



GRAHAM
SUSTAINABILITY INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Building a Healthy Community in Detroit: Tracking the Impact of the HOPE Village Initiative Area



Sustainability and the HOPE Village Initiative Integrated Assessment

Graham Institute Integrated Assessment Report Series Volume III Report 2



Focus: HOPE
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About The Reports

The Sustainability and the HOPE Village Initiative Integrated Assessment (IA) is the result of a partnership between the University of Michigan (U-M) Graham Sustainability Institute and Focus: HOPE. The IA was developed to support Focus: HOPE's comprehensive place-based effort known as the HOPE Village Initiative. The Initiative's goal: by 2031, 100% of residents living in a 100 block area surrounding the Focus: HOPE campus will be educationally well-prepared and economically self-sufficient, and living in a safe, supportive, and nurturing environment.

The IA recognizes that the success of the HOPE Village Initiative is tied to sustainability factors including the physical environment, economic development, community health, and education. Through collaboration with U-M researchers, residents, and Focus: HOPE staff, the IA developed data, tools, and concepts to advance the HOPE Village Initiative. This document is one of six final project reports completed for IA.

This work was made possible with support from the Graham Sustainability Institute, Focus: HOPE, and neighborhood residents.

Reports In This Series

- Applied Research and Service by Urban Planning Students in the HOPE Village Initiative Area
- Building a Healthy Community in Detroit: Tracking the Impact of the HOPE Village Initiative Area
- Legal Issues in HOPE Village Housing Cooperative and Green Space
- Mapping Community Economies and Building Capabilities in HOPE Village
- Play & Grounds
- The Development of a Community Based Coalition to Promote Career and College Preparation in the HOPE Village Neighborhoods of Detroit and Highland Park

Team

University of Michigan, Dearborn
Public Affairs
Paul Draus
Juliette Roddy

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Executive Summary

“Our methods were intended to elicit peoples’ perspectives on the neighborhood, as much as assessment of the actual state of the neighborhood.”

The purpose of this study was to establish a set of diverse baseline measures which could potentially be used to track the short and long-term impact of the HOPE Village Initiative (HVI) on the 100-block area surrounding the facilities of Focus: HOPE. We employed both quantitative and qualitative measures, drawn from the fields of urban and medical sociology, microeconomics and public health, to assess actual and potential impact of these projects on the everyday lives of individuals who either reside or spend significant time within the HVI area. Our methods were intended to elicit peoples’ perspectives on the neighborhood, as much as assessment of the actual state of the neighborhood. In sociology and geography, a distinction is often made between space and place: space represents the objective characteristics of an area, in terms of physical features, demographics, or other abstract criteria, while place refers to the associations, meanings, identities, and emotions that may be connected to that space.¹ Perceptions of people in a community may drive their actions as well as their sentiments, and these actions, in turn, have consequences for the physical state of the neighborhood (see Figure 1). In other words, space and place are dynamically related. For example, if individuals read signs of physical decline in the environment around them as indications of a long-term trajectory, this may shape their decisions, and especially their investment of time and resources back into the community. We were therefore interested in both how people living

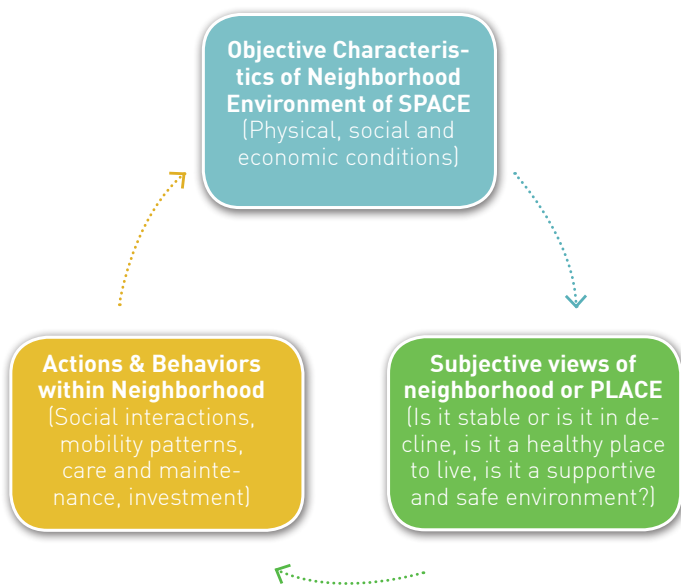


Figure 1 **Dynamic Interrelation of People, Space and Place**

in the neighborhood saw the neighborhood, as well as what was actually happening at the level of economic and physical conditions.

Keeping in mind that the HVI is only in its beginning phases, our current findings reflect the status of the neighborhood as viewed by a variety of individuals in advance of the initiative's impact. In addition, many factors cited by participants are not specific to the neighborhood but are experienced across Detroit: generational differences in terms of culture and values, lack of adequate job or shopping opportunities within the neighborhood, the presence of an active illicit drug market that also fuels violence and theft, and so on. We also need to be cautious in interpreting qualitative findings that may represent anomalous perspectives, or may simply reflect the setting of the interviews themselves. However, some clear overarching themes emerged which may merit closer attention and further investigation. In the sections that follow, we detail some of our specific findings, which will provide illustration for these more general points.

While the physical and social decline of the neighborhood was a central theme of our study, participants also consistently referred to physical and social factors that made the area appealing to them. For example, they often described their social connections and relationships within the community, many of which have been formed over decades, as a primary reason for residing or returning there. They likewise referred to recognized institutional assets, including Focus: HOPE, the Parkman Branch of the Detroit Public Library, and various churches within the neighborhood, as having a positive impact on life in the community overall. These tended to be seen as "safe havens" or buffers against the negative factors impacting the community, which kept the area from sliding further into decline. The dynamic tug-of-war between these sets of factors was evident in many of the narrative accounts of neighborhood life.

Introduction

“From our perspective, this implied a positive spillover effect, with specific geographically focused efforts yielding benefits for the population at large.”

In our past research we have largely focused on marginalized populations in the city of Detroit, including active heroin users, former street sex workers, ex-offenders and homeless or “street populations.” In all these previous studies, we have been drawn back to the importance of the local environment in shaping both exposure to risk and likelihood of achieving healthy outcomes and quality of life—what sociologists refer to as “life chances.” We were especially interested in the HOPE Village Initiative (HVI) because it proposed to expand the scope of Focus: HOPE’s efforts to include not only those who were enrolled in specific programs on the Focus: HOPE campus, but eventually all of those who reside within the HOPE Village area. From our perspective, this implied a positive spillover effect, with specific geographically focused efforts yielding benefits for the population at large—including those marginalized individuals who (by definition) are only loosely connected to formalized neighborhood improvement efforts. Our intention, therefore, was to recruit participants from across the target community without using predetermined characteristics (such as age, income, gender, or histories of criminal activity or substance use) as criteria for inclusion or exclusion. We cannot claim that the sample is representative, because the numbers are too small and the selection process was non-random.

According to Fawcett et al., building healthy communities is a process that properly involves the

community as a whole.² HVI embraces this holistic approach: “Much like the Harlem Children’s Zone in New York, the HOPE Village Initiative will bring together whatever resources are necessary to transform our community.” According to the HVI website:

The HOPE Village Initiative aims to develop a safe, strong and nurturing neighborhood where children and their families can develop to their full potential. To accomplish that goal, we will offer an interconnected web of opportunities and support, with education at its center. We expect to build a community where people want to live, work and raise a family – and where children have every opportunity to achieve their greatest potential.

The possibility of building more inclusive, resilient and sustainable communities is a major area of emphasis in both urban planning and public health, not to mention the fields of urban sociology and criminal justice, which have long been interested in the question of how communities develop, cohere and self-regulate.^{3,4}

To be healthy, communities must also be safe, and for this reason we were also very interested in local perceptions of risks related to crime and violence. As stated above, our objective in developing this exploratory study was to develop a baseline for a longer-term project that would monitor and describe change within this geographic area and gauge the relationship between HVI efforts and the identities and behaviors of area residents and stakeholders. Through ethnographic interviews, economic profiles, community-based focus groups, participatory photographic projects, and structured inventories of the built environment, our goal was to develop a multi-faceted portrait or snapshot of a community in transition, while also capturing some of the dynamic interaction between individual and environmental factors.

Our recruitment efforts were labor-intensive, involving a combination of targeted and snowball sampling. Over a period of more than a year, from the summer of 2012 through the fall of 2013, we engaged in planned walks throughout the HOPE Village area, meeting people on front porches, sidewalks and street corners and engaging them in conversations. We attended numerous community events and meetings, including but not limited to Focus: HOPE events and described the goals of the research. We recruited participants through specific sites or organizations, such as the Parkman Branch Library, the Village of Oakman Manor, Neighborhood Service Organization, the Oakman Boulevard Block Club Association, and also through more informal social places such as “the tree” on Linwood Avenue. When we had recruited participants from one social or geographic segment of the neighborhood, we moved to another. We were interested in attracting participants of different age groups, though we ended up with a sample that mostly consisted of working-age and older adults in their 40s and 50s. Only three interview participants were under 40 (all male) while another three were over 70. In total, there were 24 males and 17 females. We would have liked to recruit more young women, and residents of some areas, such as the blocks adjacent to Fenkell Avenue, and other groups, such as the Oakman Boulevard Community Association. Time and the size of the sample were limiting factors, and our methods likely skewed our selection towards individuals who were either retired or not formally employed.

Each of the methods that we employed, and an explanation of their intended purpose in the study, is described below:

- Economic questionnaires detailed individual income earned from legitimate and criminal sources, as well as income from earned and transferred or subsidized sources. Expenditures are also profiled to determine gross and relative changes.
- Ethnographic interviews captured individuals’

definitions of the neighborhood boundaries and their descriptions of its key characteristics, as well as their ideas concerning the nature and direction of changes taking place in the neighborhood. In addition, because we also gathered data concerning the daily routines, social networks, income generation and spending patterns, we can relate these more subjective impressions to individuals' positions or niches within the neighborhood.

- The Irvine-Minnesota Inventory or IMI, carried out by undergraduate students under the supervision of Professor Paul Draus in the Fall of 2012, revealed patterns of housing quality and walkability that are also reflective of the variation in neighborhood.
- Focus groups and Photovoice projects, conducted with neighborhood elders and neighborhood youth, shone light on the subjective views of the neighborhood that are shaped by specific experiences within it.

