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Knowledge, Power, and the Formation of a Detroit Insurgency:
Charlevoix Village Association's studied fight against racist displacement

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Urban and Environmental Planning and Policy

by

Allison Blackmond Laskey

Dissertation Committee:
Associate Professor Walter Nicholls, Chair
Professor Victoria Basolo
Professor Emeritus Daniel Stokols
Associate Professor Tiffany Willoughby-Herard

2019

Chapter 2 © 2019 American Planning Association, Chicago, IL
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DEDICATION

To
my grandmother
Frances N. Blackmond
Who has probably read more of my work than anyone,
and who, when her oldest child was born in 1954, remembers standing with my
grandfather looking at all the babies in the hospital nursery lying next to each other, so
many skintones and backgrounds, and thinking *now* would finally be the end of prejudice
and inequality. Many years later, she was the first person who ever apologized to me for
leaving my generation a terribly messed up world. I told her we were working on it. Her
support for this dissertation has been unflagging, and that matters infinitely.

To
Paula Johnson
my Detroit grandmother
Who came from and raised some incredible thinking people.

To all the grandmothers
of the specially oppressed
Who wanted a better world for the generations they would leave behind
and did their best to equip those in their care with the knowledge, skills, sustenance, and
courage to be bold, unflinching, and creative, to loathe injustice, wisely challenge power,
and raise the standards of truth, liberty, and equitable wellbeing into
a reality beyond their time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF FIGURES iv

LIST OF TABLES v

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS vi

CURRICULUM VITAE ix

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION xi

CHAPTER 1: Introduction 1

CHAPTER 2: Jumping off the Ladder 24
Participation and Insurgency in Detroit's Urban Planning

CHAPTER 3: Thinking Insurgency 62
The Ruse of Participation and Theories of Knowledge for Planning

CHAPTER 4: "Stop Displacement, Resegregation, and Gentrification!" 101
Charlevoix Village Association and the formation of a Detroit Insurgency

CHAPTER 5: Conclusion 141

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

Figure 4.1 Detroit City Population, 1820-2017 114

LIST OF TABLES

Page

Table 1.1 Characteristics of Interviewees 16

Table 2.1 Select demographics of CVA's neighborhood, the City of Detroit, and the Detroit Metropolitan Area 35

Table 2.2 Characteristics of CDCs working in CVA's area. 39

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Tiffany Willoughby-Herard guided me to steel myself when the pressures of doing this work within our institutional setting were both unkind and daunting. Her affirmation and encouragement of this project, which is based in her hometown and aims to honor the same Black Detroiters who made her the shining star she is, helped me stay true to the vitality of this work.

A curious recognition of the Social Ecological framework drew me to UCI as I sought graduate training, and from my first days as a PhD student, Dan Stokols made the principles of multi-level research, systems thinking, social justice orientation, and transdisciplinarity institutionally plausible. Thanks to Dan, the multifaceted lessons of social ecology are now my academic tradition.

I never imagined my academic interests would turn first to urban planning and then to housing. These twists and turns made Victoria Basolo an ever more valuable supporter of this project.

Frank Wilderson's influence guided many registers of this project. While recovery on medical leave prevented him from advising this project to completion, his support for several years was invaluable.

Thanks to Janet Gallagher, who helped me at innumerable important moments. From start to finish, Janet made sure I did what I needed to do to move my PhD career to its next steps.

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Thanks to Frances Diaz for her bold and visionary approach to graduate education. Her counsel has made key steps of this project possible.

Thanks to the medical professionals and healers who restored me to good health.

Thanks to Jennie Craig, for all you do.

While at UCI, I took classes across eight departments in five schools. I particularly benefitted from studying Informatics, Anthropology, and African-American Studies. The latter two especially guided my theoretical training, with methodological applications. Thanks go to anthropologists Kris Peterson, Julia Elychar, and Sylvia Nam. From African-American Studies, Nahum D. Chandler (re)introduced me to W.E.B. Du Bois, Jacque Derrida, and C.L.R. James through the type of rigorous study that opens worlds of scholarship. His mentorship and support carried this project at a critical time. Jared Sexton's classes were the most important courses I took (and audited) at UCI. They shaped key facets of how I have thought and written since. Jared's pedagogy was a transformative way to work through difficult material, and his example has made me a better teacher and scholar.

Jaye Austen Williams tutored me on critical black scholarship, theater, and lifetimes of experience that will never be mine but are now a part of me. A friend and PhD since this project began, Jaye mentored me with unsurpassing generosity and chutzpah. She sharpened my critical thinking and honed my ethical compass. This work would have been missing way too much without her support.

Detroit found me as much as I found this city, now my home and my heart. From my first visits, Detroiters schooled me in a very loving way, tending to mind, body, and spirit. I breathed easier during my visits here, and moving to Detroit was my main (realized) goal for some time. Detroit reminded me of D.C., the city that made my youth and young adulthood possible out of the suburban planned community of Reston, VA. All these chocolate cities, all the cities Zenzele Isoke knows are *despised*, give reason to this work.

Detroiters welcomed me to their city from the first. Interested, analytical, humorous, Detroiters were willing to work me through significant hurdles of this project. For instance, in 2015 when Linda Rayburn listened to my questions about organization and units of analysis then read me a passage from a book she recommended (*In Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky), then fed me a healthy and tasty meal, it laid bare the truth of what this dissertation calls 'insurgent knowledge,' what Jaye Austen Williams taught me about black generosity, and then some.

Thanks to Blair Anderson for introducing me to CVA and keeping in touch with me in California. Thanks to Jennine Spencer for inviting me back to CVA and asking me to speak up.

I cannot here name all the Detroiters to whom I owe my thanks for their support and assistance. Instead I will name a few sets of people I met through CVA. Thanks to long-term residents working from the grassroots Xylia Hall, Damien Benson, Fealicia Denson, Mary L. Golson, Gwen Moore, Linda McKinney, Mattie Goshea, Gail Beasley, and Soummer Crawford; to CDC interlocutors Barry Randolph, Wallace Gilbert Jr., Sheree Walton, and Donna L. Givens; and to government officials Arthur Jemison, Marcell R. Todd, Jr., Stephanie Chang.

In particular, being part of the CVA research/organizing team was an unparalleled experience. I have been part of many research teams in my academic and professional life, and the CVA team is among the very best in quality and dedication. While not everyone wants their name to appear, special thanks to those who have been the most unwavering: Toyia

Watts, Tristan Taylor, Brian Silverstein, Austen Campbell-Fox, and Amy Senese. Claire Bowman blessedly helped me with Census data and shouldered the responsibilities of CVA's ethnographer while I disappeared for months to write up. Molly Cunningham's ethnography preceded mine and in some ways set the stage for this work.

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In the 7.2 years it took me to start and finish this PhD, I have lived with at least 13 humans and 4 animals. To all my roommates who kept me sheltered and who saw me through thick and thin, my humblest gratitude and praise. Housing insecurity and income insecurity have been a very real part of this process. This is increasingly true of more and more Americans and global citizens, even more reason this work matters and comes under pressure.

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California, thanks for many sunny days and hard life lessons. I won't forget you.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Knowledge, Power, and the Formation of a Detroit Insurgency:
Charlevoix Village Association's studied fight against racist displacement

By

Allison Blackmond Laskey

Doctor of Philosophy in Urban and Environmental Planning and Policy

University of California, Irvine, 2019

Associate Professor Walter Nicholls, Chair

Participatory planning policies suppress the voices of critical urban residents, and that suppression creates an oppressive status quo for low income people of color in cities. Despite asymmetric power dynamics, critical residents in Detroit, Michigan are collectivizing, mobilizing, and planning insurgently to change the status quo of their city to promote equity and justice. This dissertation ethnographically demonstrates why and how residents in Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) sharply resisted gentrification policies and how they promoted insurgency as a viable alternative to neoliberal planning.

Over three main articles, the dissertation moves from participation to insurgency, contributing to urban planning theory and practice by filling gaps in insurgent planning's critique of inclusive governance and by proposing two empirically grounded theoretical branches of insurgent planning that have relevance for planning in general: insurgent knowledge and insurgent formation. In Chapter 2, I affirm planning theorists' understanding that the system of participation relies on asymmetric information and power that often coopts community development organizations and destroys local neighborhood fabrics. I

find that critical residents are not passively engaged; when engagement fails them, critical residents create independent avenues to push back on CDCs and other arms of the planning establishment. Chapter 3 demonstrates that when the planning establishment delegitimates residents' local knowledge, insurgents produce studied ideas and theories, which they use to critique the planning process and pose insurgent alternatives. Insurgent planners revalue long-term residents' specific and sophisticated local knowledges and link their local knowledges with technical and academic planning knowledge to generalize their condition, strategize how to limit the planning establishment, and intervene in the direction of urban affairs. In Chapter 4, I outline specific mechanisms through which regular people become insurgent. CVA's insurgency formed by repurposing associational infrastructure away from participation and toward independent analyses of power. These power analyses directed insurgents to strategically assert nonconsent to austerity and the reimposition of separate and unequal in their city. Overall, through these empirically driven analyses of insurgent processes, I demonstrate that insurgency led by black working class residents can to some degree limit capitalism's neoliberal expansion and build urban landscapes toward justice and democracy.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Poor/working people and people of color are experiencing the heaviest burdens of urban growth as neoliberalism becomes a typical pattern of governance across cities. The neoliberal strategy of capitalist urban growth breeds confusion as to whose interests their approach benefits. Most neoliberal institutions and governments laud and promote diversity, equity, and inclusion, even as their policies grow wealth for the rich by cutting services to predominantly black and Latino neighborhoods. They enhance the police state to promote safety, even as police brutality is one of the leading causes of death of young black men. Gentrification, the redevelopment and revitalization of disinvested urban areas, is a favored policy approach to introduce and strengthen the grip of the neoliberal strategy. Few scholars have studied gentrification from the point of view of the residents it affects, and there is no literature documenting residents experiencing early stage gentrification in real time. This dissertation puts a drop in the bucket of that gap ethnographically by studying with a grassroots organization in Detroit, Charlevoix Village Association (CVA), during the period when planners and policymakers targeted CVA's area for investment and curated the planning process for neighborhood revitalization.

