

The neighborhood story project: a practice model for fostering place attachments, social ties, and collective action

Amie Thurber

To cite this article: Amie Thurber (2019): The neighborhood story project: a practice model for fostering place attachments, social ties, and collective action, Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community, DOI: [10.1080/10852352.2019.1633072](https://doi.org/10.1080/10852352.2019.1633072)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10852352.2019.1633072>



Published online: 28 Jun 2019.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



The neighborhood story project: a practice model for fostering place attachments, social ties, and collective action

Amie Thurber

School of Social Work, Portland State University, Portland, Oregon, USA

ABSTRACT

The injustice of gentrification is often reduced to residential displacement and the loss of affordable housing. Yet, in addition to physical displacement of residents, gentrification also displaces community histories, social ties, and spaces of cultural gathering and civic action. The Neighborhood Story Project is a participatory action research intervention designed to engage residents of gentrifying neighborhoods in addressing more than the material effects of gentrification. This multi-case study of three Neighborhood Story Projects finds that participants experienced gains in (1) place knowledge and attachments, (2) social relationships, and (3) self and collective efficacy. Findings from this multi-case study suggest a broad practice model for group-level interventions to advance justice in gentrifying neighborhoods.

KEYWORDS

Gentrification; neighborhood intervention; participatory action research

The first time I met Larry, he walked me out of his neighborhood association meeting and into the crisp December evening, indicating the street light at the edge of the parking lot. “I was born under that lamppost,” he told me. That was years before the cinderblock community center was built on this land; years before the highway displaced 1,000 families and siloed the Cleveland Park neighborhood; years before White flight, city disinvestment, poverty, drugs and gangs hit the area; and years before the recent gentrification of this half-mile neighborhood located just minutes from downtown Nashville. And though the home where Larry was born is no longer standing, this 60-year-old African American man has lived within five blocks of that lamppost his entire life.

Between 2002 and 2016, property values in Cleveland Park increased 110% and the population of Black residents decreased by 68%.¹ As I got to know Larry over the coming months, it became clear he was deeply concerned about the changes in his neighborhood.

CONTACT Amie Thurber  amie.thurber@gmail.com  School of Social Work, Portland State University, PO Box 751, Mail Code: SSW, Portland, OR 97207, USA

Color versions of one or more of the figures in the article can be found online at www.tandfonline.com/wpic.

© 2019 Taylor & Francis Group, LLC

“when you hear people much older than me speak of home, home was home, home wasn’t an investment... It’s like roots gripped into the ground, and a tornado could not move them... These neighborhoods, people used to have funerals in these houses, as well as weddings. There were births, and there were deaths in these neighborhoods. Now, psheww...”

Larry may be concerned, in part, about being able to afford to keep his home. But he’s also concerned about an atrophied sense of care and community, the loss of historic knowledge, and a depleted investment in the collective future of the neighborhood.

The changes in Cleveland Park are not an anomaly. US urban neighborhoods are now gentrifying at twice the rate of the 1990s, with one in five low-income neighborhoods experiencing rapid increases in median home values (Maciag, 2015). Although definitions of gentrification have evolved over time, Davidson and Lees (2005) suggest that it is distinguished by four characteristics: (1) the reinvestment of capital, (2) an increase in high-income demographics, (3) landscape change, and (4) direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups (2005, p. 1187). In many communities, gentrification is also characterized by changing racial demographics. Although gentrifying neighborhoods are not always predominantly inhabited by people of color, and incomers are not always predominantly White, given historic and ongoing practices that have functioned to contain and/or segregate people of color (Lipsitz, 2007), people of color are more likely to live in neighborhoods vulnerable to gentrification (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001).

As Larry’s comments attest to, gentrification can provoke a range of losses, as people may lose their homes, neighbors, and sites of historical significance, along with their *sense* of place, belonging, and history. Yet, researchers, policy makers and community practitioners often limit their analysis of gentrification’s consequences to its material effects, chiefly, the loss of affordable housing and subsequent displacement of low-income residents (Marcuse, 1985; Newman & Wyly, 2006). Displacement-focused research has informed policy and community development responses to gentrification in many important ways, spurring a wide range of interventions related to regulating, incentivizing, and shaping the housing market in order to increase the stock of affordable housing (Mallach, 2008).