Recruitment of participants and research efforts were staggered to reduce burden on the community while ensuring sustained involvement of the investigators (see Table 1, below). With the exception of the built environment inventory, the two lead researchers personally carried out all research activities. However, each stage was informed by interaction and dialogue with community residents. Some of our specific findings are shared in the sections below. While these findings represent a spectrum of perspectives on the HVI area, they must be viewed in the context of the methodologies employed. While they offer a glimpse into the daily lives and viewpoints of individuals living and working in the neighborhood, they are also very specifically rooted in terms of their individual experiences and social positions. They may be of value to the HVI as it moves forward and targets its efforts to specific sub-areas and sub-populations.

Table 1 Sample Size And Recruitment Timetable

Method	Sample Size (Projected)	Recruitment of Participants	November 2013
Ethnographic Interviews (Social networks/ Daily routines)	20, ongoing through study period	Through community partners, field outreach, and referral	23 completed (22 valid)
Economic Profiles	40, ongoing through study period	Through community partners, field outreach, and referral	41 completed
Focus Groups	4-6 groups spread over three years, at 0, 6, 12 and 18 months	Through community partners, field outreach, and referral	2 completed
Photovoice	2 projects Spring/Summer 2013, 2014	Through community partners, field outreach, and referral	1 completed
Built Environment Inventory	Three waves: Fall 2012, 2013, 2014	Through community partners and UM students from Urban Sociology service learning course taught by Draus	1 completed

Findings

“Economic profiles were gathered through a structured interview often conducted alongside the combined ethnographic/social networks/daily routines interview.”

Economic Profiles

Economic profiles were gathered through a structured interview often conducted alongside the combined ethnographic/social networks/daily routines interview. The profiles were obtained via survey, developed by PI Roddy, which may be administered within about twenty minutes. In total 41 economic interviews (24 males, 17 females) were completed. Demographic data, transportation details, home ownership and residential preference variables are included. Income and expenditure profiles are detailed. Table 2 contains the survey results.

The survey begins with basic demographic variables. The mean age of the respondents is 49 while the average household size is three adults and one child. The most often reported household size is two adults and zero children. This sample presents with 34% of households containing children (n=14 of 41). A 2008 Detroit Kids Data report (DKD) places reports on the relative number of households with children in the 48238 area code. The HOPE Village Initiative neighborhood overlaps with two zip codes: 48238 and 48203. Of the zip codes reported on within Detroit (21) the DKD reports the 48238 zip code as 11th and 48203 as 8th, with 41% and 39% of the reported units housing children under 18 respectively. Many of the HVI initiatives are targeted toward households with children.

Most of the participants who interviewed (68%) have graduated from high school or have a general equivalency development certificate. In fact, while 32% have not graduated from high school, another 32%

have some college. The DKD report states that 70% of the population for the 48238 zipcode are high school graduates.⁵

Table 2 **Economic Findings**

	Mean (Mode)	Overall		Mean (Mode)	
Age	49 (54)		Public Transportation / Week	2.3 times (0 times)	
Household	3 Adults & 1 Child (2 A, 0 C)		Distance Traveled to Work	2 miles	
			Distance Traveled to School	0 miles	
Education		3 College	Distance Traveled to Shop	6 miles	
		10 Some College	Leave city / week	2 times (0 times)	
		15 DIP/GED	Why do you leave the city	14 Shop	
		11 10TH Grade+		15 Visit	
Race		34 African American	Why do you live here	16 Housing	
		4 White		22 History	
		3 Hispanic, NA, 0	Would you relocate	33 Yes	
Employment (household adults, n = 103)	23% F/T		Where	9 Detroit	
	7% P/T			6 Suburbs	
Wage (n=10)	\$13/Hour				16 Out of state
When did you last work?	7 Years Ago		Income		
What minimum wage would you accept?	\$7.45/Hour				
Health Insurance	63% Adults				
	96% Children				
Rent or Own		21 Rent Homes	Expenses		
		8 Own Homes		Food (43)	\$302 (\$200)
		12 Neither		Shelter (17)	\$400 (\$0)
Foreclosure		11 Foreclosures		Other (34)	\$341 (\$0)
Transportation		17 Own Cars		Total	\$1141 (\$200)

The survey asked the participant the number of household residents and whether they were full time working adults, part time working adults, adult students, student children or working children. This question generated information on the working status of 103 adults in the neighborhood. Of those 103 adults, 23% are working full time (24) and 7% are working part time (7). In addition, the interviewed participants who are working full time (n =10 out of 41) report a mean wage of \$13/hr. On average, the remaining 31 participants have been unemployed for 7 years and would accept a wage of \$7.45 to begin working again. Although employment rates are low, lack of health insurance is relatively less prevalent. In this sample, children are insured at the rate of 96% and adults are insured at the rate of 63%.

Eight participants (20%) in our sample reported owning their homes and 21 (51%) identified as renters. In 2010, 51% of Detroit residents reported living in owner occupied housing.⁵ Participant households with children reported home ownership at a rate of 21%, while Detroit's overall rate of owner occupancy in households with children is 45%.⁵ A full 29% of our participants reported neither renting nor owning their current shelter. Some of those that reported 'neither own nor rent' for this category were squatting in abandoned homes while others were staying with relatives, living in co-operatives, or performing care-giving duties in lieu of rent. If homeownership can be viewed as a proxy for vested interest in property caretaking and value, a full 80% of the participants surveyed fall outside of having this vested status. In addition, 11 participants (27%) have experienced the loss of a home through foreclosure.

Several variables regarding transportation and travel are reported. Over 41% of the participants reported owning their own transportation. Mean use of public transportation was 2.3 times per week with 7 participants reporting that they use public transportation 5 times per week or more and 18 participants reporting

that they do not use public transportation at all. The mean number of times participants leave the city per week is 2; however, many (n=15) report never leaving the city during the week. The participants most often report leaving the city for the purposes of shopping and visiting relatives. The mean distance traveled for shopping is six miles.

Participants were also asked why they reside in the neighborhood, if they would like to relocate and, if so, where? Residents most often reported that they lived in the neighborhood for historical reasons, for example either the participant or their significant other were raised in the neighborhood. A number of respondents also reported that they lived in the neighborhood due to the affordability of housing. When asked if they would like to relocate, an overwhelming 80% responded yes. Many reported that they would like to leave the state and this desire was often associated with employment opportunities. Of those who wanted to stay in Michigan, nine wanted to continue to reside in the city. Although we did not record the information specifically, often safety was cited as the reason that other city neighborhoods were desirable (the University District was mentioned more than once).

The income profiles for the 41 participants are detailed in Figure 2. Means are reported for each category of income. Although unemployment data was requested, not a single participant reported income from unemployment. Participation rates are often helpful in interpreting income category data. Participation rates are as follows: Employment, 32%; Unemployment, 0%; Food Stamps, 66%; Pension/Social Security, 29%; Family and Friends, 32%; Other income, 41%.

Expenditure profiles for the 41 participants are detailed in Figure 3. The second largest category of expenditure is food, requiring 26% of mean monthly income. This is often reported as identical to the amount identified in income as bridge card revenue.

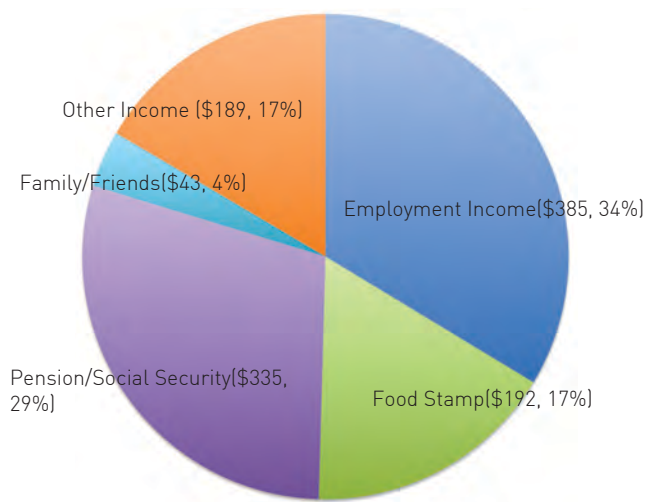


Figure 2 **Sources of Incomes, Mean Monthly Income \$1143**

Several participants also acknowledged using the services of food banks and church/community dinners. Shelter was also a sizeable expense (15% of median income) although it would be labeled as 'affordable,' meaning housing costs less than 30% of income. A variety of expenditures are also detailed and transportation reveals itself as sizeable at 8%. Several participants mentioned utilities as burdensome and that the restrictions of the budget plan (essentially on time payments) made participation difficult. Other expenditures, which include a very broad range of expenses from hygiene products to past debts, consume approximately 1/3 of income.

The full time employment rate for our participants was 26%. The average time out of work reported was 7 years which may include respondents who are not seeking employment due to retirement, disability or other reasons. Participants were also asked what wage would be acceptable in order to return to employment. The average acceptable wage was \$7.45. In addition, 66% percent of respondents reported participation the bridge card program. The participation rate for Detroit as a city is 41% for citizens within the state of Michigan but outside Detroit, the participation rate is 16.5%.⁵

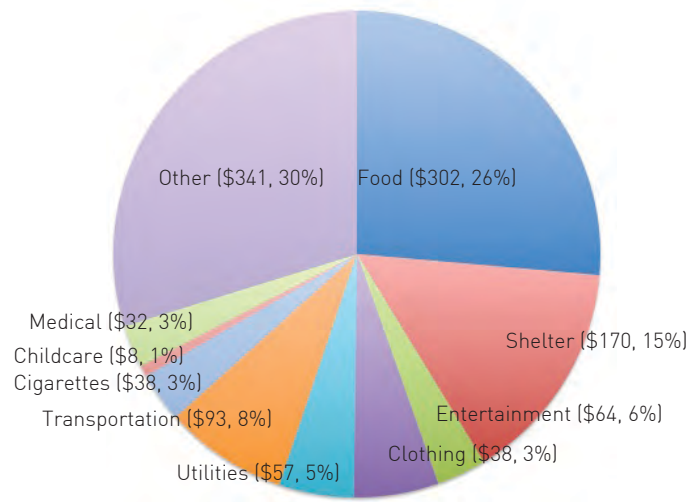


Figure 3 **Expenditure Categories, Mean Monthly Expenses \$114**

Ethnographic Interviews

As noted above, ethnographic interviews were used to explore social contexts of daily life in the HVI area. Interviews were conducted with residents and others familiar with the HVI area, such as those who grew up in the area and those who visit daily (see Table 3). With very few exceptions, each group and individual had good things to say about the community, especially relating to the quality of long-term relationships and the positive impact of key anchor institutions such as Focus: HOPE and the Parkman Branch of the Detroit Library. On the other hand, there were persistent themes of danger, disorder and decline evident throughout the interviews. In line with our study objectives, we were particularly interested with individuals' descriptions of the physical environment and its relationship to social relationships and behaviors. Although there were persistent common themes, there were also many variations in the observations that individuals shared. Ethnographic methods are especially suited to teasing out such nuances, while also relating them to broader themes.