CVA is one of many communities that knows gentrification is anathema to their interests. In cities globally, for several decades, gentrification has produced new business districts and housing with upscale aesthetics, frivolous goods and services, and high prices. The poor people of color who once lived in these areas can no longer afford to live or shop in the revitalized spaces, nor can they recognize the areas they once called home. Mindy

Fullilove and Rodrick Wallace count gentrification as an iteration of a longstanding policy of "serial forced displacement" that has plagued African Americans over generations (2011). Gentrification's devastation to communities in many cities has been well documented and much discussed (Moskowitz, 2017). While long term residents may not prefer gentrification, their desire has not had much influence on neoliberal policy because the power dynamics of decision making are largely unequal. Planning policies suppress the voices of critical urban residents, and that suppression creates a violent status quo condition of oppression in cities of low income people of color. In Detroit, like other black inner cities, this process entailed massive disinvestment over decades turning into a severe form of neoliberal austerity. Nevertheless, critical residents in Detroit are collectivizing, mobilizing, and planning insurgently to change the status quo into a city with a backbone of justice. This dissertation demonstrates why and how residents in CVA sharply resisted gentrification policies and promoted equitable development.

Over three main articles, the dissertation moves from participation to insurgency. I answer, how do planners try to control for popular dissent, and how do residents respond? How is knowledge used by planners and insurgent residents? How do once compliant residents actually become insurgents? The dissertation is organized with foundations in social ecology and black radical thought, with a thorough grounding in ethnographic methods, discussed below. The first chapter charts communities' oppressive experience with institutional participation as impetus for insurgency. The second chapter considers the knowledge base with which insurgents in general and CVA in particular resist participation and develop their independent analyses. The third chapter recounts the process of CVA's conversion from a regular resident association to a team of insurgent planners. The dissertation closes with an ethnographically grounded introduction to three of my interlocutors and considerations for future research.

Coming to focus on insurgency in Black Detroit

This project grapples with the contradiction that within American democracy, inequality and racism prevent people from having egalitarian input in their governance and society. This is not strictly an American problem, but the U.S. poses a revelatory case to examine the problem of historically oppressed people continuing to bear the brunt of modern progress and meanwhile continuing to fight for structural transformation (Roy, 2006). My goal at the outset was to conduct a study from the perspective of people who were most burdened by inequality and racism and still unflinchingly working to challenge the arrangement of power. As Frederick Douglass understood from an earlier American era that broke apart and reset the social order: “power concedes nothing without a demand.” I sought to meet, work with, and study U.S. residents today, who, like Douglass once did, theorized their condition and aimed to marshal the forces of history to make a change toward liberation. By searching for grassroots groups who had a longue durée historical analysis, global perspective, ecological consciousness, and connection to black radical thought, I found my way to Detroit, via the U.S. Social Forum in 2010. My connections with studied grassroots black radical activists in Detroit deepened over the subsequent years as I sought to learn, who are they? What are they thinking? And how do they work to upset the structural and symbolic order that would keep them in an inferior position?

Framing a project to focus on the intellectual life of the critical grassroots proved a challenge because I continually ran up against walls that prevented me from centering the lifeworlds, experiences, and critiques of poor people of color demanding justice by various means. Under the dominant policy frameworks of the participatory paradigm, the state retains the power to control terms of public engagement and relational channels (Head, 2007). Inclusive governance proposes to distribute power and authority, encouraging planners and policymakers to engage (Keeter, Jenkins, Zukin, & Andolina, 2005), empower (Feldman & Khademian, 2003), include (Feldman & Khademian, 2001), and recognize residents, citizens, and stakeholders. Nevertheless, in this paradigm, regular people cannot engage *themselves* in governance. They do not hold power unless empowered by institutions. Government or developers must invite residents to participate or opt to include them for residents to take part in planning. These theories prevented me from studying people for who they really are (as opposed to, who they are *to the state*) and on their own terms (as opposed to, on the terms *of the state*). Searching for appropriate theories led me away from the field of policy, which often failed to ensure social validity with urban black residents, and I turned toward planning, which was forced to deal with urban dwellers in a spatially direct way.

Urban planning formed as one of the state's key mechanisms to manage the affairs of the urban capitalists and the population of the territory. Challenging this normative order, grassroots movements arose in different places and times to intervene in cities' management, shaking institutional power and planning functions by collectively agitating for governing institutions to live up to their democratic ideals. In particular, movements of the 1960s pushed planning practitioners to incorporate participation and for planning scholars to recognize that the undercurrent of oppressed people seeking justice has been a force in planning for as long as the state has been shaping cities. Nevertheless, via institutional participation, planners expertly neutralized dissenting voices to keep people in their place on behalf of the state. Despite this coopatation, radical planners still sought to highlight dissenting voices (Friedmann, 2011), and scholars working from the global South argued to recenter theory production and praxis away from EuroAmerica (Robinson, 2002; Roy, 2009). Where radical planning and Southern planning intersected, insurgent planning arose to recognize critical residents who collectivize to contest the inequality and racism embedded in neoliberalism and the financialization of their cities (Miraftab, 2009). Insurgent planning gave me theoretical traction to investigate the critiques and experiences of grassroots Detroiters burdened by heightened inequality and racism under a new urban regime of neoliberal austerity.

However, to appropriately apply insurgent planning to Black Detroit posed several challenges. A key challenge was that insurgent planning had been situated in a postcolonial framework, and this was instructive but not a wholly appropriate grounding for studying people whose intellectual tradition and life experiences were grounded in black radical thought. Both legacies entailed intensive external domination, ongoing at a global scale and locally, which carved distinct internalizations into oppressed people's own inner and everyday worlds. Colonialism and slavery were interrelated and overlapping historical processes and legacies, but they were distinct and not wholly analogous. Figures like Sojourner Truth, Ella Baker, and Michelle Obama lived in a settler state, but they were not (post)colonial subjects; they were black. Their folks were not colonized but enslaved to colonists. Their liberation was bound not to breaking the paternalistic administration of coloniality and decolonizing the mind but to breaking the tethers of bondage and reckoning with a cognitive schema of captivity (Brand, 2012). Figures like Franz Fanon, from Algeria, or Steve Biko, from South Africa, were both black and colonized, but lessons and implications from a black radical lens and from a postcolonial lens diverged. Postcolonial readings of Fanon tended to lean on his "concepts of freedom and sovereignty within a national-humanist schema" (Marriott, 2011, p. 34) while critical black scholars of Fanon highlighted "freedom as a difficult question that cannot be resolved" (idem, p. 64). Thus, in locating my project in Black Detroit, I had to rethink insurgent planning with a black radical lens. To equip insurgent planning to study Black Detroit required a certain type of "excavation" work at many levels (Sandercock, 1998): at an historiographical level; in the ethnographic arenas of data collection and analysis; as well as interdisciplinary work of bringing critical black theorists into my discussion of insurgent planning; and transdisciplinary work of bringing in grassroots voices who are both the subjects of study and intellectual contributors to this work.

The transdisciplinary challenge with which insurgent planning still has to grapple is related to broader questions of knowledge production and leadership. What is the role of the insurgent planning scholar vis a vis the people we work with at the grassroots? This project provides an example. The volunteer team for CVA is racially integrated and intergenerational but is led by long-term working class black Detroiters who do not have a high level of formal education. Their subjective knowledge base has allowed them to make political calculations that were never a consideration to me. I have best served as a sounding board. As a listener and conversationalist, I have affirmed and encouraged grassroots knowledge, helping people think through their ideas and gain confidence and rigor in what they know. Once or twice I tried to draft a flyer to be helpfully proactive, and the team completely rewrote it. My voice did not sound like the neighborhood's. Not only was it too formal and "nice", but also I missed important analytical points. This disconnect also appeared in my first publication out of the research, Chapter 1. I shared drafts with CVA to make sure they thought it was ok to publish. Although we had learned about community development corporations (CDCs) together, many residents could not see what they had learned in my writing. The paper was about them, but it was not for them. They agreed that I should publish the paper, but we have a tacit agreement that I will do better next time. While the institutional structures of academia often do not incentivize our ongoing accountability to the grassroots, our research will ultimately be meaningless if it does not benefit our interlocutors *on their terms*.

This introduction continues with a discussion of how two literatures, social ecology and black radical thought, influenced the formulation of this work in foundational ways. These reflections lead into a discussion of methods, including my approach to the case of Detroit and CVA, before summarizing the dissertation chapters that follow.

Social ecological comments on this work

Social ecological study drew me to pursue PhD studies at UCI, and a social ecological perspective allowed me to shift disciplinarily from policy to urban planning and from there to overcome some of the limits of working within the field of urban planning. The core principles of social ecology are (1) multilevel analysis of environments and ecosystems; (2) systems analyses of human-environment interactions; (3) methods to contextualize people's encounters; and (4) transdisciplinary action research that aids community problem-solving and pursues justice (Stokols, 1996, 2018). Social ecology encourages contextualization of people's surroundings spatially, temporally, socioculturally, and virtually. The social ecological framework aids the study of phenomena in cities that are often overlooked through disciplinary lenses.

As I described above, urban planning gave me a scholarly location from which I would be able to focus directly on have-not urban dwellers. It also imposed the limitations of working within a defined academic field. Social ecology allowed me to zoom out and gain perspective on my chosen disciplinary limitations. Sometimes I was able to sidestep them, and other times, the shortcomings will be fodder for future research. For example, the rounds of peer review that shaped the final version of Chapter 1 forced my coauthor, Walter Nicholls, and I to delete material that would have shown more local context and the analytical perspective of CVA's residents. Walter and I simplified as much as possible, which reduced our transdisciplinary reach for the sake of streamlining our main argument. This was a strategic compromise, yet a decision made from the standpoint of social embeddedness to prioritize communicating about CVA's insurgency in urban planning's flagship journal. When CVA authorized the final version, we agreed that the shortcomings of that research product signaled areas for improvement. While these lessons improved Chapters 2 and 3, I have not yet gathered CVA's feedback on these chapters. As I approach submitting these papers for peer review publication, I will study what I have written with CVA members to ascertain if they can better relate to these research products. These sorts of transdisciplinary experiments in method will help me ensure social validity and will form a line of inquiry for my forthcoming research agenda.

In terms of treating the case of CVA and Detroit as a complex system, the chapters condensed the dynamism of what happened before my fieldwork began in 2017, and during my fieldwork from 2017-2019, into simplified storylines. The simple story is consistent across the three chapters: Planning was not working for the people, so CVA figured out how to learn what was wrong (in Chapter 1, relying on CDCs; in Chapter 2, being treated as intellectually inferior; and in Chapter 3, choosing from participatory planning's given options), and despite the immense hurdles posed by structural racism and inequality, CVA figured out how to form an independent course of planning through insurgency. This storyline is deceptively simplistic for the reason that it is not supposed to happen. For all the ways the story is familiar, the literature barely discusses gentrification from the point of view of the people it affects (notable exceptions in the planning field include Derek Hyra (2008, 2017) and Kathryn Howell (2015; 2018)). A looming gap remains how residents deal with gentrification as it gets started. Writing a dissertation that shows how planning activities can lead to insurgency is a strategic intervention into the field's normal functions. The chapters do not explicitly mention systems theory, but systems analysis helped reveal the simple story that could contain the breadth and significance of this research.