Yet residential displacement and the loss of affordable housing are not the *only* injustices produced by gentrification. In recent years, a number of gentrification scholars have offered conceptual models for understanding the multiple ways that gentrification is experienced. For example, Hyra (2013) offers the three-tiered framework of residential, political and cultural displacements, Twigge-Molecey (2014) uses the typology of social, cultural, and housing market displacement, and I have suggested a *more than*

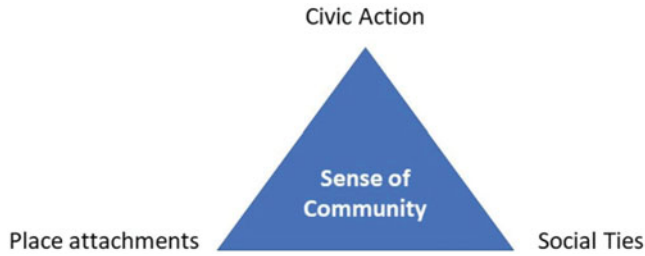


Figure 1. Theoretical foundation of the Neighborhood Story Project.

material framework that attends to material, epistemic, and affective dimensions of gentrification (Thurber, 2018b). Each of these models highlights the need to recognize and respond to the injustices that residents of gentrifying neighborhoods may be experiencing concurrent with, or independent from, a loss of housing.

To explore the possibilities and limitations of a more than material intervention in gentrifying neighborhoods, this paper introduces a multi-case study of the Neighborhood Story Project, a participatory action research intervention designed to engage residents in studying and taking leadership in gentrifying neighborhoods.

Intervention design

The Neighborhood Story Project is theoretically grounded in the *sense of community* literature, and in particular, leverages the relationship between place attachments, social ties, and civic action (see Figure 1). Manzo and Perkins (2006) suggest that *place attachment* spans cognitive, affective and behavioral dimensions; it is related to what one knows about, how one feels toward, and how one participates relative to a particular place. *Social ties* (also referred to as bonding social capital) refer to one's feelings of connection to people, often characterized by relationships of trust and reciprocity (Perkins, Hughey, & Speer, 2002). Both place attachment and social ties are positively related to health and wellbeing (Renzaho, Richardson, & Strugnell, 2012). *Civic action* (also referred to as civic engagement) refers to the ways one might take action to improve their community, individually or collectively. These three concepts are related: people are more likely to engage in civic action the stronger their ties to people (Collins, Neal, & Neal, 2014) and to place (Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014). The Neighborhood Story Project draws on this relationship by fostering connections among people and between people and the place they live, while facilitating an experience of collective action.

The Neighborhood Story Project is designed as a participatory action research (PAR) project. An epistemological approach to inquiry and action,

PAR reflects a foundational belief that those directly affected by social problems ought to play a central role in framing, investigating, and intervening in those problems (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). The Neighborhood Story Project begins with the formation of a leadership team of 8–12 current or former residents of a specific neighborhood. Through a facilitated process, the team meets two hours a week for 12 weeks. Each project follows three phases of work. Phase 1 builds a foundation for collaborative research by establishing relationships among team members, learning about one another's concerns, and ultimately generating a shared research question. During Phase 2, members work together to answer their question(s) by developing a research plan and then collecting and analyzing data. In Phase 3, members design a culminating community event to share what they have learned with others. Although their collective work may reach a broader audience, the intervention is designed to effect change at the group level; the intended beneficiaries are the team members themselves. In the three pilot projects, all team members received a stipend (averaging \$200 per person) in recognition of their work. I played multiple roles in the project; designing and facilitating the intervention and serving as the lead investigator.