Our ethnographic approach requires us to try to understand the meaning that each participant wishes to convey: the state of the neighborhood (and daily life within it) as they see it. The sections below present a broad scan of responses from across the range of interviews. These are categorized into thematic areas that reflect the structure of the qualitative interviews and the questions asked, most of which were open-ended (see Appendix). Some of the responses are edited slightly to conserve space—for example, the Interviewer’s frequent “Mmm-hmm” and “Yeah” responses, which were included in the full transcript, have been largely removed. However,

we have tried to preserve the flow and context of the conversation to better represent the ideas being conveyed. (NOTE: Where the characteristics of the respondents are not described in the text descriptions below, they can be gathered from Table 3). We have intentionally included multiple examples of key themes in order to provide a better sense of the rich detail of the participants’ responses. Finally, it should be noted that Focus: HOPE and the HVI were not the focus of our interviews. Only at the end of the interview did we ask a specific question about the impact of Focus: HOPE in the neighborhood.

Table 3 Ethnographic Sample

**Currently resides outside HOPE Village boundaries, but visits or spends time there regularly and has a long-term association with the area (due to family, employment, etc).*

***This participant was recruited at a Focus: HOPE event but we found out that he resided outside the HVI area, did not spend much time within it, and had only been out of prison for 10 days. We therefore decided to exclude his data from the analysis.*

Participant	Date	Gender	Age	Race	Education	Self-Rated Health (1=Excellent, 4=Poor)	Zone (recruited)
1011	08/23/12	M	60	A	College	Missing	3
1012	08/23/12	F	54	A	11th grade	1	3
1013*	08/24/12	M	51	A	12th grade	2	3
1014	11/02/12	F	44	W	Diploma	4	3
1018	05/22/13	M	32	A	Some College	2	2
1019	06/04/13	M	67	A	Some College	2	2
1020	06/04/13	F	48	A	Some College	2	2
1021	06/06/13	M	44	A	11th grade	2	2
1022*	06/11/13	M	57	A	GED	2	3
1023	06/12/13	F	46	A	College	2	3
1024	06/12/13	F	40	A	Some College	2	3
1025	06/17/13	M	55	A	College	1	3
1026	07/09/13	M	75	A	Diploma	3	4
1027	07/29/13	F	79	A	Associates	2	4
1028	07/29/13	M	77	A	GED	2	4
1029	07/29/13	M	20	A	Diploma	3	3
1030	07/31/13	M	36	A	Associates	2	3
1031	08/13/13	M	59	A	GED	3	2
1032	08/13/13	M	54	A	10th grade	3	2
1036**	08/23/13	M	45	A	12th	2	0
1037	08/23/13	F	54	A	Some College	4	3
1038*	08/26/13	F	42	A	Some College	3	3
1039*	08/23/13	M	53	A	12th grade	3	1

THEME 1: STATE OF NEIGHBORHOOD

Question: How do you describe the community to someone who is not from here?

The quote below, from an African-American woman in her 50s, is fairly representative of participants' overall ambivalent views of the neighborhood:

Interview 1012

Okay, well, it used to be better than it is—well not—like I say, when I was growing up, but now it's kind of wow, you know, people are sellin' drugs and shootin' and fightin', you know, and, and gettin' drunk all the time, but they don't, you know, they're peaceful. They don't bother anybody. They just go their way and, you know, it's just—it should be better than what it is. You know, people need to just either find them a job or do something constructive with their self. It's like a little, a lot of young boys, you know (emphasis added).

This passage includes several of the themes that we will discuss below: first, the sense of historical decline (verging on nostalgia); secondly, the issue of behavioral norms; third, the sense of a problematic generational divide. Finally, the emphasis is added on the phrases “they’re peaceful. They don’t bother anybody” because these indicate another common theme—that community residents actually do get along most of the time. While this might seem an obvious point (it is true in most human communities) it emerges across the interviews as a form of compensation for some of the other issues and problems (both social and environmental) that people cite.

The same participant later elaborated on this theme. When asked how she refers to the community, she responded with a laugh that it is simply “ghetto.”

Interview 1012

Interviewer: You consider this to be a ghetto neighborhood here?

Interviewee: Ghetto, yes...But nobody don't bother nobody. You know, but it's just ghetto. They, they act like they don't really care about it too much.

Her response to the follow up question is revealing—on the one hand, people in the neighborhood “don’t bother nobody”, but on the other hand, “they don’t really care about it too much.” These passages provide a sense of the mixed response we received concerning the current status of the neighborhood, in terms of both the physical and social environments. Likewise, a 32 year-old African American man with a history of incarceration described the neighborhood this way:

Interview 1018

[It's] a neighborhood with potential, even though it don't show it right now, you know? It's kind of, you know, the outside of it, you know. Inside, I know this neighborhood. I know its potential. I know it's good people.

I would say, be careful, because a lot of people—you know, it's just rough for everybody, you know? I don't—I—that's—it's—it's—it's not a tough question. It's just—ah.

Uh, it's a good neighborhood. It's a good neighborhood. You've still got your knuckleheads. You've got your knuckleheads no matter where you go, you know?

In response to this question, another man described the neighborhood simply as 'the hood.' When asked to elaborate, he provided more detail concerning conditions in the neighborhood and the behaviors and activities of some young residents, and contends that the blight on some blocks may be driven by the behaviors of residents on other blocks.

Interview 1029

The hood. The hood explains everything.

Interviewer: What does that mean though?

Interviewee: The hood is abandoned houses. People walkin' around with their pants saggin', which really means they have a gun somewhere near by or something for you. If it's a group of people, most likely three or four and they in a group and you look at them and they don't say nothin' to you, but you see them lookin' at you with a mean look, they probably have somethin' on them. Most of the time. People don't usually jump up and do things, cuz it is really, really hot over here. There's not a day that you don't hear a fire truck or an ambulance or the police over here...The houses might be nice, but the people in it make the neighborhood how it is. The people that have the nice houses over here are also the people that go in the middle and messes up. There are some nice houses over here that's okay and people don't mess with. Why? Because the kids that there make sure that they boys don't mess up they house.

A 19-year old focus group participant described the neighborhood in more hopeful terms, while also acknowledging some of the stresses that accompanied neighborhood life:

Focus Group 2, "Q" I think that, uh, this neighborhood—as a whole—has retained—has retained its nurturing love for all who've grown up in this area, um, as a tight-knit community. Um, there are many, many, um, situations that have went wrong here, you know, leaving the—the message and the image um, of destruction and some chaoticness of will. I think that all in all the right investments into this community will trigger a self-healing process, um, for those who still inhabit the neighborhood and love where they stay.

Because all in all, those who have grown up here, nine times out of ten, know who their neighbors are and look out for one another. And to a certain level bringing a bit more safety or peace of mind—to those who've grown up around-around here.

A 67-year old man who had spent much of his life in the neighborhood described the same mixed reality, relating the past identity of the neighborhood to its current condition.

Interview 1019

Well, what made the neighborhood what it was, was a great place to raise a family. Because you had a high school, junior high, you know, you can catch a bus or you can walk. And you had the library right here. So, a lot of people came over here to raise

their children, so it became, um, a neighborhood, a family oriented, um, neighborhood. You can, um, um, see your friends, see people, and they look out for you. That made the neighborhood great. You know, uh, that's passed. So, you're—you're hard fought to, uh, find something that you can say, well I can lay my hat on that is good, something good about the neighborhood. You still have pockets of good people— but, uh, you have a great number of bad people. If you don't live on—see, I lived over here, so I know the ins and outs of the neighborhood. It's not-not violent. You don't have out-and-out robberies, but you have break-ins—which you'll have, you know, people walking down the street, and— I'm gonna rob you, knock you in the head. You don't have that. But generally, people don't usually go out that—stay out late, you know, like that.

THEME 2: HEALTH OF NEIGHBORHOOD

Question: Do you consider this to be a healthy neighborhood or a healthy place to live (why or why not)?

The two responses below show the range of answers to this question. For those who said “no”, a common reason was that they did not consider it a safe neighborhood for children. For those who stated that the neighborhood was a healthy place to live, it was because of the relationships or resources within that community which perhaps did not exist in others. “The people,” or “the community” were seen as factors offsetting some of the negative aspects of the neighborhood environment. At the same time, other people in the community were often cited as contributors to its decline.

Interview 1012

Well, uh, from a scale of one to ten I would say a six...You know, it's not really bad, but it's—could be better.

Interview 1022

No.

Interviewer: Why not?

Interviewee: Because it's not—it's not a good place for—for kids. Um, it's not a place that—that breed that, you know, that instills, uh, really a pride in you because of the—the blight. But the people, you know, you know the people. It's—it's some good people over here.

Interview 1012

Yeah, I do.

Interviewer: And-and why do you say that? What makes it a healthy place to live?

Interviewee: Because we, um, it's a community. You know, we talk, visit, watch out for each other. So the neighbors know what's goin' on with my kids, I know what's goin' on with their kids. So it's like we-we-we, uh, socialize more—over here than we did when I was back on the other side. It's like you were off to yourself.

The second response was from a woman who had moved to the Oakman vicinity several years ago, after living for decades on the other side of Dexter Avenue. For her, the cohesiveness of the community compensated for some of the “activities” (as she called them) which she sought to avoid in the larger area. It should be noted that her comments refer to her immediate neighbors, and not to the area as whole.

