EVERY-DAY EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURS IN REVITALIZING DETROIT: MIGRANT EMPLACEMENT AND PATHWAYS TO INCORPORATION

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Submitted to:
Central European University
Department of Nationalism Studies

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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Budapest, Hungary
2017

ABSTRACT

After long-term deindustrialization, urban disinvestment, and a series of economic crises, Detroit is making a 'comeback'. Inclusive of multiple scales of governance and speculative investments, the urban regeneration processes strive for the city's favorable repositioning within the global networks of capital accumulation. In creating a welcoming climate in a disempowered yet regenerating city, infrastructural changes incorporate migrants as integral components of the city and drivers of diversity, repopulation, and economic growth. By using the theoretical framework of migrant emplacement and ethnographic research, this thesis focuses on the factors that, at this point in time of Detroit's urban revitalization, influence migrant pathways to incorporation. This research shows that these pathways are fluid and are affected by: the city's historical trajectory; the creation of and impediments to opportunity structures dependent on Detroit's marginalized position in the global arena; institutionally implemented neoliberal restructuring. By distancing the analysis from the ethnic lens, and instead, approaching every-day experiences of migrant entrepreneurs, the empirical research shows that the formation of local and transnational networks; deployment of ethnic belongings and identities; and pathways to incorporation are fluid and contradictory and dependent on time and place.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful for my advisers, Professor Ayse Çağlar and Professor Szabolcs Pogonyi, for their continued and invaluable encouragement, feedback, and support in pursuing this topic of research. I am thankful to the interviewees in Detroit who gave me their time and shared their experiences, thoughts, and views. Finally, my gratitude goes to my family, friends, and colleagues, both near and far, who have been an important part of this process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The official motto of the City of Detroit is *Speramus Meliora* and *Resurgent Cineribus*, meaning "We Hope for Better Things" and "It Shall Rise from the Ashes" coined by Gabriel Richard in 1805 after a large fire devastated the cityscape. Since then, Detroit has become an industrial and manufacturing powerhouse, a leader in production, occupying a crucial place in the global arena. The production that made the city renowned in the 20th century simultaneously aided its contemporary decline. The effects of systemic racism, the departure of capital and population, and the inflictions of the globalized production continue to result in dispossession and displacement and simultaneous gravitation toward urban renaissance. The urban regeneration initiatives and policies seek to repopulate, grow, and restore Detroit's global prominence through the confluence of capital investment and local, state, and national, and transnational actors. Detroit is celebrated as the "Great American Comeback Story", a city rising from the industrial ashes. Among the celebrated stories of tech-startups, creative entrepreneurs, and multi-industry innovators are migrants, whose political, economic, and cultural capital is viewed as an integral component of the driving force of the Detroit renaissance.

The institutionalization of the Detroit Immigration Task Force (ITF) in 2014 and the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs (OIA) in 2015 reflects the municipal importance of migrant communities for urban growth. The two municipal bodies aid migrant emplacement into the social fabric of the city, while contributing to illuminating the relevance of migrant communities as valuable assets that diversify the urban space and contribute to the regional population and economic growth. The local organizations and the Detroit Immigration Task Force and the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs serve as actors seeking to retain migrant communities and attract new ones, thus creating a welcoming city and positively altering the global connectedness

of the locality. As the push for making Detroit an inclusive, welcoming, and global city continues, the migrant communities still fare with the urban environment and the local constellations that affect their daily lives and settlement in the urban space. While Detroit is just now emerging, or struggling to emerge from its decline, migrant incorporation in the city is thus dependent on factors that require a multiscalar and relational analysis. My thesis will explore these factors that function on the global, national, and local scale as both aiding and impeding migrant settlement in Detroit through small business entrepreneurship.

Implicated by the continued global crises, the changing opportunity structures for all residents, including migrant entrepreneurs is affected by the shifts in the local political, economic, and cultural landscapes that respond to these factors. This thesis focuses on migrant business owners in Detroit and their pathways to incorporation in the city. What influences migrant incorporation through entrepreneurial activity, and how and when are transnational and local networks, capital resources, and ethnic identifications deployed and through which channels? Under which circumstances and how do migrant communities become included and excluded in municipal shifts? Using the theoretical framework of migrant emplacement as processual concept which allows migrants to rebuild networks, connections, and maintain their place within the constraints and opportunities of a given locality,[1] I argue that the structural limitations and opportunities of the contemporary post-industrial landscape influence pathways to emplacement and are affected by the city's historical trajectory, contemporary neoliberal restructuring, and broader dispositions toward migrants. By empirically focusing on every-day practices, this thesis argues that the deployment of various frameworks by migrant entrepreneurs is not bounded by

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[1] Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar, "Locating Migrant Pathways of Economic Emplacement: Thinking beyond the Ethnic Lens," *Ethnicities* 13, no. 4 (August 1, 2013): 494–514, doi:10.1177/1468796813483733.

single belonging to an ethnicity, but is rather dependent on various global, national, and regional scales. Additional to available academic literature, I draw from semi-structured interviews conducted with migrant entrepreneurs, city officials, and non-profit leaders, as well as information derived from media outlets.

Vast amount of scholarship has been dedicated to studying migrant communities from the forms of ethnic belonging to migrant entrepreneurship. Authors such as Portes and Rumbaut[2], Foner and Fredrickson[3], and others provide important research discussing the trajectories and dynamics of generational migrant communities; their relationships to groups in the hostland in terms of race, ethnicity, and identity; and participation in transnational networks. Scholars of migrant entrepreneurship deploy Light and Gold's[4] framework of ethnic economy for analyzing the role of ethnic networks in terms of employment and economic mobility; or Waldinger's[5] opportunity structures and networks of ethnic groups in relation to the economic environments; and consider migration and transnationality relative to entrepreneurial engagement and their effects on communities of settlement, as Zhou[6] adds. Much of the research focuses on gateway and what are deemed as global cities like New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, or San Francisco. Additionally, these trajectories undertake a binary view of migration that maintain ethnicity as a source of patterns of daily behavior circumventing other regions and cities, both rural or deindustrialized, thus overlooking the impact of scalar positioning and patterns of incorporation

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[2] Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (Univ of California Press, 2014).

[3] Nancy Foner and George M. Fredrickson, *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immgiration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2004).

[4] Ivan Hubert Light and Steven J. Gold, *Ethnic Economies* (San Diego, Calif: Academic Press, 2000).

[5] Roger David Waldinger, *Strangers at the Gates: New Immigrants in Urban America* (University of California Press, 2001).

[6] Min Zhou, "Revisiting Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Convergencies, Controversies, and Conceptual Advancements1," *International Migration Review* 38, no. 3 (September 1, 2004): 1040–74, doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00228.x.

that emerge by taking on this perspective. In addition, research on urban neoliberal restructuring is vast; however, but the role of and effects on migrant communities remain vastly understudied.[7] Through the theoretical framework of migrant emplacement, my thesis adds to the growing body of knowledge on migration through a multi-facetted and multidisciplinary perspective that takes into account deindustrialized cities, their historical and global political, economic, and cultural dynamics as significant factors in migrant incorporation. Encompassing relational and multiscalar perspective on migrant incorporation, my work intends to contribute to a broader understanding on how migrants deploy various frameworks and networks at a particular time both in their personal trajectory and that of the city, as a pathway of economic emplacement.

I will provide a historical trajectory that contextualizes present day Detroit, as impacted by capital restructuring on the global, national, and state scales, as the first part of this thesis. Following will be a discussion on present-day neoliberalization of Detroit that attempts to revalorize the locality through urban regeneration initiatives, simultaneously producing various forms of displacement and dispossession. Additionally, this section provides channels through which migrant entrepreneurs and communities represent actors as sources of economic, political, and cultural capital. Final part of the thesis will provide the theoretical framework of migrant emplacement, which is followed by the chapter presenting and analyzing the empirical findings.

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[7] Michael Peter Smith and L. Owen Kirkpatrick, *Reinventing Detroit: The Politics of Possibility* (Transaction Publishers, 2015); Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe* (Blackwell Publishing, 2002); Setha Low and Neil Smith, *The Politics of Public Space* (Routledge, 2013).

CHAPTER 2: CONTEXTUALIZING DETROIT

Current position of Detroit in the political, economic, and cultural fields of power results from the interplay between global, national, and local dynamics reflected in the city's historical trajectory. These dynamics influenced the ordering and reordering of the urban landscape, impacting the mode of municipal governance and leadership; distribution and demographic of neighborhoods; and availability of resources for the purposes of education, housing, security, healthcare, and other important amenities. Detroit's industrial prowess was initially built on the growth of local manufacturing. However, the rise of global economy and globalized production in the second half of the 20th century contributed to the decline of the city's industrial influence as the manufacturing moved to more profitable and opportune regions. Decentralization of capital and automation, along with systemic racism and discriminatory policies, accelerated the decline of the urban core, influencing its image, demographics, and political, economic, and cultural capital, power, and positioning in the global arena. The recurring economic crises and neoliberal restructuring consequently affected Detroit's urban decline, adding to the marginalization of a city built on production in a now highly financialized moment. Along with the state policies already in place, the Great Recession, the housing collapse and automotive crises, and the 2013 Municipal Bankruptcy added to the pathways of capital accumulation, displacement, and dispossession of Detroit. These events have nonetheless impacted the manner by which the urban landscape functions today, the way local governance devises its policies, and the forms of pathways migrants take for their incorporation. This chapter, through theoretical and historical perspectives provides a background revealing the interplay between global, national, and regional factors vis-a-vis the contemporary conditions in the locality that create and confine opportunities for all members of the city, including the small migrant business owners.

MAKING OF AN INDUSTRIAL AND GLOBAL POWER HOUSE

By the time Henry Ford opened his first auto-plant in 1903, Detroit was already a manufacturing giant. Coupled with a myriad of industries, the development of railway systems, and the growing need for labor facilitated the diversification and growth of Detroit.[8] To meet the shortage in labor, Detroit Board of Commerce in partnered with immigration commissioner at Ellis Island to provide transportation costs to immigrants willing to relocate to Detroit and satisfy the industrial needs.[9] Along with historically growing Jewish, German, African American, Italian, and Irish communities[10], the Detroit region became a destination for Middle Eastern, Central American, and Eastern European population.[11]

The assembly line production process required a synchronized and effective labor force, thus to mitigate the high turnover rate, increase overall profits, and advance the quality of life for workers, the Ford Motor Company creates the Five Dollars per Day and Profit Sharing Plan.[12] Ford also created the Sociological Department, an internal tool ensuring the workers' deservedness of the new plan through privatized policing and home-visit system.[13] Being a good "Ford Man"[14] meant that his home conditions and family relations were in-tact, which in turn increased productivity on the shop-floor.[15] Ford's Sociological Department developed Americanization

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[8] Charles K. Hyde, "'Detroit the Dynamic': The Industrial History of Detroit from Cigars to Cars," *Michigan Historical Review* 27, no. 1 (2001): 57–73.

[9] Joyce Shaw Peterson, *American Automobile Workers, 1900-1933* (SUNY Press, 1987). p. 13

[10] David Lee Poremba, *Detroit: A Motor City History* (Arcadia Publishing, 2003).

[11] John Powell, *Encyclopedia of North American Immigration* (Infobase Publishing, 2009).

[12] Greg Grandin, *Fordlandia: The Rise and Fall of Henry Ford's Forgotten Jungle City* (London: Icon, 2010).

[13] Clarence Hooker, "Ford's Sociology Department and the Americanization Campaign and the Manufacture of Popular Culture Among Assembly Line Workers c.1910—1917," *Journal of American Culture* 20, no. 1 (March 1, 1997): 47–53, doi:10.1111/j.1542-734X.1997.00047.x.

[14] Women were not employed by the Ford Motor Company and the creation of a model worker maintained a patriarchal disposition of gender roles.

[15] Hooker, "Ford's Sociology Department and the Americanization Campaign and the Manufacture of Popular Culture Among Assembly Line Workers c.1910—1917."

initiatives seeking to create a homogenized workforce, and along with English classes, "The company invited immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who had recently arrived in the United States to attend classes designed to promote "Americanization" and to undergo "melting pot" ceremonies in which they would symbolically shed their old cultural ties to become patriotic Americans."[16] These programs also included Ford English School which increased the language proficiency by at least 35% for its workers.[17] The overall creation of the Americanization process was the patronizing integration of the 'ethnic worker' into a model, American Ford man. Encompassing the automotive sector and its suppliers, Detroit was third in the United States in terms of dollar value of the manufactured goods, and almost half of the city's population was employed in the manufacturing sector.[18]

The Profit Sharing Plan, and its component the Sociological Department sought to increase workers proficiency for the greater profit extraction, but they also intended to create a "broader program to manufacture the ideal culture"[19]. The creation of the ideal worker was also the reordering of society to fit the industrial needs and industrial growth. As the model worker now increasingly spent his wage on purchasing and building homes, appliances, furniture, and cars, he simultaneously equipped the expansion of the consumer market. This meant the increase both in production, consumption, and thus, as Grandin quotes Ford, the measure that "high wages…create large markets."[20] Pizzolato, invokes Gramsci's perspective on the establishment of Fordism and the mass-production, whereby the permeating consequences of the creation of the ideal 'Ford Man'

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[16] Nicola Pizzolato, *Challenging Global Capitalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013). P. 21
[17] Hooker, "Ford's Sociology Department and the Americanization Campaign and the Manufacture of Popular Culture Among Assembly Line Workers c.1910—1917."
[18] Beth Tompkins Bates, *The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Henry Ford* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).
[19] Hooker, "Ford's Sociology Department and the Americanization Campaign and the Manufacture of Popular Culture Among Assembly Line Workers c.1910—1917." p. 49
[20] Grandin, *Fordlandia*. P. 40

meant the transformation of the functioning of the society as a whole on in physical and psychological aspects.[21] The permeation of Fordism and Fordist ideology nonetheless persisted in the organization and self-perception of the labor which had an impact and need-based corporate deployment in race relations.[22]

The federal immigration restrictions of 1921 and 1924 fostered recruitment of the Black working force from the South. Sending recruitment agents to the South, Detroit's Black American population increased from about 5000 in 1910 to about 120,000 in the 1930s,[23] a disproportionate growth to other immigrant and 'white' communities.[24] Ford Motor Company became automotive's largest employer in the black community, but the jobs black workers found were often dangerous and less-paying, while any work-related mobility was found during economic expansions or crises, or wars.[25] The high dependency of the black community on the automotive industry rendered them vulnerable to the swings of the markets, whereby, in crises of the 1920-21 or the Great Depression, the Black workers were often the first ones to be out of a job.[26]

Detroit became the fourth largest city in the U.S. in the 1930s, including about 1.6 million residents and simultaneously expanding its physical borders to reach the 138 square miles it occupies currently.[27] African-Americans coming from the South were excluded from white neighborhoods where, "real estate agents refused to show houses in "white" neighborhoods to

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[21] Pizzolato, *Challenging Global Capitalism*. p. 22

[22] Elizabeth Esch, "Racializing Transnationalism: The Ford Motor Company and White Supremacy from Detroit to South Africa," in *Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital* (Berlin: LIT Verlag Münster, 2010), 195–219.

[23] Bates, *The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Henry Ford*.

[24] Richard Walter Thomas, *Life for Us Is What We Make It: Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945*, Blacks in the Diaspora (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Thomas J. Sugrue, "From Motor City to Motor Metropolis: Living in the Motor City," accessed April 28, 2017, http://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu/Race/R_Overview/R_Overview2.htm.

blacks, unless they were deemed "blighted" or "transitional" neighborhoods that were expected to lose white population…The result was the creation of two separate cities, one black and one white."[28] Growth of the automotive industry contributed to the bureaucratization and increase in "white collar" positions, and uneven, socioeconomically and racially based distribution of residential clusters. The segregation and the impact of the economic crises created competition on the housing market and exacerbation of racial tensions. However, Roosevelt's call to help the allied powers in Europe during World War II helped Detroit retrieve its manufacturing power and become an "Arsenal of Democracy" by producing war materials.