In holding to a simple storyline, critical facets of the case remained in the background, unelaborated. Strategic linkages, for instance, to the physicality of the neighborhood and the city, the role of state and federal law, relationship with other grassroots organizations in Detroit, and the breadth of victories in which CVA played a part as well as the defeats they withstood, contributed conditions of possibility for the foregrounded storyline, but it was not possible to provide full contextualization and still make a clear and succinct argument. The richness of the urban fabric defies inscription. CVA, too, had to make sense of the messy context to communicate effectively with residents. Calculating the shared and differential knowledge bases and life experiences of Detroiters, CVA simplified their message to “Stop Racist Displacement!” I adapted this theme in my writing, simplifying geographic, social, and temporal scales to foreground the basic theme of long-term neighborhood residents resisting displacement.

Important linkages across the three chapters that I emphasized in the background included 1) a sentence on Arnstein's work and context to vivify the federal context responding to mass movements; 2) the immensity of systemic upheaval in the 1960s, as well as its insurgent antecedents and offspring; 3) 1960s’ upheaval’s neutralization and transformation in the 1980s onward to neoliberalism; 4) particularities of Detroit that are similar and different to other urban cities; and 5) residents' own analyses and intellectual labor in diagnosing their problems and forming viable options to respond. In all chapters, this multi-scale analysis is part of the method, as is member checking. For instance, CVA’s constructive feedback led me to reshape the Detroit context sections so that I got both the facts and framing right. When I was worried my simplifications were too reductive, my interlocutors told me they trusted me to do the right thing.

To infiltrate urban planning with social ecological principles, this project pushes planning to face disciplinary blind spots and reckon with the fields of power in which it is embroiled from a grassroots perspective. In a reflexive manner, it asks social ecology to do the same. The chapters that follow embrace a means of instigating structural transformation by intellectually aligning with the oppressed. Social ecology is a lens that reveals strengths and weaknesses of my research design and institutional location, but it does not adequately theorize power, racism, inequality, this project’s relationship to the institution of academia, or the intellectual life of black Detroiters. Insurgent planning from the global South, equipped with a black radical lens, was appropriate to center Detroiters' demands for equitable development on their terms, and from there to theorize the limitations of participatory mechanisms, the role of insurgent knowledge, and the formation of an incipient insurgency. The next section discusses how this project buttresses insurgent planning through the tradition of black radical thought.

Applying a black radical lens to insurgent planning

Black radical thought views transatlantic slavery and slavery's legacies as central to structuring American urban life and systems of inequality. The foundations of modernity -- Enlightenment subjectivity, civil society, and capitalist economic development -- relied upon enslaving black people and making them structurally inferior (Wilderson, 2003a). While Emancipation and the Civil Rights Movement incited dramatic legal and social changes to end slavery and then Jim Crow, these vital gains have been undercut in recent decades. With 1971's *Milliken v. Bradley* decision, seminal desegregation measures were halted and resegregation staunchly enforced. The onslaught accelerated in the 21st Century, as financialization of cities spurred rapid gentrification and with it the dispossession of black people, in addition to statutory compromises, like cutting a key provision of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. This month, November 13, 2019, the Supreme Court will hear a case in which a major corporation is seeking to undermine the Civil Rights Act of 1866 by denying a black man the equal right to make a contract (Jan, 2019). The retractions to civil rights and retrenchment of racism are threatening fundamental progress not just of the Civil Rights

Movement but of Radical Reconstruction. Ironically, the neoliberal era that enforces incredibly racist and unequal policies advertises its adherence to "diversity, equity, and inclusion." To those whose fundamental freedoms are at stake, the hypocrisy of the situation is gratuitously demoralizing and terrorizing.

Political and civil violence targeting black people on a global scale is structural (Farmer, Nizeye, Stulac, & Keshavjee, 2006). For Enlightenment subjects, including Gramsci's subaltern, violence is contingent upon a breach of the social order; but violence against black people helps constitute the social order (Martinot & Sexton, 2003). Violence is a pervasive condition, as well as a phenomenological experience, for black people, in "a relation of terror as opposed to a relation of hegemony" (Wilderson, 2003b, p. 22). The state turns its monopoly of violence upon its black subjects in a constitutive repetition, enforced in arenas such as policing (militarized and with impunity), the prison-industrial complex, New World slavery, and anti-miscegenation (Martinot & Sexton, 2003). The pervasive threat of "endless" and "comprehensive" violence is maintained by actual outbursts of state violence, enacted with impunity and publicized as a spectacle of black suffering (Ferreira da Silva, 2009; Wilderson, 2003b). Critical black studies scholarship seeks to distinguish the particularity of black suffering in the wake of the transatlantic slave trade from forms of modern societal coercion, exploitation, and human suffering as generally explained by critical theory. These insights can equip insurgent planning with a theorization of power and violence appropriate for the conditions of neoliberal austerity faced by insurgent planners in Detroit.

One of the earliest and ongoing confrontations between black radical thinkers and the dominant structures of power is intellectual acuity. Slaves were not permitted literacy, and inferior treatment of black people is still justified through pseudo-scientific claims to black people's innate stupidity. Barbara Christian argues that "people of color have always theorized," just not in the "Western form of abstract logic" (1987, p. 68). To shine light on the importance of everyday thinking people in struggle, Zenzele Isoke offers her ethnography of black women activists in Newark, NJ as a dedication to "*black people in the inner cities*" of "despised cities" Saint Louis, Long Beach, Detroit, North Minneapolis, East Saint Paul, and Newark, declaring *"Your lives, ideas, and contributions to humanity matter"* (2016, p. 3), author's emphasis). In Vincent Harding's view, such scholarship is "carrying on a tradition, trying to write and live the story of our struggle, creating a history that has already created me" (1981, p. xxiii), along with others who "recognize that they/we are the essential force, are the river, are the vision" (1981, p. xxv). Black radicalism keeps with "all those blacks who struggled for transformation, whatever their setting, their time, their limitations" (Harding, 1981, p. xx), from the first slave revolts on the Atlantic, to the Civil Rights Movement, to Charlevoix Village Association in Detroit. With fierce dedication to honoring regular black people's innate and studied intellect, of cultivating and surfacing conventional black brilliance somewhere it rarely appears, within the field of urban planning, this project applies the tradition of black radical thinkers to insurgent planning, in every chapter of this project emphasizing and extending black Detroiters' insurgent knowledge as a key contribution to the field.

Black radical thought builds up insurgent planning's relevance to Detroit today by amending its approach to institutional power; grassroots black radicalism, interpreted as insurgency, over time and space; intellectual acuity of insurgents; and the stakes of our contemporary moment. To ground the theoretical perspective in praxis, and to marry the ideas of scholars to the lived reality of everyday residents, insurgent planning often turns to ethnographic methods. The next section elaborates on this project's methodological approach.

Methods

Ethnography is the method of social science best equipped to unflaggingly attend to the everyday and inner worlds of black people in the face of the paradox, antagonism, and violence perpetuated by status quo planning. When the public sphere and the trenches of civil society are organized against black life and "whole *being,*" black people continue to find spaces to create collective discourses and cultivate critical connections (Harding, 1981, p. xix). Due to its intensive methods of data collection that situates the researcher in the daily lives of people, ethnography can access spaces, discourses, and connections, which remain unseen by social science methods geared toward researching phenomena and mechanisms based in the public sphere, political economy, and civil society. This project is an ethnography of Detroiters' contemporary struggle against displacement, gentrification, and resegregation, based on my work with the resident organization, Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) from early 2017 to present.

After Detroit's bankruptcy in 2013-2014, the new urban regime aggressively promoted gentrification policies. CVA's neighborhood was targeted as a prime spot for development in 2016. The City advertised the area as "Islandview," a name long-term residents did not use, to highlight its proximity to Belle Isle and the Riverfront. Investors were estimated to be planning nearly $600 million in development in CVA's district (The HUB, 2017), a figure that flabbergasted residents, since they had experienced massive disinvestment over decades, including a recent escalation of school closings, library closings, water shut-offs, and home foreclosures. Long-term residents got the distinct message that the money was finally rolling in, but not for them. It was as this realization was sinking in that my ethnographic study began with CVA. In the three years since, I have documented the transformation of this resident group. Before I began working with CVA, they functioned as a status quo participant in public processes, who focused their energy on projects like alleyway cleanups, backpack giveaways, and BBQs. During the past three years, they became insurgent planners, who disrupted public meetings to magnify long-term residents' voices, produce a written literature to articulate their collective critique, and promote equitable development through demands for housing justice and to defeat separate and unequal in the New Detroit.

My main source of data collection was participant observation. I was a participant (a volunteer) and an observer (a researcher). In both roles, I attended resident meetings; the City's public engagement sessions; public engagement sessions with local developers; meetings of nonprofit organizations and community development corporations; strategy and research team meetings for the CVA's campaign; and ad hoc events. Regularly, I spoke on the phone with long-term residents and volunteers, and I met with them informally at our homes or at other establishments. I took copious fieldnotes of these events and conversations. I often made audio recordings. When possible, I typed as people were speaking so I could catch people's personas and particularities of communication in my notes. From the outset, I knew it was important to give due respect to each person taking part in this study and, with their permission, to give them credit by identifying the mas people making a difference in their city. In sum, I conducted >250 observations from 2017-2018, the period studied in this dissertation.

