual basis. Once the interviews began, residents referred friends, family, and neighbors. This allowed me to recruit through snowball sampling near the end of each summer.

Description of the Sample

The participants of the study ended up being from the targeted sample population. Most of them were Latine and had been longtime residents of Southwest Detroit. They were from various Southwest Detroit neighborhoods, primarily from Delray and Springwells Village. There was a mix of young and older residents. Many of the older residents were referred by previous participants. Finally, each participant was involved in their communities, either by directly engaging in organizing efforts or having received support from local community organizations. The participants were passionate about their communities and dedicated to making their neighborhoods a better place.

Interview Process and Protocol

I began the process by submitting and receiving approval from the Institutional Review Board for my survey, interview guide, consent form, and recruitment plan. Due to the risks of the COVID-19 pandemic, a majority of the interviews for the study were conducted over Zoom and recorded, with the permission of participants, for transcription purposes. In the summer of 2021, the IRB required that interviews be completed virtually. In the summer of 2022, I gave residents the option to complete

interviews in person, but most of them—with the exception of one person—completed the interview over Zoom. I informed participants that I would assign them a pseudonym for the study to protect their identity and the personal information associated with it. I used their assigned pseudonym to identify them throughout the analysis of the study.

I conducted the study in two phases—one in the summer of 2021 and the second in the summer of 2022. In the first summer, I interviewed 10 residents of Southwest Detroit. In the second summer, I interviewed 11 residents. When I began the study, I planned to study the general effects that growing gentrification in Downtown Detroit had on Southwest Detroit residents. Since the focus was broad, I heard from residents on various topics, including education, professional development, and infrastructure. I initially hoped to capture residents' perspectives on these topics, but I decided to focus on just one—infrastructure. While this allowed for a more feasible study, it also further limited my sample size because I was not able to include each of the residents I interviewed in the study. I further discuss this in the limitations section.

Prior to conducting the semi-structured interview, I asked residents to fill out a brief demographic survey. The survey was conducted through Google Forms and asked multiple-choice questions regarding gender, age, race and ethnicity, employment status, home renter or owner status, and education. I initially chose to ask these questions to be equipped with the information to make an analysis of the background of the participants of my study; however, I did not use this information because the backgrounds of the participants were not central to the study. The question regarding gentrification was initially included in the survey but was later removed following the start of the study. None of the instances where I explicitly asked residents about this topic were used in the final summary of the findings so it will not have any impact on the present study. In the

survey, I also asked residents to specify the neighborhood within Southwest Detroit that they lived in and their age range. Being over the age of 18 and being a current or previous resident of Southwest Detroit were requirements of the study. I used this information to verify that residents were eligible for the study. This helped me identify residents who were residents of Southwest Detroit and gain a better understanding of which parts of the neighborhood residents resided in.

For residents who were current or previous residents of Southwest Detroit, I invited them to participate in a semi-structured interview. Residents were compensated \$25 for their completion of the survey and semi-structured interview. Interviews varied from 20 minutes to an hour and 30 minutes, with the average being about 35 minutes. I chose this structure because it allowed for a deep discussion in which residents determined the direction of the conversation. In the interviews, I asked participants to describe changes they had observed in their neighborhoods in recent years. I followed up by asking more questions about the topics that they mentioned. I used this initial question to guide the conversation and to better explore which topics were of the most important to residents. If the conversation had not yet shifted to sense of belonging, safety, and opportunity, I briefly asked residents about their thoughts on each. The semi-structured element of interviews allowed residents to share the changes that stood out most to them and the impacts that they have in their lives.

Method of Analysis

I began by transcribing the interviews from the study. Twenty of twenty-one of the interviews were recorded on Zoom. The last interview was not recorded but I took detailed notes throughout the interview. I used otter.ai, an online transcription software

that develops time-stamped transcripts. I took some time to review the developed transcripts, correcting mistakes and highlighting topics that stood out from each conversation. The transcription of the interviews had a variety of errors due to poor audio quality or different pronunciations. I went ahead and corrected them and added phrases and details that were not captured due to poor audio quality. I highlighted statements that stood out and made a comment for each of them to summarize the content. I planned to use these highlighted statements and comments as a starting point for my analysis.

Throughout the interview process, I realized there were shared themes across participant responses. Some of the themes included community, belonging, safety, access to resources, education, and professional development. I reviewed my coming in with these codes and developed new ones as I went. I used these codes to develop flashcards with all the quotes that encompassed each of them. I engaged in a long process of attempting to understand how these themes related. I grouped some themes and combined themes that were closely similar. This led me to the three larger main topics of education, infrastructure, and professional development. Each of these three sections had a variety of themes incorporated within them. I also had a significant amount of evidence from my participants for each of them. I concluded that I would focus this study on the topic of infrastructure. I aimed to better understand infrastructure in the context of Southwest Detroit's recent changes.

Community Partnership

I conducted this study in partnership with Congress of Communities. This non-profit community organization provides resources and opportunities for residents

in Southwest Detroit to succeed through their different programs. Some of their programs include the Youth Council, Taking Action Por Nuestros Ninos, Southwest Learns, Early Childhood, the Youth-Driven Community Center Task Force, and anti-gentrification efforts. This partnership was critical to gaining access to residents for recruitment as it has already developed trusted relations with residents, activists, and other community organizations in Southwest Detroit.

Positionality

Much of my interest in this topic was inspired by my experiences growing up in Detroit and engaging in organizing efforts. I grew up in Southwest Detroit and later moved to Detroit's West Side. After graduating high school, I moved back to Southwest Detroit, where I have lived ever since.

Before coming to Stanford, I attended Cass Technical High School, a high school located in the downtown area. On my drive to school, I noticed the stark differences in infrastructure across neighborhoods. I also witnessed many of the impacts of developing gentrification in Detroit due to the growth of large companies in the downtown area. At some point in high school, I interned for the Ilitch Companies—an entertainment industry that occupies a significant part of Downtown Detroit but, like many other developers in the area, does not do enough to ensure that residents are not harmed by their growth. This sparked my interest in urban development and pushed me to learn more.

The lack of resources and opportunities, particularly throughout my educational journey, encouraged me to participate in community organizing and activism at a young age. In 2017, I joined Congress of Communities' Latine Youth Council. Along with other

youth in the cohort, I planned *Nuestro Futuro*—a six-week mentorship program for first-generation students to increase access to higher education. Since then, this program has become one of Congress of Communities’ most popular and continuing programs. My role in this organization opened the doors for advocacy work on various topics, including immigration, access to higher education, education injustice, and gun violence. Organizing in the city allowed me to develop deep relationships with other activists and community organizations such as 482 Forward, Detroit Area Youth Uniting Michigan, MIStudentsDream, and more. This network supported me in engaging in organizing efforts that were important to me and continues to support me in a variety of ways today. Given my background in organizing and my connection to Congress of Communities, it was vital for me to engage in this research along with their guidance and support.

As a resident from Southwest Detroit, much of what I heard from residents in the interviews for the study was familiar to me. Before I was born, my parents migrated to the United States from Mexico in search of better-paying jobs and opportunities to sustain their new family. As a result, I grew up with the confusion and complexities that came with being part of a mixed-status family, one in which my younger sister and I had citizenship and my parents and older sister were undocumented. At a young age, I became aware of my parent’s status and fear, anxieties, and limitations that came with it. Initially, my parents moved to Southwest Detroit where we lived with other family members. After some time, my parents moved to Detroit’s West Side where they purchased a home and eventually settled. I grew up low-income and often observed as my parents struggled to make ends meet. Shortly after arriving from Mexico, my Mom began working at a fast food restaurant and my dad became a *paletero*, an ice cream

vendor, and supported a truck driver with his company. Today, my parents continue to live on the west side of Detroit and are business owners of a Mexican restaurant and wholesale delivery company. All members of my family who were previously undocumented were able to gain legal status. I currently live in Southwest Detroit.

My identity and experiences growing up in the city made me aware of the unequal distribution of resources across sectors, such as education and infrastructure; however, I focus on capturing and uplifting the perspectives of residents from my community in this study. I did my best to center their voices and only provide additional information to contextualize their experiences. I aim to put the voices of residents in my community in conversation with each other and connect the discussion to larger arguments surrounding the unfolding urban developments in Detroit.

While my identities and my experiences allowed me to relate to residents in my community, my position as a Stanford student made this process challenging. I realized that my position was privileged and distanced me from people in my community. I was aware of the extractive nature of scholarship and wanted to take any steps possible to stray far from that. It was important for me to center the voices of residents from my community and honor their knowledge and experiences. I took the steps to make this a process as collaborative as possible, both with the Congress of Communities and with residents of the community.