Methodology

I studied the Neighborhood Story Project using a constructivist, multi-case study model (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To the extent that case studies provide rich descriptions of the group setting, interactions, and facilitation, case study research allows readers to assess both the quality of the intervention being described and the transferability of the findings (Brower, Arndt, & Ketterhager, 2004). By replicating the intervention in a multi-case design, insights gleaned across settings may point toward broader patterns and trends, while also complicating conclusions drawn from any one project.

This study is grounded in a number of outcome-oriented questions: Does participation in the Neighborhood Story Project affect residents' place attachments, social ties, and civic action, and if so, are these affects sustained beyond the life of the project?² In each setting, a collaborating researcher assisted in data collection and preliminary analysis. Participant observation served as the primary method of data collection, supplemented by a focus group at the end of each project as well as interviews with participants several months after the project concluded. Data included audio recordings of all weekly sessions, focus groups and interviews (as well as complete transcripts); video and photographic data; artifacts produced by the group; and field notes. The research questions provided an entry point into themes for coding and analysis, though other themes gained salience

as they emerged inductively from the data. The focus groups and interviews served as opportunities for member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Given that trustworthiness in qualitative research is determined by the degree to which sufficient context is made available for readers “to make transferability judgments possible” (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 316), I turn now to a description of the city of Nashville and the three neighborhood settings.

Context

With its increasing diversity, rapid growth, and affordable housing crisis, Nashville, Tennessee (USA) is an apt place to study alternative interventions in gentrifying neighborhoods. As of 2015, the US Census estimated that Nashville was 56% White, 28% Black, and 10% Latino (the latter of which is also the fastest growing ethnic group in the area). Nashville’s population is also increasing at an unprecedented rate, ranking among the fastest growing cities in the nation (Nelson, 2013). Yet, in the midst of unprecedented growth, the benefits and burdens of development are not being equitably shared. A recent report by Kennedy and Leonard (2001) ranked Nashville 5th out of 100 in measures of growth (based on changes in the number of jobs, the value of gross metropolitan product and aggregate wages), yet the city ranked 73rd in measures of inclusion (based on changes in median wage, the number of people in poverty, and percent unemployment). The rising cost of housing is among the greatest threats to low-income residents. The Nashville Mayor’s office recently reported that 30% of county residents cannot afford the cost of housing (Office of the Mayor, 2017). Racial disparities in income make Black and Latino residents particularly vulnerable to dramatic shifts in the housing market; income for Black residents is nearly half that of the White population (Metropolitan Social Services, 2016), and yet many of these residents live where housing costs are rising the fastest.

The three pilot projects

I piloted the Neighborhood Story Project in three Nashville neighborhoods: Cleveland Park, Edgehill, and Stratford. As summarized in Table 1, each of these areas is experiencing demographic changes that are dramatically out of step with county-wide averages.³ In the same period that Metro

Table 1. Change in housing values and race by location.

	Davidson County	Cleveland Park	Edgehill	Stratford
Changing housing values (2002–2016) (%)	+54	+110	+135	+110
Change in black population (2000–2010) (%)	+15	–68	–28	–20

Nashville Assessor of Property reports housing values across the county to have increased by 54%, in each of these neighborhoods they rose by more than 100%. And while the Black population of the county increased by more than 15% (compared with less than 1% for Whites), it decreased significantly in these three areas. As described below, the three neighborhoods – though only a few miles apart from one another – are distinct geographically and historically, as were each teams’ final project.

Cleveland Park

Located in East Nashville, Cleveland Park’s history as a Black enclave dates back to the Civil War (Lovett, 1999). The neighborhood, which was comprised of 90% Black households in 2000, is now rapidly losing Black residents. Within Cleveland Park, tensions have arisen along race and class lines, as residents of different tenures recall different pasts, experience different presents, and imagine different futures.