My secondary source of data collection was semi-structured interviews. In a strategy of purposive sampling, interviewed 24 people who represented various points of view in the community (see Table 1.1). The table below highlights characteristics of these interviewees. Just over half (13) of the interviewees were long-term residents, and six of those were from CVA. Three new Detroit residents interviewed were also from CVA. One third of the interviewees (8) were residents who lived in adjacent neighborhoods to CVA's area. Four

Table 1.1 Characteristics of Interviewees

	Long term Detroit resident	CVA member or volunteer	Neighbor of CVA	CDC board member	CDC Director	Business owner	Pastor	Developer	City employee*	State Rep-resentative
1	x	x								
2	x	x								
3	x	x								
4	x	x					CVA			
5	x	x					(# 1-9)			
6	x	x								
7		x								
8		x								
9		x								
10	x		x							
11	x		x						CVA's neighbors	
12	x		x				x		(# 10-16, 18)	
13			x			x				
14			x							
15	x		x	x						
16	x		x	x	x		x		CDCs*	
17	x				x				(# 15-18)	
18			x	x				x		
19						Developers**		x		
20						(# 18-20)		x		
21									x	
22				Government***					x	
23	x			(# 21-24)					x	
24										x
Total	13	9	8	3	2	1	2	3	3	1

*CDCs interviewed include board members and/or exective directors of ECN, The Villages, Church of the Messiah, and Jefferson East Inc.
**Developers interviewed include CEOs of the Platform and Banyan Investments, and one anonymous interviewee.
***City employees interviewed include an employee at the Planning and Development Department, former Director of Housing and Revitalization, and Director of the City Planning Commission.

interviewees were CDC Directors or board members. One of the four was both, and also a pastor. One CDC board member was also a developer. Four government officials were interviewed, one of whom was a Mayoral appointee, and one of whom was popularly elected. The interviews held a conversational tone while ensuring that specific gaps or critical issues noted from my observations were systematically addressed across interviews (Weiss, 1995). I conducted "active interviews" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Rubin & Rubin, 2011) in which I allowed the interviewees to shape the course of their interview in order to draw upon their "stocks of knowledge" to answer questions on their relationship to the neighborhood and Detroit, their views on the direction of development, and their analysis of CVA's demands. The interviewees are characterized in Table 1, below.

My final source of data collection was archival records. As I conducted participant observation, I collected paper and electronic documents and other artifacts. Archival materials are representations, guides, and catalysts in producing events, developments, and landmark moments. Archival materials supplement my fieldnotes and interviews by providing independent verification of key events, participants, and communications. I collected flyers, agendas, handouts, community engagement documents, and news articles. I also collected photographs and social media postings. When possible, such as CVA's literature posted on their website, I cited these items in the bibliography with a link to the original.

I validated my findings through four types of triangulation: methods, sources, analyst, and theoretical, as well as through reflexivity and member checks for social validity. Triangulation involves converging data sources to cross-check for accuracy in description and abstraction, refining concepts and eliminating anomalies (Atkinson, Delamont, & Coffey, 2004). Methods triangulation involves checking the same phenomenon as documented across multiple sources in order to elucidate complementary aspects and divergences of the same phenomenon to draw reliable conclusions (Denzin, 1978; Patton, 1999; Yin, 2011). I tested and triangulated emergent codes, themes, and theories between my three forms of data, fieldnotes, interviews, and archival materials. Source triangulation involves triangulating from multiple time points, settings, and informant perspectives within the same data collection method (Denzin, 1978; Patton, 1999).

Data analysis was guided by grounded theory. Grounded theory systematizes an inductive and iterative approach to qualitative data analysis, outlining a process for making sense of large volumes of qualitative data by developing categories, concepts, and theories with explanatory power. Taking a grounded theory approach involves two key methods, coding and memoing, and two key features, constant comparison and theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 2009; Locke, 1996; Strauss, Corbin, & others, 1990). Coding and memoing are methods of textual analysis to categorize and thematize data. Constant comparison involves continuously comparing incidents, events, or actors when reading through the data to develop categories and themes (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). Comparisons helped me interpret the data and identify where more data needed to be collected, in a process of theoretical sampling (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). These analytical techniques enabled me to treat the evidence fairly, develop compelling analytical explanations, and rule out competing conclusions (Yin, 2011).

Contributing to insurgent planning from Detroit

Chapter 1 reflects on the state of public participation fifty years after it has become customary in planning. It finds that one of the primary vehicles invented to promote redistribution on an anti-racist and equitable basis, the Community Development Corporation (CDC), has come to institutionally align with, and now serves as a relay for, the planning establishment, over and above the interests of the residents it claims to serve. These limitations spurred grassroots insurgents to arise from the resident association Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) in 2017. Understanding the structural role of CDCs helped CVA to withstand an onslaught of institutional repression, building an independent analysis and basis for organizing. This article hopes to help practicing planners grapple with the limitations of CDCs and the planning establishment more broadly, and to see insurgency as a grassroots effort worth supporting.

Knowledge is fundamental for planning, but planners tend to revert to a concept of knowledge as technocratic expertise. Insurgent planning has long challenged this assumption, demonstrating that modernist planning erases important local knowledges, but a gap remains in understanding how knowledge matters to insurgent planning. Chapter 2 argues that insurgent planning offers an avenue to revalue local knowledge and coalesce that independent critique into an organized insurgency. By honoring and employing the local knowledge of working class black people in Detroit, insurgent planners in Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) were able to construct sophisticated critiques of structural inequality, around which they mobilized residents to strategically intervene into the public planning discourse. This example can be instructive for grassroots insurgents seeking to shift policy discourse and for practicing planners who aim not just to mitigate misinformation but to revalue local knowledge in the planning process.

The planning field increasingly recognizes the phenomenon of insurgency, but the literature does not answer when, where, or how insurgent planners emerge in the urban fabric. Chapter 3 argues that Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) repurposed an associational infrastructure that had arisen out of Detroit's legacy of radical labor and civil rights organizing in order to stem the tide of neoliberal austerity proceeding to financialize the city. CVA's analysis of power helped them understand how not to get coopted or steamrolled and instead to make their needs and wants affect the public process. By forcefully, consistently, and articulately demand a different direction of planning and development, CVA's interventions have been effective enough to slow and trouble the planning process over nearly three years of insurgent planning and become a leading voice in the struggle for housing justice in Detroit.

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Chapter 2

JUMPING OFF THE LADDER

Participation and Insurgency in Detroit's Urban Planning

Participation has become a central norm of urban planning. In the 1950s and 1960s, with politically radicalized mass movements demanding redress for inequality and racism, influential urbanists like Sherry Arnstein (1969), Jane Jacobs (1961), and Paul Davidoff (1965) argued that authentic participation would ensure more equitable development, empower have-nots, and produce better cities. With this logic, participation became a precondition for a legitimate planning project. U.S. planning agencies came to rely on nonprofit community organizations, especially community development corporations (CDCs), to facilitate resident participation. Fifty years later, however, more institutional participation has not resulted in a substantially greater voice for low income, minority residents (Arena, 2012; McQuarrie, 2013; McQuarrie & Krumholz, 2011).

In this study, we outline the limits of institutional participation and the prospect of insurgency by studying the case of a neighborhood planning effort in Detroit (MI). In Detroit, as in other cities, many CDCs have aligned with government and developers to facilitate the redevelopment and gentrification of targeted areas (Arena, 2012; Heil, 2018; McQuarrie, 2013; Silverman, 2005). Some residents, finding themselves caged by institutional participation, jump off the participatory ladder, which allows them to articulate an independent political voice and disrupt the planning process.

This study contributes to the planning literature on community development and participation. The first two sections provide a theoretical outline and methodological discussion. The next section describes the role that CDCs have played in Detroit's development projects. The following section examines how a group of residents contested the planning process, including the role of CDCs, through insurgency. Our findings show how institutional participation constrains resident empowerment and how marginalized residents elevate their political voice by mobilizing outside channels of institutional participation. Our focus is on the process of forming an insurgency rather than the insurgency's effects on plans and policy. We close by suggesting how practicing planners can align with have-not residents in their insurgencies to promote equitable development and community control.

Dynamics of Participation

Imperative for Participation

In the 1960s, urban growth regimes across the country faced multiple mass movements' demands for structural change (Katznelson, 1981).[1] This pressure cooker was brewing "the most direct challenge ever posed to the American social order, an order historically based upon racial discrimination and ethnic fragmentation among the lower classes" (Castells, 1983, p. 50). Urban growth regimes needed planners to do something to make have-not residents feel heard.

Suturing this fractured social order required an immense institutional shift. Sherry R. Arnstein was one government official who shifted institutions. She developed the federal strategy to desegregate hospitals and then, in 1966, became chief advisor on citizen participation for Model Cities (Reynolds, 1997). Despite desegregation measures, the War on Poverty, and a suite of urban policies aimed at quelling unrest, the pressure cooker exploded. Violence, erupting 329 times across 257 U.S. cities between 1964 and 1969, moved the urban agenda into crisis mode (Castells, 1983). Arnstein (1969) delivered an urgent critique: "Participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the powerholders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit" (p. 216).

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[1] Katznelson (1981) elaborates, "It is remarkably difficult to recapture the degree of uncertainty, the fears and the hopes, of this period…[which] created a mood of despair at the top of the social order that mirrored the heightened expectations of those at the bottom" (p. 4).

Arnstein thought that clearer analyses of participation and power could facilitate planning's inclusion of have-not residents. She "arranged in a ladder pattern" rungs, low to high, "corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the plan and/or program" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216). Although low rungs, amounting to manipulation and tokenism, were common in 1969, Arnstein argued that higher rungs of participation would equip have-nots with control, "the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217).

Planning incorporated Arnstein's proposition as a fundamental benchmark of quality pedagogy and practice. Seeking community partners to garner participation, planners widely turned to CDCs. CDCs were 501(c)3 organizations for "fostering physical and economic assets in their communities" (Vidal & Keating, 2004, p. 127), especially housing,[2] through a market-based approach (Cummings, 2001; Johnson, 2004; von Hoffman, 2012). Nationally,

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[2] Thomson and Etienne (2017) define housing activities as "acquisition, construction, improvement, or financing thereof; housing counseling; or property management" (p. 143). These accounted for 60% to 73% of CDC activity in three cities in 2004. CDCs that did not conduct housing activities "engaged in some combination of community mobilizing or advocacy, neighborhood planning or marketing, commercial development, beautification, neighborhood public safety, youth/senior programming, or workforce development to support neighborhoods or their residents" (pp. 143–144).

CDCs grew in number to more than 2,000 in 1995 and 4,600 in 2006 and became integral to neighborhood planning processes (Erekaini, 2014; Vidal, 1997).

Participation Caged

Arnstein's intervention was pivotal because it revealed how meaningful participation was an essential step in planning equitable and politically stable cities. Nevertheless, Arnstein's ladder failed to account for serious constraints integral to institutional participation.