Positive relations with neighborhoods were clearly central to one’s experience of daily life. Two residents on the eastern side of the HOPE Village Initiative area (Zone 4), who were interviewed together, also responded positively to this question based largely on the relationships that they maintained within it:

Interviews 1027/1028

Respondent 1028: It’s a healthy neighborhood, and most the people I know are healthy.

Interviewer: So why do you say? What, what is it that makes it a healthy place to live?

Respondent 1028: Cuz it’s home.

Respondent 1027: Just the camaraderie to me.

Respondent 1028: Yeah. The roots, yeah.

Respondent 1027: Because all the kids call me Grandma.

Another elder resident from the Highland Park section responded to the question this way, connecting his sense of the neighborhood as a healthy place to his physical sense of belonging:

Interview 1026

Oh yeah, it’s, it’s the land. That’s, that’s what’s important, it’s the land. Yeah, yeah, if you own the land, you own somethin’. Yeah, you own somethin’. Yeah, no like I said, I’ve been halfway around the world and I always wound up back here.

THEME 3: SAFE AND RISKY PLACES

Question: What spaces or places do you frequent and what spaces do you avoid?

The daily routines portion of the interview dealt with activities within the neighborhood and individuals’ sense of safety and risk. As the examples below illustrate, there were some places that residents viewed as much more likely to be associated with risk. These included commercial spaces such as busy gas stations and blighted areas with multiple vacant or abandoned buildings, especially when combined with inadequate lighting. Although none of the formal interview questions directly referenced abandonment, it was one of the most frequently cited issues.

Interview 1012

Interviewer: It’s [Davison Avenue] rough. That’s where the pastor had got robbed at that gas station up there on Linwood and Davison.

Interviewee: Okay, so where—so what area would you say you avoid?

I don't go too much Linwood and Davison, Linwood—all, all of Linwood, period. I don't, I don't like that area even though I was baptized at that church right there. But I don't like the area. It's kind of rough, dangerous

Interview 1018

Interviewer: Are there any places within the neighborhood that you specifically avoid, any areas or places in the neighborhood that you avoid?

Interviewee: Not really, but gas stations and stores late at night, you know. If I—like, I tell my buddies or somebody with me, you know, “Do you know what you want?” We going straight in, get what we want, and we leaving straight out. There's no sense in just sitting around, you know? That's when trouble happens.

Interviewer: So you avoid those places because—

Interviewee: I don't want to get stuck up.

Interview 1014

One woman stated that she would avoid walking up blocks with numerous abandoned buildings in them because you don't know who might be in them. We then followed up on this statement:

Interviewer: And that's something you've experienced with abandoned buildings? People being inside them?

Interviewee: Oh yeah, yeah. I used to be in them, when I was homeless, so I know there's many more out there. If I was doing it, following other people doing it, you know, just to stay out the cold. You know what I'm saying? Maybe there could be chairs in there. You end up getting in there. You might find a blanket in another house. So you take that one and you go to the one that you feel the most safest in, and you lay around, trying to stay warm, you know.

Interview 1021

Interviewer: And what—I mean, what's the significance of the abandoned houses? I mean, for you—you said the other neighborhood you lived in with your sister had a lotta abandoned houses, and you've got 'em in this neighborhood, too. Um, why is that—why does that make a difference?

Interviewee: Well, it's kinda more—it's more so about eyesore, to me—um, plus, I mean, it can—you know, some blocks, you know, you wanna, you kinda wanna avoid 'em, if there's too many abandoned houses, you don't know—what's gonna happen, especially at nighttime. You don't know know if somebody gonna run out, or—you know. But, if it's like my block, Pasadena, it's only like two or three. So—it's, you can always consider it safer, you know—as would, like I said, Grand and a couple other streets. You might

have six or seven in a row—or even less, on this side. On the other side of, um, Linwood—I guess, so it would be east of Linwood or whatever—you know, you got a lot of, uh, a lotta abandoned houses—you know, six or seven in a row sometimes. But, you know, so certain blocks, you won't—you know, you would feel safe on. Some blocks, I kinda avoid.

These quotes are fairly representative of residents' concerns about safety in public spaces. The car-jacking of Pastor Marvin Winans⁶ at the corner of Linwood and Davison in 2012 was referenced by multiple participants as a kind of index of the level of danger in that area of the neighborhood. As for abandoned buildings, the concern was twofold—the visual unpleasantness of these “eyesores” was compounded by their potential to attract dangerous activities (more on this below).

On the positive side, residents referred to the Parkman Branch Library, to Oakman Boulevard itself, to various churches, and to Focus: HOPE as places that they value or seek out. The following quotes succinctly sum up many of these more positive elements:

Interview 1020

I mean where I'm at right here you got the library, you got Focus: HOPE, you got the churches. So it's like, you got some people in this general area that will help you; you know what I'm sayin', if you need help. I miss seein' church people had come up to people and just give them stuff. You know what I'm saying? So, you know, it's a—now maybe if we was down in the Dexter area, somewhere in there, that's a whole different story.

Interestingly enough, the LaSalle/Ford Park was a place that turned up as both a positive space (place that you frequent) and a negative space (place that you avoid). This is illustrated by the following quotes.

Interview 1013

Well, I would think, to me, what makes that neighborhood special is actually the park [laughter]. If it wasn't for the park and the way Focus: HOPE sets it up, I don't think too many people would actually visit that neighborhood.

Interviewer: What is it about that park? Is that park, is that known outside of the neighborhood? Does that park have a reputation?

Interviewee: I would think so, because they also have a spot over there on Grand. They're supposed to have a Friends for Life thing over there next week. Actually, it's like when my family get together. You know, everybody get together, have a good time and go on about your business, yeah.

Interview 1014

Interviewer: What kind of things do you—would you say are most sort of memorable about this neighborhood or things that stand out, as far as, like—

Interviewee: The way they try and keep the park up.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: They do try and keep the park up from when I first came here. It's done a lot better. They do—Focus: HOPE does it, I guess.

Interviewer: Okay. You're talking about the park on, ah—

Interviewee: LaSalle. Right by Focus: HOPE.

Interview 1020

I would like to see a better, I would like to see a nice park that I can walk right across the street too. You know what I'm sayin'? Instead of walkin' way back. Because you see that park is cool over there, but then if you, I mean LaSalle just in the summer-time it's, I don't know. I don't know if you guys seen it yesterday, but these people be hangin'—Yeah, yeah some in the street. There's people right there in the street. Yeah, see I don't wanna be all around that. You know what I'm saying'?

Interview 1022

So it's—it's places like the park. I don't go to that park.

Interviewer: Talkin' about LaSalle?

Interviewee: Yeah. Because of the little crew of guys that be up there and—every day they drunk and they—they killin' each other off for nothin'—-for no reason, for—for bein' drunk—you know. And I don't know. I know they don't value life. They don't respect the older people. They don't respect themselves, so they don't have any respect for nobody else. It's not about respect, but you know. But it's places I—I—I—I know everybody, but I don't—mix in with everybody, you know. You know, so I still speak. I'm no better than. I'm just a blink away from bein'—where they were. But, you know, I just—it's—it's a—it's a whole different atmosphere now really I think.

We should note here that the two “positive” comments originated from people (one man, one woman) who live near LaSalle Park or are closely associated with people who live by the park. The other two responses came from people (one man, one woman) who reside or spend most of their time in another section of the neighborhood. Nevertheless, these examples highlight the importance of such public spaces in shaping one's experience of a neighborhood.

THEME 4: CHANGES IN NEIGHBORHOOD

Question: What changes do you see taking place in the community? What changes would you like to see?

This question was intentionally open-ended, allowing participants to express their sense of the direction of change in the neighborhood, the forces or factors influencing that change, and how they would like or hope to see it change. In other words, the question was potentially descriptive, analytic or aspirational, depending on the individual. A 44 year-old white woman, who has lived in the neighborhood for approximately ten years

and describes herself as a “homebody”, discussed the social and physical changes she has seen in that time period:ing. Although none of the formal interview questions directly referenced abandonment, it was one of the most frequently cited issues.

Interview 1014

Well, I’ve seen a lot of houses become abandoned. And, as for the crowds, this crowd is still the same, except for the younger crowd’s growing up. In the ten years that I’ve been here, I’ve seen them be more disrespectful, and uh, not, like I said, talk to elders the way my kids would never be allowed to talk to like that. You know, there’s just no way. And they just disrespect the neighborhood. They, the young kids disrespect the, you know, not even just their parents—

Interviewer: So how is that different than how it used to be here?

Interviewee: Because it used to be where the younger kids, you had the parents with them a lot more. Now, you see these five or six year-olds, there’s a group of them. What parent leaves a five and six year-old to take care of a one year-old, and they’re dragging them to the park with five and six other kids. And they’re none of them over the age of ten. I don’t see that. You know, my kids were never allowed to go nowhere at them ages, without a parent or some kind of major supervision. Not another ten year-old supervising the six year-old, you know, but that’s just me, I guess. I dunno.

Interviewer: Okay, and you also mentioned abandoned buildings. Um—

Interviewee: There’s a lot more abandoned houses...since I’ve been here, that street used to have all kinds of families living in them houses. And now there might be two families on the whole block. And everything’s abandoned. I’ve known a few people that have gotten shot in a few of them houses.

A 32-year-old African American man recounted his own history with the neighborhood and how it had changed. Here the emphasis is on changes in attitude or mindset:

Interview 1018

Interviewer: Did you move here then? Did you live here then or you—you became—you visited here, you had family here?

Interviewee: No. I actually—we stayed in the Jeffries Projects--my mom and us, but my auntie stayed in their house on Grand.

Interviewer: On Grand? Okay.

Interviewee: So it was like my mom got the house from her great aunt-- because, you know, we’re all from Mississippi-- but they came up here. You know, she worked at Ford— so that’s how she was able to buy her house. So but like when I was younger, everything was different over here. It looked good. It was nice. Everybody spoke to each other. Now it’s more of a war zone—Everybody out for they self.