The Cleveland Park Story Project included eight residents. Three Black homeowners were longtime residents who were considered elders in their community. Three others, also homeowners, considered themselves newer residents: a Latina woman who recently married a long-time resident, and two Black women who had purchased homes in the last decade. The final two members – one Latina and one White woman – still felt strong ties to the neighborhood though they had been priced out by rising rents. Members were troubled by the diminished sense of cohesion within the community, particularly across generational lines. As Leslie reflected, “I don’t want to generalize too much, but some of the new people, I know they’re only there for a short time ... but there is like a ripping of the fabric of the neighborhood when you kind of dove in and dove out...” Ultimately, the group identified three guiding research questions: *What holds Cleveland Park together? How does racial struggle show up in the neighborhood? And, how can we make Cleveland Park home again?*

To explore these questions, members interviewed 17 neighbors, gathered pictures of their interviewees as well as historic and contemporary images of the neighborhood, and collected and reviewed archival materials related to Cleveland Park. The project culminated with an interactive community exhibition in the neighborhood community center. The exhibition included a display of large-format portraits of interviewees, featuring a quote from each person. A video played nearby, with audio from the interviews overlaid on images of the neighborhood’s past and present. A large printed timeline wrapped around two walls of the gym, and attendees were encouraged to add events to the timeline. The event was attended by approximately 50 long-time and newer residents.

Edgehill

Like Cleveland Park, the Edgehill neighborhood's growth as a robust Black neighborhood traces back to the Civil War (Lovett, 1999). Urban renewal was particularly devastating to this southeast Nashville neighborhood, completely altering the street system, gutting a once robust commercial district, and razing the homes of more than 2,000 people (Nashville Civic Design Center, 2003). For years, Edgehill has faced encroachment from Belmont and Vanderbilt Universities, as well as from Music Row – the commercial center of Nashville's music industry.

Six of the eight Edgehill Story Project participants were renters. With the exception of one White man – a former renter priced out of the neighborhood – all participants were Black women. Team members were very worried about how gentrification was disrupting their neighborhood. As Ms. TK explained,

... the people that you have been growing up with all your life, some of them go to Antioch, some of them go to Hendersonville, everybody is stretched out. That thing that we called a neighborhood or a family, we feel lost. A lot of them, they had to move on. We are like, 'Well darn, I feel so naked. So lost without my other people, and without my neighborhood.' That is one of my concerns, that we do not lose each other because we matter for each other.

The Edgehill Story Project gelled around the research question: *What is driving development and the displacement of our neighbors, and how can we intervene?* One group of researchers collected and analyzed data on housing values, foreclosures, evictions, and demographic changes, pulling salient findings into a print report. The report also featured resources for renters and homeowners at risk for displacement, and a comic strip explaining how community members can get involved in zoning and planning processes. Other members collected 11 video-recorded interviews with neighbors and produced a 20-min video to be used as an educational and organizing tool. Both the report and video were released at the culminating community event, billed as "Edgehill: State of Emergency." Attended by more than 80 people, the event was a call to action, and many members of the team – as well as numerous attendees – have continued organizing against displacement.

Stratford

The third Neighborhood Story Project was sited in a school zone. Located in East Nashville, Stratford High School serves two long-time Black neighborhoods – including the largest public housing project in Nashville – as well as a cluster of historically White, affluent neighborhoods. Opened as an all-White school in the 1960s, the school has weathered years of challenges related to court-ordered desegregation, White flight, disinvestment,

high staff turnover, and the struggle of students to succeed in school (Erickson, 2016). Over time, many Nashvillians associated problems in the school with the students, rather than the broader issues of lack of district and community investment, and the school and its predominantly Black student body has been stigmatized.

In recent years, Stratford completed a \$20 million-dollar renovation, and began distinguishing itself as a STEM school. Concurrently, the surrounding neighborhood is also changing. The Stratford zone is now one of the most desirable places to live in Nashville. Home values are rapidly rising, and White families now make up 56% of the zoned neighborhood. Yet, given that only 22% of Stratford students are White, it is clear that many new residents do not see Stratford as their neighborhood school.