Planning is ensconced within urban growth regimes, even in contexts of socioeconomic decline (Akers, 2013). These consist of powerful elected officials, landed economic interests, and a variety of secondary actors (e.g., universities, foundations, unions, and so on) bound to one another by shared interests in generating tax revenue and profits (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Stone, 1989, 1993). The planning establishment consists of prominent actors (e.g., elected officials, commission members, developers, bankers, career planners) bound to the regime and to one another through shared growth interests, common social networks, and overlapping visions of the "good city." Institutionally, the planning establishment is composed of bureaucratic entities (e.g., planning commission, city council planning committees, redevelopment agencies, private–public corporations) and elected offices (e.g., mayor, city council members) that translate the powerful interests into concrete agendas, plans, projects, and zoning regulations (Fainstein, 2010; Stein, 2019). Planners exercise some autonomy and discretion, but growing dependence on locally generated taxes and bond revenue and the growing importance of public–private partnerships have tightened constraints (Fainstein, 2010; Stein, 2019). Sociologists refer to such systemic constraints as an “iron cage” (Mann, 1986; Weber, 1978).

CDCs increase their participation and prominence in planning by acquiring resources from the planning establishment. Resources may include money, property, information, access to government decision making, and legitimacy. Funding has historically come from federal and local governments (community development block grants [CDBGs] and HOME Investment Partnerships Program [HOME]), philanthropic foundations, and a national infrastructure of financial institutions that emerged after the 1970s to support community development (Rosenthal, 2018; von Hoffman, 2012). In addition to monetary resources, CDCs depend on access to and legitimacy from key planning agencies, elected officials, and developers. CDCs thus enhance their organizations’ level of institutional participation by acquiring financial resources, political access, and legitimacy from the planning establishment (Frisch & Servon, 2006; Heil, 2016; Stoecker, 1997).

Dependence on the planning establishment imposes limits on what CDCs can do and say, regardless of an organization’s ideology or intention (McQuarrie, 2013; Piven & Cloward, 1979; Skocpol, 2004; Walker, 2014). CDCs have to “fit their agenda into the issues and guidelines laid out by the funders” (Arena, 2012, p. xxviii). Dependence contributes to “limiting the agenda of issues that is open to collaboration, restricting the range of participants to a select few, and reducing the influence of collaboration to mere advice that can be heeded or ignored” (Fung & Wright, 2003, p. 263). Dependence also results in what sociologists call institutional isomorphism, or the merging of norms, goals, practices, and organizational models of dominant and dependent organizations. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) explain, “The greater the extent to which an organizational field is dependent upon a single (or several similar) source of support for vital resources, the higher the level of isomorphism" (p. 155). Isomorphism is also reflected when CDCs staff their organizations and fill their boards with middle-class professionals directly and indirectly connected to the planning establishment (Gregory, 1992; McQuarrie, 2013; Skocpol, 2004). Resource dependency therefore enhances CDCs' capacity to participate through institutional channels, but it also cages their agendas, norms, and practices.

Positioned in this way, many CDCs function as the planning establishment's "relays" in have-not communities. Governance depends upon aligning political aims and expert strategies and then "establishing relays between the calculations of authorities and the aspirations of free citizens" (Rose, 1999, p. 49; emphasis added). As relays, CDCs are variously charged with disseminating establishment norms and discourses in have-not communities, planning and enacting projects in concert with the establishment, normalizing and legitimating projects, and assuaging potential insurgents. Fulfilling these functions requires CDCs to garner participation and build consensus for planning projects among grassroots organizations, neighborhood networks, and churches. According to Stoecker (1997), this "insecure and unpredictable middle location" exposes them "at every eviction, every housing protest, every strike, every layoff, every foreclosure, every bankruptcy, and every development deal" (p. 5). Thus, embedded in institutional constraints, many grassroots CDCs, some with black radical roots,[3] have reinforced the planning establishment they once sought to transform (DeFilippis, 2012; Gregory, 1992; Mayer, 2003; Yin, 1998).

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[3] In the version of this chapter published in the Journal of the American Planning Association, "black" and "white" are capitalized, to accord with the publisher's style guide. However, I argue that lowercase is more appropriate, for two reasons of validity. The first is theoretical validity, drawing from critical black scholars who challenge the purity of whiteness and American grammar's role in confirming and reproducing white-over-black (Spillers, 1987; Chandler, 2008; Farley, 2004. See Wilderson, 2010 for an argument to capitalize "Black" [but not "white"]). The second is social validity (Geller 1991), to accord with the usage determined in the empirical case presented here.

Conceptualizing Insurgency

Recognizing the limits of institutional participation, some residents develop insurgent methods to assert their voices in different areas of urban planning (Beard, 2003; Friedmann, 1987; Meth, 2010). It is, according to Miraftab (2009), the "disjunction between formal and substantive inclusion that motivates the contemporary practices of insurgent citizenship" (p. 40). Insurgents can leverage community mobilization capacities and knowledge to disrupt well-established planning norms and procedures (Holston, 2009). These disruptions do not typically transform planning. Instead, they check the planning establishment's power, remind it of the limits on its legitimacy, and compel it to constantly improve community engagement.

Enhanced mobilization capacities are essential to exercising pressure on the planning establishment. However, significant barriers undercut the mobilization capacities of have-not residents (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Social networks can offset disadvantages by allowing leading activists to recruit and retain other low-income people in their neighborhoods (Diani, 2014; Gould, 1995; McCarthy, 1996). Recruitment and retention allow have-not residents to pool meager resources (e.g., volunteers, meeting spaces and equipment, money) and stick to a campaign when the risks and costs mount (Nicholls, 2008). Committed people and pooled resources enhance an insurgency's abilities to exercise pressure on the planning establishment over extended periods of time (Coleman, 1988; Diani, 2014; Gould, 1995).

Charlevoix Village Association discussed and determined not to capitalize "black" in their writings as a way of disempowering racial categories. In a time of rising right-wing extremism, lowercasing "white" is an imperitive ethical decision.

Information and knowledge are crucial to providing insurgents with the analytical tools needed to pursue action in the public domain (Beard, 2003; Forester, 1982; Friedmann, 1987). Asymmetries of information and knowledge reinforce the subordination of have-not residents by restricting residents' abilities to engage in public debate as cognizant and legitimate actors. Insurgents overcome the hurdle in two ways. First, community members acquire information and knowledge through civic activities like participating in neighborhood councils, community forums, and council meetings (Beard, 2003). Second, emerging insurgents connect to "organic intellectuals" and professional allies (academics, planners, data analysts, etc.) who contribute their knowledge and skills to insurgencies (Sandercock, 1999; Uitermark & Nicholls, 2017). Insurgents and allies collectively construct a coherent intellectual framework of what planning is, how it works, whom it benefits, whom it hurts, and what can and should be done. This form of bottom-up knowledge helps insurgents escape the intellectual straitjacket and asymmetries of the planning establishment.

In sum, institutional participation does not yield community power in part because CDCs are caged by the planning establishment. These constraints can spur aggrieved residents to disrupt and critique the established participatory process through insurgency. Insurgencies can potentially reveal power asymmetries, place a check on the planning establishment, and push planning in a more democratic direction.

Urban Setting

Ethnography of Participation Turned Insurgency

On Detroit's (MI) lower east side, Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) has long been an active voluntary neighborhood association. Like other neighborhood associations, CVA held monthly public meetings to share information and available resources. Many CVA members tended to be civically engaged, attending a wide variety of community meetings regularly. During election season, a rotating cast of candidates sat in CVA meetings to make their pitch for votes. Among long-term residents, home repair was the priority issue. The centenarian homes needed upkeep, but budgets remained tight over the years, and many houses fell into disrepair. Toyia Watts had led CVA's membership of mostly senior citizens since 2000. Four generations of Ms. Watts's family shared the black working-class experience of the neighborhood's majority. Because of their established roots, any entity seeking community support in the neighborhood had to engage with Ms. Watts and CVA.

Ethnographic methods require researcher immersion in a setting to document and analyze the rich texture of peoples' lived realities (Crang & Cook, 2007; Fetterman, 2009; Goffman, 1989; Madison, 2011). Because planners promote participation as beneficial to neighborhood residents, ethnography provides unique insights into how residents experience and perceive such benefits.

The ethnographic accounts we recount here begin in the spring of 2017, when long-term residents were told that their neighborhood was getting a new master plan and that they should participate in the planning. The first author (Laskey) became a participant-observer with CVA to document their neighborhood's planning process for Islandview and the Greater Villages (IVGV; see Appendix A online for a timeline). I attended public community meetings hosted by government officials, developers, nonprofit groups, and resident associations, including CVA, as well as smaller, more frequent CVA team meetings and conversations. To ensure validity and guard against bias, I recorded observational data in field notes and textual depictions of what happened during the planning process.[4]

I then triangulated observational data with additional data sources, including interviews and documentary evidence (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Roth & Mehta, 2002). Semistructured interviews spanned June to September 2018 (Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Weiss, 1995). I conducted 24 interviews representing a cross-section of positions and perspectives involved in the IVGV planning process, including a combination of long-term Detroit city residents (n = 13); CVA members and volunteers (n = 9); government officials (n = 4);[5] developers (n = 3); trained planners (n = 3);[6] CDC board members (n = 3); CDC executive directors (n = 2); pastors (n = 2); and one small business owner. As with observations and interviews, documentary data—including CDC websites, CVA's website, social media, newspaper articles, paper flyers, nonprofit tax forms, and neighborhood plans published by

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[4] Typically, ethnographic data are not cited in text (e.g., Tauxe, 1995). This is because a) ethnographers ensure confidentiality to participants and b) ethnography is an interpretive science based on immersive fieldwork and inductive analysis of multiple data sources condensed into narrative form. According to institutional research board protocol, individuals, organizations, and observational details were identified if participants signed a release form or could be publicly identified outside of this research. Data were anonymized if anyone's reputation, career, or privacy could be in jeopardy. When individuals and organizations were not identified and when the data source was not specified, the ethnographic representation constitutes a composite sketch, which is based on a confidential or unspecifiable triangulation of observations, interviews, and/or documentary data. Because this study participates in an ongoing public debate, we used real names of organizations and individuals where concerns about confidentiality were negligible (such as observations in public meetings). When possible, to facilitate independent verification of descriptions we also included in text a) the setting and date of events, b) the date of personal communications, and c) documentary evidence, such as newspaper articles and CVA documents, also included in the reference list.

[5] Government interviewees included: a) one anonymous interviewee from the Planning and Development Department; b) former head of the Housing and Revitalization Department, current chief of operations for Mayor Duggan, James Arthur Jemison; c) the director at Detroit City Planning Commission and Historic Designation, deputy director at Legislative Policy Division, Marcell Todd; and (d) CVA's then–Michigan state representative, now–Michigan state senator, Stephanie Chang.

[6] Three interviewees earned university degrees in planning: two in government (Marcell Todd and Arthur Jemison; see note 4) and one anonymous participant, who was both a developer and a board member of multiple CDCs.