Deindustrialization of Detroit began in the late 1930s with the rise in production demand, development of new technology, and corporate control of powerful worker unions. Investing in the development of new technologies, while intercepting powerful union movements and obtaining cheaper workforce by hiring blacks and women at a lower wage: "…Decisions about plant location and employment policy [were made] in a specific political, cultural, and institutional context…in the aftermath of the rise of a powerful union movement and in the midst of a shop-floor struggle over work rules and worker control." [29] By exploiting cheaper land and precarious labor, The Big Three (GM, Chrysler, and Ford), along with 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, repressed working class collectivism and exacerbated racial tensions by instituting layoffs, reduced pay, and overtime. [30] However, the employers claimed that their departure from Detroit was based on the lack of available land, necessary to accommodate employee parking and plant expansion and renovation, cutting around 134,000 manufacturing jobs just between 1947 and 1963 at a 16% loss.[31] The

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[28] Ibid.
[29] Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton University Press, 2014).
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid. p. 128

American industrial city came undone with the, "advances in communication and transportation, the transformation of industrial technology, the acceleration of regional and international economic competition, and the expansion of industry in low-wage regions."[32] While the automation increased product output, its localized effects on employment were significant, affecting the opportunity structures for the poorest and most under-skilled workers, and affecting a generation of young Black men who were at the onset of their employment.[33]

City's population peaked at 1.8 million in the 1950s, amounting to increased competition over jobs and housing.[34] Post-WWII GI bill disproportionately offered mortgages to the white population, inadvertently sponsoring the out-migration paralleled with the nation-wide expansion of the highway systems. Signed by President Eisenhower, the Federal Housing Act also targeted "substandard" homes and businesses in form of "slum removal", often displacing the mostly African American occupants.[35] Real-estate agents capitalized from white prejudice by employing block-busting tactics and serving as all-in-one financing centers for black residents looking to become homeowners. Due to high demand in housing and discriminatory infrastructure, landlords converted apartment buildings to maximize capacity, renting to black families at a 20-40% increased price, reducing repair services, and placing much of the up-keep on the residents themselves.[36] Then elected mayor, Albert Cobo dismantled public housing efforts and the legalization of segregation widened, adding to the exacerbation of racial tensions, while the municipal razing of predominantly black neighborhoods displaced residents in an already scarce,

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[32] Ibid. p. 127
[33] Ibid. p. 143
[34] Ibid.
[35] "Urban Renewal and the Destruction of Black Bottom | Environmental History in Detroit," accessed May 7, 2017, https://detroitenvironment.lsa.umich.edu/they-paved-paradise-and-put-up-a-freeway-demolishing-detroits-hastings-street/.
[36] Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

discriminatory, and economically exploitative market. Despite of various policies and committees that sought to educate and address discrimination, the marginalization of the black community persisted in the economic, political, and cultural spheres. "The most enduring legacy of the postwar racial struggles in Detroit has been the growing marginalization of the city in local, state, and national politics. Elected officials in Lansing and Washington, beholden to a vocal, well-organized, and defensive white suburban constituency, have reduced funding for urban education, antipoverty, and development programs."[37] By the 1960s, 20-30% of black youth (18-30) were unemployed and the white controlled police department and municipal services continued with mistreatment of the black community. The reaction to mistreatment in Detroit came in form of the 1967 Rebellion, or Riots as it is popularly known, when the police forces busted a blind pig and employed violent means during arrests. Lasting for a few days and leaving many houses, buildings, and businesses damaged, the Rebellion reflected the broader discrimination and mistreatment of the black community, affecting not only Detroit, but the entire United States.

Favorable global positioning of Detroit throughout the first part of the 20th century was represented by its stronghold in manufacturing. However, as capital decentralized and economic crises continued to affect employment, civil rights movements and racial integration was viewed by many whites as a threat to their position in the liberal society; therefore, liberalism of the New Deal era unraveled, securing a top-down favoritism by many white, working class Americans.[38] "This spatial separation contributed to a new national politics in which attitudes toward race were

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[37] Ibid.p. 268

[38] William Tabb, "National Urban Policy and the Fate of Detroit," in *Reinventing Detroit: Urban Decline and the Politics of Possibility*, ed. L. Owen Kirkpatrick and Smith (Transaction Publishers, 2015), 59–74. p. 61

a central factor."[39] Until 1970s, social programs created a city dependent on federal funding, thus setting the detrimental consequences of population loss and capital restructuring.[40]

GLOBALIZING PRODUCTION AND THE NEOLIBERAL TURN

Amid economic crises and stagflation, the 1970s saw the collapse of the Bretton Woods Agreement, the gold standard, and the institutionalization of neoliberal ideology. Previous international competition now shifted to the one of transnationalizing, sector-based capital, which saw 'lieux de valorisation' in the Third World as a means of higher return on production and an escape from regulated national frameworks.[41] Capital decentralization and restructuring contributed to the peripherialization of many industrial cities like Detroit in the global economy. Time horizons shrank dramatically, as capital gained faster access and control over information, providing a platform for spatial expansion through better control of capital over space.[42] The capital command over space is mediated through political institutions and communication networks, influencing characteristics of capital's appropriation of modes of reproduction in a given location.[43] Instead of the long-term, fixed industrial investments, the compression of space and time proved to favor the quick-fix strategies to economic crises and capital accumulation, thus enabling the rise of the financial speculative sector by the emergence of new infrastructures and technologies. Ensuring favorable positioning in the global arena, the neoliberal political framework in the U.S. facilitated the expansion of capital at the expense of social welfare. The system of 'embedded liberalism' no longer had positive effect on the growth of state and global economies; and the ruling elites were

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[39] Ibid. P. 61
[40] Ibid. p. 62
[41] Erik Swyngedouw, "The Mammon Quest. 'Glocalisation', Interspatial Competition and the Monetary Order: The Construction of New Scales," in *Cities and Regions in the New Europe: The Global-Local Interplay and Spatial Development Strategies*, ed. Mick Dunford and Grēgorēs Kaukalas (Belhaven Press, 1992), 39–67.
[42] Ibid. p. 52
[43] Ibid.

threatened by the global rise of class struggles, thus ensuring the transformation of the political system in their favor.[44] Exploitation of raw materials and modes of production in the periphery of the world system fractured the U.S. industrial labor, while "economies finance capital became predominant not just in the increasing dominance of bank and stock market investment, but also in the restructuring of centralized companies into a financial center surrounded by outsourced production and subcontracted services."[45] With the neoliberal turn and globalized production, cities like Detroit became spaces of devaluing capital and representations of uneven return and distribution of wealth within the core.

Unrolling of neoliberal ideology meant the altering of social relations and divergence from welfare state to market-growth policies. It meant, "loosening or dismantling various institutional constraints upon marketization, commodification, the hyperexploitation of workers, and the discretionary power of private capital."[46] Neoliberal ideology fostered the expansion and extension of market practices into organization of social life and assumption that 'one size fits all' strategies, thus hierarchizing space and people in terms of capital accumulation regimes.[47] Conservatizing political climate, comprised of largely white constituents who saw their position in society threatened with the rise of the civil rights movements and school integration, and capital restructuring diminished Detroit's influence in Washington D.C., deterring any potential for a meaningful industrial reconfiguration to reverse the urban decline.[48] The global competition and

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[44] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford University Press, 2007).
[45] Jonathan Friedman, "Global Systemic Crisis, Class and Its Representations," in *Anthropologies of Class: Power, Practice, and Inequality*, ed. James G. Carrier and Don Kalb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 183–99. p. 193
[46] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, "Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism,'" in *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, ed. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (Blackwell Publishing, 2002), v–xi, 2-32. P. vi.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Tabb, "National Urban Policy and the Fate of Detroit."

stagflation and oil crises drastically weakened the Big Three, manifesting in a near-collapse of the industry resulting in a federal bailout of Chrysler in 1979.[49] This further transpired into closure of industrial plants and further weakening of labor unions, population flight, decrease in the Detroit's tax-base, and deterioration of the physical landscape.

Earlier policies of the welfare state and distribution of federal funding to cities contributed to the rise of costs for municipal services. However, the neoliberal strategies placed the responsibility on the municipality, producing an interspatial competition for federal funding and capital as a means of self-sustainability. Detroit's mayor Coleman A. Young attempted to reverse the industrial and population decline through the deployment of Carter's private investment-focused programs, and construct large-scale projects, the effects of the capital departure could not be mitigated.[50] Emergence of service based economy and financialization of the market left mainly blue-collar Detroit undervalued and undesired in the new job market.[51] By the 1980s, the Rust Belt lost 1.6 million of the 2.7 million blue collar jobs, a 63% loss, fueling popular discontent and diminishing any lingering political influence needed for reversal of urban decline.[52] Between the 1950s and 1990s, the poverty rate among whites was cut in half, while for African Americans in Detroit, it only decreased by two percent. The median income doubled for whites and increased only by 35% for black residents.[53] The spatial distribution of population shows that 7% of Detroit

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Joe T. Darden and Richard W. Thomas, *Detroit: Race Riots, Racial Conflicts, and Efforts to Bridge the Racial Divide* (Michigan State University Press, 2013); Scott Martelle, *Detroit: A Biography* (Chicago Review Press, 2012).

[51] Martelle, *Detroit*.

[52] Tabb, "National Urban Policy and the Fate of Detroit."

[53] Reynolds Farley, Sheldon Danziger, and Harry J. Holzer, *Detroit Divided* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2000).

whites lived in the city, comparative to 83% of African Americans, indicating the racial and economic segregation and polarization.[54]

The shifts toward the self-governing city model in the national politics diminished any valuable assistance of social services for the public benefits of citizens. The Reagan Administration cut funding for healthcare, education, and housing resources that benefitted the urban poor. He cancelled over five hundred separate funding programs, reduced assistance to cities by 35%, enacted sizeable cuts for urban aid, and gave the discretionary spending power to states.[55] This affected the social conditions in Detroit in a highly racialized and economically disempowered region. The lack of economic opportunities, access to social services contributed to the increase in crime. Crime related behavior, while present in all ethnic and racial groups, disproportionately affects black communities in terms of the punitive structure of the justice system that distributes stricter and longer punishments and sentences.[56] The municipal inability to fund police and fire departments also contributed to drug-trade and abuse, arson for extraction of insurance money, removal of blight, or gang related purposes.[57] Rise in informal networks, modes of self-sustaining and neighborhood organizing mitigated the absence of public infrastructure, producing a form of ownership over public spaces and creation of subcultural activities.

The population and capital flight, along with municipal absence and maintenance of infrastructure produced a deterioration of landscape and devaluation of property. The lack of investments and urban economic power resulted in the abandoned and blighted properties (buildings and home-dwellings) whose value decreased over time. The devalued land became

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[54] Ibid.
[55] Tabb, "National Urban Policy and the Fate of Detroit."
[56] Darden and Thomas, *Detroit*.
[57] Mark Binelli, *Detroit City Is the Place to Be: The Afterlife of an American Metropolis* (Henry Holt and Company, 2012).

prime for private speculators to purchase and employ 'sit-and-wait' tactics without a large financial

loss. By 2014, about 30% of Detroit, including housing, buildings, or lots, was vacant and "the

Detroit Blight Removal Task Force identified 78,504 structures that they feel are in need of

demolition. To put this number in perspective, the second largest city in Michigan, Grand Rapids,

has roughly the same number of total housing units (80,619) that Detroit is seeking to demolish."[58]

The impact of sociospatial regional organization and population distribution as effectuated by

capital restructuring and emergence of new, global and financialized market had direct detriment

to the city of Detroit and its people.

The table[59] below demonstrates the decline of population, businesses, employment, and

residential occupancy in Detroit spanning the second half of the 20th century and the more recent

effects prior to the municipal bankruptcy in 2013.

1950 – 2007	1947 - 2007	2007 - 2012
Population: -63%	Manufacturing Firms (MF): -86%	Per capita income: -14%
Employed Detroiters: -74%	MF Employment: -93%	Employed Detroiters: -18%
Occupied Homes: -51%	Retail stores: -88%	Poverty Rate: +41%
	Wholesale Firms: -88%	

Detroit's diminishing power in the global arena is mutually constituted by capital restructuring and

neoliberal policies that largely rested on systemic racism and market-oriented forms of

devaluation. While the dormant fixed capital devalued over time, speculative investment and

market-first policies effectuated on state and national level, sought to revalorize and transform

Detroit's landscape into renewed forms of capital accumulation and reproduction.

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[58] Jason Hackworth, "The Normalization of Market Fundamentalism in Detroit: The Case of Land Abandonment," in *Reinventing Detroit: The Politics of Possibility*, ed. Michael Peter Smith and L. Owen Kirkpatrick (Transaction Publishers, 2015), 75–90.
[59] Reynolds Farley, "Detroit in Bankruptcy," in *Reinventing Detroit: Urban Decline and the Politics of Possibility*, ed. L. Owen Kirkpatrick and Michael Peter Smith (Bushwick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2015), 93–112.

CHAPTER 3: DETROIT TODAY: URBAN REGENERATION AND MAKING OF A GLOBAL CITY

The previous chapter explained Detroit's historical trajectory as a global industrial powerhouse and the onset of the neoliberal turn that altered the urban space in terms of physical infrastructure, spatial organization of the region, economic power, and social relationships. This chapter demonstrates the effects of neoliberal and capital restructuring as a means for contemporary urban regeneration in Detroit. Concepts of global positioning and scalar cities are useful in terms of explaining how cities participate and are affected by global processes, and how these process affect local dynamics, for both migrant and non-migrant residents. As disempowered cities look to become vibrant, diverse, and attractive to population and capital, they employ different tactics that displace and dispossess, and create opportunities for regeneration. For Detroit, the process of urban revival intersects with the recent and ongoing economic crises, state induced bankruptcy, and new forms of rebranding, revalorization, and reinvigoration of the urban space. These processes encompass state and municipal officials, non-profit organizations, small and large speculative investors, and residents of migrant and non-migrant background.

Cities, as points of capital accumulation, are not nested in interstate or national-regional hierarchies, instead they are situated within global fields of political, economic, and cultural power.[60] Positioning of cities, like Detroit, in the global arena is understood through the concept of city scales as: "…differential positioning of a city, which reflects both its articulation of flows of political, cultural, and economic capital within regions, state-based, and globe-spanning histories and capacities…"[61] Sheppard argues that the positionality of a locality is shaped by space

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[60] Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar, "Locality and Globality: Building a Comparative Analytical Framework in Migration and Urban Studies," in *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*, ed. Nina Glick Schiller and Çağlar (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 60–81.
[61] Ibid. p. 79

and time and is relational to the city's position to other localities, their power in terms of influence, and reproduction and challenges vis-à-vis preexisting configurations of hierarchies.[62] It discloses their future in terms of shifting, assymetric, and path-dependent processes that are linked to their interdependencies with other regional, national, and global spaces.[63] Thus, all cities are global as they become affected by and take part in global processes that transform and shift dependent on rescaling and restructuring. In order to attain a favorable position within the global arena, cities adopt renewed neoliberal programs of "place-marketing, enterprise empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterism to workfare policies, property-redevelopment schemes, business incubator projects, new strategies of social control, policies, and surveillance, and host of other institutional modifications within the local and national state apparatus."[64] These forms of reorganizing and revaluing urban space are ever more becoming prevalent in deindustrialized cities, as capital and its various forms, find opportunities for revaluation and accumulation, whether in terms of land management, rebranding, or the attraction of new forms of industries and populations. In terms of Detroit, Jason Hackworth, as provided by Kirkpatrick and Smith, notes that, "…in the Motor City, neoliberal ways of framing reality have become so pervasive that the city's prevailing policy options particularly with respect to land management, have been restricted to "market-first" and "market only" policy regimes."[65]

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[62] Eric Sheppard, "The Spaces and Times of Globalization: Place, Scale, Networks, and Positionality*," *Economic Geography* 78, no. 3 (July 1, 2002): 307–30, doi:10.1111/j.1944-8287.2002.tb00189.x.
[63] Ibid. p. 325
[64] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, "Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism," in *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 2–32. P 31.
[65] L. Owen Kirkpatrick and Michael Peter Smith, "Introduction," in *Reinventing Detroit: The Politics of Possibility*, ed. L. Owen Kirkpatrick and Michael Peter Smith (Bushwick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2015), vii–xvii.

In 2009, unemployment rate in Detroit was between 28% and 46%[66], GM and Chrysler received a federal bailed-out, and real estate properties continued to fall as the housing bubble deflated. Obama's Recovery and Reinvestment Act attempted to reverse the damage caused by the Great Recession; however, it merely maintained the already skeletal city services.[67] Austerity measures sought to reverse the effects of decreased tax-base and rising cost of city services and the municipal debt became unmanageable.[68] In 2012, Michigan Governor Rick Snyder became involved in the city matters upon being informed that Detroit will soon be unable to pay its employers or debts because of the decrease in tax revenue.[69] Although the voters removed Michigan's Emergency Management Law by ballot, "a lame-duck legislature in December 2012 enacted a new emergency manager law that closely resembled the one the voters rejected."[70] Governor Snyder appointed the Emergency Manager, Kevyn Orr who filed for Chapter 9 municipal bankruptcy on July 18, 2013. The "Grand Bargain" that saved pensions and Detroit Institute of Art collection mobilized private foundations to make up the losses.[71] Most debtors settled with the City before trial and others gained substantial contracts and ownership of Detroit's assets and prime real estate.[72] Detroit Water and Sewage Department also entered lease agreement with the newly-created, tri-county serving Great Lakes Water Authority for the next 40 years, for

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[66] U.S. Census counts 28% as unemployment rate, while the calculations taking into account the figures provided by Bureau of Labor Statistics show a different scale of population unemployed and employable, producing a figure of 46%.