The 12 participants of the Stratford Story Project included seven current students, four alumni, and one parent of alumni, and were also diverse in terms of gender and ethnicity. There were eight Black members, three White members, one southeast Asian member, and seven women and five men. The group was particularly concerned about the stigmatization of the school. When I asked team members what Stratford represents to those outside the school, their first thoughts were “ghetto,” “loud,” “dumb,” and “projects.” In response, The Stratford Story Project asked: *How has the changing reputation of Stratford impacted people’s investment in the school, and how can we change the reputation for the better?* The team collected videotaped interviews from students and teachers from every decade of the school’s history along with archival data, ultimately weaving these together into a feature-length documentary film. At an early showing to more than 100 people, the team gathered feedback and extended the project an additional 2 months to conduct a second round of interviews. They released the final film at a second public showing in February, 2017.⁴

Project outcomes

As described above, one team used the Neighborhood Story Project to strengthen social ties and place knowledge within their neighborhood, another leveraged the project to support resident organizing against displacement, and the third retold the history of a highly stigmatized school in the heart of their neighborhood. Participants hoped to leverage the Neighborhood Story Project to affect positive change in their communities, and members believed their efforts made a difference (Thurber, 2018a). In addition to helping each team achieve their goals, my interest was also in understanding what members gained through their participation. Through analysis of observational, focus group and interview data I find that participation strengthened members’ relationship to their neighborhoods,

deepened social ties within the group and broader community, and increased members' sense of efficacy, though how this translated into continued action varied.

Place attachment

Most members entered the project with some degree of knowledge about, and attachment to, their neighborhood. Yet all participants appreciated learning more about where they live. Several months after the Stratford Story Project ended, as Dev – now a recent graduate – reflected on the project, he confessed he used to “hate” the school: “I would always think of the school as like, ‘what is wrong with this school?’” He talked about the importance of learning about the history of the neighborhood, White flight and disinvestment. As he explained,

We often forget. Okay, why did this happen, or what's the cause behind the school being at the place where it is? ... What I learned in this project about my school was that the neighborhood doesn't like the school, or they didn't like it for a very long time ... Just show a little more love to this school, and I guess you could change the school up.

Like Dev, numerous team members remarked that tracing their community lineage strengthened their attachment to the neighborhoods while also helping them make sense of the challenges – and the possibilities – of the present moment.

While learning their neighborhood history was meaningful, so too was gaining greater insight about the contemporary processes shaping the neighborhood. For many, this involved learning new vocabulary and concepts – such as gentrification, market-rate, tax increment financing, and zoning – which allowed them to understand and participate in community discussions about their neighborhood. Midway through the Edgehill Story Project, Betty reflected on her own learning process:

I feel like me not knowing something is like I'm right here (she placed her hand on the table, signifying herself, and covered it with a notebook), and all these people that knew all this information, I feel like they were incog, I think the word is *incognito* where you lay back, watch them and look at other people suffer. I feel like this information is like, *okay I caught you*. I'm coming up out of it, I'm going to embrace this, I'm going to embrace change and I'm going to help everybody understand that.

For Betty and others, place learning became a form of political education; as members learned about the mechanisms driving development, they had a better understanding of what was shaping their neighborhood, and how and where they could intervene.

Social cohesion

Over the course of the 12 weeks, all members formed strong social bonds within their teams. This was evidenced week-by-week as members lingered together in the parking lot after sessions, exchanged hugs at the start and end of meetings, and sent encouraging text messages to the group chat between meetings. As Ms Pauline reflected in the final meeting of the Cleveland Park Story Project, “we became family, and just from the little bit of time, I really am going to miss you guys. But the important thing is... we don’t have to go our separate lives anymore.” Indeed, the language of becoming “family” was echoed across the three projects. While the relationships formed among members were meaningful to participants, they are perhaps unsurprising, as group work – by design – fosters interpersonal relationships (Toseland, Jones, & Gellis, 2004). In addition to within-group relationships, some members also gained a stronger sense of community cohesion more broadly. This was particularly true among those who interviewed their neighbors.