CDCs and the City of Detroit—were assembled. We performed a content analysis through theoretical sampling and constant comparison, coding according to themes drawn from the literature and emerging inductively from the data (e.g., isomorphism, board membership, demands; Corbin, Strauss, & Strauss, 2014; Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007; Humphreys & Watson, 2009).

A Representative and Extreme Case

Coleman A. Young's 2-decade tenure (1974–1994) as mayor of Detroit is representative of black urban regimes elected on a radical platform but soon reverted to growth-centered policies that intensified "black economic marginalization" (Reed, 1999, pp. 100–101). Intending to attract investment downtown, Young awarded community economic development funding to corporations with minimal interest in community development, used CDBG monies to strengthen his voting base, and withheld allocations to pit groups against each other (Bockmeyer, 2000). Young's successors limited churches' large influence on community development, but they continued to employ community development funding to strengthen their own agendas.[7] In the 1990s, Detroit's community development system increased in capacity, and in 2004, Detroit had 65 CDCs, heavily focused on housing activities. They did not fare well in the financial crisis; by 2011, 40% of these CDCs collapsed, and 72% of the remaining CDCs lost revenue (Thomson & Etienne, 2017).

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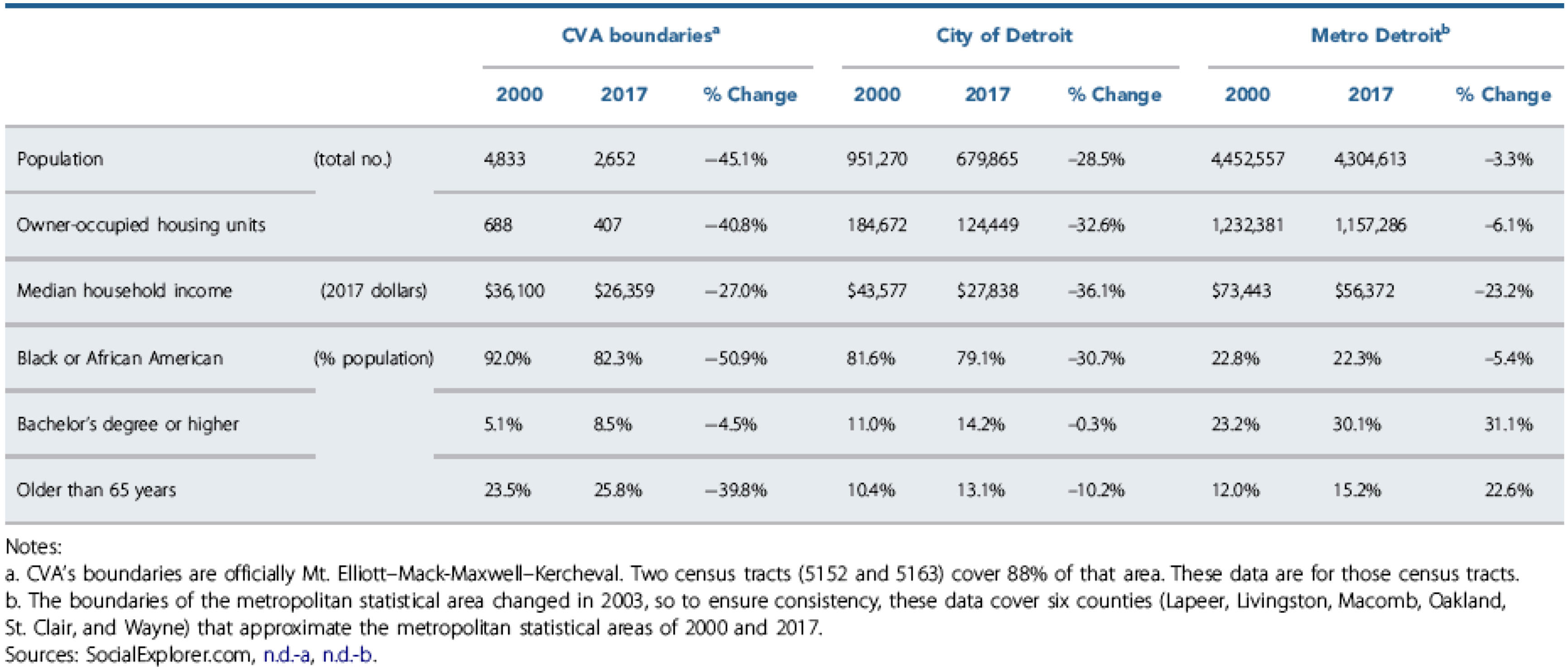
[7] An alternative participatory mechanism to community development corporations, citizens' district councils, formed as advisory bodies for Model Neighborhoods. After Model Cities was phased out in 1974, they were funded with CDBG money. Some stronger than others, citizens' district councils in Detroit continued to operate, especially in hardest-hit neighborhoods, as a "watchdog of development" with "review authority over development proposals made in their areas" (Silverman, 2003, 8). Citizens' district councils were formally phased out by the emergency manager during bankruptcy (Kaffer, 2014).

Table 2.1 Select demographics of CVA's neighborhood, the City of Detroit, and the Detroit Metropolitan Area.



		CVA boundaries[a]			City of Detroit			Metro Detroit[b]		
		2000	2017	% Change	2000	2017	% Change	2000	2017	% Change
Population	(total no.)	4,833	2,652	−45.1%	951,270	679,865	-28.5%	4,452,557	4,304,613	-3.3%
Owner-occupied housing units		688	407	−40.8%	184,672	124,449	-32.6%	1,232,381	1,157,286	-6.1%
Median household income	(2017 dollars)	$36,100	$26,359	−27.0%	$43,577	$27,838	-36.1%	$73,443	$56,372	-23.2%
Black or African American	(% population)	92.0%	82.3%	−50.9%	81.6%	79.1%	-30.7%	22.8%	22.3%	-5.4%
Bachelor's degree or higher		5.1%	8.5%	−4.5%	11.0%	14.2%	-0.3%	23.2%	30.1%	31.1%
Older than 65 years		23.5%	25.8%	−39.8%	10.4%	13.1%	-10.2%	12.0%	15.2%	22.6%

Notes:
a. CVA's boundaries are officially Mt. Elliott–Mack-Maxwell–Kercheval. Two census tracts (5152 and 5163) cover 88% of that area. These data are for those census tracts.
b. The boundaries of the metropolitan statistical area changed in 2003, so to ensure consistency, these data cover six counties (Lapeer, Livingston, Macomb, Oakland, St. Clair, and Wayne) that approximate the metropolitan statistical areas of 2000 and 2017.
Sources: SocialExplorer.com, n.d.-a, n.d.-b.

Since 2000, Detroit has lost more than 25% of its total population (see Table 1). Two key factors pushing residents out of the city were schools and housing. The State of Michigan took control of Detroit Public Schools from 1999 to 2005 and from 2009 to 2016. Under receivership the first time, Detroit Public Schools' $93 million surplus was depleted; the second time, 195 public schools were closed, uprooting anchors of employment and neighborhood life (Grover & Van der Velde, 2016). Plagued by both predatory subprime mortgages and overassessed property taxes by Wayne County, 48% of Detroit's residential properties fell into mortgage or tax foreclosure between 2005 and 2015, many of which were purchased at auction by speculators (Akers & Seymour, 2018; Atuahene, 2017). As a result, this segregated, indebted, and impoverished city was arguably the city hardest hit by the Great Recession (Deng, Seymour, Dewar, & Manning Thomas, 2018).

Declaring emergency, the State of Michigan replaced elected officials with an appointed manager.[8] In the ensuing bankruptcy, the city was forced to relinquish control of key assets, including the Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit Water and Sewage Department, and Belle Isle (Kirkpatrick, 2015). This strategy exacerbated poverty, health risks, and housing precarity while framing Detroit "as the architect of its own misfortune" (Peck, 2015, p. 145).

The national narrative of Detroit's comeback gained popularity, and Whiter, wealthier newcomers received incentives for moving to select neighborhoods (Clement & Kanai, 2015; Kinney, 2016; Moskowitz, 2017; Pedroni, 2011). After bankruptcy, Mayor Duggan's administration consolidated investment into a few select areas, leaving other areas with no plan (CVA, 2018c; City of Detroit, 2018). Duggan reorganized planning and split important functions between different agencies: the Planning and Development Department, which added dozens of new staff and reoriented its function toward urban design; the Housing and Revitalization Department, which took responsibility for CDBG and HOME funding as well as major development projects; the Department of Neighborhoods, a newly formed agency tasked with reducing blight and directing residents' complaints to local offices; and the quasigovernmental Detroit Land Bank, the largest land owner in the city (Livengood & Pinho, 2017). The Planning and Development Department, Housing and Revitalization Department, and Department of Neighborhoods would assume leadership of planning redevelopment for select areas, including IVGV.

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[8] In the version of this chapter published by the American Planning Association, former EM Kevin Orr is incorrectly referred to as an Emergency Financial Manager. For a fuller explanation, see pages 117-122 of this dissertation.

Duggan appointed Maurice Cox as director of planning. Cox was former mayor of Charlottesville (VA) and Tulane University's associate dean of community engagement, where he facilitated public–private partnerships to develop post-Katrina New Orleans (LA; City of Detroit: Mike Duggan, Mayor, 2015). Cox, an architect by training, specialized in participatory design. As director of housing, Duggan hired James Arthur Jemison, since promoted to chief of services and infrastructure. Jemison previously worked in Washington's (DC) city government under receivership, at a private development company, and as deputy undersecretary and deputy director of the Department of Housing and Community Development for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (Livengood & Pinho, 2017; Jemison, personal interview, June 11, 2018). Agency heads were permitted to fire their departments' entire staff, and none of Detroit's experienced urban planners retained their jobs after bankruptcy (Anonymous, personal interview, August 28, 2018). Detroit's postbankruptcy planning establishment embraced participation with planning projects including mandates for community engagement, complete with flyers and reports to demonstrate inclusivity.

Given this recent history, Detroit is both a representative and extreme case (Yin, 2012). It represents cities and neighborhoods characterized by black urban regimes, racial segregation, economic decline, and concentrated poverty (e.g., New Orleans, Baltimore [MD], DC, Oakland [CA]). Moreover, leaders of the planning establishment have directly borrowed redevelopment and gentrification policies from these similar cities (Moskowitz, 2017). Last, the institutional constraints on participation in Detroit can be found in cities as varied as New York (NY; Fainstein, 2010), Los Angeles (CA; Soja, 2010), New Orleans (Arena, 2012), Cleveland (OH; McQuarrie, 2013), and DC (Hyra, 2017). Despite commonalities with other cities, Detroit is also extreme in terms of its size and the extent of poverty, segregation, and the city's aggressive embrace of austerity policies (Sugrue, 2014). Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that extreme cases help "reveal more information because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied" (p. 229). Thus, Detroit is representative of a certain category of city. Within that category, it sits on the extreme end of the spectrum, which provides us insights into mechanisms that undergird institutional participation.