However, later in the same interview he also references the physical aspects of decline in terms of the loss of housing:

- Interviewer: Changes that I've been seeing, uh, just the neighborhood's going down, you know. Every morning I get tired of looking at these two little vacant houses and the weeds and stuff like that.
- Interviewee: And how long—do you know how long those have been vacant? Is that a recent—a relatively recent thing, or—
- Interviewer: A couple of years, because that was my [friend's] house, you know. Somebody burnt it down.
- Interviewee: Were they living there when it got burnt, or—
- Interviewer: Yeah. I can't recall...when it got burnt, but, um, it—one thing that's good about [this street], [this street] tends to stay the same. It's still holding on. As far as around the neighborhood, just a lot of burnt-up houses. I mean, people losing their houses, and you know, when they're losing their houses, you know, "If I can't have it, I don't want nobody else to have it," so they tend to burn it up, or, you know, insurance jobs or whatever is going on.

A thread of connection between these two different emphases has to do with changes in attitudes as a reflection of generational turnover in the neighborhood and the loss of a stable home-owning class. The following quotes make this connection explicit:

Interview 1019

And I did not come back to the home until after my parents passed. And, um, with the-the neighborhood used to be, man, it used to be a really, really nice neighborhood. And, um, what has happened, um, everybody in my generation and, um, has turned 6-65, and people who own the houses, they just died. And they left the homes to be, uh-uh, left the homes abandoned. And we have more abandoned houses on my block than I've ever seen. Every—I got three on my immediate block--and then one, two, three, four, five in my near block. The next point, you got seven. The next block, you got four. And it goes all around the area, because the houses were probably built at the same time. And so, they would deteriorate at the same time. And so, the houses are this—uh, then when they're—when they're abandoned and become vandalized, it's for the—for the scrappers. So the neighborhood is, uh, is not good. Not this surrounding area here. But, you know, there are pockets of people who are still, uh, um, you know, taking care of their property.

Interview 1023

Well, it has truly changed since I was, you know, since—we first moved here. We moved here back in 1979 from the south—and um, it was more, um, family oriented when we moved here. And um, now due to the economy, due to, uh, a lot of the seniors are dying out. They're leaving their homes to their grandchildren, and

they're not keepin' up the property, and it's a lot of drug activity goin' on—within their neighborhoods. So, which is the area I used to stay in, which is not far from here. We end up moving from over there to over here for safety, really. We wanted to--continue to stay in the neighborhood, but we didn't want to be a part of that, uh, that lifestyle.

In terms of changes envisioned, some individuals largely foresaw a continuation of current trends—that is, further decline. When asked what changes they would like to see, some had very specific ideas on how to make the neighborhood better. One man offered a concrete way to address the problem of vacant houses being used for drug activity:

Interview 1021

If-if you can't, um, go into [inaudible 0:35:01], you should be able to put a-a sign up, when-when the neighborhood calls and says it's a dope house. Put a big sign, red, in big letters: this is a-a suspected dope house. And um, and put down, if you don't, um, stop dealing dope, your house will be re-retaken by the city. And if you take this sign down, it'll cost you five--\$5,000 to take this sign off. If you remove this sign, you know, it'll take you \$5,000. And leave it up there, cuz you-you just like roaches. You put a light on a roach, they'll run. Put a light on—you don't have to—if you do that way, you don't have to patrol the house. You don't have to go by and look at the house. They don't—they don't—they don't respond to landlords, gonna respond to that, if he thinks he's gonna lose his home. And then you don't have to need that many police officers, cuz we—that sign will be your police officer. That's all they have to do about these drug houses.

Another respondent had considered the idea of how to address the problems of blight and unemployment at once.

Interview 1021

First of all, I think it-it would be, um, more jobs, of course—but that's everywhere. And, um, the bandos, you know—board 'em up, tear down, or do something with 'em—especially the grass, you know the grass be super high—some of the lots, you know, vacant lots—and stuff like that. Um, me and another guy, we was trying to figure out how we could probably be a part of that. You know, where we'll cut the grass, or—trying to figure something out, but I think he was saying he had to go through the city, and, I dunno.

Interviewee: I mean, so you were thinking about how you might be—you might be able to work on-on that kinda stuff?

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, trying to figure how, you know, we can get compensated on cutting the grass. We-we out there, we do a lotta stuff just voluntary anyway—in the neighborhood.

Interviewee: Like what kinds of things?

Interviewer: You know, cutting the grass in a lot of the, uh, in the front of those houses that we

These ideas pertained directly to both the physical environment and the behavior of individuals within the neighborhood. Simple things like cutting the grass, boarding up or demolishing buildings, and employing or otherwise occupying youth, were commonly mentioned as urgent needs, and some had noticed recent improvements in these areas:

Interview 1038

They need to tear out a lot of these vacant and burnt up looking houses around here, basically.

Interviewee:

You mentioned earlier the grass being mowed and stuff like that.

Interviewer:

They—I like—well, a lot of the fields are mowed. You know, I don't see too many of them tall.

Interviewee:

Yeah. Is that a change that you noticed recently?

Interviewer:

Yeah, because a lot of places, like, really over the last couple of years when I first came back to Detroit. A lot of them was all tall and overgrown. Yeah, so it's getting better.

In terms of anticipated changes, one of the more interesting subthemes in our study had to do with the implications of racial and economic change in the city of Detroit. Although no one used the word "gentrification", and few reported any influx of more affluent groups, a couple participants commented on this possibility in the not-too-distant future. One man was quite positive about a trend—which he had observed in neighboring areas such as Boston-Edison—towards more racial and economic diversity:

Interview 1025

And, see, uh, this one thing—uh, what I like about these type of, uh, surveys, you—you all gonna get some information that will maybe assist. Because even, um uh, with Dick Gregory, hear this on one of his tapes. To understand the psyche of, uh, the average, uh, African American person, when there're more, um, uh, white people or Caucasian people movin' into the neighborhood, certain black people will start to correct their negative ways. She said if there are a large amount of poor people in one area, they won't try to move up the ladder. But if you intermix the, uh, poor and—and rich together, maybe they'll do that. But when it comes down to certain, um, mentalities, certain African American people—just as that philosophy goes, when they go across Eight Mile they don't litter, but they'll litter up their own neighborhood.

Others saw the same potential trend of racial and economic change, but leading to a different result:

Interviews 1027 & 1028

Respondent 1027: They want it back.

Respondent 1028: They comin' back downtown.

Respondent 1027: They do want Detroit back.

Respondent 1028: Cuz Detroit is one of the most beautiful areas in the United States. Michigan is one of the most beautiful states in the United States. You got water here. You got everything here. Downtown used to be a metropolis. I won't live to see it, but it's happenin'. All this, it's just a vicious circle, goes around in a circle. Then after they get tired of downtown again, if they live long enough, it'll be just like out here.

While this was not a concern that was commonly voiced, residents' concerns about redevelopment efforts in general might also shape peoples' ideas about the HVI.

THEME 5: IMPACT OF FOCUS: HOPE

Questions: What changes in the neighborhood have you seen as a result of Focus: HOPE activities? Has this organization had a direct impact on you or anyone you know? Has it had an impact on the way the neighborhood looks? Has it had an impact or changed the risk or safety of the neighborhood or places within the neighborhood?

In terms of positive impacts in the community, Focus: HOPE and the library were again frequently mentioned before these questions were asked (near the end of the interview). As the following passage shows, the problem of improving the neighborhood physically was seen as inseparable from the issue of social behaviors and individual or group attitudes:

Interview 1022

Interviewee: Can you—you—and you've talked—when we began you talked about how the neighborhood had changed—

Interviewer: Number one, is I see Focus: HOPE has done a lot for this neighborhood. They—they really gotten involved in, uh, uh, helping people to help themselves. They're involved in—in beautifyin' the neighborhood and [inaudible 47:10]. I think that was a brilliant thing they did puttin' these trees up and down Linwood. You know, doin' the little garden project on Linwood. And I see 'em cleanin' up streets, boardin' houses up and stuff like that. And I think that that's a good thing for the neighborhood. But I don't know, uh, I don't—let me see. I don't see how [pause] that's gonna bring about a permanent change though as long as some of the people like I'm speakin' of are still doin' what they doin' or in the mindsets that they have. They don't give a damn about what's goin' on. They gonna do what they do, and that's gonna affect the whole pictures. [Laughter]

One 55-year-old African-American man noted that the most important contribution of Focus: HOPE was in the realm of ideals and values, and specifically its model of interracial collaboration:

Interview 1025

I'm very impressed with Focus: HOPE because, um, uh, from what I've seen that, um, Focus: HOPE has done—even with that, um, the logo that they have when they have

the picture of the black hand and the white hand that's working as a unit together. That type of, uh, unity that needs to come about because—my main, uh, concept of people period, we're all human. And that's very childish and kindergartenish for people to try to, uh, rate people by the color of their skin. If you see horses out there running around, you don't see that uh, they're fighting each other because the color of their skin. All horses, black, brown, white get along. Why are people gonna be more unintelligent than a horse? You tell me a horse or a dog has more intelligence than a human? [Laugh].

As these examples illustrate, respondents had overwhelmingly positive things to say about Focus: HOPE and its impact on the neighborhood, sometimes going back to the organization's beginnings and referencing their own relationships with Father Cunningham. However, there were also a few undercurrents of suspicion and criticism concerning the present-day influence and motivations of the organization. Sometimes the suspicion and appreciation were expressed side-by-side, as in this combined interview with a man and a woman, both in their late 70s and life-long residents of the area:

Interview 1027 & 1028

- Respondent 1028: That Focus: HOPE over there is pretty good.
- Respondent 1027: Focus: HOPE is building.
- Respondent 1028: Focus: HOPE help the people. That's Father Cunningham's thing, Focus: HOPE over there. They help the neighborhood. They help everybody.
- Moderator: What kind of impact do you, do you—does Focus: HOPE have on you over here?
- Respondent 1028: Well, he's helpin' people. He help people that need it.
- Respondent 1027: They always help.
- Respondent 1028: That was kinda the church, but, uh, I don't know. They buyin' up all the land.
- Moderator: So you said they buy up all the land. Is that something that, that you've seen take place or that you heard about?
- Respondent 1027: Yeah, 'cuz—
- Respondent 1028: I think they got something planned for that area.
- Moderator: So you think they may have something planned for the neighborhood?
- Respondent 1028: They always have.
- Respondent 1027: Oh, they always got somethin' goin' on.
- Respondent 1028: They've always had. Ever since they been over there, they've had somethin' planned for this neighborhood.