Limitations of the Research Design

Some of the limitations of the study related to challenges with recruitment, having a small sample size, and diverse definitions of Southwest Detroit. Despite having developed deep relationships with other community organizers and residents in my

community through advocacy efforts, it was initially challenging to recruit participants for the study. At first, many were confused about the purpose of the study so I engaged in a variety of conversations about my hopes for the study without giving much detail. I told residents I was interested in studying changes occurring within their neighborhoods and how they were affected. Once conversations began, residents felt more comfortable and connected with me with others. The small sample size is also a limitation of the study. The participants in my study were predominantly Latine. While Southwest Detroit is a predominantly Latine community, the sample size is not representative of the population as a whole or of all the perspectives of the community. I was not able to use information from all of my interviews which further reduced my sample size. Finally, defining Southwest Detroit was difficult. The boundaries of Southwest Detroit are not specified in various public maps, such as Google Maps. Congress of Communities shared a map of how they defined the boundaries of Southwest Detroit and which neighborhoods were included within it. I refer to this map throughout the study and explore different sources, such as Social Explorer, to get the most updated demographic figures and other information. Because these boundaries have been defined differently throughout time, there is not consistent information or much information at all about Southwest Detroit. Beyond these limitations, I believe this research is a good way to start conversations about how the approach that a city takes influences communities differently, often disproportionately impacting people of color. This research will also significantly add to existing research, especially relating to Southwest Detroit.

CHAPTER 1:**The Unequal Outcomes of Focused Investments in Downtown Detroit**

Traveling down Michigan Avenue, a main street that connects Southwest Detroit to the city's center, it is inevitable to notice the stark differences in infrastructure. In a matter of moments, one navigates through a progression of improvements. Michigan Avenue serves as one of the clearest representations of the unequal distributions of Detroit's limited resources. In Southwest Detroit, the poorly functioning lamp posts, faded lines separating lanes, and frequent potholes reflect infrastructure issues gone unaddressed. Corktown, a neighborhood that is located between Southwest Detroit and Downtown Detroit, is a blend of Southwest Detroit's residential areas and Downtown Detroit's businesses. Corktown's infrastructure is in better condition than that of Southwest Detroit, with some room for improvement. By the time one arrives in Downtown Detroit, it may seem as though they have visited a completely different city. Made up of numerous businesses, recreational spaces, and up-to-date infrastructure, Downtown Detroit is unquestionably distinguishable from any other neighborhood in Detroit, primarily due to its updated infrastructure.

The "growth first" approach that the City of Detroit has taken to revitalization has led to focused investments in Downtown Detroit, leaving major infrastructure issues in Southwest Detroit unaddressed. The unequal distribution of Detroit's limited resources is clear through drastic infrastructure contrasts between Southwest Detroit and Downtown Detroit. Downtown Detroit's well-functioning infrastructure distinguishes it from Southwest Detroit's deteriorating conditions. As residents of Southwest Detroit observe further investment to an area that is already in an excellent state while their communities continue to face the repercussions of poor infrastructure, they can not help

but feel unprioritized. The lack of attention to issues affecting their neighborhoods makes them feel like they are not valued members of their community. This affects the way that residents view their belonging and sense of place, not just within their neighborhoods, but also within the City of Detroit. Additionally, residents feel excluded by the improvements taking place in the city's center. The lack of intentionality to bring residents in and incorporate their culture or interests in Downtown Detroit's development makes them feel as though infrastructure updates and the development of relaxation spaces are not for their enjoyment or benefit.

In this chapter, I will focus on demonstrating how the "growth first" approach that Detroit takes to revitalization results in unequal infrastructure outcomes and causes residents to feel as though their needs are not prioritized. I will begin by discussing how the severe rainstorms that took place in 2021, and in previous years, made it clear that Southwest Detroit has faced disinvestment which has left its residents to deal with serious consequences. Next, I will contrast Southwest Detroit's poor infrastructure with up-to-date infrastructure in Downtown Detroit. Then, I will share how Southwest Detroit residents view and regard community spaces in Downtown Detroit, such as parks, and how those perceptions reinforce their feelings of not being prioritized. After that, I will outline the ways in which funding, particularly from the establishment of business districts, results in disproportionate investments and leads to unequal outcomes. Finally, I will summarize the chapter by capturing how these focused investments to the downtown Detroit area make them feel.

Signs of Poor Infrastructure In Southwest Detroit



Figure 1. Image of floodwater on a portion of I-94 in Detroit, Courtesy of Matthew Hatcher/SOPA Images/LightRocket via Getty Images

In 2021, Detroit experienced an unexpected amount of rain which resulted in severe flooding and power outages across the city. This was not the first time Detroit had experienced these issues. It had previously experienced severe flooding in 2012, 2014, 2016, 2019, and in 2020 (Larson et al., 2021). In a survey study of 4803 households from 2012 to 2020, 54.26% reported experiencing flooding (Larson et al., 2021). These periods of severe rainfall pointed to long-standing infrastructure issues that were a cause of decades of disinvestment. With infrastructure that was unable to keep up with the results of climate change, Southwest Detroit residents were left to deal with the consequences. Even after residents in Southwest Detroit recovered from these events, they still navigated long-term results, such as the development of sinkholes.

This is just one example of many infrastructure issues that residents in Southwest Detroit have had to navigate. With the “growth first” approach resulting in focused

investments in Detroit's downtown area, infrastructure needs in Southwest Detroit continue to go unaddressed, causing undue burden on residents. The conditions of infrastructure in Southwest Detroit significantly vary from those of Downtown Detroit.

Up-To-Date Infrastructure in Downtown Detroit

The "growth first" approach that the City of Detroit has adopted has resulted in focused investments in Downtown Detroit. This has led to Downtown Detroit experiencing continued investments despite already having up-to-date and functioning infrastructure. There are a variety of revenue streams that have made these updates possible. Downtown Detroit's distinctly high investments can be attributed to its unique funding features, including its business district and Detroit's efforts to encourage investments in the area. These funding features are unique to Downtown Detroit, making concentrated investments possible and resulting in noticeable improvements.

Downtown Detroit's business district is one of the most distinctive contributors of economic investment to the downtown area. A significant amount of Downtown Detroit's investments have been funded by the Downtown Detroit Business Improvement Zone, its business district. The Downtown Detroit Business Improvement Zone (BIZ), also known as a Business Improvement District, provides supplementary services to Downtown Detroit which are funded through yearly assessments contributed by businesses and property owners within the bounds of the district and through additional grants. According to the district's official website, its services include "hospitality, cleaning, a robust lighting program, safety, parks maintenance, urban planning, and business outreach and engagement" ("Downtown Detroit Business Improvement Zone"). BIZ collaborates with the Downtown Detroit Partnership (DDP), a

partnership that aims to support the downtown area with initiatives and programs that enhance the area's appeal to prospective investors and push for improvements. The partnership is also involved in planning and development decisions related to Detroit's financial success ("About the Downtown Detroit Partnership"). With the establishment of the business district, business and property owners can contribute to an investment fund that will be introduced back into the areas defined by the district boundaries. The Downtown Detroit Business Improvement Zone yields influential investment and decision-making power but its benefits are limited to the areas included within the district. The concentration focus of these substantial investments results in an unequal distribution of resources resulting in unequal investments between neighborhoods.

The business district garners significant amounts of investments, allowing for various improvements to the Downtown Detroit area. The BIZ annual report summarizing total assessments from 2019 to 2020, reported that \$24.6 million has been contributed by property owners through BIZ assessments since its establishment in 2014. In 2020, \$4.5 million of its total assessments was expended ("2018-2019 Annual Report," 2019). With the rapidly gentrifying downtown area, these figures can be expected to be higher over the years, resulting in sizable continued investments. The 2022 annual report shows that a total of \$4,943,633 was expended on supplemental services. There was a variety of infrastructure-related expenses, including \$790,464 spent on parks and common areas, \$423,935 on street landscaping, \$32,373 on infrastructure and planning, and \$13,484 on supplemental lighting ("2021-2022 Annual Report," 2022). In just two years, there has been a notable increase in the number of assessments dedicated to bringing improvements to Downtown Detroit. While the business district allows for numerous improvements to take place in Downtown Detroit,

it ultimately contributes to developing and sustaining disparities between neighborhoods.

The figure below, acquired from the BIZ official website, illustrates the extent of the business industry in Downtown Detroit. The borders are defined in black.