Civic action

By virtue of their participation in the Neighborhood Story Project, every team member becomes more involved in their community. For many, the experience strengthened their belief that they could make a difference in their neighborhood, which can be understood as a sense of neighborhood efficacy. However, how members *acted upon* this sense of efficacy varied along three trajectories: continued individual action, continued collective action, and a lack of continued action.

Continued individual action

More than half of team members drew from the Neighborhood Story Project to continue civic engagement in their neighborhoods. Ms Andrea, who was a leader in her neighborhood association before joining the Story Project, offers a prime example. As we gathered each week in the Cleveland Park Community Center, Ms Andrea would note aloud facilitation techniques she wanted to bring back to her association – from encouraging phonetic spelling on name tags, to using painter’s tape to adhere butcher paper onto walls. When I visited with Ms. Andrea several months after the project had ended, she reflected on how participation in the project has impacted her:

It has made a difference in us, and we are pouring into our community what has been poured into us. It may not come out maybe the first two months... but it is planted inside of us. The presentation that I did when we had our meeting Friday night, [what] I learned through Cleveland Park Project, it started to come out of me.

I felt very comfortable. It is like it became natural for me to stand up there... and to control the meeting when there was kind of like some friction there.

Like Ms Andrea, a number of Neighborhood Story Project members leveraged the knowledge and confidence they gained to continue making a difference around issues of gentrification in their neighborhoods, drawing not only on the *content* of what we explored together but also – as Ms Andrea – the *process* of how we worked together.

Continued collective action

A smaller portion of team members – just under a third – were inspired by the Neighborhood Story Project to continue collective action. This was most robust among the members of the Edgehill Story Project. Three months following the conclusion of the project, four members were still working together, attending and testifying at city council meetings and hosting tenant rights workshops. Vanessa is one of those still engaged. In week four of the project, she reflected on her yearning to be involved:

...in a lot of ways, I just feel like it's almost some kind of divine intervention ... because I've been in this neighborhood for a long time... these past, you know, 10–15 years, I have been watching the neighborhood... It's like what can I do, what can I do? How can I get involved? Then all of a sudden, it's like I'm involved and this is just, I'm just so blessed... I just feel, I feel some sense of empowerment. I just feel like I'm not just sitting around watching all of this happen and doing nothing about it.

For Vanessa and those that have continued working together, the Neighborhood Story Project provided a launching pad for future collective action.

Lack of continued action

Although just over half of Neighborhood Story Project team members have continued to engage in community action – individually or collectively – just under half have not. For some, it was simply not a priority to do so. All the Stratford students were seniors, and all left East Nashville within months of their project's completion. Yet some of the members who had not engaged in continued civic action expressed a desire to be more involved, though they were unsure how or where to engage. This is a vulnerability of groupwork; as Breton observes, “Once a group terminates, ex-group members cannot protect, consolidate, and build on these achievements if they are socially isolated; they need a supportive environment” (2004, p. 64).

Synthesizing outcomes and project limitations

The previous sections highlighted the three most significant outcomes for members of the Neighborhood Story Project. First, in neighborhoods where many long-time residents are feeling increasingly out of place, team members deepened their relationship to place. Second, in settings where many have lost friends due to rising rents and property taxes, participation strengthened social ties. And third, facing conditions where many people feel hopeless and helpless to affect change, team members developed an increased capacity to take action, which nearly half of team members credit with fueling their continued neighborhood engagement. Although the outcomes were presented above separately, team members often spoke of these outcomes in integrated ways. For example, when asked what made the Neighborhood Story Project impactful, Ms. Betty explained, “All the studying that we did ... and plus we got to work and start doing things. All the studying that we did, the cooperation that we had, with all the research that we did.” Like Betty, many team members responded to “what was most rewarding?” by jumping from information learned (“the studying we did”), to relationships gained (“the cooperation we had”), to producing something meaningful for their community (“we got to work”).