One 36-year old African-American was especially critical of Focus: HOPE's lack of attention to the area outside its own campus:

Interview 1030

Really, I—I hate it over here in this area, because Focus: HOPE don't do nothin' for this area. Focus: HOPE—if you really care about this area, look at Focus: HOPE. That's only Focus: HOPE that look good. Focus: HOPE don't look—look at the area, you know, and I kind of regret even comin' back in this area, to be honest with you. You know, but I'm in the process where I'm gonna move up out this area, cuz I don't like it over here no more. You know, like I said, it changed over here. It changed greatly over here. From the time I was comin' over here when I was a little boy all the way up to now.

At the same time, however, he credited Focus: HOPE with contributing to an enhanced police presence:

Interview 1030

And that's the only thing I like about this area now, because you see a lot more cops. And then they got a train station right here, just right past Focus: HOPE and they got one right up here on Dexter—past the railroad tracks. So they heavy over here now. That's the only thing I can say that's a good thing about over here, but everything else still sucks.

The following passage, from a 59-year-old lifelong resident of the neighborhood, also reveals some ambivalence concerning FH's relationship to the surrounding community.

Interview 1031

And see, Focus: HOPE, after the riot, Focus: HOPE, they gave Focus: HOPE the money. You see? To make the community better. But Focus: HOPE ended up—you got guys in Southfield come over here to Focus: HOPE—to get skilled trades. And then, once a lot of them peoples get the skilled trades—they go on back to they community. You know? Go onto Ford Motor Company—or goin' to get they job, you know? But see, Focus: HOPE, they used to pass out food...And then, uh, but that's when they first started, Focus HOPE. But you know, sometime [sic] when the money come in—see Focus: HOPE done grow. It done got big. So it's, like, the little people—that they used to look out for in the community, they don't, you know, it's, it's, like, they passed through. You know? So to speak. we used to be able to come up here and, like, if you was a senior citizen and things like that, you could see the doctor. And different stuff like that, you know? 'Cuz this, this was, like, um, this was, like, our community center, Focus: HOPE.

This response suggests that as FH has become more institutionalized, it has lost some of its original connection to the surrounding neighborhood. Later in the interview, however, he noted that the influence of FH does have a beneficial impact on residents, whether or not they participate in programs directly.

Interview 1031

Interviewee: You know, 'cuz you've got, like, say you've got a millionaire multi and you got the poor man. So they gonna make sure this property over here— you know, you a tax payer

and everything. And the millionaire multi is—Right, see we ain’t taxpayers like Focus: HOPE is. ‘Cuz he a power broker.

Interviewer: But because you’re in there—
Interviewee: In they perimeter. We get a benefit.

It is worth noting these undercurrents of suspicion in the neighborhood because they may affect relationships with particular groups. Each of these four examples expresses a view of Focus: HOPE as representative of a larger power structure, while at the same time acknowledging the roots of the organization in the surrounding community. Based on our findings, this is a minority of the neighborhood population. Nonetheless, we would recommend that such viewpoints be actively engaged when possible.

Collective Efficacy/Social Cohesion Measures

The table below illustrates the most common responses to the battery of questions on Collective Efficacy (CE) and Social Cohesion (SC). The results that stand out here are the high level agreement on the neighborhood as being “close-knit” and the willingness of people to help their neighbors. These results support the findings above in terms of the high levels of social connection that tend to characterize the neighborhood. At the same time, the response to CE question 1, “My neighbors can be counted on to take action if children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner” (Strongly Disagree was the most common response), and SC Question 5, “People in this neighborhood do not share the same values” (Strongly Agree was the most common response), are indicative of the generational/cultural divide that was referenced in many of the interviews.

COLLECTIVE EFFICACY QUESTIONS

On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 indicating that you “Strongly Agree” and 5 indicating that you “Strongly Disagree”, respond to the following statements:

1. My neighbors can be counted on to take action if children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner.

2. My neighbors can be counted on to take action if children were spray-painting graffiti on a local building.
3. My neighbors can be counted on to take action if children were showing disrespect to an adult.
4. My neighbors can be counted on to take action if a fight broke out in front of their house.
5. My neighbors can be counted on to take action if the fire station closest to home was threatened with budget cuts.

Table 4 Responses to Collective Efficacy/Social Cohesion Questions

Question	Mean	Mode
CE 1	3.35	5
CE 2	2.57	1
CE 3	2.35	1
CE 4	2.78	1
CE 5	2.87	2
SC 1	1.87	1
SC 2	1.96	1
SC 3	2.78	3
SC 4	4	4
SC 5	2.7	1

SOCIAL COHESION QUESTIONS

On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 indicating that you “Strongly Agree” and 5 indicating that you “Strongly Disagree”, respond to the following statements:

1. People around here are willing to help their

neighbors

2. This is a close-knit neighborhood
3. People in this neighborhood can be trusted
4. People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with each other
5. People in this neighborhood do not share the same values.

Inventory of Built Environment

We used the Irvine-Minnesota Inventory (IMI) because it had been field-tested in multiple sites and has been used by both experts and non-experts.^{7,8} The survey was designed to measure features of the built environment that contribute to healthy behaviors such as walking and other forms of physical exercise, while also capturing potential sources of risk such as unrepaired sidewalks and dangerous intersections. What the built environment inventory provides is an objective baseline measure of neighborhood characteristics, especially as they relate to factors limiting or enabling healthy behaviors and social interaction. As HVI efforts may eventually encompass redevelopment of buildings as well as conversion of vacant land to other purposes such as parks and gardens, this constitutes a vital dimension of change.

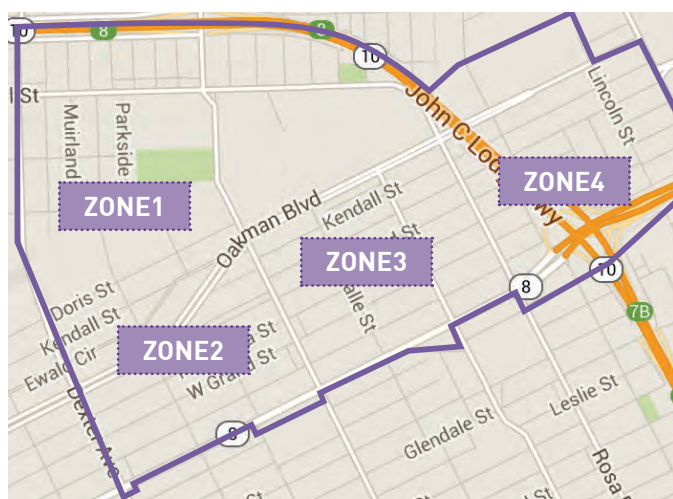


Figure 4 Zones Covered by Students Conducting IMI

Table 5 shows results from the survey for four distinct measures (out of the 178 included on the IMI), of which three might be viewed as indicators of community disorder (abandoned homes, graffiti and litter) and one reflects a simple housing feature (prevalence of front porches). While the overall differences are slight and the measure is not finely calibrated, these results do reflect some variability across the four sections of the HVI target area, with Zone 4 showing the highest average score in terms of abandonment, and the lowest score in terms of graffiti, while Zone 1 has a lower overall score on the abandonment index, possibly because of the high percentage of industrial sites which occupy more area within this zone. The abandonment measure does require some degree of judgment on the part of the individuals administering the survey. They were instructed to count structures as “abandoned” only if there were definite indicators, such as boarded up doors and windows or burned out structures. Levels of litter seem relatively low across the neighborhood. The high frequency of front porches might contribute to enhanced community interaction and regulation of behavior.

When combined together, the 100+ variables from the IMI can be utilized to generate scores on 10 dimensions of healthy place characteristics using a tool known as State of Place™, developed by Mariela Alfonso at NYU Polytechnic University. Dr. Alfonso used our IMI results to generate scores for Hope Village, compared to 120 other communities that have been surveyed using the IMI. The results are shown in Figure 5. The figure shows the State of Place Index for the overall neighborhood, broken down into the ten dimensions, with scores normalized so that they go from 0-100%, where 100% represents the total maximum score observed in other neighborhoods.

Figure 5 indicates that the HOPE Village target area falls in the low to medium range on most of the dimensions, except for form and connectivity, where the neighborhood scores higher than most other

neighborhoods in Dr. Alfonso’s database. This is significant because the top four dimensions (Form, Density, Proximity and Connectivity) are also those which are most difficult and expensive to change. On the other hand, some of the dimensions where the HOPE Village area scores in the middle range (Personal Safety, Aesthetics) are much easier to change. Two of the dimensions where HOPE Village area scores very low, compared to other communities, are Parks & Public Spaces and Recreational Facilities. While these are not necessarily cheap or easy fixes, they do align with some of the possible development projects for the HOPE Village target area, including some of those proposed by other

Table 5 Select Measures from IMI, by Zone
 * some/a lot = 3; few = 2; none = 0; NA=8

Zone	Abandoned Mode (Mean)	Front Porch Mode (Mean)	Graffiti Mode (Mean)	Litter Mode (Mean)
1	2 (1.97)	3 (2.3)	2 (1.43)	2 (1.47)
2	2 (2.05)	3 (2.5)	0 (0.75)	2 (2.13)
3	2 (2.05)	3 (4.05)	2 (1.4)	2 (1.75)
4	2 (2.21)	3 (2.36)	0 (0.44)	2 (2.04)
Village Total	3 (2.07)	3 (2.71)	0 (1.02)	2 (1.81)

groups involved in this Integrated Assessment (Play & Grounds, Legal Issues in HOPE Village Housing Cooperative and Green Space, Applied Research and Service by Urban Planning Students in the HOPE Village Initiative Area).