Figure 2. Image of the boundaries of Downtown Detroit's business district, Courtesy of the BIZ official website

According to Howard Gillette, Detroit's financial vulnerability following the departure of the auto industry to the suburbs and the economic challenges that resulted were all influences in the city's decision to focus its attention and resources on the growth of the business industry. With the city still recovering from its past, Detroit has taken measures to make Downtown Detroit a location that is favorable to investors. The City of Detroit takes a variety of approaches to incentivize developers for their investments in the city, including tax abatements. Tax abatements have become one of the most powerful tools to advance economic development in Downtown Detroit. In July 2022, a tax abatement was offered to Bedrock, a real estate firm which is owned by Dan Gilbert, to finance the \$1.4 billion Hudson's site project (Marini, 2022). Tax

abatements reduce or exempt taxes incurred by developers to a certain level (Fontinelle and Uradu, 2023). This particular tax abatement could be worth up to \$60 billion over its 10-year term, providing a significant incentive for Gilbert and other developers to continue to invest in the city (Marini, 2022). At the time of approval, there was strong opposition by local residents because while wealthy developers in Downtown Detroit were being financially supported by the city, low-income residents in surrounding neighborhoods were facing higher consumption and property taxes (Marini, 2022). Residents viewed these varied outcomes as unfair which resulted in a general lack of support for abatements. This significant amount of funding that is collected by Downtown Detroit's business district and the tax abatements that have encouraged developers to invest in the city have all contributed to making large-scale infrastructure improvements. In addition to these improvements, this funding has led to the development of numerous relaxation spaces across Downtown Detroit.

Community Spaces in Downtown Detroit

Community spaces have become a significant feature of Downtown Detroit. Parks and other relaxation spaces are spread across Downtown Detroit and continue to be invested in and developed. These spaces allow users to take a moment to relax and interact with others in the community. While these spaces have the potential to bring joy and relaxation to Detroiters, they were not intentionally developed to include Southwest Detroit residents. As a result, many residents in Southwest Detroit have developed a negative perception of them.

Southwest Detroit has observed as the differences between the infrastructure and offered services have become more defined. When speaking of the lack of investment in

their communities, Southwest Detroit residents often make comparisons between their communities and Downtown Detroit. Comparatively, there have been significantly fewer investments in infrastructure within their neighborhoods, causing many residents in Southwest Detroit to feel frustrated. With the continuation of focused investments, and little to none in their communities, this frustration has worsened to become resentment. The close proximity to rapidly developing areas makes these changes even more apparent when they occur. Joanna, a Southwest Detroit resident and community organizer, makes a connection between the investments taking place and the conditions in her own community:

I feel like downtown already gets so much money invested into and there are still streets in Detroit that are severely cracked, or there are sidewalks that are severely cracked, and neighborhoods where real residents live, and not just people visiting. So it's just kind of frustrating to always see so much money get invested into areas that are already thriving.

Joanna shares about the results of poor infrastructure that residents in Southwest Detroit have to navigate in their everyday lives. While surrounding neighborhoods, like Southwest Detroit, must face these conditions, areas in Downtown Detroit continue to be developed. As a community organizer within her community, Johanna has invested much of her time and efforts in advocating for improvements to address Southwest Detroit's serious infrastructure issues. Joanna refers to these spaces in Detroit as “areas that are already thriving.” This is especially frustrating when there is yet another building or park being improved while the roads remain in poor condition, many lamp posts are not functioning, sinkholes are forming, and there is recurring

flooding in bridges located in Southwest Detroit. These clear distinctions demonstrate that focused investments lead to unequal infrastructure outcomes.

The Relationship Between Funding and Investment

Funding plays a crucial role in investment. The funding being allocated in Southwest Detroit is limited which translates to the continuation of its current conditions. While there is also a business district that supports improvement in Southwest Detroit, which has been operating since it was established in 2007, its level of investment and power is not comparable to that of the business district in Downtown Detroit. According to its annual report, it collected \$183,034 over the year and invested \$180,855 to provide Southwest Detroit with supplementary services. Among its most significant investments in infrastructure-related services included \$45,000 being invested in neighborhood cleaning, \$9,940 in landscaping and gardening, and \$3,881 in graffiti removal (“2022 BID Report,” 2022). While these investments support the neighborhood and local businesses, they are not enough to address long-standing infrastructure issues. The investments that have been made mainly focus on improving the cleanliness and aesthetics of the neighborhoods; however, Southwest Detroit’s deteriorating conditions need deep and consistent attention. The business association, in its current capacity, is not able to address these issues without the financial support of the City of Detroit.

Like Joanna, Jesus and Kenia point to the unequal distribution of funds in relation to their neighborhood's infrastructure. Jesus specifically points to the prioritization of one neighborhood over another.

They're putting their investments all in Downtown rather than investing in the communities.

To residents in Southwest Detroit, there is no question whether the investments made to infrastructure most commonly benefit Downtown Detroit. For residents, it feels like investments made in Downtown Detroit are at the expense of possible improvements for their communities. Investments that have been previously made in Southwest Detroit seem to only temporarily remedy issues rather than comprehensively address them. Residents have also shared about the time it takes until the City of Detroit addresses issues that residents elevate. Residents in Southwest Detroit have often had to advocate for improvements, even more for smaller requests. Even when promises have been made to address more large-scale improvements, like that one made with speed bumps, they are often not followed through. As a result, residents have had to live their lives navigating through the continual poor conditions of their communities.

It is frustrating for residents to see additional investments in areas that already have strong foundations, especially when residents are continuously advocating for changes within their neighborhoods. Disproportionate investments send a clear message to residents that they lack priority. With the establishment of each new building or park in Downtown Detroit, feelings of not being prioritized are reinforced. Establishments of parks and other locations for recreational activities in Downtown Detroit serve as clear indicators that Downtown Detroit is not just experiencing investments to meet infrastructure standards, but that there is an effort to go above and beyond to create spaces that allow for relaxation and enjoyment. This prioritization for improvement in the downtown area and lack of intention to invite Southwest Detroit

residents in has led residents to think that the developments that are taking place are not for their benefit.

Downtown Improvements Are “Not For Us”

While Detroit has seen a variety of investments focused in its center, including the development of recreational spaces, many Southwest Detroiters have not felt welcomed or included in the direction of the changes in the city. These sentiments are related to the location of improved spaces and the lack of intentionality to invite residents from other neighborhoods in when advertising events.

Many of the spaces that have been significantly improved, including parks, are located outside Southwest Detroit. This does not just make residents feel like their communities are not a priority but also makes them feel as though these improvements are not meant for their enjoyment or benefit. While there are some parks or spaces for recreational use in Southwest Detroit, such as Clark Park, they are in need of updates. Not having many spaces within their communities to use for enjoyment purposes has deep impacts on connection to space and community building.

In regards to feeling like these spaces are not meant for her or residents from her community, Kenia shares that, “Sometimes, it feels like if you were to go, you are out of place. As if you are kind of not supposed to be there.” Kenia describes this more as a feeling that you get when being in these spaces but is clear that there are a variety of factors that have contributed to the development of these feelings among Southwest Detroit residents. With the continuation of these varied factors, the shared feelings of not being prioritized are reinforced. There is a deeply felt frustration because residents in Southwest Detroit are constantly fighting to receive the bare minimum while other

places, like Downtown Detroit, are getting resources far beyond the standards of what is necessary for survival. Spaces that are said to be open to everyone lack intentionality in welcoming residents from surrounding neighborhoods.

In addition to the far distances of many of these public spaces, the lack of programming that uplifts cultural traditions and backgrounds has contributed to making residents in Southwest feel unwelcomed. While some events in Downtown Detroit capture the histories and cultures of other Detroit residents, Latine residents feel as though events that uplift or appeal to their backgrounds could occur more often. With the exception of the Ford light show, taking place at the Michigan Train Station in Corktown, which showcased the work of SW Freddy, a Southwest Detroit artist, there has not been much intentionality to appeal to the Latine residents through events or developments. The absence of these types of events gives residents a sense that the improvements that are unfolding in the downtown area are for the benefit and enjoyment of a select group of people—one that excludes them. With the exception of the Ford light show showcasing the work of SW Freddy, a Southwest Detroit artist, these community spaces lack programming that uplifts the cultural backgrounds of Southwest Detroit residents.

Seeing new developments and spaces take hold in a city recovering from a variety of economic challenges can be exciting. These developments, primarily centered in Downtown Detroit, can bring some hope for the future of the city. It is normal for residents to be excited to see these new changes; however, this feeling of hope is often overtaken by the frustration of not seeing the same level of improvements in their own neighborhoods. The distinction of investments between Southwest Detroit and Downtown Detroit is clear and developing community spaces outside of the

neighborhoods and in areas of a growing business industry sends a message about which residents are most prioritized. Residents in Southwest Detroit do not feel like they are prioritized or as they benefit from these focused investments. Instead, they often feel as though the city is catering to the needs of an incoming population rather than theirs.

Detroit's "growth first" has harmed Southwest Detroit residents by leaving the neighborhood's infrastructure issues unaddressed. In addition to this neglect, Southwest Detroit residents are also beginning to confront the ramifications of developing gentrification within their neighborhoods. Residents referred to physical changes and changes in affordability. These changes indicate that gentrification is starting to take shape within Southwest Detroit.