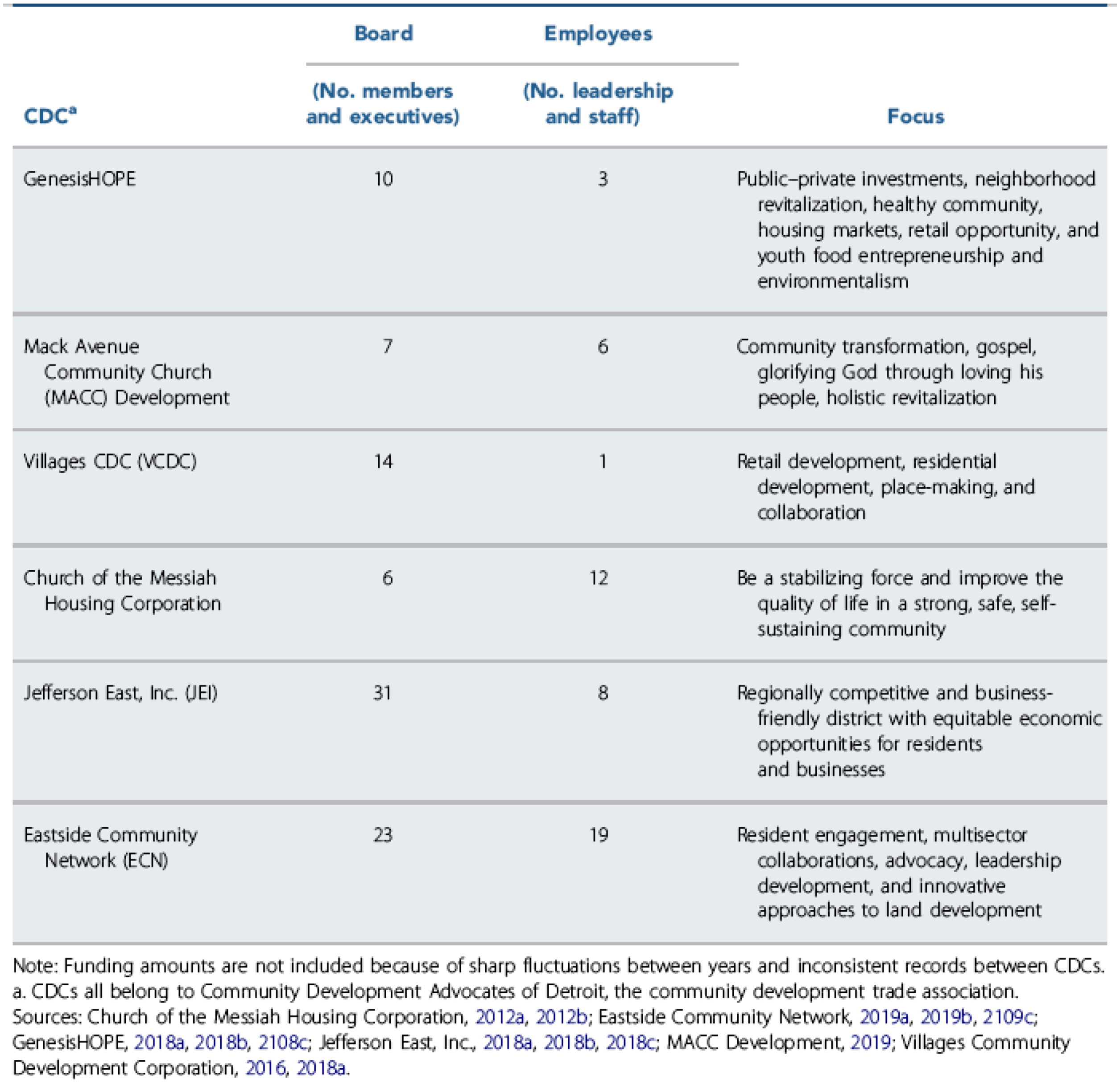
Caging Community Participation

Institutional Constraints on CDCs

Different CDCs embodied significant variations in the ways in which they engaged in the planning establishment and with CVA. Despite these variations, all CDCs on Detroit's lower east side (detailed in Table 2) were caged by two institutional constraints: resource dependency and overlapping personnel.

CDCs depended on planning establishment funding (from government, developers, banks, and foundations) to operate. For instance, a leading voice for neighborhood revitalization, The Villages CDC (VCDC), drew upon funding from these sources to build an influential presence. VCDC first saw a sharp increase in funding between 2009 and 2010,

Table 2.2 Characteristics of CDCs working in CVA's area.



CDC[a]	Board	Employees	Focus
	(No. members and executives)	(No. leadership and staff)	
GenesisHOPE	10	3	Public–private investments, neighborhood revitalization, healthy community, housing markets, retail opportunity, and youth food entrepreneurship and environmentalism
Mack Avenue Community Church (MACC) Development	7	6	Community transformation, gospel, glorifying God through loving his people, holistic revitalization
Villages CDC (VCDC)	14	1	Retail development, residential development, place-making, and collaboration
Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation	6	12	Be a stabilizing force and improve the quality of life in a strong, safe, self-sustaining community
Jefferson East, Inc. (JEI)	31	8	Regionally competitive and business-friendly district with equitable economic opportunities for residents and businesses
Eastside Community Network (ECN)	23	19	Resident engagement, multisector collaborations, advocacy, leadership development, and innovative approaches to land development

Note: Funding amounts are not included because of sharp fluctuations between years and inconsistent records between CDCs.
a. CDCs all belong to Community Development Advocates of Detroit, the community development trade association.
Sources: Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation, 2012a, 2012b; Eastside Community Network, 2019a, 2019b, 2109c; GenesisHOPE, 2018a, 2018b, 2108c; Jefferson East, Inc., 2018a, 2018b, 2018c; MACC Development, 2019; Villages Community Development Corporation, 2016, 2018a.

from $87,000 to $147,000 awarded by the Community Foundation for Southeast Michigan to plan bike lanes and greenways (Kavanaugh, 2010). VCDC maintained that level of revenue by attracting grants to develop a retail strip in the neighborhood. Its main funders were the "right-sizing" supporter Kresge Foundation; the quasigovernmental Detroit Economic Growth Corporation; and Hatch Detroit, a funding vehicle of billionaire downtown development mogul Dan Gilbert and investment banks (Mondry, 2018; Wey, 2012). In 2015, VCDC's nonprofit 990 tax form revealed another uptick in funding, to $1.7 million, awarded by the City of Detroit's Housing and Revitalization Department to rehabilitate vacant homes for the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Neighborhood Stabilization Program. Although funding was not maintained at that level, it allowed VCDC to consolidate its leadership role by engaging in housing development and comprehensive neighborhood planning. VCDC aligned with private developers by providing crucial testimony to support subsidies for high-end housing developments (CVA, 2018b). Though VCDC was a leading partner in the neighborhood revitalization schemes and aligned closely with the planning establishment, other area CDCs similarly relied on government, foundations, banks, and developers for their projects and operational expenses.

CDC leadership included individuals who were professionally aligned with the planning establishment. The former executive director of VCDC was a principal partner at the architecture firm contracted for IVG neighborhood planning, and the current VCDC executive director was the former finance director for Mayor Duggan's administration. The executive director of another CDC spearheading redevelopment efforts, Jefferson East Inc. (JEI), previously worked for a commercial real estate analytics company. VCDC and JEI's boards included a multimillionaire real estate broker, the executive vice president of a major corporation, a managing partner at a consulting firm, an economic development manager at an energy company, a mortgage community development manager at a major bank, a president and CEO of a financial investment group, and the chief of staff for the mayor's office. Some board members were nonresidents who owned real estate in the area. Several individuals aligned with the planning establishment served on multiple CDC boards at the same time or hopped between CDCs over the years.

CDCs as Relays of the Establishment

The IVGV planning project aimed to expand development from downtown Detroit to select neighborhoods. Rebranding CVA's area was a central component of the project, and CDCs played an important role. VCDC was a trailblazer in this effort. Its website read like an advertisement, listing amenities and selling points of Islandview and each of the Greater Villages, and was clearly not intended for the residents who already lived there:

> Islandview Village is the western gateway to the Villages community. The eclectic array of stately turn-of-the century homes and smart, mixed-use infill developments define an area that is helping "pull" the entire Eastside closer to Downtown without compromising the historic grandeur of the neighborhood. Islandview's location places it close to everything.… (VCDC, 2018b)

Remarkably, long-term residents in the area had not been aware that their neighborhood was named Islandview. Another CDC, GenesisHOPE, facilitated a participatory activity at CVA's monthly meeting, introducing residents to the IVGV planning project and to their neighborhood's official name:

> A church-based CDC, GenesisHOPE, had recently started providing space for CVA monthly public meetings and submitting grant applications with CVA's

> buy-in. At the February 2017 CVA meeting, the executive director of GenesisHOPE facilitated a participatory planning activity. The director introduced the activity by saying, “It has come up that people didn’t realize they were living in Islandview.” CVA’s president stood by, wryly adding, “Do you know you live in Islandview? They named us Islandview.” The director went on, encouraging residents to take an active role in branding their neighborhood. “How will we improve our place, brand ourselves, and make it so you know you’re here, even just driving through?” She asked CVA to consider three design options and different locations for signs marking entryway points into Islandview, asking each table of assembled residents to deliberate and pick between colonial, modern, or classical Islandview sign styles. (Author’s field notes, February 21, 2017)

GenesisHOPE relayed the language, ideas, and aesthetics of the planning establishment (“Islandview,” “brand ourselves,” “improve our place”) to area residents. They worked to naturalize and valorize core planning norms and get residents’ buy-in for the overall project.

Area CDCs, including GenesisHOPE and Messiah, also helped developers looking to build in the neighborhood to sponsor community engagement sessions (author’s field notes, June 28, 2017, February 21, 2018, February 18, 2019). CDCs’ legitimacy among some area residents and their abilities to tap into local networks made them effective relays of planning projects.