[67] Tabb, "National Urban Policy and the Fate of Detroit."

[68] Jamie Peck, "Framing Detroit," in *Reinventing Detroit: The Politics of Possibility*, ed. L. Owen Kirkpatrick and Michael Peter Smith (Bushwick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2015), 145–65.

[69] Farley, "Detroit in Bankruptcy."

[70] Ibid. p. 100

[71] *Next Chapter Detroit - Detroit Bankruptcy News*, accessed May 7, 2017, http://www.nextchapterdetroit.com/.

[72] Farley, "Detroit in Bankruptcy."

$50 million dollars per year.[73] Reflected by the installment of emergency management and its subsequent actions, the neoliberal austerity urbanism, as Peck provides, thus shifts the responsibility of external factors on cities and communities, "while at the same time enforcing unflinching fiscal restraint by way of extralocal disciplines; they further incapacitate the state and the public sphere through the outsourcing, marketization and privatization of governmental services and social supports; and they concentrate both costs and burdens on those at the bottom of the social hierarchy, compounding economic marginalization with state abandonment."[74] The patronizing rhetoric of a city and its people that need saving justified drastic and austere urban measures which were meant for preparing the ground for selective return of capital.[75]

The opportunity for resurgence of capital was effectuated by tactics of accumulation by dispossession. Harvey explains that accumulation by dispossession is the transfer and centralization of public wealth to the hands of the few through privatization, financialization, state redistribution, and crisis management.[76] For Detroit, earlier state policies, ongoing economic crises and municipal bankruptcy affected residents through land, utility, and education dispossession. The 1999 State Public Act 123 transferred the responsibility for dwelling properties from state to local government and reduced tax foreclosure processes from 9 to 3 years.[77] Illegal property assessments, implemented to meet the rising cost of city services, resulted in disproportionately

[73] Matt Helms et al., "9 Ways Detroit Is Changing after Bankruptcy," *Detroit Free Press*, accessed May 7, 2017, http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/detroit-bankruptcy/2014/11/09/detroit-city-services-bankruptcy/18716557/.

[74] Jamie Peck, "Austerity Urbanism," *City* 16, no. 6 (December 1, 2012): 626–55. p. 650-651.

[75] Peck, "Framing Detroit."

[76] David Harvey, "The 'New' Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession," *Socialist Register* 40, no. 40 (March 19, 2009), http://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/download/5811.

[77] Joshua M. Akers, "Making Markets: Think Tank Legislation and Private Property in Detroit," *Urban Geography* 34, no. 8 (December 1, 2013): 1070–95, doi:10.1080/02723638.2013.814272.

higher property taxes relative resident incomes.[78] The tax-foreclosures produced surplus of land and were auctioned at significantly lower prices through Wayne County and Detroit Land Bank Authority, while some private speculators then employed sit and wait tactics or flipped properties for higher returns for rentership.[79] In 2010, vacancy reached 23% and by 2015, nearly 100,000 people were vulnerable to eviction.[80][81] The semi-privatizations in 2014 placed Detroit Water and Sewage Department under the tri-county governing body, Great Lakes Water Authority (GLWA). Embarking on aggressive campaigns to garnish outdated and unpaid water bills, many residents without monetary ability to meet the outstanding amounts risked having their water services disconnected. The plea to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights noted more than 27,000 Detroiters had their water services disconnected in 2014, while by May of 2016, more than 50,000 residents received this penalty.[82][83][84] Water shut-offs were a predatory tactic to dispossess residents from their basic human right, while slowly privatizing the public infrastructure for the sake of urban redevelopment. In 1993, governor John Engler set the stage for insurgence of privately run charter schools. Since being placed under state emergency management in 2009, the Detroit Public School system was forced to close and consolidate nearly 150 schools and enact thousands of

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[78] Bernadette Atuahene and Timothy R. Hodge, "Stategraft," SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, 2016), https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2840978.

[79] Akers, "Making Markets."

[80] Ibid.

[81] Julia Yezbick, "Domesticating Detroit: An Ethnography of Creativity in Postindustrial Frontier" (Harvard University, 2016).

[82] George Hunter, "Detroit to Start Water Shut-Offs Monday," *Detroit News*, accessed May 7, 2017, http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/detroit-city/2016/04/30/hundreds-detroiters-line-avoid-water-shut-offs/83753926/.

[83] Kate Wells, "1,800 Homes Had Water Turned off after Shutoffs Resume in Detroit," accessed May 7, 2017, http://michiganradio.org/post/1800-homes-had-water-turned-after-shutoffs-resume-detroit.

[84] Ryan Felton, "Detroit Water Shut-Offs Resume — and Residents Continue to Struggle with Bills," *Detroit Metro Times*, accessed May 7, 2017, http://www.metrotimes.com/news-hits/archives/2016/07/06/detroit-water-shut-offs-resume-and-residents-continue-to-struggle-with-bills.

teacher layoffs.[85][86] By 2015, Detroit became the second largest public charter school district in the U.S. behind New Orleans, by having 52, 420 students enrolled[87], while DPS holds $3.5 billion in debt and 46,000 students[88]. The privatization of education in Detroit serves as a tool in altering the urban space by utilizing realty market for place-making of new neighborhoods.[89] This highly racialized process produces under-resourced and overcrowded classrooms, dispossesses residents from pivotal community establishments, and denies students the right to an education in times of a highly diploma driven employment market.[90] These examples demonstrate, but a few, effects of neoliberal restructuring that confines both residents and local power structures to broader dynamics and networks of capital accumulation that create space for revalorization of urban space.

Forms of revalorization are also implicated in cultural dynamics and urban rebranding. The decades of decline and urban disinvestment contributed to the city's physical decay, pivotal grassroots organizing, and counterculture. However, the national and international took a divergent approach, seeing Detroit as a post-apocalyptic ghost-town and a blank-slate, propelled by the widely-publicized photographs of Detroit's 'ruin' landscape. Apel, in *Beautiful Terrible Ruins*, explains the ruin photography as a reflection on the anxiety of decline of capitalist society and the

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[85] Scott Martelle, *Detroit: A Biography* (Chicago Review Press, 2012).

[86] Thomas Pedroni, "Urban Shrinkage as a Performance of Whiteness: Neoliberal Urban Restructuring, Education, and Racial Containment, in the Post-Industrial Global Niche City," in *Neoliberalism, Cities and Education in the Global South and North*, ed. Kalervo N. Gulson and Thomas C. Pedroni (London, New York: Routledge, 2014), 24–38.

[87] "2015 Annual Report," *National Alliance for Public Charter Schools*, accessed May 7, 2017, http://www.publiccharters.org/publications/2015-annual-report/.

[88] Ann Zaniewski, "Report: DPS Owes $3.5B; out of Cash in April?," *Detroit Free Press*, accessed May 7, 2017, http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/detroit/2016/01/06/dps-debt/78314708/.

[89] Pedroni, "Urban Shrinkage as a Performance of Whiteness: Neoliberal Urban Restructuring, Education, and Racial Containment, in the Post-Industrial Global Niche City."

[90] Katraese Stafford, "The Shocking Rate of Crime Detroit Kids Face Each Day," 2016, http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/detroit/2016/11/19/detroit-children-crime-victims-assault/87399622/; Jennifer Chambers, "Suit: Detroit Schoolchildren Denied Right to Literacy," 2016, http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/detroit-city/2016/09/13/lawsuit-detroit-schoolchildren-literacy/90298836/; Pedroni, "Urban Shrinkage as a Performance of Whiteness: Neoliberal Urban Restructuring, Education, and Racial Containment, in the Post-Industrial Global Niche City."

pessimism toward failure of progress and modernist ideals.[91] At the same time, these images propelled the celebration of the post-apocalyptic through nostalgic transformations of resiliency: an underdog status as the "great American comeback story" that became repackaged, and sold.

In 2011, Chrysler celebrated its part in Detroit's industrious legacy by airing an "Imported from Detroit" commercial during the widely-televised Super Bowl, while only keeping three out of 37 factories within the city limits[92]. Shinola, a luxury manufacturer of bikes and watches amplifies its "Built in Detroit" brand by not only selling products, but a comeback, playing on buyers' desires to own something authentic.[93] Many were drawn to Detroit, celebrating and simultaneously contributing to the "counterculture which has been transformed into postmodern consumer culture"[94]. Carducci further explains, "The serious efforts at gentrification have been driven more by speculative financial interests, in keeping with the rent-gap theory, and embraced by more upscale lifestyle consumers rather than working artists."[95] While there is no documented form of displacement from gentrification in one of Detroit's neighborhoods, the 'cultural displacement' in which residents feel culturally isolated from others while physically remaining in their original home prevails.[96] The large-scale developments occurring mostly in Downtown and Midtown are driven by and aid the broader efforts at regeneration.

[91] Dora Apel, *Beautiful Terrible Ruins: Detroit and the Anxiety of Decline* (Rutgers University Press, 2015).

[92] Fiat Chrysler Automobiles, "FCA Group - Official Global Website," accessed May 22, 2017, https://www.fcagroup.com/en-US/Pages/home.aspx.

[93] Stacy Perman, "The Real History of America's Most Authentic Fake Brand," *Inc.com*, March 31, 2016, https://www.inc.com/magazine/201604/stacy-perman/shinola-watch-history-manufacturing-heritage-brand.html.

[94] Vince Carducci, "On Art and Gentrification - ∞ Mile Detroit," accessed May 7, 2017, http://infinitemiledetroit.com/On_Art_and_Gentrification.html.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Margaret Dewar et al., "Learning from Detroit: How Rresearch on a Declining City Enriches Urban Studies," in *Reinventing Detroit: The Politics of Possibility*, ed. L. Owen Kirkpatrick and Michael Peter Smith (Bushwick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2015), 37–56.

Capital speculators have seized the opportunity of punitive legislations and strategies, devalued land and labor, and economic crises to purchase and revitalize pockets of urban space. In 2009, Dan Gilbert, the CEO of mortgage lending company Quicken Loans, moved his headquarters Downtown, and currently claims more than 80 buildings, mostly purchased after the 2008 Great Recession.[97] The publicly subsidized development of a new hockey arena is becoming the final piece of the Entertainment District puzzle, and the newly launched Q-Line, a public-private trolley, is both a means of direct transportation for those living within 3.3 miles of Downtown center, and a tourist attraction. Along with these developments, the building of new housing and redevelopment of prime real-estate is partially subsidized by state tax-subsidies. While some space is designated for low-income residents, these projects largely seek to attract higher-income individuals that would contribute to the declining tax-base. Thus, both the municipal government, that wants to dispose itself of properties and see the tax base increase, and the state that sees the interest in 'reviving Detroit' work jointly in ensuring that these forms of regeneration occur. New restaurants, bars, and entertainment establishments contribute to the overall rebranding of the city. The increase in activity in the Downtown and Midtown areas is vastly disproportionate to the rest of the city, where the positive activity is unparalleled despite of conscious efforts to improve the remainder of the city.[98] Along with the buzz of the economic growth, repopulation, and revitalization of Detroit, many corporations, non-profit organizations, and the local and state governments have taken an initiatives in attracting individuals of various skills and backgrounds to meet the needs of new industries, tech incubators, and entrepreneurship.

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[97] Aguilar, "Putting a price tag on properties linked to Gilbert". *Detroit News*.
[98] Laura A. Reese et al., "'It's Safe to Come, We've Got Lattes': Development Disparities in Detroit," *Cities* 60, Part A (February 2017): 367–77, doi:10.1016/j.cities.2016.10.014.

Additional to seeking to attract various forms of capital and population, cities like Detroit benefit from place-making and immigrant-friendly policies. As migrant communities become factored into municipal restructuring processes and agendas, they become assets in Detroit's repositioning efforts. The city's immigrant population is currently at about 6%, with most residents being of Hispanic, Middle Eastern, and South Asian descent.[99] However, according to Global Detroit, the city of Detroit alone saw immigrant population grow by 12% between 2000 and 2010.[100] Much of the migrants in the region were and continue to be largely assisted by non-profit organizations and other community led efforts. In an effort to attract and retain migrant population at this point in time of urban regeneration and economic revival, the State of Michigan created the Michigan Office of New Americans (MONA), while the Detroit municipality created the offices of the Immigration Task Force and the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs.

In fostering a welcoming climate for economic developments, Governor Snyder, under the banner of "Reinventing Michigan", created MONA in 2014. MONA rests on three pillars: talent retention through traditional visa immigration; refugee resettlement; and retention of international students. The talent retention focuses on filling the shortages and gaps of the labor pool through the development of Michigan International Talent Solutions (MITS) program that focuses on migrants who have been in the state for less than five years and who have a bachelor's degree or higher.[101] Additionally, MONA is working with institutions such as Global Detroit to find a way to retain international students. The Office also seeks to foster and remove barriers relative to migrant entrepreneurship by assessing policies and licensing that may pose as impediments for

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[99] US Census Bureau, "Census.gov," accessed May 7, 2017, https://www.census.gov/en.html; "Data USA," accessed May 7, 2017, https://datausa.io/.
[100] Sarah Cwiek, "Detroit's Immigrant Population Trends up," accessed May 5, 2017, http://michiganradio.org/post/detroits-immigrant-population-trends.
[101] Interview, State Official, June 2016.

new businesses. This is done under the premise that immigrants and foreign-born residents are twice as likely to start a business than native residents. MONA established three ethnic commissions comprising of Hispanic, Asian, and Middle Eastern communities. While this office is not exclusively focused on revitalizing Detroit, it serves an ambassadorial position that promotes the city.[102] Governor Snyder's request from the Obama Administration to allow 50,000 visas for individuals looking to live and invest in Detroit has not succeeded, it nonetheless demonstrates a commitment to attracting residents that would contribute to economic advancement of the city.[103] While MONA continues to operate on the state level, the creation of the Immigration Task Force and Office of Immigrant Affairs within the municipal infrastructure coincides with the current urban regenerative moment.

Established in January 2014, as an effort to create a more diverse, inclusive, global city, Council Member Raquel Castañeda-López and Council Member André Spivey launched the first City of Detroit Immigration Task Force. The Immigration Task Force (ITF) is divided into six committees: Municipal Services, Immigration Rights, Economic Development and Investment, Marketing and Engagement, Re-Population, and Social Services. Municipal subcommittee aims to engage public needs in order to create an accessible language sensitive virtual office central for migrants seeking housing, education, employment.[104] Economic Development and Investment (EDI) group looks to increase exports, trade, and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) by establishing an International Investor and Trade Partner Collaborative in identifying EB-5 investors. Additionally, the EDI Committee focuses on smaller immigrant business growth and start-ups by

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[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] "Immigration Task Force Presentation" (Detroit, Mich, n.d.), http://www.detroitmi.gov/Government/City-Council/Raquel-Casta%C3%B1eda-L%C3%B3pez/Immigration-Task-Force.

influencing favorable business licensing and zoning regulations, increasing investment in incumbent and 'untapped' entrepreneurs through knowledge dissemination and mentor relationships. Immigration Rights Committee coordinates with federal regulatory bodies and engage in issuing Municipal IDs while coordinating campaigns with various regional and national organizations. Meeting and Engagement Plan works to promote Detroit as a welcoming City by creating a brand, highlighting immigrant-owned businesses, promoting tourism in immigrant neighborhoods, publicizing naturalization ceremonies, and fostering cross-cultural community programing. The Repopulation Committee is designated to create a welcoming environment for refugees and immigrants by enacting immigrant friendly policies and ordinances. Furthermore, it aims to increase affordable housing for refugees and immigrants through partnerships with HUD (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development), developers, Board of Realtors, and MSHDA (Michigan State Housing Development Authority) and increase retention of existing immigrant groups by identifying and resolving challenges and concerns within communities. Finally, Social Services and Education Plan aims to promote English as Second Language services and GED and connect foreign born residents with social services in the city.[105]

Initiated by the city council-led Immigration Task Force, Mayor Mike Duggan solidified Detroit as an immigrant friendly city by creating the Office of Immigrant Affairs in October, 2015. One of the goals of Office of Immigrant Affairs is resettlement of Syrian and other refugees in Detroit for the next three years. Furthermore, the office helps incoming and residing communities connect with government and non-profit resources and assist in obtaining loans and other means of financial support. OIA serves as a gateway in helping migrant businesses become successful

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[105] Ibid.

through various initiatives, such as the Motor City Match, and encourage economic investment.[106] The office additionally builds partnerships with the local non-profit and community based organizations that have served migrant communities throughout the past decades.