Gentrification in Southwest Detroit

In recent years, residents have begun to observe significant changes in their neighborhoods that indicate a shift toward a new Detroit. Residents point to physical changes, updates in local business, and rising prices in food and housing within their neighborhoods as distinguishable changes. These changes capture the downstream effects of a rapidly gentrifying downtown area. Over time, these changes have become more pronounced and have had larger impacts on the sense of place and sense of belonging of residents in Southwest Detroit. Although these impacts seem to be indirect results of gentrification in Downtown Detroit, they also serve as early signs of developing gentrification within Southwest Detroit. These changes threaten the culture that residents in Southwest Detroit have contributed to creating and the sense of place and belonging that people have developed over the years. The changing landscape of their neighborhoods makes residents feel uneasy because they worry that their

neighborhoods will become unrecognizable and that they may be excluded in the next chapter of Southwest Detroit's story.

The changes that residents reference can be split into two categories—changes in the physical features of their neighborhoods and changes in affordability. Physical features hold significance to residents because they represent decades of history and culture. Shifts in affordability present challenges for residents to stay and remain in their neighborhoods in future years. These changes, physical and economic, demonstrate the link between the past, the present, and the future of Southwest Detroit. Southwest Detroit residents have established deep roots that are evident through familiar physical markers and economic circumstances that have allowed residents to live comfortably. If the coming changes stray from the features that make Southwest Detroit welcoming and familiar to residents, communities will begin to lose their sense of place and belonging within their neighborhoods. These changes demonstrate that although the features that make Southwest Detroit a welcoming community have not been completely altered, there is a possibility that the outcomes of these changes may become more consequential and lead to the exclusion of long-standing communities in the coming future.

When discussing change occurring within their communities, residents often initially referred to changing physical features of Southwest Detroit. Kenia, a college student who attends a nearby university and frequently travels back home to Southwest Detroit, points to the significant changes that she has noticed since the last time she returned from school. Specifically, she points to the demolition of a long-standing home in her neighborhood.

It was just crazy to me. Because that house has been there since I've lived on that block. And then for me to come back and it's not there. I was just like, what's going on?

For Kenia, there were a variety of changes that took place during her time away, but this one stood out the most because of its significance to her memories of her community. The home that she referred to has been a marker of her family's history in her neighborhood. Returning home to the absence of the house that served as a reminder of her childhood and her experiences growing up in the community came to her as a surprise. The demolition of this home, along with other buildings, was one way in which the histories that residents in Southwest Detroit have contributed to creating over the years are slowly being erased. This is an unmistakable indication that things are beginning to change at a noticeable rate and affecting residents' sense of place and belonging.

Like Kenia, other residents shared their experiences observing visible changes in their communities. Some residents referred to an increase in businesses and the changing nature of already existing local businesses in Southwest Detroit. In some communities, these changes seemed to cater to the interests of an emerging population rather than those of residents living in the area. Carlos brings attention to these changes within his neighborhood in relation to local businesses.

Recently, I've been seeing more businesses and restaurants around here, like the corner of my street is where Salpicon is. It's very modern and hipster...young audience... But it used to be a pizza [and] Coney when I was growing up, which I think is more appropriate because across the street from that is a preschool.

Carlos's statement highlights the gradually changing nature of Southwest Detroit neighborhoods. Within his neighborhood, Carlos has seen how businesses that once focused on serving local families are now changing and becoming spaces that are more frequented by a younger audience. In his statement, Carlos refers to the establishment of Salpicon, a popular seafood restaurant and nightclub. As Carlos reflects back, he remembers that the business in this location used to be a restaurant serving pizzas and coney dogs which seemed to better cater to his family-oriented community at the time. The demographics of the community in the area remain the same; however, businesses in the neighborhood are slowly being influenced by the nearby developing business industry. With the establishment of these newer businesses, Southwest Detroit is offering more services that meet the interests of younger and affluent audiences. In a neighborhood that is primarily made up of working-class families, this may seem out of place.

Like the demolition of familiar spaces, the redevelopment of local businesses and restaurants affects people's memory and connection to their neighborhoods. These changes affect culture by either aligning more closely to or moving further away from the cultures of residents. They also demonstrate that gentrification, even if it is occurring in another neighborhood, has far-reaching effects and has the potential of unfolding within Southwest Detroit.

When describing changes that they observed in their neighborhoods, residents also referenced developing housing projects that promote gentrification and contribute to increasing housing prices in Southwest Detroit. Santiago, a local resident and community organizer, draws attention to the recent establishment of apartment buildings in Southwest Detroit. In their discussion of these developments, they focus on

the topic of intentionality and distinguish it against mediocre attempts to support residents in the area. They recall a time when a developer visited Western International High School, a school in which they were a staff member, to initiate dialogue with teachers and other staff regarding the ongoing development of an apartment complex nearby. They mention that:

These very interesting projects where they're semi-aware of gentrification. For example, there was one developer coming to build apartments near Western. Part of their outreach was to talk to staff at Western to get a sense of what the community is like and I was like okay, step in the right direction.

In their statement, Santiago continues on to express support for the developer's community-involved approach; however, they take issue with the outcome of the interaction. They mentioned that the only thing that resulted from the dialogue was an agreement to dedicate a limited amount of units to remain affordable for local residents to enjoy. The issue was that the slight amount of units allocated to affordable housing would not be enough to bypass the effects of establishing a new apartment building in a largely low-income neighborhood. Scholars have studied how the establishment of unaffordable housing in primarily low-income communities contributes to rising costs of living within the affected neighborhood and in surrounding neighborhoods.

Developing an unaffordable housing structure in Southwest Detroit would certainly raise the cost of living in the area, making it more difficult for low-income residents to afford their rent or home mortgages. Their concern is summarized by the statement:

Even then, it's these really paltry attempts to pacify people's fears of gentrification, when at the end of the day, like, you're still going to build this really expensive loft that's going to be occupied by mostly white professionals.

Santiago's statement highlights the frustration that residents share in regard to the way that developers often claim to engage with the community while moving forward with developments that fail to address anticipated harms in meaningful ways. It captures a widely felt sentiment that although changes are beginning to unfold within their neighborhoods, many of them are not for the benefit of Southwest Detroit communities. Residents are left to act as observers, watching as these changes manifest across the city and within their neighborhoods without experiencing their possible benefits or having much say.

Growing Unaffordability

In addition to changing physical features, residents have also experienced changes in their neighborhoods through growing unaffordability in different aspects of everyday life. Two main areas that have been affected by rising costs include the prices of goods and services and those of purchasing and renting a home. When discussing change, residents often expressed having mixed feelings. Some residents were excited to see changes within their neighborhoods but expressed their excitement with reservations because residents often did not see the benefits of these changes. On the contrary, residents in Southwest Detroit were often hurt in one way or another by these changes. Growing unaffordability was particularly harmful because it made it challenging for residents in Southwest Detroit to gain access to basic necessities, such as groceries, and even harder for them to afford to stay in their neighborhoods.

Experiencing the negative outcomes of change in their neighborhoods makes it difficult for residents to be excited about the future of Southwest Detroit. Elena, a

long-time resident of Southwest Detroit, touches on the complexities of these feelings in relation to the rising cost of living:

I'm glad to see the city improve but at the same time, if you're going to do that, make it affordable for the people that live here. I feel, in their own way, that they're being pushed out.

Elena's statement demonstrates an appreciation for city improvements while also acknowledging the challenges that they will present residents with. With more improvements, Southwest Detroit has grown more unaffordable. Elena's statement captures the unavoidable consequences of unaffordability, arguing that rising costs will inevitably push out established residents. Elena makes a good point that affordability plays a critical role in the establishment and continued stay of residents in their community. Scholars argue that gentrification has disproportionately hurt low-income residents. The economic impacts pose serious risks to residents in the community, putting their presence within their communities in question.

One of the rising costs that residents have been most concerned about has to do with purchasing groceries. The prices of groceries, especially within Southwest Detroit have been increasing, making it more challenging for residents to gain access to affordable and good quality foods. Alondra, a recent college graduate, spoke about the growing unaffordability of grocery stores in her neighborhood. In our conversation, Alondra shared that the drastic price changes became more apparent following her return from college. She wondered if these changes were a reflection of rising inflation rates in our economy or if they were unique to grocery stores in Southwest Detroit. She shares her observation of the circumstances in her statement:

Meat is just so expensive right now. But then we'll go to Allen Park and go to Meijer and prices are still the same. So it's just like, what, this is crazy .