Despite member gains, there are clear limitations to this intervention. First, impacting 8–12 people per project, the Neighborhood Story Project is modest in reach.⁵ Second, with some important exceptions, the project did not build substantive connective tissue between older and newer residents, bridging divides of race, class, or tenure. Instead, the project played an important role in mobilizing those most often marginalized in gentrifying neighborhoods and connecting these neighbors to one another. Third, although the project generated efficacy among members, it was limited in sustaining civic action. These limitations notwithstanding, for residents feeling weary from and battered by frayed social ties, uncaring development, and persistent stigmatization, the Neighborhood Story Project helped them to learn more about the place they live, deepen connections to others in their community, and feel increasingly capable of making a difference.

Discussion

Residential displacement is clearly one of gentrification’s most serious harms, yet – as the members of the Neighborhood Story Project made clear – it is not the only harm. Importantly, neighborhood place-attachments and social ties may be harmed by gentrification, and, given that these dimensions are predictive of collective action (Collins et al., 2014; Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014), gentrification can also weaken residents’ ability to organize. However, this study suggests that place-attachments and social ties can be strengthened

by interventions like the Neighborhood Story Project and leveraged to intervene productively in changing neighborhoods. Through creating an environment in which residents could learn more about their neighborhood's history and current spatial transformations, build meaningful relationships with others, and take action together, The Neighborhood Story Project offers a practice model for fostering these attachments to people and places, and facilitating collective action in gentrifying neighborhoods.

More broadly, this study suggests there is a critical need to reimagine the role of community development practice beyond helping people find or keep housing. When policymakers and practitioners take seriously the more than material effects of gentrification, a wide-range of more than material possibilities for intervening in these neighborhoods emerge. A recent literature review finds a proliferation of grassroots responses to gentrification led by artists, community organizers, and scholar-activists, and yet very few of these have been empirically studied (Thurber & Christiano, 2019). This is an emergent field of practice; the more we understand about what more than material interventions offer, the more strategically and effectively they can be deployed. Critically, as the language "more than" implies, such interventions should be considered complementary to – not in place of – efforts to build and preserve affordable housing. Ultimately, a humanistic approach to justice in gentrifying neighborhoods requires that we honor residents' desire to keep more than just their homes.

Notes

1. Throughout this paper, I draw on analysis of GIS layers provided by the Nashville Metro Planning Department which include housing value changes from Tax Assessor data (2002 and 2016), and demographic data from the U.S. Census (2000, 2010) and ACS 2012 5-year estimates.
2. This paper draws from a dissertation study (Thurber, 2018a) where, in addition to tracing outcomes, I also explored how those outcomes took place. Thus, I also asked: What kinds of group processes engage residents in critically reflecting on their neighborhood, deepen social ties, and inform collective action? While related, these process findings, and explicit attention to facilitation, are beyond the scope of this paper.
3. Throughout this paper, I draw on analysis of GIS layers provided by the Nashville Metro Planning Department which include housing value changes from Tax Assessor data (1999 and 2014), and demographic data from the U.S. Census (2000, 2010) and ACS 2012 5-year estimates.
4. Links to the films and other materials created by the three Neighborhood Story Projects can be found at <http://humanitiestennessee.org/content/neighborhood-story-project-pilot-projects>.
5. That said, the outcomes can certainly be scaled through replication; and such efforts are currently underway. In 2018 Humanities Tennessee sponsored a Neighborhood

Story Project facilitator training and invested in five Neighborhood Story Projects across the state.

Acknowledgments

The author gratefully acknowledges the members of the three Neighborhood Story Projects for contributions to this work.