Collaborating with the state and municipality, local organizations focusing on globalizing Detroit play an important role in solidifying migrants as drivers of neighborhood revitalization, economic growth, and diversity, and have been pivotal agents in providing services that facilitate pathways to migrant emplacement. Organizations such as United Way of Michigan, International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit, Southwest Solutions, and many others have served the communities through legal services, assistance in housing and employment, job trainings, and other integral necessities surrounding every-day life. To help expand the regional economy and bolster Detroit's international presence, Global Detroit implemented talent retention programs, initiatives that assist migrant entrepreneurs, and facilitated access to services for newcomers. "The organization's efforts leverage the innovation and entrepreneurship offered by immigrant communities to grow the regional economy and help Detroit to reclaim its place as a thriving world-class city".[107] Furthermore, Global Detroit works within communities in addressing resident needs and access to governing bodies and resources as reflected in the recent publication of an action plan in Bangla Town neighborhood. The Bangladeshi American Public Affairs Committee (BAPAC) was instrumental in civic engagement and rebranding the Bangla Town neighborhood as a future site of cultural tourism and foreign investment. These groups serve as connectors

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[106] Adriane Davis, "Mayor Duggan Appoints Fayrouz Saad to Head Immigrant Affairs for City of Detroit," *City of Detroit*, accessed May 7, 2017, http://www.detroitmi.gov/News/ArticleID/502/Mayor-Duggan-Appoints-Fayrouz-Saad-to-Head-Immigrant-Affairs-for-City-of-Detroit.
[107] "Global Detroit – WE Global Network," accessed May 31, 2017, http://www.weglobalnetwork.org/global-detroit/.

between local governance and communities themselves, while simultaneously filling the needs of communities resulting from municipal absence and lack of resources.

Given Detroit's time of urban regeneration, the inclusion of migrant communities becomes significant as they contribute to political, economic, and cultural capital. Faist explains that the new forms of thinking relative to migration and development depends on, "changing discourses of market, state and community, and the geo-political power structure."[108] Playing an important role in urban development, migrants contribute to the rise of property values and neighborhood transformations, while creating new businesses and economies that shift modes of consumption and actuate transnational connections of marketing, distribution, and trade.[109] Migrants also reconstruct the image of the city as diverse and favorable for tourism and economic empowerment.[110] Policy makers recognize the importance of migrant and ethnic diversity to urban redevelopment and instrumentalize it as they attempt to alter their connectedness within power networks in the global arena.

The current efforts at urban redevelopment and repositioning of Detroit in the global arena is effected through the neoliberal restructuring that includes a variety of actors. The attempts at revalorization of the urban space are conducted through rebranding, privatization, and austerity measures. Additionally, the infrastructural changes reflected in the above paragraphs demonstrate that migrants play an important role in this process as valuable sources of political, economic, and

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[108] Thomas Faist and Nina Glick Schiller, "Introduction: Migration Development, and Social Transformation," in *Migration, Development, and Transnationalization: A Critical Stance*, ed. Nina Glick Schiller and Thomas Faist (Berghahn Books, 2010), 1–21. p. 14

[109] Michael Parzer and Florian J. Huber, "Migrant Businesses And The Symbolic Transformation Of Urban Neighborhoods: Towards a Research Agenda," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39, no. 6 (November 1, 2015): 1270–78.

[110] Stephen Syrett and Leandro Sepulveda, "Urban Governance and Economic Development in the Diverse City," *European Urban and Regional Studies* 19, no. 3 (July 1, 2012): 238–53; Heather Campbell and Susan S. Fainstein, "Justice, Urban Politics, and Policy," April 5, 2012.

cultural capital. While much of the literature is dedicated to the neoliberal transformations of urban space, very few studies have analyzed how these process impact forms of migrant incorporation and emplacement. Thus, through the theoretical framework of migrant emplacement, provided in the next chapter, I will examine how migrants, through entrepreneurial activity, become incorporated in disempowered, yet revitalizing and migrant-welcoming cities. At the same time, I will analyze how these communities respond and become affected by neoliberal restructuring through their every-day experiences and practices.

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON MIGRANT EMPLACEMENT

The theory of migrant emplacement provides an understanding of incorporation of migrant entrepreneurs into a given locality beyond the study of ethnic networks and groups as single units, undertaking a binary, native-local divide, or inter-ethnic comparisons and modes of behavior in a given, usually gateway or global locality, or transnational space. With a distance from the ethnic lens, the theory of migrant emplacement considers migrant communities, and migrant entrepreneurs, as actors who participate and are subjected to neoliberal processes in deindustrialized and regenerating cities like Detroit. By taking a relational and scalar perspective to a locality and residents within it, this theoretical approach allows us to understand when and how migrant identities and ethnic belongings become salient; how and why local and transnational networks are formed; and how the global repositioning efforts and institutional changes create and impede opportunity structures for migrant entrepreneurial incorporation.

Glick Schiller and Çağlar define migrant emplacement as, "a relationship between the continuing restructuring of a city within networks of power and migrants' efforts to settle and build networks of connection within the constraints and opportunities of a specific locality."[111] Instead of taking the ethnic lens, the analytical focus is placed on time and place where modes of migrant emplacement are positioned and relative to "local institutions, structures and narratives, as they emerge at particular moments in the historical trajectory and multiscalar positioning of specific cities".[112] A city's place in the global scale, as described earlier in this thesis, is dependent on the its positioning and uneven movement in the political, economic, and cultural fields of power and networks of capital accumulation. As the locality moves within these fields, pathways to migrant incorporation, including their local and transnational networks, as well as the opportunity

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[111] Schiller and Çağlar, "Locating Migrant Pathways of Economic Emplacement." P. 500
[112] Ibid.

structures and impediments to entrepreneurial activity, become affected through the revitalization of urban space, governance, and forms of capital accumulation.[113]

Pathways to migrant incorporation are not singular in their framework or trajectory and include forms of multiple embeddedness that are situated on the local and global level.[114] Incorporation is a process of establishing and maintaining social relations, whether economic, political, or cultural that allows individuals or groups to take part in various and multiple social fields of uneven power.[115] Networks of networks, social fields are situated locally and/or transnationally and link individuals to economic, political, and cultural institutions on the local, national, and global level.[116] "Social fields are the aspects of social relations through which broader social forces enable, shape and constrain individual migrants and their networks."[117] Entrepreneurship is a form of migrant incorporation that, through multiple embeddedness, allows individuals to establish connections and networks, and settle into a given location. Multiple embeddedness, distinguishes, "crucial interplay between the social, economic, and institutional contexts", whereby the migrant enterprise is at the, "intersection of changes in socio-cultural frameworks, on the one side, and transformation processes in (urban) economies and the institutional framework on the other."[118] Social fields to which migrants belong are affected by the global political, economic, and cultural shifts that permeate and influence the opportunity

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[113] Ibid.
[114] Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar, "Downscaled Cities and Migrant Pathways: Locality and Agency without an Ethnic Lens," in *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*, ed. Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar (Cornell University Press, 2011).
[115] Ibid. p. 190
[116] Nina Glick Schiller, "The Centrality of Ethnography in the Study of Transnational Migration: Seeing the Wetland Instead of the Swamp," in *American Arrivals: Anthropology Engages the New Immigration*, ed. Nancy Foner (School of American Research Press, 2003). 99-128.
[117] Schiller and Çağlar, "Locating Migrant Pathways of Economic Emplacement." p. 500.
[118] Robert Kloosterman, Joanne Van Der Leun, and Jan Rath, "Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23, no. 2 (June 1, 1999): 252–66, doi:10.1111/1468-2427.00194.

structures of a given urban space. Modes of migrant incorporation occur through an investigation of the every-day practice, with a relational and structural perspective to a locality, instead of the ethnic lens.

Ethnic lens assumes that ethnicity and ethnic boundaries are departing units of analysis when investigating migrant incorporation and modes of connectivity.[119] Pécoud argues that this strategy overestimates the differences between migrants and non-migrants; homogenizes intra-ethnic groups whether in terms of gender or class; and de-problematizes the ethnic terminology.[120] Furthermore, placing the research away from the ethnic lens prevents us from reproduction of ethnic frameworks or methodological nationalism, which homogenizes individuals and groups by naturalizing the nation-state as a cultural identifier.[121] Rather, Brubaker explains that ethnicity is a category of every-day practice which is processual, relational, and contextual, among others.[122] Like gender, race, class, Fox and Jones add that ethnicity is "negotiated and reproduced, or undermined, resisted, rejected and rendered irrelevant in the routine contexts of everyday life."[123] Taking into account the every-day practices and stepping away from the ethnic lens, which does not imply its neglect, allows for the emergence of new patterns in understanding pathways to migrant incorporation and emplacement, while considering cities in a relational perspective.

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[119] Nina Glick Schiller, "Transnationality and the City," in *Transnationalism and Urbanism*, ed. Stefan Krätke, Kathrin Wildner, and Stephan Lanz, 1st ed, Routledge Research in Transnationalism 25 (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 31–45.

[120] Antoine Pécoud, "Thinking and Rethinking Ethnic Economies," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 9, no. 3 (July 2000): 439–62, doi:10.1353/dsp.2000.0018. p. 457-459.

[121] Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology," *The International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 576–610.

[122] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Harvard University Press, 2004).

[123] Jon E Fox and Demelza Jones, "Migration, Everyday Life and the Ethnicity Bias," *Ethnicities* 13, no. 4 (August 1, 2013): 385–400. p. 394

Approaching cities as entry points of the analysis of migrant emplacement does not suppose that they are itself the units of analysis. Cities have particular structures and institutions that are regulatory in terms of taxation, ordinances, policies, and other infrastructures of governance which makes them good points of entry, but they are also embedded in broader regional, national, and global dynamics.[124] As spaces of production globalized, neoliberal policies disrupted the notion of the city, region, and state as nested and bounded territorial units, enacting interspatial competition through localization, placing capital as central to urban growth and global positionality.[125] Thus, all cities in a sense are global as they participate in globe spanning process of capital accumulation and reproduction. As Çağlar and Glick Schiller explain, "The relative positioning of cities within hierarchies of uneven power can enable or impede the pathways of emplacement for all those – migrants and non-migrants alike – who reside in a particular place at a particular period of time."[126] Thus, a structural approach to cities helps us understand how urban spaces, along with nation-state and globe spanning institutions, are mutually constituted and move within uneven global spheres of economic, political, and cultural power that are enacted and unfolded at specific periods of time.[127] Residents of cities, both migrants and non-migrants, are influenced by these processes, and for deindustrialized cities like Detroit, the positionality and marginalization in the global hierarchies of power affects the formation and reformation of networks and pathways of emplacement or displacement.

For Detroit, a city that has been marginalized within the global networks of power through various forms of restructuring, its global positioning thus influences the contemporary dynamics

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[124] Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar, *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants* (Cornell University Press, 2011).
[125] Brenner and Theodore, "Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism."
[126] Schiller and Çağlar, "Locating Migrant Pathways of Economic Emplacement." p. 500
[127] Ibid.

for all residents, as well as migrant business owners. Opportunity structures, for migrants and non-migrants, in Detroit have vastly been influenced by globalized economic processes, as demonstrated in the previous chapters. The contemporary neoliberal restructuring and institutional policy making seeks to reposition Detroit in the global spheres of political, economic, and cultural power. Here, migrants play a critical role which is reflected in the recent establishment of the Immigration Task Force and the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs. Furthermore, the importance of migrant communities is demonstrated by a broader and more integrated campaign for migrant inclusion as a form of urban economic and population growth on the part of the municipality, the state, and non-profit organizations working in the region. However, migrant emplacement and migrant incorporation must be placed into the perspective of time and place. For migrant business owners, the efforts at urban regeneration impact their daily entrepreneurial activities and influences pathways to emplacement. At the same time, they create and deploy different local and transnational networks relative to the place and time within which they find themselves. Thus, through the theoretical framework of migrant emplacement, we see the emergence of new patterns in terms of migrant economic incorporation as relative to the scalar positionality of Detroit and its time at urban regeneration. In the next chapter, I present and analyze migrant emplacement in Detroit through interviews conducted with institutional actors, as well as migrant business owners throughout the city.

CHAPTER 5: MIGRANT EMPLACEMENT IN DETROIT

Detroit's contemporary discourse of urban regeneration reflects a time in the city's historical trajectory that proves to be favorable for migrant emplacement. The institutional shifts and migrant friendly narratives of the municipal and state leadership affect and contribute to migrant entrepreneurial activities and broader inclusion of all residents in the city. In this chapter, I provide and analyze the empirical evidence gathered through institutional and migrant entrepreneur interviews that demonstrate the factors to migrant emplacement in Detroit. After providing a brief methodological overview, I discuss how the municipality interprets and incorporates migrant communities while still under the effects of the bankruptcy that limits their ability to deploy significant resources for migrant communities. The second portion of this chapter is dedicated to interviews with migrant entrepreneurs that are situated throughout different neighborhoods in the city, and how they participate and become affected by the urban restructuring while forging a place for themselves in the city. While the structural changes strive to make Detroit a welcoming city, migrant entrepreneurial activities and every-day practices differ and are affected by the uneven restructuring. During the pathways of incorporation, migrant entrepreneurs deploy various frameworks of belonging and local and transnational networks in the daily activities surrounding their enterprise. Each sub-section provided here is accompanied by a smaller analysis of the empirical evidence at hand, while the concluding section provides a broader overview and examination of the findings as connected to current academic research and theoretical perspectives.

METHODOLOGY

In gathering the empirical research for understanding the pathways to migrant incorporation and migrant emplacement in Detroit, I used a variety of methods. First, I conducted in total 12 semi-structured and open interviews with state and city officials, and members of non-

profit organizations. The city officials quoted herein are members of the Detroit City Council and work in the Mayor's Administration in different capacities. The topics discussed surrounded migration in Detroit, the ongoing urban development, current programs and policies oriented toward migrants, and a broader place of migrants in Detroit. These interviews are supplemented with my observations through the attendance of various events in 2016 and 2017, as well as my work with the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs. Secondly, I conducted 10 semi-structured and open interviews with migrant entrepreneurs of various backgrounds situated in different parts of the city about their daily practices and experiences, relationships with the municipality, and participation in local and transnational networks. For the reasons of confidentiality, the names of migrant entrepreneurs and city officials have been changed. My positionality as a researcher and a member of the Detroit community contributed to the realization of the interviews. Having worked with various organizations focusing on migration, afforded me the opportunity to engage with institutional and municipal actors interviewed for this thesis. Choosing migrant enterprises came from personal knowledge of the communities in the city and other recommendations. Attempting to ensure even geographical distribution of interviewees, I chose businesses that were established in various neighborhoods.

INSTITUTIONAL MIGRANT EMPLACEMENT

Detroit's regeneration synchronizes with the municipal and state led efforts in migrant retention and attraction that would contribute to the overall accumulation of social, political, and economic capital. The development and implementation of policies and programs such as the Municipal ID, Language Access, and resource-bridging for homeownership, entrepreneurship, and job development through the Immigration Task Force and the Office of Immigrant Affairs supports and maintains the broader friendly-disposition of the local leadership toward migrants. The State

of Michigan led efforts on migrant inclusion, as discussed in the previous chapters, are complementary; however, they are not exclusive in terms of geographical focus, instead attribute resources to economic development and integration. In revealing strategies for migrant emplacement on the municipal level, I provide general themes that are deemed as important factors: welcoming climate; migrant access to city services, trajectories on urban development and ownership, and limitations to institutional capacity.

Welcoming Climate

The official establishment of the Immigration Task Force and the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs was a significant milestone in the inclusion of migrant communities in the municipal structure of Detroit. The creation of these offices is celebrated in the rebranding of Detroit as a welcoming, global city and is complemented with the joining of the national Welcoming Cities network. Detroit as a global city means that it is diverse and inclusive, and that conversations that surround migrants should not exclusively be focused on high-skilled individuals.[128] Rather, inclusivity and diversity implies an inclusion and recognition of existing communities and those who may come from precarious position as having a place and a platform for access to resources from the municipality.[129] Additionally, global welcoming city means that these conversations that move Detroit forward are not necessarily focused exclusively on migrants, but that they include the non-migrant population, as well. "I think when we talk about welcoming in the city of Detroit…is that inclusivity is key and…part of being inclusive is recognizing the needs of existing population, and often times the needs of existing immigrant communities are one in the same as native born Detroiters."[130] One of the ways in designating this form of inclusivity

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[128] City Official 1, July 2016.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.

is through the establishment of the refugee resettlement programs, Municipal ID, and also the exposure of diversity of residents through social media story-telling.