Alondra initially considered rising inflation as a possible reason for the recent growing unaffordability of groceries in her neighborhood but after traveling outside of her community and observing typical prices, she quickly realized that the elevated prices were particular to Southwest Detroit. As measured by the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, or CPI-U, prices in the Detroit-Warren-Dearborn area have increased by 6.6 percent over the last 12 months. More specifically, grocery prices have increased by 7.6 percent over the last year (“Consumer Price Index,” 2023). Despite rising inflation rates in the economy, the prices of groceries in neighborhoods outside of Southwest Detroit seemed to be marginally affected but not at the same level as they were in Southwest Detroit grocery stores. It is problematic that something as essential as food is more challenging to find at affordable prices within their own communities. Having to travel outside of one’s community to gain access to affordable and high quality food places limitations on the nutrition of residents in Southwest Detroit.

CHAPTER 2:**The Role of the Gordie Howe International Bridge in Exacerbating Issues**

In addition to making direct investments to improve infrastructure in Downtown Detroit, the city's "growth first" approach is further exemplified by the city's efforts to improve pathways of transportation to the business center. These investments can be seen as more indirect contributions to advancing the "growth first" approach because although they are taking place in neighborhoods beyond Downtown Detroit, they are ultimately being carried out to facilitate domestic and global transportation to the business center. The construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge, a bridge that is publicly owned by both Canada and Michigan, will serve as an alternative to the Ambassador Bridge. This project is said to facilitate transportation to Downtown Detroit and alleviate increasing traffic, allowing for the expansion of the business industry. While these improvements have the potential to promote business growth in Detroit, they pose a variety of harms to residents in Southwest Detroit.

These investments are framed as bringing benefits to communities that are undergoing their development; however, these promised benefits are overshadowed by the far-reaching consequences of these investments. Residents in Southwest Detroit have already been met with increased traffic and noise and air pollution as a result of their neighborhood streets becoming popular pathways for transport by trucks and trailers. With the entry point of the Gordie Howe International Bridge being located in Delray, a Southwest Detroit neighborhood that has been the target of a growing industry, many residents will face displacement, experience additional threats to their safety, and will be forced to grapple with worsening environmental conditions.

The construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge has had a long history of planning and has required a great deal of advocacy from legislators to take shape. Planning for the development of a new international border crossing bridge began in 2008, as representatives from the host nations, the United States and Canada, joined representatives from the host locations, Michigan and Ontario, to discuss the need for more efficient international trade. The representatives discussed the potential environmental consequences of the project and proceeded in their consideration of different host neighborhoods in Canada and the United States. Eventually, Delray was chosen as the host neighborhood in the United States (Lee et al. 2016).

Legislators, including former Governor Rick Snyder and Mayor Mike Duggan, have expressed their support for the construction of the bridge. Mayor Duggan's support for the bridge dates back to 2011, as he has explored solutions to challenges to the bridge's construction over the years. Former Governor Rick Snyder has been more vocal about his support. He notes the contributions that the bridge will have in streamlining global trade and representing a close and strong relationship between Canada and the United States (King, 2018). He shared a statement uplifting the benefits of this project in 2018:

The Gordie Howe International Bridge, financed by Canada, will create thousands of jobs in Michigan. It greatly enhances our supply chain and will create economic opportunities and growth in ways many people have not yet fully realized. The Canadians and Americans who have been working side by side on this project are proving once again that, together, we can achieve great things for everyone.

While the construction of the international bridge will contribute to improving the city's economic prosperity and international relations, it will bring great harm to residents in Southwest Detroit. One of the ways in which it will impact residents is through displacement. The entry point will be located in Delray, a Southwest Detroit neighborhood that has already faced numerous challenges as a result of the growth of industry.

Displacement

Following years of planning, the construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge, previously known as the New International Trade Crossing or the Detroit River Crossing, began to take shape in 2018. While the construction of the international bridge will put Michigan alongside other global competitors, allowing for the business industry in Downtown Detroit to grow beyond borders, it will undoubtedly bring harm to residents in Southwest Detroit. It has already begun to negatively impact residents in Delray.

The construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge has already led to numerous home displacements and the loss of important community spaces in Delray, forcing residents to relocate and develop a sense of community in other Southwest Detroit neighborhoods. Residents in other surrounding neighborhoods often drew connections between displacement occurring in Delray to changes occurring within their neighborhoods. Jesus, a resident living in Springwells Village—a Southwest Detroit neighborhood that connects to Delray—mentioned seeing new faces on his block following the beginning of the bridge's construction. He refers to this change as one of the most notable changes that he has witnessed in this community:

That's the biggest change I've seen—relocating people from that area. It's just crazy to see how, apart from my block, a lot of other blocks in the area are continually starting to populate again.

In our conversation, Jesus mentioned previously having friends located across Southwest Detroit. He recalled playing soccer in Delray, where many of his friends resided a couple of years back; however, this was no longer the case. Many of his friends who had established deep roots in Delray were recently displaced by the construction of the new international bridge and were slowly finding their way into his neighborhood and other surrounding neighborhoods in Southwest Detroit.

Jesus also brought attention to the recent population growth on his block. Living at a closer distance to friends that previously lived further away and seeing new neighbors on his block made it clear that displacement in Delray had far-reaching results, extending beyond to other nearby Southwest Detroit neighborhoods. His statement makes it clear that the impacts of the construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge will not be limited to Delray, but will also manifest in nearby neighborhoods.

In addition to displacing residents from their homes in Delray, the construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge has also forced local businesses, community spaces, and institutions to relocate elsewhere. Maria, another resident of Springwells Village, brings attention to the significance that these spaces represented for community belonging and a sense of place among residents in Delray. The displacement of physical spaces that contributed to nurturing belonging and a connection to their neighborhoods was consequential. Maria's statement captures these results:

With the construction of the bridge near my house, a lot of people, and a lot of businesses closed. I know the big All Saints Catholic Church closed. That was a big thing around the community that people were sad about.

In her statement, Maria particularly mentions the closing of the All Saints Catholic Church and draws attention to the ways in which community members responded to it. The All Saints Catholic Church had deep roots in Delray, serving as a space for gathering since its founding in 1896. Since the church was located in a neighborhood with a large and diverse immigrant population, the parish catered to a variety of ethnic groups rather than just one. The All Saints Catholic Church served as a physical representation of the neighborhood's history and diverse cultures and was a reflection of Delray's changing landscape. In the early 1950s, the church's membership was at its strongest, serving an estimated 700 families (Austin, 2022). Over the next few years, attendance slowly began to dwindle. The construction of the Fisher Freeway, a portion of Interstate 75—also known as I-75—in 1961 resulted in the displacement of various community members and made it more challenging for residents to make their way to the church. This led to the loss of many attendees (Austin, 2022). In addition to the changes brought by the construction of the freeway, many Latine residents stopped attending due to growing concerns regarding immigration raids. In the early 2000's, immigration raids were taking place in schools, churches, and other spaces that residents once regarded as being safe, resulting in growing fear and anxiety which further impacted the church attendance (Austin, 2022).

Due to its declining membership and its inability to keep up with the costs of maintaining the building, the All Saints Catholic Church made the decision to merge with St. Gabriel Parish in 2018 (Austin, 2022). Its previous location in Delray was

permanently closed in 2017 and the building was later demolished in 2022 (Austin, 2022). A significant part of the area where the church was previously located was taken up by the Gordie Howe International Bridge (Austin, 2022). The church's closing greatly affected residents who had developed a community and found comfort in the space. For many, the All Saints Church was a place that brought people together and allowed residents in the community to develop a sense of belonging. The space was important to the community in Delray and when it was closed, many were saddened. In a Detroit Free Press article detailing the final mass of the historic church, residents described the church as having a "close-knit, family feel" and being a space where "community was so close." One of the long-time attendees of the church described the institution as being "a very important part of [their] life, all of [their] life (Zaniewski, 2017). This demonstrates how influential this space was for people in the community. As Fullilove and Hyra's research demonstrates, people develop deep attachments to place and experience great psychological turmoil when displacement occurs. In this case, the church is displaced; however, residents still experience the challenging feelings of the loss of an important community space. In addition to contributing to the displacement of residents in Delray and the loss of important physical features and spaces that are unique to the Southwest Detroit community, the Gordie Howe International Bridge will also bring additional risk to Southwest Detroit.

Threats to Immigrant Communities

Southwest Detroit is home to a large and diverse immigrant population. Over generations, immigrants have settled in the area and have contributed to developing a vibrant and welcoming community. There are a variety of restaurants, businesses, and

organizations that serve these communities. While the Latine community makes up a large part of Southwest Detroit's population, there are a variety of other racial and ethnic groups that are part of the neighborhood.