Focus Group Findings

We used focus groups as a form of community conversation, in which ideas flowed in both directions, from the research team to community members, and vice versa. As our overarching theme is the relationship between environmental or neighborhood-level factors and individual outcomes, we framed these discussions around features of the local environ-

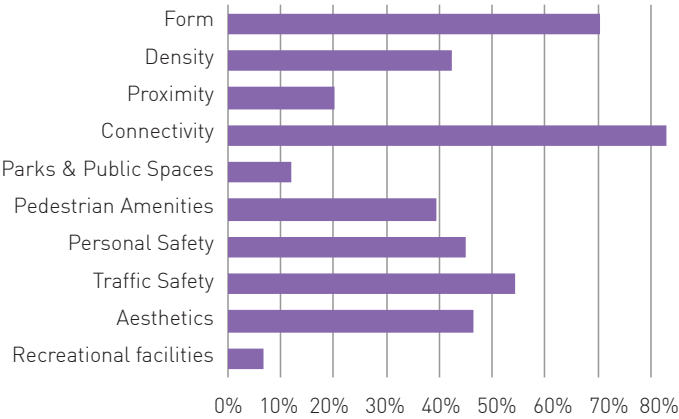


Figure 5 State of Place Index Scores for HOPE Village
 Generated by Dr. Mariela Alfonso using IMI data gathered by Urban Sociology Students from UM-Dearborn

ment that contribute to either enhanced wellbeing or increased risk.⁹ We modeled our efforts on the approach used by researchers from the University of Michigan School of Public Health.^{10,11} At this time we have completed two focus groups. One included six residents of the Village of Oakman Manor senior housing facility and the other was conducted at the Parkman Library. Overall, both discussions revealed a “beauty and the beast” (using the words of one neighborhood contact) scenario across the neighborhood.

The first group consisted of seniors, three men and three women, all African American, who had resided at the facility from two years to seven years (it has been open seven years). It was an open-ended discussion about issues related to neighborhood and changes within the neighborhood. We asked them to begin by just saying one or two words that summed up the neighborhood. They began with words like nice, safe, secure, and so on, but the last gentleman, who entered after the conversation had begun, stated the words “appalling” and “sickening” specifically about the level of abandonment in the neighborhood that confronted someone wherever they looked. The conversation proceeded from there, touching on some of the neighborhood’s positive points, such as the redevelopment of the NSO/Bell building and the activities of Focus: HOPE in performing neighborhood upkeep, to the persistence of blight, including

a vacant lot and two vacant houses that bordered directly on the facility. After the group was over, they asked if we wanted to see the lots they were talking about, as well as their community garden, and so we went out back and I was able to see what they meant and to take some pictures. According to the group, addressing some of these issues through new commercial and housing development (which would also bring in more security) would be the best possible change that could happen in the neighborhood.

The second group included three young men, “Q”, “Jeremy” and “Ant” ages 19-20, who were recruited through community contacts. Each of them expressed similar thoughts concerning the challenges that they confront, and the bonds that they share, as youth growing up in a distressed neighborhood. However, they also had many positive things to say about the neighborhood, in terms of relationships between neighbors and the contribution of organizations such as Focus: HOPE. One area of agreement was that more needed to be done to both decrease the sources of negativity (blighted and abandoned buildings, parks, etc.) and increase positive alternatives or “safe havens”, such as recreation centers, educational opportunities, or field trips. One of them, “Q”, was given to flights of idealistic oratory. He described the neighborhood as “somewhat peaceful, but on the other side, it can get a little rough...depending on what type of people you hangin’ around.” “The right investments in this community will trigger a self-healing process,” he said. “Ant” talked about the neighborhood in terms of blocks and areas and their “representatives.” “Jeremy” said much less than the others, but focused on experiences of individuals with families disrupted by drugs, and how that might shape their decisions.

but has since been used to document conditions contributing to violence and substance abuse in Flint, Michigan¹³ as well as among homeless shelter residents in Ann Arbor.¹⁴ PI Draus has used photo-voice-like methodology in the past, giving cameras to residents of Chicago’s West Side to chronicle and describe neighborhood conditions.^{15,16} For this proposal, photovoice serves several important functions: it provides a means of gauging community perception of the environment; it generates concrete visual data; and it promotes participation, empowerment and ownership of the process.

At the date of this report, we have successfully completed one Photovoice project, with plans to complete two more. Our first Photovoice project developed as a result of a focus group that we conducted with three young African American men (ages 18-19) who had been recruited through a Focus: HOPE event. They were each given one digital camera to use for the span of one week. They were told to simply document places or things within the neighborhood that they felt represented their perspective on life within the community. They were instructed not to put themselves at risk or to take pictures of people (especially children) without express permission. Other than that, the project was left very open-ended. At the end of the week, they returned the cameras and selected ten images to download and discuss. Some examples are included below, using their chosen pseudonyms: “Ant”, “Jeremy”, and “Q.” What the Photovoice project dramatically revealed was how significant the physical landscape and environment of the HVI area was in shaping the perceptions of young people concerning the status of their community, and by extension their own life chances.

Photovoice Findings

Photovoice was initially developed to document conditions confronting poor women in rural China,¹²



Image 1

“Ant”: This block is just totally, like, destroyed. It is—vegetation is outta control. There’s no houses. There’s no street lights. No stop signs. Nothing. There’s just straight landscaping. [Laughter]... Um, we have a lot of uncontrolled vegetation, it’s like uh, unsafe for anybody to walk up and down the street, because there’s no, no, no—I don’t know. There’s no people on the block. Nobody would see anything if something happened. So that’s not a good place to be.



Image 2

“Ant”: This is down the street from the first, the picture with all the vegetation. It’s like they dump trash right in the middle, right along the freeway. So you know, where the exits at? It’s like trash in the middle of the exit.



Image 3

“Jeremy”: Well, to start off, the very first picture I took was the library, because it is the safe—it’s a safe haven. Everybody goes to the library. It’s a real important place to get information and get—and get involved in a lot of positive activities. And it just, it shows life, you know? It’s real nice, and it’s like right in the middle of the community, where you don’t see a lot of nice things at.



Image 4

“Jeremy”: Well, it’s a lot of abandoned houses on there, but I picked these three in particular because the grass is outta control. It’s like trash all over the place in the back—I really didn’t get it in there, but it’s like in the back yards of the places, but some of the bushes are covering it. I don’t think you can see it. I shoulda just got a closer picture, but—yeah. It, it was real—real bad. Like, I wouldn’t even go on this block at night.



Image 5

“Q”: Right here, we’re looking at a seven, seven house space gap, which can be used for anything as far as positive aspects in the neighborhood. It’s a representation of just the vacant spacing...That’s uh, that’s a, that’s a street that’s in the community, surrounded by homes, families and other things.



Image 6

“Q”: And here we have a perfect example of the urban decay. Basically being able to see straight through, straight through the building. The front wall is missing, the front door is missing. The ceilings have been ripped out, torn apart. Bricks and rubble, you know, scatter the area. A basic example of what you would see or what tourists would see, um, driving past. It’s just not a good, healthy, clean look as far as our community goes, being on a main street. (Note: When viewed on Google Earth this building is still locked and intact; formerly a dollar store)

Recommendations

“Our study findings provide support for the implementation of a range of efforts, which we group into three major categories or activity streams: Employment, Place-Making and Peacebuilding.”

As discussed in our introduction, the goal of our study was to provide a descriptive baseline against which the progress of HVI might be measured. Our study was not intended as a programmatic intervention nor was it designed to be prescriptive. The results outlined above might be used to inform a variety of different efforts, and to provide some insight into the perspectives of various groups within the community. We believe that some of the findings merit serious consideration, such as the high percentage of participants who reported an intention to leave the neighborhood. While any conclusions must be tentative, given the relatively small size of our sample and the early stage of the HVI effort, our study findings provide support for the implementation of a range of efforts, which we group into three major categories or activity streams: Employment, Place-Making and Peacebuilding.

Employment

Clearly Focus: HOPE has a long history in terms of employment readiness and job placement programs and a known record of success. To the extent that HVI is able to foster more economic opportunities for those local residents who are marginally or informally employed within the area it will also build a sense of social inclusion. Our interviews suggest

that individuals who need to make money may find employment in the informal market if other alternatives are not available locally. The informal economy provides income, but does not contribute to the city's tax base, nor does it build the work records of those who participate. Our economic data suggests that the wage does not need to be high for individuals to consider moving to formal employment, but opportunities do need to be accessible.

Place-Making

Continued investment in public spaces outside of the Focus: HOPE campus will broaden areas of perceived safety and inclusivity. Ford/LaSalle Park is one example of a place where Focus: HOPE efforts have already made a noticeable impact, although our findings also indicate that more could be done to establish this is a safe and inclusive space for all residents. Similar focus areas or spaces, such as the Cool Corner Park, the Salsinger Playfield revitalization, and the Ben Hill park revitalization, may open umbrellas of safety and civility throughout the HOPE Village area. By aligning its place-making projects with the Detroit Future City framework, HVI may strategically seek resources based on fulfillment of framework goals. If spaces that are currently associated with risk and danger, such as gas stations, blighted blocks and vacant land, could be transformed into safe, welcoming and interactive spaces, our findings suggest that the aggregate impact on residents would be quite significant.

Likewise, the stabilization of residential neighborhoods through active fostering of legitimate home occupancy, upkeep and ownership, in addition to enhanced board-up and demolition efforts, would contribute greatly to the overall safety and sociability of the neighborhood. As our built environment inventory shows, the neighborhood already has a solid structural framework in terms of form and connec-

tivity. While blight is certainly an issue, the residential density and quality of housing in the HVI area are actually much higher than in other areas of the city, a fact which contributes to some of the inflow of new residents and which may ironically add to the area's volatility, especially for young men and women.

Peace-Building

In preparing this report, we were drawn to the concept of urban peacebuilding. According to Bjorkdahl (p. 218), "Urban peacebuilding is conceptualized as a transformative strategy, which seeks to transform power relations expressed and represented in the urban landscape." For Bjorkdahl, this is inseparable from the development of "cosmopolitan spaces of tolerance and civility where a shared civic identity can be developed" (p. 215)¹⁷. This implies that neighborhood redevelopment, difficult as it is, cannot be separated from the even harder work of building and maintaining relationships. Like cities divided by past wars, the landscape of Detroit is still intensely territorialized and infused with past and continuing conflicts. In such settings, peacebuilding needs to be deliberate and continuous. Focus: HOPE's historical legacy as an organization dedicated to "intelligent and practical action to overcome racism, poverty and injustice" ideally positions it to perform a peacebuilding role by promoting dialogue across boundaries of race, class, geography and generation.