When in 2017 the Trump Administration officially announced the ban of individuals from six countries primarily in and around the Middle East, many of its residents, like the rest of the United States, protested in front of the Detroit Airport. This ban was condemned by many mayors and administrations throughout the U.S., including Detroit's Mayor Mike Duggan. Following these events and shifting climate toward migrants and migration in the nation, the Mayor's Administration and the City Council collaborated with various organizations in the region to ensure that they remain a resource and a support in these times. The Office of Immigrant Affairs, along with the Immigration Task Force, State Representatives, non-profit leaders, and activists collaborated on creating and participating in a "Know your rights" throughout different communities. The representation of the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs in community meetings held by the Detroit Police Department (DPD) has been significant in establishing that the municipality maintains support toward migrant communities. "What we have been trying to do is go into these communities and continue to advocate for them and to make sure that they understand that we are still here, we are still supporting you."[131] Furthermore, the current climate brought many residents and officials closer together, whereby the DPD tries to collaborate with migrant leaders in ensuring community safety and the prevention of resident profiling and solicitation of immigration status.[132] Considering Detroit's geographical position on the Canadian border, the municipal administration held meetings with U.S. Immigration and Customers Enforcement (ICE) to collaborate with the DPD. The OIA maintains that even with the federal changes, which have

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[131] City Official 2, April 2017.
[132] City Official 3, April 2017.

made the work more difficult in terms of trust between the government and the people, the office does not cease working with and assisting migrant communities in the city.[133]

The creation of a welcoming climate in Detroit started with the establishment of the OIA and the ITF, and the subsequent joining of national networks that are supportive toward welcoming cities and migrant-friendly policies. On the other side, the welcoming climate ensures the inclusion of residents irrespective of their migrant or non-migrant background and group belonging. The negative shifts toward migration in the federal administration created another opportunity that allows the municipality to strengthen the welcoming narrative. However, as many of the city officials noted, large part of having a welcoming climate is providing basic needs and services that have often lacked in the city.

Access to City Services and Resources

The welcoming atmosphere, as previously noted, entails that the existing migrant communities have access to basic services and resources offered by the local government. These needs are often the same as of those of non-migrant population in Detroit, but with slight differences in terms of language or general accessibility.[134] Thus, one of the first steps that the ITF and the OIA collaborated on is the Municipal ID program, also known as the Detroit ID. Offered to all residents, irrespective of their immigration status, who are 14 years or older, the Detroit ID is accepted by the DPD, One Credit Union, Detroit Land Bank Authority, DTE Energy, and others as a valid form of identification.[135] On the other end, the creation of the Language Access Program is a significant step to providing bridging resources with migrant communities who may not have a good command of English. While this program is still in the implementing phases, it will be used

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[133] Ibid.
[134] City Official 1, interview.
[135] "Detroit ID | Find | How Do I | City of Detroit," accessed June 2, 2017, http://www.detroitmi.gov/DetroitID.

to provide language accessibility through signage in different languages in the municipal building, availability of a translator during meetings and services, and website access. As part of improving customer service and ensuring that individuals feel welcomed, the employees will convey this through cultural sensitivity and awareness.[136] Detroit ID and Language Accessibility Program are another way of creating a more inclusive and welcoming Detroit.

The municipality looks to provide access to services to migrant communities by being a gateway and a connector through local partnerships. In terms of homeownership, the OIA is working with migrant communities and groups looking to remain or establish themselves in the city by connecting them with the Detroit Land Bank, having collective meetings, and ensuring that the processes and strategies are in place to realize their projects.[137] By meeting with community leaders and discussing their needs, the OIA notifies appropriate departments regarding various issues. The brochure about public transportation has been developed and will be translated to ensure access to buses, as many of the bus stops in Detroit are unmarked or need to be refurbished. The OIA is looking to create more partnerships within the city, as well as with other non-profit organizations to collaborate in terms of ensuring access to resources for migrant communities.

As the municipality focuses on establishing homeownership and service accessibility to migrant communities, it is also focuses on helping migrant entrepreneurs.

> "There is a lot of businesses, they have a lot of questions around their licensing, their permitting, their water bills…and they never come down to the city, they don't feel comfortable, there is no one here with the language skills, so we've brought those resources to them…we bring the resources to them through community partnerships and other folks in the community that understand the importance of this. They help bring us translators, we bring the resources that they ask for. And it's a tailored event so small a business owner can show up and he can have one on one meetings…."[138]

[136] City Official 1, interview.
[137] City Official 2, interview.
[138] City Official 3, interview.

As there is no direct capital invested into the businesses on the part of the municipality, the city hopes to connect the owners with various departments that could alleviate potential issues, such as the increasing water-bills. In another sense, helping migrant entrepreneurs is also meant to connect them with other sources of funding, such as Motor City Match which is designated to grant funds to small business owners. For individuals looking to start a business, whether of migrant or non-migrant background, the ITF is working toward developing a tool-kit as a guide to resources and amenities in the city.[139] As a means of maintaining and supporting businesses, city officials also engage with programming originated from groups like the Detroit Economic Growth Corporation (DEGC) whose Green Grocers Program which promotes entrepreneurship and consumption of fresh foods in Detroit.[140] Small businesses, both migrant and non-migrant are critical to building and maintaining communities and meeting their needs, thus it is the municipality's responsibility to provide a platform for their growth and continued contribution to the city.[141]

An overarching theme of creating access to city resources is to help keep the existing population, both migrant and non-migrant, remain in the city. The OIA is part of the Jobs and Economy Team (JET) in the Mayor's Administration and sees itself as an agent of capacity building that ensures resident needs are met through sustainable means. Additionally, it seeks to institutionalize the needs of migrant communities throughout different departments relative to execution of different projects that impact various locations in the city.[142] Broadly, the goals of providing access to city services is a way of maintaining and eventually attracting new population, "I think the approach is different from maybe what is in different cities, that we need to attract outside people. At least my approach is to really focus on how do we address the needs of existing

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[139] City Official 1, interview.
[140] City Official 4, July 2016.
[141] City Official 5, July 2016.
[142] City Official 3, interview.

communities here, because they are basic needs, and if you don't address those basic needs no one will come to this city because they know they will not have their basic services provided."[143]

New Urban Developments

As Detroit enters the period of redevelopment, both residential and commercial, it stands at accelerating the displacement of residents of both migrant and non-migrant backgrounds. Renewed target zones for development have focused on some of the 'ethnic' neighborhoods such as Bangla Town and Southwest with a recent issuance of an RFP (Request for Proposals) that seeks proposals for redevelopment and investment programs. City officials are cognizant of potential displacement of all residents relative to ushering of large developments.

The key strategy to addressing the effects of displacement is home and business ownership. "Get people to own their homes and not be renting. Get people that their business are established…so that they can have economic independence and security so that they can own their home. Be more established in their communities…so…not to worry about being pushed out by businesses or increasing property values. And it benefits them because then their business is more valuable and their home is more valuable."[144] Because the municipality is bound by the bankruptcy stipulations, policies on rent control and other forms of mitigating displacement are limited. Thus, distribution of new developments in an appropriate and inclusive manner remains a challenge. On the other end, a way of mitigating and influencing developments is through capacity building.[145]

To ensure that all residents in the city have an opportunity to own and gain control of their neighborhood, some municipal officials see building neighborhood and individual capacity as a means of resisting displacement. The new, '20-minute neighborhood concept' strives to create an

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[143] City Official 1, interview.
[144] City Official 3, interview.
[145] City Official 1, interview.

accessible, walkable, and amenity-filled environment for all residents.[146] As these developments unfold, communication between the City Council and the Mayor's Administration is crucial in including and engaging residents from the beginning of planning processes.[147] Simultaneously, efforts to support and provide access to resources to neighborhoods not directly or immediately affected by development are a means of encouraging ownership and empowerment, "We have parts where we have nothing, not even groceries, not even on the map per se. What we tried to do is go out there and identify the block clubs and the people doing the work, bringing them together, connecting them to existing resources, and kind of doing pilot projects – board ups, co-op grocery store, so that they are really ones that are empowered to drive the development because PDD[148] is not coming to them right now."[149] Connecting residents with the Detroit Land Bank to buy homes or extra lots that may be necessary for them is part of creating more wholesome communities and mitigating potential displacement.[150] However, many officials do not believe that displacement is immediate and that the development trajectory will take a long time.

Limitations to Institutional Capacity

The establishment of the Office of Immigrant Affairs and the Immigration Task Force is recent. After the bankruptcy, many departments were left with less employees that can undertake creation and implementation of programs helpful to all residents. On the other hand, the municipality works toward building a tax-base through commercial and residential, large and small projects and programs that serve as means of gaining revenue and overall attractiveness of the

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[146] "City Invests $1.6M into Planning and Design Work for Revitalizing Detroit Neighborhoods," *City of Detroit*, accessed June 2, 2017, http://www.detroitmi.gov/News/ArticleID/1154/City-Invests-1-6M-into-Planning-and-Design-Work-for-Revitalizing-Detroit-Neighborhoods.
[147] City Official 1, interview.
[148] Planning and Development Department
[149] City Official 1, interview.
[150] City Official 4, interview.

locality. Given that it has only been three years since the creation of the ITF, and only a year and a half of OIA, the offices have had to rely on partnerships and coalitions with other agencies and organizations to undertake certain projects and meet their goals.

The ITF has about 30 members and all of them are volunteers. Much of the work is done outside of their traditional place of employment and it often takes longer to complete because of these limitations. Thus, operating on limited capacity and with limited monetary resources, if any, it becomes more difficult to establish and undertake projects that would see immediate or faster results in the community. The Office of Immigrant Affairs, like other departments, has a very limited budget and works strategically in the program implementation. Many departments and projects rely on grants and foundations for support. However, this too requires staff and experience. Here, the coalitions and partnerships, and municipal networks that help with programing, implementation, and assistance to migrant communities are paramount.

Perspective on Institutional Shifts to Migrant Emplacement

For the City of Detroit municipality and its officials, migrants play an important role in the current moment of regeneration. However, given that the municipality has been stripped of many forms of funding, including staff cuts and resources for programs, it frames migrant incorporation as a form of additional assistance to all residents. While many council members and officials understand that migrant communities may have specific needs, such as language access, these needs are addressed with caution so as not to exclude or privilege one population over the other. As a large number of Detroit's population is unemployed, lacking basic needs, and is at risk of displacement, the forms of outreach are framed around those themes. These dispositions come from a long historical pattern, demonstrated in the previous chapters, that reverberates to this day through the various criticisms of gentrification. Namely, the "Tale of Two Detroits" or "New

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Detroit" symbolize the exclusion and marginalization of the existing population through dispossession and displacement of urban development and systemic racism. However, it is important to note that much of the migrant population that these officials refer to has been present in Detroit and has experienced those same issues of displacement and dispossession like all residents through the historical consequences of deindustrialization and neoliberal restructuring.

Connecting migrant communities and migrants is done through coalition building with non-profit and community organizations already in place that assist populations with basic needs. These organizations vary in their focus and background, while some are focused on specific groups like BAPAC (Bangladeshi American Public Affairs Committee) or UACO (United African Communities Organization), others turn to workforce development or business owners, such as Global Detroit. These organizations are good networks with a wide reach to migrant communities; however, these strategies may not be inclusive of all migrants that are residing or having their place of business in the city. Furthermore, given that the ITF and the OIA have been part of the municipality for a short period of time, extending the reach to other migrants who may not necessarily be part of community, non-profit, or religious organizations may have an exclusionary effect. The potential of exclusion reorders and reforms who partakes in the resource availability, creating contradictory effects to institutional emplacement and modes of connectedness. Time is also a factor: capital for residential homeownership or entrepreneurial endeavors is scarce, whether based on personal or public means, while for large scale developments that are inevitably affecting neighborhoods, are rather accelerated and awarded as a means of immediate tax-base creation. The state management under bankruptcy prevents the municipality in structurally addressing the rising rents and displacement of all residents, thus placing the population at a risk of displacement. Understanding that the city is attempting to rebuild its tax base, especially given the population

flight (the city is still losing population, but at a slower rate) larger developments become important, as they are attractive to newer residents with financial means. The disconnect between catering to larger investments and assisting residents in need is a form of capital distribution that, while it may not have immediate consequences at displacement, nonetheless affects residents throughout the city in terms of rising rents and property values, land distribution, and policy measures. These effects will be demonstrated in the second portion of this chapter dealing with migrant entrepreneurs.

For Detroit, immigrants of all skill levels play a particular role in its redevelopment, thereby explaining the emerging immigrant-friendly institutional structure. With aims at repopulation, economic development, and diversification, the migrants are viewed as actors and generators of political, economic, and cultural wealth. Retaining high-skilled immigrants suggests a flow of investment and financial capital to Detroit, consequently widening the city's transnational reach. Municipality's desire to retain and attract low-skilled migrants reflects on the city's need to accumulate cultural capital and materialize its welcoming image. By providing favorable conditions for migrant groups, the city will see their neighborhoods revived, tax base and property values increased, and the urban space diversified. The increase in immigrants would then set a stage for further in-migration, satisfying its needs for repopulation, economic investment, and overall vibrancy. Therefore, the favorable infrastructure of the city intentionally creates opportunity, rather than constraining it, for establishment of migrant communities and subsequent groups and networks that are actors and participants in urban restructuring, whether in terms of financial, religious, or entrepreneurial forms, among others.

MIGRANT EMPLACEMENT THROUGH ENTREPRENEURSHIP

In this section, I provide examples that demonstrate pathways to migrant emplacement through entrepreneurial, every-day activities. While much of the businesses discussed may be labeled as ethnic, whether based on their location within a known ethnic neighborhood, type of business, or ownership, their every-day experiences and modes of connectivity are not confined to ethnic networks. Instead, the business owners draw from multitude of local and transnational networks, and frameworks of belonging that collectively figure into their entrepreneurial activities. With the departure of small businesses throughout the city's history, the migrant enterprises fill the needs of the population by offering a variety of services and products to a socioeconomically diverse clientele. Institutionally viewed as agents of neighborhood redevelopment and regeneration that facilitate broader repositioning efforts, the relationship and disposition toward the locality and the urban space varies dependent on the reach, effects, and forms of revitalization taking place. Detroit's slow and uneven process of redevelopment, particularly in the post-bankruptcy era and the leadership's disposition and attention to 'new capital' is also a factor in the pathways of incorporation. Each neighborhood presented here is affected differently by uneven contemporary urban restructuring occurring in Detroit, and these places and the experiences originated within are also affected by their own unique historical trajectories.

Southwest Detroit

Mario's Automotive shop and Ms. Perez's Giftshop are both located in Southwest Detroit, which is also known as Mexicantown. The neighborhood has been a home to a large Central and Latin American community that started arriving to the Detroit-area in the 20th century, both as part of manufacturing labor market and in response to severing migration laws throughout different states in the U.S. In 2010, nearly 60% of the neighborhood was Hispanic, with 23% and 16%

African American and white, respectively. The myriad of shops situated on Vernor Hwy, one of the main commercial arteries of the neighborhood, are predominately occupied by restaurants, grocery stores, cultural centers, barber shops, and service-based providers that cater to the Latino community. Non-profit and grass-roots organizations, such as Southwest Solutions, La Sed, or Southwest Detroit Business Association, provide a range of services to all residents in the area, playing a crucial role in the absence of the availability of state and municipal services. The population density in the neighborhood is higher than in the remainder of the city, but in the past ten years, the shift from ownership to rentership has tipped in the favor of the latter.[151] As redevelopment slowly moves outside of Downtown Detroit, it is making Southwest a target for empowerment zones, also bringing about new establishments and a new demographic of clientele.

Ms. Perez, who came with her husband from Mexico in the 1970s in search for better employment opportunities, first started selling hand-made products from her home, and in 1983, decided to formally open a store. Until today, her large inventory consists of myriad of products ranging from handmade boots and clothing, to vases and Day of the Dead decorations. Well established importing infrastructure of transnational networks and proximity to Mexico allow Ms. Perez to personally shop for her store and cater to the needs of the customers in Detroit. Being an advocate for the Latino community and an educator in the public schools helped Ms. Perez establish local connections throughout the city. She used this as an opportunity to raise awareness about the cultural heritage of Mexico and Southwest, advocate for the needs of the community, and counter discrimination. Moreover, she promoted her store by partaking in different festivals and organizations that contributed to the diversification of the customer base. Southwest became a destination known for its diversity, affordable grocery stores and restaurants, and a neighborhood

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[151] "Southwest Neighborhoods Profile" (Detroit: Data Driven Detroit, 2012).

that people visit for a 'cultural experience'. Coupled with current urban regeneration, departure of families from the neighborhood, and the popularization of Mexican cultural heritage, not only in Detroit, but throughout the United States, affected Ms. Perez's clientele.