Despite strong efforts from the community and local community organizations to ensure that Southwest Detroit is welcoming and safe for residents of all backgrounds, undocumented immigrants still navigate their everyday lives with anxiety and fear of deportation. Given Southwest Detroit's proximity to the northern border, an area that is heavily patrolled by the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and U.S. Customs and Border Protection, undocumented residents carefully move through their neighborhoods, often avoiding spaces of heightened risk.

Teresa, a community organizer that works with the Detroit Hispanic Development Corporation, shared about the ways in which residents in her community adjust their travel routes to avoid risky areas in their everyday commutes. Particularly, she explains why freeways are associated with higher risk and are often avoided:

Well, one, you're crossing right in front of the Ambassador Bridge, two, you are on an international highway that is heavily policed by State Police...they use interpretation by ICE and Border Patrol.

Teresa's statement captures the threats that undocumented community members face and must adapt to as a result of being near the border. It demonstrates that community members actively make an effort to avoid or cautiously navigate higher-risk areas. Prior to the construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge, there were two Southwest Detroit neighborhoods that were most directly affected by border enforcement. Among the most affected neighborhoods were Mexicantown and Hubbard Richard, two connecting Southwest Detroit neighborhoods located at the Ambassador

Bridge's entry point. With the construction of a new international bridge, Delray will become another high-risk neighborhood. Threats that were primarily concentrated in two Southwest Detroit neighborhoods will not include another neighborhood. The construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge will exacerbate the already-existing threats to the undocumented immigrant community in Southwest Detroit. Teresa points to the consequences that will result from the construction of the new international bridge:

Unfortunately, that means that immigration is going to be allowed in our backyards. It's not going to be so much just at the bridge of Canada by Clark Park. Now, it's in our neighborhood.

Teresa speaks of the increased risk that the Gordie Howe International Bridge will pose for undocumented immigrant communities in Southwest Detroit. When she mentions the bridge by Clark Park, she refers to the Ambassador Bridge. She argues that neighborhoods near the Ambassador Bridge will not be the only ones that are disproportionately affected by the threats that exist at the border. With the Gordie Howe International Bridge being constructed just a few miles south of the Ambassador Bridge, the reach of these threats will expand, including an additional Southwest Detroit neighborhood.

While neighborhoods closest to the Ambassador Bridge and the Gordie Howe International Bridge are among the most affected, other surrounding Southwest Detroit neighborhoods have also been exposed to the threats of law enforcement, particularly with the occurrence of ICE raids in their communities. Over the years, residents in Southwest Detroit have faced ICE raids within their communities, resulting in trauma

and heightened fear and anxiety. Santiago, a Southwest Detroit resident, explains how immigration raids affect sense of belonging in their community:

The ICE raids of 2001, 2005, sent a clear message of who's welcome here and who's not.

Santiago argues that there is meaning associated with the occurrence of ICE raids. Immigration raids often result in the deportation of one or more community members and leave others feeling like they do not belong in their communities.

Santiago's statement also points to the long history of immigration raids in Southwest Detroit. These immigration raids have been particularly harmful to communities in Southwest Detroit because they have targeted residents in areas that are meant to be safe spaces such as schools and churches.

One of the most threatening ICE raids took place at Hope of Detroit, a K-8 school in Southwest Detroit, on March 31, 2011. Hope of Detroit is predominantly a low-income and Hispanic school ("Hope of Detroit Academy"). Given its student demographics, it is clear that was a targeted incident. According to a Detroit Free Press article detailing raids affecting safe spaces in 2011, six ICE vehicles followed a family to the school and surrounded the building. That afternoon, parents were afraid to pick up their children from school. The raid resulted in two community members being detained. In addition to this raid, they also recalled when immigration agents targeted Ste. Anne de Detroit, a Southwest Detroit church, while mass was taking place (Warikoo, 2017). The recurrence and force of these raids reflected clear anti-immigrant sentiments severely influencing how immigrant communities perceived their belonging within their communities. Additionally, it blurred the lines between risky and safe

spaces within Southwest Detroit which had severe impacts on how immigrant residents viewed and navigated their communities years later.

Following a year of constant and violent threats, already-existing fears and anxieties associated with Southwest Detroit's proximity to the northern border became more pronounced. Places that were once considered to be safe and comfortable, were no longer secure. As a result of Trump's anti-immigrant policies, Latine continued to be profiled and targeted by law enforcement at higher rates over the years. According to a study conducted by the Migration Policy Institute at Syracuse University, Michigan became the state with the second-highest rate of arrests in 2019. At the time, it was estimated that there were 129,000 undocumented immigrants in Michigan when 1,498 arrests took place.

In the state of Michigan, there have been numerous "community arrests," defined as occasions in which "ICE arrests individuals it believes are deportable after it finds or encounters them out in the community" (Warikoo). These arrests are different from "custodial arrests" which occur when ICE comes into contact with immigrants who were previously arrested or detained by other law enforcement. The high rates of community arrests demonstrate ICE's aggressive approach to arrests (Warikoo). For the community, this means that there are fewer spaces in which residents can feel safe and welcome. It means that residents will be forced to navigate their communities more carefully, bringing more anxiety to their everyday lives.

Due to Southwest Detroit's closeness to the northern border, coming into contact with ICE and Border Patrol is already a prevalent possibility. This possibility is further widened with the development of pathways that facilitate international transportation, like the Gordie Howe International Bridge. Teresa, a community organizer and resident

of Southwest Detroit, explains the negative impacts that the construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge will have on immigrant communities and goes into detail about the ways in which legal status might limit children's access to educational opportunities. She argues that:

Unfortunately, that means that immigration is going to be allowed in our backyards. It's not going to be so much just at the bridge of Canada by Clark Park. Now, it's in our neighborhood.

Teresa speaks of the increased risk that the Gordie Howe International Bridge will pose to immigrant communities in Southwest Detroit. When she speaks of the presence of immigration because of the bridge by Clark Park, she refers to the Ambassador Bridge which is located near the Mexicantown and Hubbard Richard neighborhoods. Prior to the construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge, the Ambassador Bridge was the only pathway available to travel to Canada (Backman). The Gordie Howe International Bridge is being constructed just a couple of miles south of the Ambassador Bridge and comes to an end in Delray, a Southwest Detroit neighborhood. It is clear that residents in three of the eight Southwest Detroit neighborhoods will disproportionately face the risks that come with stronger ICE and Border Patrol presence in these areas. As Teresa mentions, ICE and Border Patrol will no longer be in the backyards of Southwest Detroit, they will now be in the community.

Because of these increased risks, immigrant residents navigate their communities more carefully and often avoid law enforcement hot spots. Teresa talks more about how this limits access to education for children of undocumented immigrant parents. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Detroit has three well-known college prep high schools—Renaissance High School, Martin Luther King Jr. Senior High School, and

Cass Technical High School. College prep high schools offer students advanced courses and a variety of resources. All of these college preps are outside of Southwest Detroit, making it more challenging for parents to enroll their children. Teresa mentions that gaining admission to these college-prep high schools is already a challenge in itself. She argues that even when students in Southwest Detroit have gained admission, there are additional barriers to entry.

A lot of them turn the opportunity down because their parents were like, 'It's too risky. We are not going to risk our lives and your lives every day just to take you to school.

Teresa highlights the recurring risk that comes with having to drop off a child at a school outside of one's neighborhood. Because these risks are ever present and heightened upon leaving one's community, it is not possible for many parents to enroll their children in schools that are at far distances. When asked to expound on some of the reasons parents may avoid these areas, Teresa shared that:

Well, one, you're crossing right in front of the Ambassador Bridge, two, you are on an international highway that is heavily policed by State Police...they use interpretation by ICE and Border Patrol.

In her explanation, Teresa specifically focuses on the impacts of the Ambassador Bridge; however, the Gordie Howe International Bridge will also have similar effects on the community. In our conversation, Teresa emphasizes that regardless of the circumstances, "These children deserve a right to good education and these opportunities that Cass can provide them." She said that these circumstances should not be a barrier for students to attend a school that they would like to attend. Given the risks of driving long distances to drop students off at school, Teresa, along with The Detroit

Hispanic Development Corporation, a local community organization, coordinated a bus system that would allow students to get picked up at Western International High School, a high school within the Southwest Detroit neighborhood, and be dropped off at Cass Tech. Teresa shares about this route by saying:

We were successfully given two buses from Southwest Detroit to Cass Tech...it serviced up to 45 students.

Establishing a bus route within the neighborhood allows parents to have more peace of mind when enrolling their children in schools outside of their community. By having a bus traveling directly from Southwest Detroit to Downtown Detroit, children can enjoy opportunities that they might otherwise not be able to. Despite having a large impact, Teresa mentioned that, at the moment, the buses could only serve up to 45 students. She shared that DHDC hopes to expand this program to continue to support students through their educational endeavors.