References

- Brower, A. M., Arndt, R. G., & Ketterhager, A. (2004). Very good solutions do exist for group work research design problems. In C. D. Garvin, L. M. Gutierrez, & M. J. Galinsky (Eds.), *Handbook of social work with groups* (pp. 58–75). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Collins, C. R., Neal, J. W., & Neal, Z. P. (2014). Transforming individual civic engagement into community collective efficacy: The role of bonding social capital. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *54*(3–4), 328–336. doi:10.1007/s10464-014-9675-x
- Davidson, M., & Lees, L. (2005). New-build ‘gentrification’ and London’s riverside renaissance. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *37*(7), 1165–1190. doi:10.1068/a3739
- Erickson, A. T. (2016). *Making the unequal metropolis: School desegregation and its limits*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hyra, D. (2013). Mixed-income housing: Where have we been and where do we go from here? *Cityscape*, *15*(2), 123–134.
- Kennedy, M., & Leonard, P. (2001). *Dealing with neighborhood change: A primer on gentrification and policy choices*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Lipsitz, G. (2007). The racialization of space and the spatialization of race: Theorizing the hidden architecture of landscape. *Landscape Journal*, *26*(1), 10–23. doi:10.3368/lj.26.1.10
- Lovett, B. L. (1999). *The African-American history of Nashville, Tennessee, 1780–1930: Elites and dilemmas*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press.
- Maciag, M. (2015). Gentrification in America report. Governing the States and Localities.
- Mallach, A. (2008). *Managing neighborhood change: A framework for sustainable and equitable revitalization*. Montclair, NJ: National Housing Institute.
- Manzo, L. C., & Perkins, D. D. (2006). Finding common ground: The importance of place attachment to community participation and planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*, *20*(4), 335–350. doi:10.1177/0885412205286160
- Marcuse, P. (1985). Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: Connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City. *Washington University Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law*, *28*(1), 195–240.
- Metropolitan Social Services. (2016). 2016 Community Needs Evaluation. Nashville, TN. Retrieved from <http://www.nashville.gov/Portals/0/SiteContent/SocialServices/docs/cne/2016FullCNEfinal.pdf>
- Mihaylov, N., & Perkins, D. D. (2014). Community place attachment and its role in social capital development in response to environmental disruption. In L. Manzo & P. Devine-Wright (Eds.), *Place attachment: Advances in theory, methods and research* (pp. 61–74). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Nashville Civic Design Center. (2003). Edgehill neighborhood. Nashville, TN.

- Nelson, A. (2013). Greater Nashville trends, preferences and opportunities 2010 to 2025 and to 2040. Prepared for the Metro Nashville Planning Department, Nashville, TN.
- Newman, K., & Wyly, E. K. (2006). The right to stay put, revisited: Gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies*, 43(1), 23–57. doi:10.1080/00420980500388710
- Office of the Mayor. (2017). *Housing Nashville Report*. Retrieved from <https://www.nashville.gov/Portals/0/SiteContent/MayorsOffice/AffordableHousing/Housing%20Nashville%20FINAL.pdf>
- Perkins, D. D., Hughey, J., & Speer, P. W. (2002). Community psychology perspectives on social capital theory and community development practice. *Community Development*, 33(1), 33–52. doi:10.1080/15575330209490141
- Reason, P., & Bradbury, H. (Eds.). (2008). *Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Renzaho, A., Richardson, B., & Strugnell, C. (2012). Resident well-being, community connections, and neighbourhood perceptions, pride, and opportunities among disadvantage metropolitan and regional communities: Evidence from the Neighbourhood Renewal Project. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 40(7), 871–885. doi:10.1002/jcop.21500
- Thurber, A. (2018a). *The Neighborhood Story Project: Keeping more than our homes* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.
- Thurber, A. (2018b). Keeping more than homes: A more than material framework for understanding and intervening in gentrifying neighborhoods. In J. Clark & N. Wise (Eds.), *Urban renewal, community and participation*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Thurber, A., & Christiano, J. (2019). Confronting Gentrification: Can creative interventions help people keep more than just their homes? *Engaged Scholar Journal*, 5(2), 95–115.
- Toseland, R. W., Jones, L. V., & Gellis, Z. D. (2004). Group dynamics. In C. D. Garvin, L. M. Gutierrez, & M. J. Galinsky (Eds.), *Handbook of social work with groups* (pp. 13–31). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Twigge-Molecey, A. (2014). Exploring resident experiences of indirect displacement in a neighbourhood undergoing gentrification: The case of Saint-Henri in Montreal. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 23(1), 1–22.