Regeneration of bordering neighborhoods produced a spillover of new residents and visitors who find Southwest more affordable. Among others, the development and beautification efforts in Corktown contributed to a sense of uncertainty and distrust toward urban revitalization programs, whose projects cater to a financially able customer base, while neglecting the basic needs of Detroiters. At one point, initiatives to beautify a Corktown park threatened the closure of Vernor Hwy, one of the main entry-points to Southwest. Ms. Perez, along with other entrepreneurs and community members, successfully advocated against this program claiming that it would deter neighborhood accessibility and impact local businesses. The shift from ownership to rentership reflects the departure of many residents due to lack of basic services, stable employment, and the decline of public schools. Their departure created opportunities for investors to acquire and redevelop properties, additional to an already existing inventory of vacant land. The disposition toward revitalization efforts are not exclusively negative, according to Ms. Perez. The arrival of music venues or restaurants created a new customer base that contributes to revenue. However, the skepticism of misplaced redevelopment efforts that are market-based instead of communally oriented remain.

Mario's automotive shop serves the southeastern Michigan region and it provides both cosmetic and mechanical services for vehicles, a necessity in Detroit. In his shop, one can hear a mixture of Spanish and English, and observe a clientele from diverse backgrounds. Mario tells me that when the shop opened in 1990s, they were the only ones in this area of the neighborhood, and soon thereafter, many other businesses providing services in the automotive sector started

emerging. The family business grew slowly and through quality service, both in terms of execution and treatment of customers, became successful. In the times of the recession, Mario tells me that their primary business of tires did not change, because this product is a necessity, "but what affected was in the aftermarket section of the business, people were not spending as much money buying a new set of rims, or tires, or hid lights. That slowed down a lot, so now that the economy is better, people are spending that extra money to make their cars look nice."[152] While speaking at his shop, Mario tells me that he wears two hats: during the day he is a mechanic, and during the night, he promotes his other business, which is an alcoholic beverage produced in Mexico with Detroit roots.

The idea behind the drink came in 2007, as Mario's father grew up in Jalisco, a region of Mexico known for agave. As the family lives in Detroit, he thought that it would be a good idea to market the business according to his city of residence. Due to slow process of production, Mario relied on his local networks to create and launch a marketing and branding campaign. Through friendships with individuals who would be considered non-migrants, Mario became acquainted with the US Bartenders Guild and was introduced to his current brand ambassador, a popular bartender in Detroit. The strategies of branding include public tastings where converging narratives of migration, hard work, and history of the brand become incorporated through the discussion on the production processes. When I asked Mario about this motto, he said, "anything that is Detroit is good branding right now…"[153] and adds that while many companies may use Detroit for its brand while living outside of the city, "we live in the 313, we live in Detroit…Right now, we can't make it in Detroit, because it's not [possible], but …[it] is Detroit owned."[154] The Detroit brand is

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[152] Mario, April 2017.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.

deployed differently and dependent on how and by whom it is framed. For large corporations like Chrysler, that have but a few factories left in the city, the brand is a new way of selling a nostalgic and celebrated appeal. For Mario and many others, the Detroit brand, while still in-line with broader connotations of meaning, celebrates the hard-work that Detroit and its residents are known for, a sense of production and pride that comes with being in a city even after many have left. Mario explains that the new bottle design and brand corresponds with the upcoming series of the drink. The importing was at first outsourced, but through experience, Mario and his family are now taking on the endeavor themselves. Having the drink sold in different establishments and liquor stores, it is becoming known throughout Detroit's resurging bar-scene. While continuing to wear two hats, promoting the drink either through event sponsorships or tastings, Mario continues to work in the auto-shop.

The corner where Mario's shop is located is looking different and fuller in comparison when they initially started. It took about 20 or more years for other businesses to start emerging. Recently, Mario tells me that he welcomes the developments that are occurring in the city, but like many others, he hopes that the neighborhood needs will be considered. The execution and implementation of policy changes as part of urban restructuring impacts communities disproportionately, whether in terms of property revaluations or semi-privatization of services. The implementation of the new water and rain tax[155], which is a charge for drainage implemented by the Detroit Water and Sewage Department, is a different form of gentrification disproportionately affects small businesses and establishments with smaller revenue streams. While Mario tells me that gentrification is good until a certain point, the tactics by which reforms are implemented must

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[155] Christine Ferretti, "Detroit Water Board OKs Plan to Ease Drainage Fees," *Detroit News*, accessed June 2, 2017, http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/detroit-city/2017/04/19/detroit-drainage-fees/100662476/.

wholesomely take into consideration the needs of residents and businesses within the neighborhoods. Considering the length of time of Mario's automotive shop in the neighborhood, he takes part in various organizations and commissions that contribute to the facilitation of redevelopment. However, he sees this as a way of voicing the concerns and opinions of the residents, instead of facilitating displacement and ushering capital.

Southwest is locally positioned as a hub of cultural and economic activity resulting from the intersections of historical labor migration, displacement, neoliberal restructuring, and grassroots organizing. Detroit's previous positioning in the world-systems attracted workers in the manufacturing sector; however, the capital restructuring resulted in the decline of meaningful employment and simultaneous response by the emergence of informal networks in the community. Ms. Perez explains that many businesses in Southwest started without much capital and that the growth of the neighborhood is attributed to the opportunity structures that were created as a response to municipal and state absence. The presence of these networks does not lessen the contemporary and immediate effects of global crises and national political shifts that induce displacement through urban neoliberal restructuring. The regenerative shifts in Detroit may be beneficial for Mario who uses this point in time to brand his new venture, not as singularly attributed to his Mexican heritage, but as a product that celebrates the Detroit city. For Ms. Perez, the diversification of clientele because of the increase of new, traditionally non-Latino establishments produces a different way of incorporation and placement in the city. The restructuring process provides contradictory effects: the families who served as initial and intentional clients for Ms. Perez were displaced by the consequences of capital and urban restructuring, while these effects produced a new stream of revenue and a new base of clientele. These process contribute to the way migrant business owners, such as Ms. Perez and Mario see

53

themselves in the city-making processes, as opportunity structures become affected and reshaped at this point in time of Detroit's trajectory and struggles against displacement, whether related to changing national political climate toward migrants, or threat of large-scale developments that do not always take into consideration the needs of residents. These frameworks organize the way ethnic identity is framed and deployed, not as an exclusive unit that dictates behavior and belonging, but as a factor that is fluid and intersectional with every-day activities and factors that are socially, politically, and economically constructed on different scales and effectuated in the urban space.

Warrendale – Joy Neighborhoods

Warrendale-Joy neighborhoods, located in District 7, border cities of Dearborn and Dearborn Heights, suburban communities with the largest Middle Eastern population outside of the region itself, and the neighborhood of Southwest. One of the main commercial arteries, West Warren Avenue, seemingly blends between Detroit and Dearborn. Spanning from grocery stores, bakeries, to electronics and restaurants, West Warren Avenue's commercial strip is celebrated as a growing diverse corridor. Many migrant business owners, according to the District 7 Official, countered the economically induced food-dessert and are contributing to the growth of amenities in the neighborhood.[156] In 2015, the City of Detroit committed to resettle 50 Syrian and other families each year for the next three years, with Warrendale and Joy neighborhoods being one of the designated zones. Collaborating with the resettlement agencies, the OIA partnered with district managers, the DPD, and other community-based groups in the efforts to facilitate the placement of individuals coming to Detroit. With the Arabic speaking residents, religious institutions, and housing affordability, Warrendale-Joy is considered one of the preferred starting points for

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[156] City Official 4, interview.

refugees. However, because of the current presidential administration, the refugee resettlement efforts have largely been halted. Additional to the accommodating resettlement environment, this strategy would also serve the repopulation of the neighborhood. Between 2000 and 2014, Warrendale lost about 18% of its population, while in 2010, the neighborhood was at 13% loss of owner-occupied housing, 7% higher than the city average.[157] Effectuated by the economic and housing crises, in 2013 over 78,000 homes faced foreclosures in the entire city, and in Warrendale, the average property value decreased from about $56,000 in 2008 to a little over $19,000 in 2013.[158] Not only do these statistics demonstrate the impact of crises on the physical landscape in Detroit, but they indicate the economic conditions of residents and their ability to maintain a place in the city. For migrant entrepreneurs who decided to establish their business in the Warrendale-Joy communities, like Luisa, Ahmad, and Juliette, the effects of economic crises and the recent urban restructuring differ depending on the services, capacities, and location in the neighborhood.

Luisa, who grew up in Southwest Detroit, originally started a catering business from home, promoting by attending festivals and working other jobs that would helped her save for the current restaurant. She is not located in the main commercial corridor, but is rather close to the suburb of Dearborn and to many office buildings that serve automotive and other industries. Having been in this location for many years, Luisa says that she has two types of clientele: the local neighborhood residents and the business office lunch-rush. She gets her products from Honey Bee, a long-time market in Southwest Detroit and employs staff from the neighborhood. The conditions and safety of the neighborhood were affected when the residency law allowing municipal employees, including the DPD Officers to move out of the city was passed in 1999. Knowing that the residents

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[157] Michelle Bennett et al., "Strengthening Land Bank Sales Programs to Stabilize Detroit Neighborhoods" (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, April 2016).
[158] Ibid.

themselves were affected by the economic crises and lack of employment, Luisa offers promotional days for the neighborhood, Detroit Police Department discounts, closes early to cater to the family-atmosphere, and ceases to promote the bar service as a way of promoting safety. Along with making adjustments to the staff, Luisa changed her personal spending habits to mitigate the effects of the financial downturn such as moving to a smaller home, downgrading to a car with cheaper monthly payments, and living by only spending for necessities.

Hopeful with the upswing of Detroit, Luisa's main concern is the decline of government's care toward public education. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Detroit Public Schools have significantly been affected by neoliberal restructuring and emphasis on the privatization and school of choice tactics. These laws incapacitate both academic and social learning, while the understaffed and underpaid teachers and officials mitigate under-funded classrooms. Coupled with lack of financial resources in the households and poor neighborhood conditions, many families with means often opt to leave Detroit, as also stated by Ms. Perez. Luisa reflects on the lack of resources growing up and takes the opportunity to food-sponsor any events in the community. Recently, she gathered a group of business owners, hair stylists, and beauticians to help one of her employees and friends attend prom. Luisa's participation in the community through fundraising or supplying various events with the restaurant food has helped her establish local connections, despite and because of the urban conditions that have affected the city and her personal trajectory.[159]

Ahmad's store is located in the Warren Avenue commercial corridor, among a series of different businesses that cater to both Arabic and non-Arabic speaking residents, in terms of product, ownership, and outward presence. Arriving to the United States to be reunited with his family on a refugee visa and while being placed outside of Michigan, Ahmad and his wife were

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[159] Luisa, April 2017.

unable to find jobs, despite of the immense assistance from the local community. He decided to visit Detroit because he was familiar with a large Middle-Eastern population in the city, but did not have any direct connections. He tells me that when he arrived, he asked a taxi driver to take him to a hotel. Being located on the West Side, Ahmad put a variety of places into his GPS and walked, for 5-6 miles, and by chance ended up at a café where he overheard people talking about a store-owner who wanted to sell his computer business. Being an engineer and with interest in technology, Ahmad walked to the store and asked the business owner if he could work for free, giving him the opportunity to learn everything about the store operations, products, and clients. After working for four months, Ahmad received financial assistance from his brother to relocate his family, but did not have enough capital to purchase the store. He contacted an organization that works in the Middle Eastern community on providing and assisting small business development. While the amount was not enough, this network was able to place him in contact with another non-profit organization that provided him with enough loan-capital to purchase the computer store.

After acquiring the business and changing the name, Ahmad decided to expand and include phone services. While working for the initial owner, he saw that the computer repairs will not necessarily be a way to grow and maintain the business, "The computer after a few days will be done. Few years, it will be done. Because if you now have a phone…it can do anything, it can record, it can look for your email, it can go on a website, anything – that means you don't need a computer anymore".[160] He is able to process phone payments for major carriers in the United States and serves various incomes of the clientele. In furthering the repair and sales portion, he goes to New York and meets with wholesalers who may have the products at a cheaper price, thus expanding the network of previous partners. Ahmad now has about 4-5 different wholesalers and

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[160] Ahmad, April 2017.

with a new product, he rearranges the displays at his store to reflect the new arrivals that may be attractive to the customers. The expansion of services and products incorporates the migrant clientele from the metropolitan region and selling unlocked phones are convenient for individuals travelling overseas as gifts for family and friends. For the home-base market, Ahmad is one of the largest contract dealers with a company that provides significantly cheaper international plans. Ahmad is also one of the largest dealers with a new company that offers cheaper plans and international calls, and sees this move, as serving the diverse residents who may have family abroad. The niche of Ahmad's business is twofold: it serves the local residents who may not have transnational connections and to whom it is convenient and affordable to maintain their electronics; and secondly, the store serves migrant communities that are seeking an affordable and local option to maintain their connections abroad. The business is also dependent on the technological shifts and market-based needs, allowing Ahmad to grow, expand, and through the uniqueness of his services encounter a variety of residents who may or may not live in the neighborhood. Seemingly, the business may not be affected by neoliberal restructuring, but Ahmad explains that he feels part of the neighborhood based on the establishments clustered in the Warren Avenue Corridor.

Instead of a nearby suburb of Dearborn, Ahmad chose Detroit because the property is cheaper. He says that his family lives in a mixed neighborhood and that the relationships with fellow residents are friendly, cordial, and neighborly. He feels like he is part of the neighborhood and that Detroit is coming back, and just like growing his business, it will be a 'step by step' process. The positioning in the neighborhood and the type of business allows Ahmad to strive in the current economy, along with the affordability of Detroit, but for others, like Juliette's Braiding Salon, that is located just a few blocks to the west, provides a different experience of incorporation.

Juliette met her husband at a textile market in Benin and came to United States through a marriage visa. When she arrived, she started taking English language courses and was a stay at home mom. In 2012, she opened a hair salon that she purchased from a friend whom she met while seeking a French-speaking community during a difficult time in personal life. Through these networks, Juliette met a Nigerian friend who offered to sell her the hair salon. Along with the purchasing price, she received the equipment and the telephone number familiar to customers. As the nearby business looked to expand and capitalize on affordable real estate prices, Juliette was forced out of the original location and found another place a few blocks down. While the rent is affordable, Juliette notes that the rising property values around the city encourage her landlord to ask for a higher price, despite of the decline in her business.

During the time when her business was going well, she would employ temporary braiders. Some of the women who worked at the salon were of diverse backgrounds and skills looking to make extra income. Juliette would receive phone calls or recommendations through her networks and call the braiders when necessary. Explaining that one of the main reasons she does not have as many clients as before is the rise of technology and that individuals use these means to find a closer and cheaper salon. Before, a mom would bring her daughters to have everyone's hair braided in the same day, but now, she tells me that families would bring one child every other month. Juliette explains that many people from the neighborhood moved out due to lack of jobs, and that many others have unexpected bills, or are attempting to save for other necessities.

Juliette does not keep connections with any of the surrounding businesses because of a somewhat unpredictable situation in the neighborhood. Noting that the neighborhood has high rates of crimes, she does not want to risk safety and often comes only for an appointment. She also adds that the network where she started braiding also moved and that now being a single mom is

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adding to the difficulty of consistently maintaining connections. Juliette explains that when she sells her salon, she will do so in the same way as it was sold to her: passing it on to someone in the community so that the business remains in the neighborhood and the next owner will receive the equipment. Because of the declining revenue and the lack of consistent clientele, Juliette is doing most of the braiding, which is impacting her health and is unsure, due to the conditions and the environment, how long she will remain open. For Juliette, being in a location that is losing population, employment opportunities and yet seeing the rise in property values impacts how she forms relationships and her willingness to do so. On the other hand, the decline of purchasing power due to lack of employment and increase in other necessities such as water bills, mortgage payments, or housing or automobile insurance, mostly African American residents of Detroit, who would be the market-base for Juliette's braiding salon, are unable to afford various services. [161]

The three stories, whose businesses are located within about 2 kilometers of each other, indicate differing factors that influence every-day entrepreneurial activities and how, through these experiences they see their place in the city. While Warrendale-Joy communities receive some attention from the municipality, whether in terms of potential refugee resettlement or the Detroit Land Bank Authority side-lot programs, the residents, including the migrant business owners, are left to mitigate the shortage of municipal and state services. These businesses are contributing to the neighborhood repopulation and walkability, being a much-needed tax-base that diversifies the urban space, yet meets the needs of communities. But the experiences of economic incorporation oscillate between displacement and dispossession contingent on the global and local economic, political, and cultural conditions, and sectors, thus permeating personal trajectories and pathways to urban emplacement.