In particular, our interviews suggest that young people navigate a different social environment than older residents, one that is fraught with risk and challenge. Older residents, on the other hand, may see the presence of young people, especially in groups, as a potential threat to their safety and security. To address this, HVI might actively promote intergenerational communication within the local community through its programs and public events. Likewise, if HVI or government, foundation or private partners

pursue development opportunities, they should be aware of suspicions that may exist concerning the impacts of such projects. Focus: HOPE should continue its practice of sponsoring open discussions with city officials, the newly elected City Council representative, and urban planners. However, while valuable, these distinct forum events may provide limited opportunities to engage with change efforts. Going one step further, HVI might build on the results of this Integrated Assessment with an ongoing participatory mapping process¹⁸ that would provide opportunities for residents to both voice concerns and shape outcomes in a manner that is continuous rather than episodic.

Each of these proposed activity streams builds on Focus: HOPE's legacy of community involvement and overlaps with the HOPE Village Initiative's vision of neighborhood transformation. We contend that concrete and measurable progress in each of these areas would have both direct and indirect impacts on community residents. In other words, we would predict that these impacts would be reflected in the perspectives of residents recruited in a manner similar to that which we employed for this study. To the extent that they resemble efforts already planned or underway, we defer to the knowledge of those most directly involved in their design and implementation. We are willing to share or discuss any of our methods and results, in public settings, through planned presentations or informal meetings.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Instrumentation for the HVI Baseline Study

HVI# _____

Date _____

BUILDING A HEALTHY COMMUNITY IN DETROIT: TRACKING THE IMPACT OF THE HOPE VILLAGE INITIATIVE (HVI)

PROTOCOL AND INSTRUMENTS FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEW, INCLUDING DAILY ROUTINES AND SOCIAL NETWORKS INSTRUMENTS

INTRODUCTION: *First of all, I would like to thank you for taking the time to participate in this research interview, and for sharing your thoughts, ideas, knowledge and experiences. We are interested in learning more about daily life within this neighborhood, both in terms of how it has been in the past and how it is today. We are also interesting in hearing your thoughts about changes that are taking place in the neighborhood and how they may affect you or others around you. All of your responses are confidential, and though we are tape-recording this discussion, I want you to know that your name or identity will not be connected to the recording, nor will they be shared with anyone.*

This interview will cover three main areas: **1) your personal history in the neighborhood and your definition and description of the neighborhood, as you know and experience it; 2) your daily or weekly routines and activities within the neighborhood, including the specific places that you frequent and those you avoid, as well as the personal relationships or associations that you maintain within the neighborhood; and 3) the changes that you have seen in the neighborhood while living here, and those that you observe or foresee taking place now and in the future, as well as their potential effects on you and your life within the neighborhood.** In each section, I hope that you will be as open and honest as you can, while also understanding that all your responses are voluntary and confidential: **YOU DON'T NEED TO TELL ME ANYTHING THAT YOU DON'T WANT TO TELL ME, AND NONE OF THE INFORMATION THAT YOU GIVE ME WILL BE CONNECTED WITH YOUR NAME IN ANY WAY.** You may also refer to the map at any time to show either the specific locations or the generalized areas that you are referring to.

Once again, the purpose of this interview is for us to get an idea about the neighborhood and peoples' lives within it, as they experience it on a daily basis, so that we can better understand the impact of changes in the environment (new buildings, abandoned building, empty lots, gardens, churches, schools, streets, businesses, etc.) on peoples' lives, activities, and identities.

SECTION 1: THE NEIGHBORHOOD

How long have you lived in this neighborhood? Take a minute or two to talk about your life in this neighborhood

and what it means to you. (PROBES: THESE ARE ASKED AS OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS, ALLOWING SPACE TO ELABORATE)

- How would you describe the neighborhood to someone who was not from here?
- What are its most memorable features or characteristics?
- Where does the neighborhood begin and where does it end? (What are the boundaries?)
- What do you call this neighborhood?
- What does it mean to you to be from here? (Are you proud, are you ashamed, are you happy, are you disappointed?).
- Do you consider this to be a healthy neighborhood, or a healthy place to live? Why or why not?
- How would you rate your own health on a scale of 1 to 4 (where 1=Excellent, 2=Good, 3=Fair, and 4=Poor)?

COLLECTIVE EFFICACY QUESTIONS

On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 indicating that you “Strongly Agree” and 5 indicating that you “Strongly Disagree”, respond to the following statements:

- My neighbors be counted on to take action if children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner.
- My neighbors be counted on to take action if children were spray-painting graffiti on a local building.
- My neighbors be counted on to take action if children were showing disrespect to an adult.
- My neighbors be counted on to take action if a fight broke out in front of their house.
- My neighbors be counted on to take action if the fire station closest to home was threatened with budget cuts.

SOCIAL COHESION QUESTIONS

On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 indicating that you “Strongly Agree” and 5 indicating that you “Strongly Disagree”, respond to the following statements:

- People around here are willing to help their neighbors
- This is a close-knit neighborhood
- People in this neighborhood can be trusted
- People in this neighborhood generally don’t get along with each other
- People in this neighborhood do not share the same values.

SECTION 2: SOCIAL NETWORKS AND DAILY ROUTINES

In this section of the interview, I would like to learn more about your daily activities and relationships, the things you do every day, the people you see, and the places that you go. You should begin when you got up in the morning, then describe where you go, what you do, how long you stay, and how far you travel to get there. Try to remember the persons you typically see and interact with in each place that you go to during each part

of the day. Identify the gender, ethnicity, the approximate age of each person, and how long you have known him or her. Also identify the nature of your relation; i.e. friend, neighbor, relative, wife, girlfriend. Do not use specific names for people or specific addresses for places. Identify people by numbers, and places by category (home, friend's home, family's home workplace, social service agency, bar, street/intersection, park, bus stop, and so on).

What other specific places in the neighborhood do you frequent or go to on a daily or a weekly basis? These can include churches, homes of friends or family members, stores, corners, parks, schools, gyms, clubs, restaurants—any places where you choose to spend time on a regular basis. We are simply interested in getting an honest and accurate picture of your life within the neighborhood, the things you do and the places you go. What areas do you consider to be safe? What areas can you go to without any risk, in what places do you find company, support, recreation or relief? Where do you go to shop, where do you go to eat, and what do you typically eat?

For each person that you identify, you should state the nature of your relationship: Mother/father, spouse/partner, friend, associate, roommate, etc.)

Is A1 male or female? What is the ethnicity of A1? (USE OPTIONS BELOW)

African American	White/Caucasian	Hispanic/Latino
Native American	Asian/Pacific Islander	Mixed Race/Biracial

How old is A1? (If you do not know the exact age, provide approximate age).

How many years have you known A1?

On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 indicating that you "Strongly Agree" and 5 indicating that you "Strongly Disagree", respond to the following statement: "This is a person I would trust with something valuable to me."

DAILY ROUTINES/SOCIAL NETWORKS

TABLE BELOW WILL BE FILLED IN BY INTERVIEWER

Time/Place (WITH ZIP CODE 1=in, 0=out of neighborhood)	Persons	Relationship	Sex	Ethnicity/ Race	Age	Years known	TRUST (1-5 scale)
1	1	SELF				NA	NA
	2						
	3 (up to whatever number subject provides)						
2	4						
	5						
	6						
3	7						
	8						
	9						
4	10						
	11						
	12						

Please list any other individuals that you consider to be close relations; that is, people you rely on for emotional or financial support, and who you talk to at least every week, and indicate if these individuals reside in (1) or out (0) of the neighborhood.

Next, I would like to ask you what places or areas within the neighborhood that you specifically avoid, because they are dangerous, risky or simply unknown. This can include specific locations, such as certain intersections or blocks, or it can include whole sections or districts. It may also be that some places are safe for you part of the time, but not safe another part of the time—at night, for example.

How often you go outside the neighborhood, and for what reasons or purposes (work, shopping, church, social activities, school, etc.). Would you do these things within the neighborhood if you could? What kinds of things would like to see in your neighborhood? Do you look for reasons to leave your neighborhood, or do you try to avoid leaving it?

SECTION 3: CHANGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Finally, I would like to take a few moments to talk about changes in the neighborhood.

How has the neighborhood changed in the time you have lived/worked here?

What evidence of change do you perceive in the environment around you RIGHT NOW?

What changes would you like to see? What changes would you not like to see?

How have/would changes in the environment affect the places we have discussed? (The safe places? The risky places? The places you go to or the places you hang out? The places you avoid? What changes will help or hurt you in particular?

What changes in the neighborhood have you seen as a result of Focus HOPE activities? Has this organization had a direct impact on you or anyone you know? Has it had an impact on the way the neighborhood looks? Has it had an impact or changed the risk or safety of the neighborhood or places within the neighborhood?

HVI# _____

Date _____

HVI Economic Questionnaire
All responses are CONFIDENTIAL

1. Age _____

2. Education level _____

3. Race/Ethnicity

African American

Caucasian

Latino/Latina

Other _____

4. How many members reside in your household?

_____ adults

_____ children

5. How many members of the household work?

_____ adult full-time

_____ adult part-time

_____ adult students

_____ child students

_____ child workers

6. How many of the household members have health insurance?

_____ adults

_____ children

7. How many hours do you currently work per week?

8. What is your hourly wage? _____

9. If you do not currently work, when were you last employed? _____ At what wage? _____

10. Based on your skills and experience, about how much money per hour would you realistically expect to earn if you looked for a job?

\$ _____

11. How much money per hour would it take to get you to accept a job (or if you already work, to change jobs)? \$ _____

12. Do you rent or own your home?

☒ rent

☐ own

13. Have you experienced any housing interruptions due to the recent foreclosure crisis? Explain

14. Do you own your own transportation?

15. How often do you use public transportation _____/week

16. How far do you typically travel to work? _____/miles

school? _____/miles

shopping _____/miles

17. How often do you leave the city? _____/week

18. What activities do you typically do outside of the city? _____

19. Why have you chosen to reside in this neighborhood?

20. Would you relocate if it could be done for an affordable price? _____

Where would you go? _____

HVI# _____

Date _____

21. How much money did you receive from the following sources in the past 30 days?

NOTES

Employment	\$ _____
Unemployment	\$ _____
Public Assistance (food stamps)	\$ _____
Pension/Social Security	\$ _____
Family/Friends	\$ _____
Other _____	\$ _____

22. What percentage of your total income in the past 30 days did you spend on:

Food	_____
Shelter	_____
Clothing	_____
Entertainment	_____
Utilities	_____
Transportation	_____
Cigarettes	_____
Childcare	_____
Medical Expenses	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____



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