How Threats Impacts Community Belonging

In his book, *Separated*, William D. Lopez studies how mixed-status families in Washtenaw County, a Midwestern county in Michigan, navigate their everyday lives and how ICE raids can affect a community's sense of safety and belonging. He uses the term, "mixed-status," to define families that are made up of some members who lack citizenship while others do not. Lopez demonstrates that while family members who have citizenship may not be directly impacted by their status, they are often indirectly affected by the status of other family members. Lopez shared the story of an immigration raid that took place at an auto shop and led to the deportation of Santiago to explain the widespread effects that interactions with law enforcement had on

community members beyond those affected directly by the raid. Lopez demonstrates that residents continued to be affected by the raid following its occurrence. He argues that these events are traumatic and have life-altering impacts that manifest as mental and physical health issues (Lopez, 2019). Raids and other interactions with law enforcement have short and long-term ramifications influencing how community members navigate their lives moving forward.

CONCLUSION

Through this exploration, it has become clear that the “growth first” approach has had serious consequences for Southwest Detroit residents, taking away from possible investments in their communities and resulting in them feeling as though the changes that are beginning to unfold within and beyond their neighborhoods are not for their benefit. By taking this approach, the city has prioritized investments in projects that will improve business and allow for globalization, like the construction of the Gordie Howe International Bridge. While the bridge will likely greatly benefit Detroit’s economy, it will lead to further harm in Southwest Detroit neighborhoods. Due to Detroit’s past, communities of color have been disproportionately disadvantaged by employment, housing, and labor discrimination. The lack of priority and support from the “growth first” approach will only exacerbate these already-existing racial differences in Detroit.

This research contributes to the existing literature on gentrification, belonging, and on Detroit. It demonstrates that neighborhoods in close proximity to rapidly gentrifying areas are at risk of experiencing changes and observing gentrification unfold within their communities. Additionally, it adds to research advanced by Howard Gillette and Harvey Molotch’s work on the influence of capitalism on revitalization efforts and the unequal outcomes that result from it. This research demonstrates that prioritization for capitalistic growth or taking a “growth first” approach to revitalization has serious consequences that operate along racial lines. The perspectives of residents in this study reinforce the significance of belonging and sense of place. Additionally, this research highlights the relationship between belonging, involvement, and political change. Residents with a declining sense of belonging were less likely to invest in their communities. Decreased involvement in one’s community has the potential to lead to

the dominance of the preferences of an incoming population and the loss of political power to influence change. Finally, by uplifting the voices of a predominantly Latine community, this research expands existing research on scholarship that is focused on Detroit. It adds a new perspective and brings new experiences to discussions surrounding the rise and fall of Detroit and its revitalization.

One of the main limitations of this study was the small sample size. The sample size is not representative of the population of residents in Detroit and does not capture all of the perspectives of diverse communities within Southwest Detroit. While many residents spoke more to the negative impacts of gentrification, there is a possibility that others may view recent changes more positively. It is important to recognize that gentrification and its impacts show up differently for people. Residents of Southwest Detroit want to see positive changes take place in their communities while also remaining in their neighborhoods and having their culture and perspectives be valued which may lead to mixed feelings about gentrification. The findings of this study can be generalized to other neighborhoods that are observing gentrification start to take hold nearby or even within their communities. They can likely also be generalized more broadly to describe dynamics in other neighborhoods of color. The findings of this study seem to relate closely to the findings surrounding the unequal outcomes of “the growth machine” and the significance of belonging which makes them more generalizable.

Future research can continue to build on this study by drawing on a larger and more representative sample. This would make the study stronger by determining whether the findings were widely shared across the neighborhoods. Additionally, researchers could compare Southwest Detroit to other neighborhoods. This comparison would help researchers understand how two neighborhoods relate to each other. It

would be interesting to analyze which features of gentrification influence sense of belonging and sense of place the most and how those impacts can be mitigated.

This research could be useful to policymakers because it provides some insight into how residents of Southwest Detroit view and are affected by growing developments in Downtown Detroit. Policymakers play a key role in making communities safe for residents and in influencing changes within the city. It is important that policymakers take into consideration the diverse background and experiences of its constituents when making decisions to ensure that community changes reflect the needs and wants of its residents.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. IRB Approval Letter

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Stanford, CA 94305 [Mail Code 5579]

Penelope D Eckert, Ph.D.

(650) 723-2480

CHAIR, PANEL ON NON-MEDICAL HUMAN SUBJECTS

Certification of Human Subjects Approvals

Date: March 18, 2021

To: Pamela Beltran-Mayen, Bachelor of Arts/202, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education
Michael Kahan Professor, Prof Claude M Steele Professor

From: Penelope D Eckert, Ph.D., Administrative Panel on Human Subjects in Non-Medical Research

eProtocol Gentrification in Detroit: Analyzing the Perspectives of the Community

eProtocol #: 59528

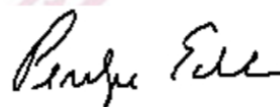
IRB 2 (Registration) 349)

The IRB approved human subjects involvement in your research project on 03/18/2021. **'Prior to subject recruitment and enrollment, if this is: a Cancer-related study, you must obtain Cancer Center Scientific Review Committee (SRC) approval, and if a contract is involved, it must be signed.'**

This protocol has been approved under the Extended Approval Process and **approval does not expire**. Proposed changes to approved research must still be reviewed and approved prospectively by the IRB. No changes may be initiated without prior approval by the IRB, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to subjects. (Any such exceptions must be reported to the IRB within 10 working days.) Unanticipated problems involving risks to participants or others and other events or information, as defined and listed in the Report Form, must be submitted promptly to the IRB. (See Events and Information that Require Prompt Reporting to the IRB at <http://humansubjects.stanford.edu>.) It is your responsibility to report the completion of the protocol to the IRB within 30 days.

Please remember that all data, including all signed consent form documents, must be retained for a minimum of three years past the completion of this research. Additional requirements may be imposed by your funding agency, your department, HIPAA, or other entities. (See Policy 1.9 on Retention of and Access to Research Data at <http://doresearch.stanford.edu/policies/research-policy-handbook>)

This institution is in compliance with requirements for protection of human subjects, including 45 CFR 46, 21 CFR 50 and 56, and 38 CFR 16.



Penelope D Eckert, Ph.D., Chair

Approval Period: 03/18/2021 - (Does Not Expire)

Review Type: EXPEDITED - NEW

Funding: Major Grant, SPO: pending

Expedited Under Category: 6, 7

Assurance #: FWA00000935 (SU)

Appendix 2. Demographic Survey

Gentrification in Detroit: Analyzing the Perspectives of the Community Survey

Demographics

These questions will ask you about aspects of your identity to gain a better understanding of your background.

1. How would you describe your gender?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Male (including transgender men)
- ☐ Female (including transgender women)
- ☐ Prefer not to say
- ☐ Other: _____

2. What is your age?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ 18-24 years old
- ☐ 25-34 years old
- ☐ 35-44 years old
- ☐ 45-54 years old
- ☐ 55-64 years old
- ☐ 65-74 years old
- ☐ 75 years or older
-

3. Which of the following best describes you?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Asian or Pacific Islander
- ☐ Black or African-American
- ☐ Hispanic or Latinx
- ☐ Native American or Alaskan Native
- ☐ White or Caucasian
- ☐ Multiracial or Biracial
- ☐ Other: _____

4. Are you currently employed?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Other: _____

5. I currently

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Rent my home
- ☐ Own my home
- ☐ Other: _____

6. What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Some High School
- ☐ High School
- ☐ Currently in college
- ☐ Bachelor's Degree
- ☐ Master's Degree
- ☐ Ph.D. or higher
- ☐ Trade School
- ☐ Prefer not to say

General View on Gentrification

For this study, gentrification will be defined as "the process of transforming vacant or low-income inner-city areas into economic, recreational, and residential use by middle-and upper-income individuals." This section will ask about your general feelings regarding gentrification. There is not a right or wrong answer to this question. This is solely based on your view of gentrification.

7. Overall, how do you view the effects of gentrification?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Positively
- ☐ Neutrally
- ☐ Negatively
- ☐ Other: _____

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Google Forms

Appendix 3. Interview Guide

Race and Access to Resources and Opportunities

- What race(s) and/or ethnicity(ies) do you identify with?
- How has your race/ethnicity impacted your ability to gain access to resources and opportunities such as employment, education, housing (ability to buy or rent), etc.?

Perspectives On Changing Neighborhoods

- Are you currently a resident or a previous resident of Southwest Detroit? Please specify which part?