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[161] Juliette, April 2017.

North-West Detroit

Jerome's Spices and Groceries and Seydou's Specialties are on the northwest side of Detroit. Cluster of different neighborhoods and ranging economic activity is complemented by community organizations such as Blight Busters, a group that fights blight in Brightmoor, or the Sidewalk Festival for the Performing Arts, an annual celebration of community art focusing on critical takes of local and global social, cultural, and political issues. In the recent years, the few mile radius dividing Jerome's and Seydou's businesses has seen an increase of large and small scale activity, namely the arrival of Meijer, a Michigan-based store mirroring the likes of Wal-Mart and Target, while amenities like the Old Redford Theatre and locally-owned coffee shops and restaurants remained in the city. Including neighborhoods of Brightmoor, Grandmont Rosedale, and Old Redford, the municipality is undertaking redevelopment and revitalization strategies along the main corridor of Grand River. Through community engagement and RFPs, the strategy for neighborhood revitalization includes, among others, introduction to storm-water management system, increase in density and variety of local businesses, and improvement of walkability.[162] The consultancy group hired by the municipality conducted three community engagement sessions, reaching around 400 residents with about 13 focus group meetings.[163] Improve zoning and economic development would help with safety and accessibility of the neighborhood. Economic development includes work with Motor City Match and the Detroit Economic Growth Corporation retail studies, as well as providing consultations to private building owners looking to redevelop and preserve the properties. Additionally, some media outlets are also covering the variety of businesses in the area. Shifting the focus away from traditional restaurant

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[162] "Northwest/Grand River Planning Strategy Find Community Services |How Do I Find | City of Detroit MI," accessed May 28, 2017, http://www.detroitmi.gov/Northwest.
[163] Ibid.

hot-spots of Downtown and Midtown, the local newsweekly, Metro Times is embracing the diversity of Detroit's flavors, nonetheless covering migrant restaurants ranging from Jamaican to Senegalese background. In this section, I discuss two businesses, first being Jerome's Spices and Groceries, and second Seydou's Specialties, a restaurant focusing on West African Food.

Jerome's Spices and Groceries mainly sells West African products, as well as locally/nationally imported frozen foods. Currently located outside of the main Grand River corridor, the store is a small building advertising fresh food, frozen meat, and spices. The area is surrounded by residential housing, properties that are for sale or functioning as auto shops, gas stations, or a deli, and abandoned storefronts. While there is a small amount of businesses that advertise African heritage, many neighborhood staples such as grocery or restaurants are scarce. Having bought the current building, Jerome's store moved twice in the past 12 years.

Initially Jerome's Spices and Groceries was located on the Grand River corridor for about 10-11 years. Being at a busy intersection with a variety of businesses, Jerome found that the fostering of daily relationships with other business owners created a sense of belonging and community in the neighborhood.

> Over there we know most of those people who own the businesses…they have barber shop in the back, they have tire places, they have mechanic people, they have cake people, pizza place, church, and all of that. We all know each other. We all know each other. If I want to get a tire…I can go to them. If I want to go to a barber shop, I go behind me. We buy pizza next to me. They have cakes on the side. Everybody knows each other like that. Then after that, you know, things happen. City and the building got sold. They had problems. Maybe the city wants people to go. That's only the way. But you don't want to be in a place for 12 years like that. Everybody knows you and you just get up and move. It was very hard for us. It was the hardest thing, I think ever in my life. It was very hard.[164]

Like in the aforementioned location, the business had to move again due to landlord problems, consequentially contributing to their decision to buy a building for themselves. Jerome explains

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[164] Jerome, April 2017.

that they wanted to stay in Detroit because of their customer base that ranges from Guinean to Nigerian communities. In the new location, they still do not know the people or the neighborhood, but he hopes that as the weather gets better, more people will visit.

The implementation of various policies, including those that affect stores like Jerome's, produce a form of displacement that inevitably affects the processes of social relations. Despite of circumventing permanent closure, these displacements, prompted by reckless private property ownership, create a distrust between the municipality and the business owners themselves, whereby the self-perceived placement and participation in the city-making is fractured. However, Jerome hopes that the municipality will recognize the impact of small business owners and hopes that they will help, irrespective of the background. One of the main concerns in these terms is the sense of security and safety, noting that if this is afforded, business will inevitably grow. Otherwise, the capital invested in purchasing property and the products required to run the enterprise will be targeted and jeopardized, deterring others from investing in the neighborhood. Jerome still visits the old neighborhood and maintains, while on an infrequent basis, relationships with his former colleagues.

Seydou came to Detroit via Chicago in 1999 and his restaurant is one of the few West African in Detroit. On the exterior, there are large advertisements that promote kebab and fresh juices. But when one walks in, the restaurant is painted in orange, with photographs and paintings of West Africa, as well as of Michelle and Barack Obama. The restaurant offers West African food and has only recently been opened. Seydou tells me that this is their second location, original being on the border of Southfield (northern suburb) and Detroit for two years and that they had to move because of the landlord. It took them about six months to find a new place. After reopening in the

new neighborhood, the only help he received was from a journalist who wrote an article about the business, contributing to a significant increase and diversification of clientele.

While the menu at Seydou's is West African, his staff and clientele is of different backgrounds. However, he notices that people who are not from Detroit often eat in a hurry because of the bad image and perception that they have about the city. "They want to come here, eat, 10 minutes…and they have to go out. I see it. They can't sit for 30-40 minutes to enjoy…Because they might be scared about the neighborhood, that's why."[165] While the restaurant was broken into and Seydou contacted the police, he maintains that more security needs to be provided in the neighborhood to ensure that the businesses stay and that more people visit. When I asked why he opened the restaurant in Detroit, he said, "We love Detroit. We want to be part of Detroit, Detroit will come back again because we have been here for so long…All my kids are born here in Detroit. We don't want Detroit to go back to the same situation it used to be." Despite of having problems with the previous building and having been impacted by the lack of security in the neighborhood, Seydou's disposition toward Detroit reflects a sense of belonging in the city.

Seydou buys the meat at a Halal market in Hamtramck, a city within Detroit, that is owned by a Yemeni family, and buys other ingredients in the morning so that they can be prepared fresh that day. He is involved in the neighborhood and with other businesses in the area, noting that there is a current initiative to create an African-Caribbean town. This association, while in its pioneering stages, is attempting to rebrand and include all neighboring businesses as a way of bolstering economic activity, which is another strategy implemented in the Bangla Town neighborhood. Seydou's reasoning behind participating in this initiative is that it would help other businesses and the neighborhood, "we are part of the community, we want to be part of the

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[165] Seydou, April 2017.

community like everyone. I think everybody is an immigrant here in the United States. Even if you are born here, your grandma is immigrant, your grandpa is immigrant…We want the best when we are here because if we have – if the city is safe, we are safe, if we make money, [we] spend it back here – so then we are American too."

Pathways to emplacement, as demonstrated through every-day activities, are influenced by the municipal disposition toward migrants, but at the same time the manner by which local governance directs and implements its policies. Neither Jerome nor Seydou were familiar with the work or existence of the Office of Immigrant Affairs or the Immigration Task Force, like most of the other businesses interviewed. While they were happy that such departments exist, and found helpful the information about them, the concerns were however related to safety and economic opportunity, like for many residents in the city. Instead of focusing on an insular context of migration, these experiences demonstrate that while the histories of migrants and 'local' residents may be different, the opportunity structures that influence a sense of belonging and participation in the city, an emplacement, is rather affected by broader structures that are not necessarily tied to ethnicity and ethnic identification. On the other hand, for Seydou, the facilitation of the Afro-Caribbean city is a way of forming relationships not despite, but because of the disempowerment of Detroit.

Bangla Town

In 2015, at the Bangaldeshi American Public Affairs Committee offices, Governor Rick Snyder ceremonially renamed a neighborhood spanning between north Hamtramck and Detroit to Bangla Town. The renaming comes at a significant time as Detroit looks to revitalize, diversify, and reemerge from an ongoing urban decline. Bangla Town is an economically and residentially diverse neighborhood crossing both the city of Hamtramck and Detroit. The neighborhood

partially lies in the 3rd district, one of the poorest in Detroit, while the other is situated in Hamtramck, a city well known for its cultural diversity. The neighborhood has the densest Bangladeshi-American population in the nation, and is also a home to Polish, Bosnian, African American, Yemeni residents, among others.[166] The Bangladeshi community started arriving to Detroit from New York City and New Jersey in the 1970s because of its affordable housing. Bangla Town is also a home to organizations such as the Power House Productions, Zimbabwe Cultural Center of Detroit, Write-A-House, and other individual artists. Since 2014, Global Detroit with community partners, has worked toward developing a strategy for revitalization of the neighborhood, namely for addressing the needs and concerns of residents that would promote a "healthy and vibrant community."[167]

Entering Bangla Town through the main business corridor, Conant Street, one can observe a myriad of various businesses and religious establishments. Catering to Bangladeshi and South Asian communities, these businesses include grocery stores and butchers that not only sell ethno-focused products, but also provide globe spanning items from Yemen, Thailand, Bosnia, Vietnam, and other countries. While these stores often carry frozen foods and groceries, they also host products ranging from school to cleaning supplies, offering a bodega-like establishment. Conant is also home to clothing boutiques that sell men and women's ethnic clothing, as well as gifts and other products that are representative of the community in Bangla Town. During a conversation with BAPAC members, they explained the significance in having stores that offer specific foods, spices, and other ingredients that were previously unavailable, or located far away from their homes. These forms of establishments serve as hubs and centers in attracting not only Bangladeshi

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[166] Steve Tobocman et al., "Vision + Action Plan for Banglatown" (Detroit: Global Detroit and goodgood, 2016).
[167] Ibid.

and South Asian community in the neighborhood, but throughout the metropolitan Detroit. Adding to these establishments are also local chains such as the Dollar Store, US Hardware, and other places that carry diverse sets of products. Conant, also known as Bangladesh Avenue hosts churches and mosques, representative of a diverse religious population in the neighborhood. Additionally, outside of the established Conant Corridor, similar stores and establishments fare in the residential parts of the neighborhood.

Halil's Grocery Store is not located on the main commercial corridor and it includes a variety of South Asian products, a hot food bar, drinks, and household products. Having been a member and a leader in one of the neighborhood organizations that provides social services to the local population, Halil's idea for the store came after careful research and assessment. While the large population of the neighborhood is Bengali, Halil said that the idea behind the store product is not exclusive to the neighborhood demographics. He realized that the larger need was the creation of hot food/grocery space which serves all Detroiters. For now, most of the products are delivered from a supplier that serves most stores in the neighborhood, while the other products are bought at local wholesalers. In terms of marketing, Halil is working with a company that will help him promote the products via SMS and social media. In speaking more about the future growth of the enterprise, he would like to expand the poultry business, which is in great need in the area, but with the city's zoning policies, it is yet impossible to continue.

The current issuance of the RFP for Bangla Town and growing attention on the neighborhood is also something Halil is following. His thoughts move toward recession-proof job opportunities and trainings, such as in the healthcare and technology industries. He notes that many people work outside of the neighborhood, but that the overall quality of life would improve if they did not have to leave. He adds that, "They need to come up with some programs, train people, and

I am not saying you only focus on immigrants. You focus on all people here. Train them, put them in the job market. Bring same kind of jobs in here, people will not go anywhere."[168] These factors are complemented by blight and vacancy in the neighborhood that deters any new populations and investments. Many privately-owned lots are empty or the houses for which taxes are paid still remain abandoned or unfixed. He also adds that the cost of living is disproportionately higher in Detroit, in terms of auto and housing insurance, along with renting and homeownership. Many of his friends questioned his decision to open a grocery store in this neighborhood and in Detroit, and he said that he will take a chance, "To me, this is a good location, number one. I personally believe the one thing, if you keep the business straight, if you keep good communication with people. There are always some extraordinary people, but that doesn't have to worry it's going to happen, but if you do what you are supposed to, you shouldn't worry."[169]

According to Global Detroit's report, the condition of small businesses in Bangla Town is such that it meets subsistence earnings, while the access to capital and training is largely missing.[170] For Halil, the business is a means of adding and growing the neighborhood, as well as a source of income. The opportunity structures created in Bangla Town through the rebranding movement and the actions taken by Global Detroit, as well as the Office of Immigrant Affairs and the ITF provide a pathway to incorporation because they serve as institutional and organizational structures that seek to address the issues in the area that would help the residents stay there and have a better life. However, the basic factors that remain are a high cost of living and basic employment needs that are still met through informal networks and local forms of organizing. This leads to a higher intra-neighborhood and ethnic-network collaborations, for example in term of

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[168] Halil, April 2017.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Tobocman et al., "Vision + Action Plan for Banglatown."

informal transportation systems or private-garden vegetable exchanges that are facilitated through relationships between families and individuals. These impediments affect the pathways to emplacement by which migrants, including business owners, become impacted not only in terms of financial capital, but living conditions that may lead to departure.

Greater Downtown

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Detroit's Downtown and Midtown neighborhoods are disproportionately developing in comparison to the rest of the city. The ushering of new businesses, headquarters, and transportation lines, as well as the building of a new stadium has contributed to the significant rise of the property values, both in terms of rentership and ownerships. Privately driven and contextually based redevelopment of Downtown and Midtown Detroit causes forms of residential and entrepreneurial displacements, reproducing old patterns of segregation and homogenization based on race and class: "in the city that is 82% African American, almost 70% of all regenerational activities are conducted by white people".[171] For Miriam and Sandra, displacement from this area is diverging, while Miriam found a place within a different neighborhood of Detroit, Sandra decided to move her business to the suburbs.

Miriam is a young woman from Liberia who owns a small accessories and clothing store. The store is filled with unique purses, jewelry, and ties; dresses are on full display for the upcoming prom season; and in the center of the store are West African garments that add to the variety of already available options. While I speak with Miriam, I am introduced to her mentor and another young employee, both who are non-migrant residents from Detroit. She tells me that this is her third location, having moved the business from a nearby suburb to Detroit, Miriam first opened in

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[171] René Kreichauf, "Between Economic Revival and Social Disruption: The Redevelopment of Greater Downtown and the Emergence of New Socio-Spatial Inequalities," in *Why Detroit Matters: Decline, Renewal and Hope in a Divided City*, ed. Brian Doucet (Policy Press, 2017). p. 88

Downtown. Because of the growing property values, her landlord continuously increased the rent, eventually forcing her to close and look for a different place. Having been closed for about four months, Miriam found the current place, located just outside of New Center neighborhood, through a connection first made in a meeting at the Mayor's office in 2014. At that time, the Mayor extended an invitation to black businesses owners and Miriam attended, but she notes that despite of outreach, many business, like hers, were displaced due to rising rents and gentrification.

She enjoys the new location and comparatively, she gets more space for a smaller rent-price than in Downtown. When she first moved into the new location, someone broke into the store twice and instead of leaving, she saw it as another bump in the road, and an opportunity to work with the police and the community. After having publicized the break-in and after some time in the area, residents are starting to recognize Miriam, visit her, and purchase products in the store. For Miriam, the importance of staying in the neighborhood was paramount, demonstrating that despite of problems, she would not run away. Miriam wants to be inclusive and meet the needs of the residents, especially since the number of boutiques that are affordable is scarce. She included menswear and is looking to expand with natural cosmetics and products that are locally made.

The accessories and clothes in the store are diverse in sources. In terms of the West African clothes, Miriam gets the fabric from Ghana and Nigeria and employs a Liberian seamstress who has her own business in designing and producing garments. The colorful and fun backpacks that are on display are imported from New York City. She met the Sierra Leone designer through a friend, and quickly established a connection to have the backpacks housed and sold in her store. The belts also come from a local producer, who introduced her to the supplier of many prom dresses. Keeping in mind that she is located across from a high school, she saw this as a way to provide young women in the neighborhood an option of buying clothing locally, instead of driving

to the suburbs, which is both expensive and time-consuming. Miriam explains that besides having something for everyone in terms of product and appropriate age-range, her inclusivity is reflected in prices that cater to all income brackets. Additionally, Miriam hosts events that bring people of various skills and crafts together, as a way for residents get to know each other, have fun, talk, share their skills, and be inclusive.