- If no,
 - Which part of Detroit do you currently reside in?
- How long have you lived there?
- Why did you choose to live there?
- What do you like about that area?
- What do you dislike about that area?
- Do you feel a sense of belonging, a sense of safety, and/or a sense of opportunity as a result of living there?
- Has the neighborhood changed since you first moved in?
 - If so, how has it changed? How do these changes make you feel?
 - If they bring up the word, “gentrification,”
 - What do you mean by that word?

- What does it look like in your neighborhood? How has it impacted your daily life?

Gentrification by Large Companies

- Have you heard of the Ilitch Companies?
 - If yes,
 - What do you know about it?
 - Do you feel impacted by their presence in Detroit? If so, in what ways?
 - If no,
 - The Ilitch Companies is a large company that “represent leading brands in the food, sports and entertainment industries, including Little Caesars, Blue Line Distribution, the Detroit Red Wings, Olympia Entertainment, the Detroit Tigers, Olympia Development, Little Caesars Pizza Kit Fundraising Program, Champion Foods and MotorCity Casino Hotel” (<https://www.ilitchholdings.com>).
 - Have you heard of the brands that were mentioned?
 - Do you feel impacted by their presence in Detroit? If so, in what ways?

- Many large companies have social responsibility programs that oftentimes share the “broad goal, simply, of contributing to the well-being of the communities and society they affect and on which they depend” (Rangan et al., 2015). Have you heard of programs that give back to the community offered by the Ilitch Companies?
 - If yes,
 - What are your thoughts on these programs? How effective do you perceive these programs to be?
 - If no,
 - Some contributions that are part of the Ilitch Companies’ social responsibility program include Ilitch Charities, Little Caesars Love Kitchen, Detroit Red Wings Foundation, Hockeytown Cares, The Detroit Tigers Foundation, and more (<https://www.ilitchholdings.com>). This list outlines each program and provides a brief description.
 - What are your thoughts on these programs? How effective do you perceive these programs to be?

Appendix 4. Recruitment Posters

English Flyer for Summer 2022



***Participate in a
Research Study About
Living in Detroit***

Share about your
thoughts, experiences,
and attitudes about being
a resident or previous
resident of Detroit.

**\$25 GIFT CARD OF YOUR CHOICE FOR
YOUR PARTICIPATION
LIMITED AMOUNT**

*For interest in involvement, complete brief survey
online at **bit.ly/detroitstudy***

*For additional questions about the project, email Pamela
at **Pamelabm@stanford.edu** or call Lindsey
by phone at **(313) 914-0303***

For participant rights and questions, call 1-866-680-2906

Spanish Flyer for Summer 2021



Participe en un estudio sobre la vida en Detroit

Comparta sus pensamientos,
experiencias y actitudes
acerca de ser un residente o
un habitante anterior de
Detroit.

**\$ 25 TARJETA DE REGALO DE SU
ELECCIÓN POR SU PARTICIPACIÓN
CANTIDAD LIMITADA**

***Si tiene interés en participar, complete una breve
encuesta en línea en bit.ly/participedetroit***

***Para preguntas adicionales sobre el proyecto, envíe un correo
electrónico a Pamela
en Pamelabm@stanford.edu o llame a Lindsey
por teléfono al (313) 914-0303***

***Para preguntas y derechos de los participantes, llame al
1-866-680-2906***

English Flyer for Summer 2022



Participants Needed

(from Southwest Detroit)



for research study on
**Resident, activist, and/or artist
perspectives on growing
developments in Detroit and
visions for the city's future**

Participants must:

- 18+
- Be a resident, artist, or activist in SW Detroit

What will you be asked to do?

Complete a 2-minute survey and a 30-50 minute interview

Will you be compensated?

Yes! You will receive a \$25 gift card of your choice for completing both the survey and interview



Scan this QR code to
take the 2-minute
survey

or complete survey
online at

bit.ly/swdetroitstudy

For additional questions about the project, email Pamela
at Pamelabm@stanford.edu or call Lindsey
by phone at (313) 914-0303

Spanish Flyer for Summer 2022



Se necesitan participantes (de el suroeste de Detroit)



para entrevistas sobre

**sus perspectivas en relación a
los crecientes desarrollos en
Detroit y visiones para el
futuro de la ciudad**

Los participantes deben:

- 18+
- Ser residente, artista o activista en SW Detroit

¿Qué se le pedirá que haga?

Complete una encuesta
de 2 minutos y una
entrevista de 30-50
minutos

¿Será compensado?

¡Sí! Recibirá una tarjeta de
regalo de \$25 de su
elección por completar la
encuesta y la entrevista.



Escanee este código QR
para realizar la encuesta
de 2 minutos

o complete la encuesta
en línea en
bit.ly/encuestadetroit

**Para preguntas adicionales sobre el proyecto, envíe un correo
electrónico a Pamela**

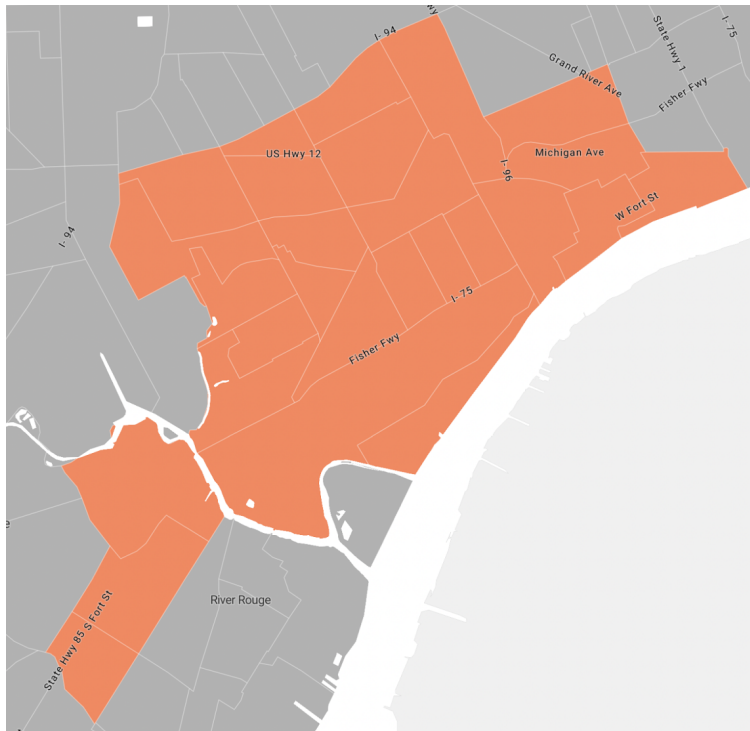
a Pamelabm@stanford.edu o llame a Lindsey
por teléfono al (313) 914-0303

*Appendix 5. Census Block Groups Selected in Social Explorer and Neighborhood Maps**Census Block Groups Selected*

SEGID	SURVEY	QNAME	FIPS
T140G26163524800	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5248, Wayne County, Michigan	26163524800
T140G26163524700	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5247, Wayne County, Michigan	26163524700
T140G26163524500	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5245, Wayne County, Michigan	26163524500
T140G26163524600	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5246, Wayne County, Michigan	26163524600
T140G26163524300	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5243, Wayne County, Michigan	26163524300
T140G26163984100	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 9841, Wayne County, Michigan	26163984100
T140G26163523800	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5238, Wayne County, Michigan	26163523800
T140G26163524200	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5242, Wayne County, Michigan	26163524200
T140G26163526000	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5260, Wayne County, Michigan	26163526000
T140G26163983600	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 9836, Wayne County, Michigan	26163983600
T140G26163524101	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5241.01, Wayne County, Michigan	26163524101
T140G26163524001	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5240.01, Wayne County, Michigan	26163524001
T140G26163523200	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5232, Wayne County, Michigan	26163523200
T140G26163523400	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5234, Wayne County, Michigan	26163523400
T140G26163523300	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5233, Wayne County, Michigan	26163523300
T140G26163984200	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 9842, Wayne County, Michigan	26163984200
T140G26163525700	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5257, Wayne County, Michigan	26163525700
T140G26163523100	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5231, Wayne County, Michigan	26163523100
T140G26163525400	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5254, Wayne County, Michigan	26163525400
T140G26163525900	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5259, Wayne County, Michigan	26163525900
T140G26163521500	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5215, Wayne County, Michigan	26163521500
T140G26163521400	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5214, Wayne County, Michigan	26163521400
T140G26163520800	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5208, Wayne County, Michigan	26163520800
T140G26163985300	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 9853, Wayne County, Michigan	26163985300
T140G26163521100	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5211, Wayne County, Michigan	26163521100
T140G26163522800	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5228, Wayne County, Michigan	26163522800
T140G26163525800	ACS2021_5yr	Census Tract 5258, Wayne County, Michigan	26163525800

Neighborhood Maps

Southwest Detroit Map (Close-Up)



Southwest Detroit Map (Overview, Including the Boundaries for the City of Detroit)