Miriam is aware of the unevenness and social conditions that permeate throughout Detroit. She hopes to be an inspiration to young people in the neighborhood and wants to empower others, irrespective of their background, to find a place in the city and realize their goals. Because of these factors, she wants to cater to a wider population, from toddlers to the elderly, both men and women, having her store be a place for everyone that is rather oriented toward the needs of the residents. On the other side, Miriam's initial displacement from Downtown has given her a new focus in how to adjust to the landscape and the neighborhood. This came about through truly looking and identifying the needs, despite of the hurdles, and fostering an environment that is inclusive and neighborly, whether through being able to provide access to products to the high school young women, or gathering other residents for a crafts night or performance.[172]

Sandra's Design shop was located in Midtown Detroit, a revitalized neighborhood that has in recent years received a significant amount of attention, both from the media and from developers. She was renting the space from one of the non-profit organizations and her business encompassed cut-and-sew style, contract sewing, and personal designs. Sandra was close to various museums, universities, and the residential buildings that are seeing more residents move in. Despite of having a large window that could be used as a boutique showcase and increase in population, the location was difficult for growing retail because of the lacking walkability. Given

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[172] Miriam, April 2017.

that the business is conducted also on request basis, Sandra explains that the increased traffic and concentration in the area became an inconvenience for many of her customers, thus seeing a decline in requests and overall business. It was difficult for customers to find parking or reach the neighborhood at business hours, and on the other hand, Sandra's commute home, which would generally take about 10-15 minutes, turned into a 45-minute drive. "Since Detroit started developing, my business went down, simply because of traffic, simply because people did not want to come. It is not that they did not want to see me, but they did not want to come to Detroit."[173] Sandra adds that Detroit is a great place for a person who has a 'name' and a private network to start, whereas professional networks, once the business closes, often vanish.

Sandra found a new store in a Detroit suburb that is known for its walkability. She made this decision based on the basic calculation of increasing rent and decreasing revenue. Additionally, because of the lack of sewing products in Detroit, she goes to New York for fabric, threads, and other necessities, and sometimes brings material from Europe which inevitably adds to the rise of the cost of production. Saying that it would be very expensive to produce a garment and still maintain a profit at her previous location, she thought that the best decision was to move. The new store is located on a walkable street; she has space for sewing and making designs, and a small retail shop in the front where they are displayed and sold.

The expansion of Downtown and Midtown neighborhoods is at the heart of local debates surrounding the creation of two Detroits. These debates do not focus on the divide between migrant or local, but rather rest on the forms of displacement that, through the privatization and marketization of public infrastructure, displace and dispossess people, thus creating a divide between the financially able residents and the residents who stayed in Detroit and are now being

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[173] Sandra, April 2017.

pushed out as a consequence of neoliberal restructuring. These debates address the racialized social and spatial polarization resulting from private investment in Greater Downtown.[174] For many, the growth and repopulation of these neighborhoods could benefit entrepreneurs; however, these benefits depend on the possession of capital and networks that small businesses have in order to counter possibilities of displacement. While Miriam found a way to remain in the city, through the extent of local networking and marketing, Sandra found that despite of the revitalization and positivity surrounding her store, it did not meet the expectations of business growth.

MIGRANT EMPLACEMENT IN DETROIT: ANALYSIS

The empirical evidence gathered in this research demonstrates the pathways to migrant incorporation as rendered through entrepreneurial activities and experiences that affect and are affected by broader processes of belonging to global, national, and local networks of capital accumulation and hierarchies of power. Using the theoretical framework of migrant emplacement, the contributions to and effects of uneven restructuring of Detroit is made visible through every-day practices of migrant entrepreneurs in different neighborhoods. Instead of the ethnic lens, taking into consideration the analytical lens of time and place we are afforded the opportunity to see how and when local and transnational connections are formed and used; ethnic frameworks, belongings, and identities become salient; and local governance and its positionality and movement in the constellations of capital accumulation create and confine opportunity structures for all residents in the city, including migrant entrepreneurs.

Demonstrated in the contextualizing portion of this thesis, efforts at urban regeneration and global repositioning reflect a point in time in Detroit's historical trajectory that renders favorable

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[174] Kreichauf, "Between Economic Revival and Social Disruption: The Redevelopment of Greater Downtown and the Emergence of New Socio-Spatial Inequalities."

institutional narratives, policies, and shifts toward migrants and migrant emplacement. However, if we take the anthropological approach to policy that addresses policy and governance as organizing principles of society that conceptualize social relations and affect different realities through mechanisms that classify, implicate, and manage population and space, we see what actors and institutions are included and excluded, and how relationships are formed and reformed respective to sites of global, national, and local governance.[175] While there is an institutional push for incorporation of migrants in Detroit, many entrepreneurs I spoke with are still unfamiliar with the municipal departments available whether because the information did not yet reach them or because they are not part of networks that actively collaborate with the municipal institutions. The establishment of the Office of Immigrant Affairs and the Immigration Task Force is a positive step toward addressing the needs of these populations and it does indeed produce a favorable and welcoming climate for emplacement. However, while favorable narratives toward migrants are enacted, other municipal departments implement policy such as the water and sewage tax, property management, or spatially selective beautification attempts, that deters and affects the relationship between entrepreneurs (migrant and non-migrant alike) and municipality, as demonstrated by examples provided by Mario, Jerome, and Ms. Perez. As uneven resurgence of capital occurs, small business owners become included and excluded by the changing opportunities structures enacted on the municipal level, thus creating contradicting relationships with the local governance.

At the time of municipal absence, not only of available and known resources, but also the services that would support the businesses on the every-day level, such as security or effective and protective policies, migrant business owners build relationships with other residents, of both

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[175] Cris Shore and Susan Wright, *Anthropology of Policy: Perspectives on Governance and Power* (Taylor & Francis, 1997); Cris Shore, Susan Wright, and Davide Però, *Policy Worlds: Anthropology and the Analysis of Contemporary Power* (Berghahn Books, 2011).

migrant and non-migrant background, to maintain their place in the locality. Instead of the literature that reflects on diversity, multiculturalism, and living with difference, these relationships can be explained through the concepts of urban sociabilities. Salient in disempowered cities with limited institutional support and unequal economic opportunities, the social relationships are based on "a common domain of affect, mutual respect, and shared aspirations", and become resources for support engendered by the common, every-day human experiences.[176] For Seydou, he sees working with other businesses in the neighborhood on a branding initiative as a way of mitigating security measures and fostering community growth. While for Miriam, the creation of events and invitation of various designers to her store is a way of building community and relationships between people that may not have a platform for their products or activities. And for Luisa, who was personally affected by urban conditions in Detroit, uses this experience to positively contribute to other residents, whether in terms of maintaining her staff in times of recession or helping an employee attend prom. These actions in fact strengthen migrant belonging in Detroit and commitment to communities to which they are part. These relationships are not based on ethnic background or identification, but are rather responses to uneven urban restructuring and processes of different forms of displacement and dispossession.

The deployment of ethnic frameworks and transnational connections are also factors to migrant emplacement in a given locality. However, ethnicity is not a singular or isolated category of analysis, rather "Ethnicity… along with gender, class, religion, community and so forth are neither essential traits nor inevitable conditions: rather, they are the variable and contingent outcome of assorted practices that make them meaningful in some contexts but render them

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[176] Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar, "Displacement, Emplacement and Migrant Newcomers: Rethinking Urban Sociabilities within Multiscalar Power," *Identities* 23, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 17–34, doi:10.1080/1070289X.2015.1016520.

invisible and irrelevant in others."[177] For some migrant entrepreneurs in Detroit, ethnicity and ethnic belonging becomes salient at different points of their trajectory or can be deployed as a mode of economic emplacement. For Mario, urban regeneration proved to be a favorable time to deploy his ethnic identity and work toward producing a drink based on a Detroit brand. On the other hand, Juliette's French speaking networks served as a support system at a particular time in her life, and were also salient in introducing her to hair-braiding business that eventually led her to purchase the current salon. However, the participation in and maintenance of these networks can become affected by the decline in entrepreneurial activity, increased family responsibility, and the economic power of Juliette's clientele that has been affected by urban austerity measures. For Ahmad, the financial support received by an organization that works with Arab-American community in the metropolitan Detroit was a significant factor in helping him establish the business, both in terms of financial support and connections to other institutions. While a portion of the products offered, such as unlocked phones and plans that cater to the migrant communities participating in transnational networks through different means, they are not exclusive, as demonstrated by other services and broader reasoning behind opening the store. As demonstrated, the transnational networks and modes of ethnic belonging are deployed at different times and for different reasons during the pathways of emplacement. Personal factors, urban restructuring, or financial opportunity contribute to the deployment of ethnic frameworks or transnational networks. Thus, these modes of belonging are not fixed if analyzed through entrepreneurial every-day experiences of emplacement.

Another factor that contributes to the pathways to emplacement or displacement is the relationship between the scalar positioning and repositioning of the city; the location of migrants

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[177] Fox and Jones, "Migration, Everyday Life and the Ethnicity Bias." p. 394

within a particular neighborhood; and the neighborhood's relationship to the locality and trajectories of redevelopment. Detroit's historical trajectory reflects the circular mode of uneven spaces of capital production and reproduction. Jessop's reading of Harvey provides that, "For 'capital has to build a fixed space (or "landscape") necessary for its own functioning at a certain point in its history only to have to destroy that space (and devalue much of the capital invested therein) at a later point in order to make way for a new "spatial fix" (openings for fresh accumulation in new spaces and territories)'."[178] The example of Greater Downtown Detroit reflects the opportunity for speculative investments in times of economic crises and with the assistance of national, state, and local policies to revalorize and accumulate devalued capital. Simultaneously, these processes reproduce forms of exclusion by homogenizing cultural and social environments, through attraction of restaurants, entertainment establishments, or populations that match revalorization initiatives. These efforts are viewed favorably as they contribute to the city's repositioning in the global constellations of capital accumulation; however, they simultaneously displace residents or entrepreneurs, like Sandra and Miriam, who do not possess the same financial capabilities or professional networks. As reinvestments expand over time, and as the municipal and state infrastructure effectuates these efforts through neighborhood redevelopment initiatives, they contribute not only to physical displacement, but to the altering of social relations that facilitate incorporation and belonging and that are built throughout a period of time. As demonstrated by Jerome's Spices and Groceries who, because of displacement was encouraged to buy the current building where his business is located, or prompted Miriam to build relationships

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[178] Bob Jessop, "Spatial Fixes, Temporal Fixes, and Spatio-Temporal Fixes," in *David Harey: A Critical Reader*, ed. Noel Castree and Derek Gregory (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 142–66, https://bobjessop.org/2014/01/16/spatial-fixes-temporal-fixes-and-spatio-temporal-fixes/.

within the community as a means of collective support, nonetheless shift narratives of migrant entrepreneurs toward urban regeneration narratives and catalyze feelings of exclusion.

Building on the previous paragraph, location of migrant enterprises in so-called ethnic neighborhoods, such as the Southwest for Ms. Perez and Mario, or Bangla Town for Halil's Groceries, can provide certain opportunity structures or impediments toward a broader urban incorporation. Working with the scalar cities perspective, Van Dijk provides a concept of urban hot-spots as, "inner-city spaces [that] are more globally, transnationally, and transculturally connected than others, thus explaining how and why certain immigrant groups in particular cities are or are not incorporated or integrated into a city's larger economic, political, or sociocultural environments."[179] Ms. Perez and Mario, whose enterprises are located in Southwest, were able to benefit from informal networks of support and organizations that were created based on particular needs of the Latino community. Here, incorporation into the city's environment can be facilitated at a particular point in time, reflected through Ms. Perez's advocacy against the closure of the main access into the neighborhood, or Mario's joining of commissions and associations as a way of impacting the trajectory of the neighborhood, among others. For Halil, the placement and connectedness to Bangla Town and the Bangladeshi community, whether as a business owner or a leader of a non-profit organization in the neighborhood, helps him have access to tools or information that would make his business successful. On the other end, as the municipality strives to retain and attract migrant population as a means of creating a diverse and global city, they look to these neighborhoods as opportunities for implementing strategies and policies. These strategies

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[179] Rijk Van Dijk, "Cities and the Social Construction of Hot Spots," in *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*, ed. Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar (Cornell University Press, 2011), 105–22. p. 120

build on and benefit from informal networks and intra and inter ethnic connectedness already in place, thus becoming celebrated, marketed, and factored into the broader rebranding initiatives.

Analyzing migrant entrepreneurship in Detroit through the theoretical approach of migrant emplacement provides an opportunity for the discovery of new patterns of incorporation. By taking into account Detroit's marginal positionality in the global spheres of political, economic, and cultural power as a consequence of deindustrialization, economic crises, and neoliberal restructuring, the contemporary efforts at regeneration create and impede opportunity structures. In an effort to create a welcoming, inclusive, and a global city, the municipal institutions take on a friendly disposition toward migrants, reflected in the creation of the ITF and the OIA and their partnerships with various community partners. As the municipality looks to attract more capital and reposition itself in the global arena, the friendly dispositions are disrupted by urban restructuring policies and initiatives that affect residents and small business owners irrespective of their background, thus altering the sense of both migrant and non-migrant belonging and incorporation into the locality. On the other end, the salience of ethnic identity and transnational connections varies dependent on time and place when they can be mobilized and deployed and are not single nor fixed throughout a person's or entrepreneur's every-day experiences and trajectories. Additionally, new alliances and solidarities emerge in times of uneven urban restructuring that resist displacement, simultaneously contributing to the pathways of emplacement, incorporation, and belonging in the city. The pathways to migrant incorporation in Detroit are fluid and cannot be analyzed from the perspective of ethnic belonging, or migrant interaction with the urban space. Rather, political, economic, and cultural factors that are both local, national, and global permeate at different points in time and place, and mutually constitute the pathways to migrant emplacement.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This research demonstrates the pathways to migrant emplacement and incorporation through entrepreneurial every-day activities in Detroit. Tracing the city's history as an industrial power house demonstrates how local, national, and global political, economic, and cultural dynamics contribute to the development and ordering of the urban space. Neoliberal ideology significantly contributed to Detroit's decline, and its contemporary mutations nonetheless seek to revalorize and transform the city as yet again spaces of capital accumulation and reproduction through political, economic, cultural, and social reframing. As migrant communities become integral components of restructuring, the migrant emplacement theoretical framework and the lens of time and place allow us to demonstrate that migrant pathways to incorporation intersect with the city's historical trajectory and its position in the global networks of capital accumulation. The infrastructural shifts toward migrant-friendly dispositions of local governance can be contradictory and rather depend on other power structures within the locality that, while fostering urban regeneration, simultaneously effectuate displacement or emplacement. Migrant entrepreneurs, at this time, deploy different frameworks of ethnic belonging and identity; draw from local and transnational networks; and maintain connections and relationships that, through alliances and solidarities based on the common human aspirations, contribute to their place in the city and further their sense of belonging in the locality.

This research is positioned in multiple fields of academic knowledge and contributes to an opportunity for new pathways of inquiry in disempowered and regenerating cities and regions in the realms of migration, urban citizenship, and urban restructuring. By incorporating all members of migrant and non-migrant communities and focusing on their every-day experiences, we can discover how and when new forms of alliances and networks emerge, and how these instances

shape and impact both individuals, groups, and urban spaces. Secondly, by taking into account institutional changes, as well as shifts in migration policy, we can see how, when, and why certain communities are included and excluded, and how these initiatives and programs become implemented and responded to. We can further investigate, especially given the changing landscape of the United States political climate with the election of Trump Administration, how cities throughout the country become connected in promoting a welcoming climate; and how these places contest nation-states and what new forms of urban citizenships and networks emerge, and through which channels. Finally, my research offers pathways to studying the changing landscapes and conditions of the urban space by continuing to examine how migrant communities, along with other residents, transform cities and neighborhoods, and how they forge and maintain a place for themselves in the city at the time of shifting and mutating neoliberalism. What social movements emerge and what local, translocal, and transnational networks become salient in effecting broader change and making a claim to the right to the city?

As Detroit moves within its moment of renaissance and acquires a status of the great "American Comeback Story", the municipality and city officials work on making the city a better and inclusive place for all. Continued focus on ownership is critical, but the distribution of resources and capital, must be done in such a way so as not to provide preferential treatment to large capital investors, but place them at the hands of communities and residents. This move takes a long time, as legislators and policy-makers often look for short-term, market-based fixes that maintain spaces of power in their favor, instead of long-term community driven and sustainable developments that benefit the people. Detroit is not alone, as cities throughout the United States and elsewhere, large and small, face similar forms of austerity measures and neoliberal restructuring. Thus, the learning and collaborative opportunities for inter and intra-local

solidarities and networks emerge that resist forms of displacement and dispossession resulting from neoliberal restructuring and centralizing concentrations of power and wealth. These solidarities and alliances contest the existing power structures, and are not always based on our ethnic belonging and identities, but are rather based on our common human aspirations and needs, and as we hope for better days, are important in effecting local, national, and global change.

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