Information Control

Despite growing planning activities in their neighborhoods, most CVA members were unaware of the full agenda, scope, and capacity of CDCs or the planning establishment. Residents thought that CDCs were simply nonprofits, not so different than block clubs. They were familiar with the designation “CDC” and they engaged in participatory planning activities with CDCs and funders like Michigan Community Resources, among others.

However, residents were more aware of services and resources from CDCs than their planning and development functions.

Many residents attended frequent public meetings: sometimes multiple meetings per week, sometimes multiple meetings per evening. However, working-class residents did not have the basis to understand the technical planning frameworks and terminology often used in public meetings. One resident leader admitted to having no idea what was going on in meetings for many years, but she kept going so she would not miss anything important. In IVGV engagement meetings, when residents asked questions, sought clarification, or expressed concern, the planning professionals told them to wait for the Q&A, deflected questions, answered vaguely, and used technical language (author's field notes, March 14 and 21; August 17, 2017). In these participatory sessions, planning information circulated in the idiom of the planning establishment.

Some CDCs and IVGV planners did try to prepare residents by meeting before the first public engagement session (author's field notes, March 4, 2017), acknowledging political pressures, and informally brokering the process (confidential personal communication). However, in the "face of power," these progressive steps could not overcome institutional constraints and systematic misinformation that disarmed long-term residents and undermined their legitimacy in public debate (Forester, 1982). For instance, "affordability" became a hot-button issue. Residents thought of affordable housing by the cost of monthly rent (including utilities), but the planning establishment presented "affordability" according to area median income (AMI). Early on it became clear that the official bar for affordability, 80% AMI, was wildly unaffordable for most people. However, residents had to decipher how to understand and adopt the parlance of AMI to begin to challenge the "affordability gap" of proposed developments (CVA, 2018d). Another example was a term commonly used in IVGV documents and community engagement presentations: infill. It was not until 2 years into IVGV planning that a CVA volunteer asked what infill meant and got a clear answer. CVA leaders then came to realize that infill was a conceptual guide for the revitalization strategy's site selection for development in the neighborhood.

Reflecting on this aspect of the planning process, a CVA member confided to a volunteer, "It just makes me feel low. They're just talking over me." The volunteer warned against internalizing that feeling and offered motivation:

> It's like in the South when they would make people guess how many jellybeans were in a jar in order to vote…. If they can't figure out how to talk to working-class black people, it's their fault. They get tax dollars to do work for us. We're just asking them to show up and do a quality job, meaning we are truly part of the process. (Personal communication, January 23, 2019)

To make sense of reoccurring misinformation (Forester, 1982), residents in CVA drew a comparison between the disempowerment they faced in contemporary Detroit and the Jim Crow South. This insurgent historiography fueled their disenchantment with institutional participation and encouraged them to jump off the ladder (Sandercock, 1998).

By identifying when and how participatory planning cages organizations, planners can anticipate the eventuality for disenchantment and jumping off the ladder. In the next section we help planners assess the process through which residents grew disappointed with institutional participation and formed an insurgency to contest the city's plans and propose a more equitable planning process.

Becoming Insurgent

Jumping off the Ladder

As engaged long-term residents, CVA members grew increasingly aggrieved when they saw reinvestment incentivizing newcomers to move into their neighborhood while the resources they relied upon, such as home repair grants, dried up. In the first IVGV public engagement session, the IVGV team—led by the City of Detroit's departments of Planning and Development, Housing and Revitalization, and Neighborhoods—repeatedly said that they valued community input, but they limited time for residents to speak to a short Q&A (author's field notes, March 14, 2018). Many residents left feeling that their voices did not count and that this process was already a done deal.

The second IVGV public engagement session was scheduled for the following week, during CVA's monthly meeting at GenesisHOPE's church. CVA realized that either their participation would give the planning process momentum, or residents would have to redefine the terms of engagement. In preparation for the meeting, 10 volunteers assembled in a strategy meeting to write a set of demands for equitable development (author's field notes, March 18, 2017). They collaboratively wrote that the neighborhood revitalization strategy must "stop the displacement and resegregation of Detroit" and "equitably allocate funding throughout all of Detroit, not just to a few chosen areas." The other demands honed in on specifics that the community needed: home repair grants, affordable housing, poverty assistance, support for small black businesses, reliable city services, decision-making power over blight removal and land repurposing, and an end to home foreclosures and school and library closings (CVA, 2017a).

Although it was officially an IVGV engagement session in a CDC's space, this was CVA's meeting, which allowed CVA to control the agenda and keep time (author's field notes, March 21, 2018). Before calling up the presenters, CVA distributed their demands along with a handout urging the community to express dissent. Introducing the IVGV presentation, CVA's vice president said, "We want to say to the City: This is not how you do community engagement." She elaborated:

> Where will black people and poor people fit into these plans? Right now, they don't. There is no serious plan on how to deal with poverty and preserve the black community here. The long-term residents have been neglected for years, and we are still being neglected, while wealthy investors and speculators get incentives. There must be space for black people and other underserved communities in the New Detroit. You can't replace this community with a richer, whiter community. (CVA, 2017a)

Department representatives gave the planned IVGV presentation, but CVA ensured that they kept on time so that residents had ample time to speak. In closing, the lead IVGV planner remarked, "It's one thing to stand up here and get chastised.… I hope you trust me by June" (author's field notes, March 21, 2017). However, instead of engaging with aggrieved residents' critiques and adjusting the process to earn their trust, the IVGV planners attempted to repress CVA's outspokenness.

Silencing Dissent

In response to CVA's budding insurgency, city representatives called the executive director of Eastside Community Network (ECN), an engagement-focused CDC enlisted to help in IVGV planning. ECN's executive director, Donna Givens, recalled, "The city did not believe that residents of CVA had the brainpower to do something like that, and they were trying to figure out who was behind it" (interview, June 28, 2018). The director explained to the IVGV team that she had not written the demands and that the demands were a legitimate expression of community voice. By expressing support of CVA's demands, the director "became a problem person for the city," leading ECN to withdraw from the IVGV process (D. Givens, interview, June 28, 2018).

Although ECN backed CVA's actions, other CDCs did not. In a private meeting with the IVGV interagency team, another CDC director announced that their organization was surprised and dismayed by CVA's actions, stressing that it had nothing to do with CVA's demands. To complete the point, the executive director stood up and chided the CVA leadership, "Don't bite the hand that feeds you!" The reprimand reflected this CDC's and CVA's mutual recognition of their subordination to the planning establishment (CVA president, personal communication, May 21, 2017).

As CVA's insurgency grew, it became the target of personal attacks and name-calling. Specific volunteers were singled out and intimidated in attempts to derail CVA's insurgency. In one instance, a CDC directed its ire at a CVA volunteer, who was a student. The executive director of the CDC reached out to the volunteer's department and dean to denounce his activities. The executive director encouraged allied CDCs to do the same, which they did. CVA and its allies eventually wrote letters to the dean to support the student amid increasing pressure to expel him from school (confidential personal communication).

Such efforts to silence CVA continued through months of institutional participation. Photos of CVA members adorned IVGV reports boasting community engagement, and some city officials privately credited the insurgent mobilizations as an accountability mechanism in the planning process (Jemison, interview, June 11, 2018). Yet CVA's consistent critique never altered IVGV's public presentations. Eventually CVA proposed, "If we have signs that read 'Don't Displace Us' or 'Listen to Our Voices' it would be really hard for the City to get that photo-op they are looking for to show how well they 'engaged' with us" (CVA, 2018a). When residents arrived at an event with signs to express disagreement, the IVGV team called the police (confidential personal communication). This escalation revealed the extent to which CVA's insurgency threatened the planning establishment's legitimacy.

Insurgent Knowledge

Attempts to silence the emerging insurgency helped CVA realize that they could not rely on CDCs as community representatives or channels of information. Increasing distrust and frustration led CVA to ask volunteers to research what was coming to their neighborhood. CVA volunteers were mostly millennials, both long-term Detroiters and newcomers, who related to CVA's concerns about displacement. They produced a memo to demystify the IVGV planning process. Part of the memo analyzed the structural position and role of CDCs:

> CDCs have facilitated the process of the "redevelopment" efforts and design that will lead to the resegregation of Detroit. Their jobs have been both in helping draft designs for this development, and in a more important sense, stifle the dissent and voices of the actual community by presenting themselves and their "data" and "surveys" as the voice of the communities. The times that people have left meetings confused, not being clear on what is being done or why, is part of the process that these CDC's have developed to get "buy-in" from the community. (CVA, 2017b)

This document detailed the composition of CDC boards operating in Islandview and their disconnect from everyday residents. It also showed consistencies between the IVGV plan and CDC plans from previous years. With this evidence, the report called into question “the ability of the CDCs to represent the real interest of the community” (CVA, 2017b).

After reading the report, CVA’s president reflected, “When I read this information, I pinpointed, it’s a money thing. CDCs want this grant money. It’s not about the people. We [are] in a goldmine area. And we know this” (personal communication, April 26, 2017). Learning that the interests of CDCs aligned more with the planning establishment than with her community, CVA’s president noted, “My heart is for my community. I can leave all the CDCs right there. You can have a CDC and fuck the people over” (personal communication, April 26, 2017).

Insurgent information enabled CVA to reassess the planning process and CDCs’ role in it. “They are really not for the community,” CVA member Xylia Hall reflected. “It may be for the new upcoming community. But not really for us that have been here in the city for many, many, many years. They are taking us for granted, not trying to hear our voices or see what we think. They are still trying to direct us, and we are supposed to accept it” (Xylia Hall, personal communication, November 4, 2018).

From Participation to Insurgency

Arnstein (1969) revealed that participation was necessary for a successful and equitable planning process and provided a groundbreaking typology to improve participation. Nevertheless, the ladder of citizen participation undervalued the constraints of urban growth regimes and planning establishments. Within these constraints, participation has often become a tool for achieving community consent for establishment projects rather than community empowerment. CDCs have played an important role because establishment actors uphold them as the voice of the community, yet they are also firmly caged in by a series of institutional constraints. In the case of Detroit, several CDCs served as relays of the planning establishment, working to disseminate language, legitimize the process, and get the buy-in of have-not residents in IVGV.

However, the more residents participated in meetings, the more they understood that the "new upcoming community…[was] not really for us" (Xylia Hall, personal communication, November 4, 2018) and that leading CDCs were compromised. The chasm between the promise of community control and the reality of tokenism and manipulation revealed the limits of institutional participation to residents, persuading CVA to step back from CDCs and mount an insurgency. The insurgency spurred one CDC sympathetic to CVA's critique to disappear from the IVGV process, and other CDCs used coercive tactics to silence CVA in conjunction with the IVGV team. Heavy-handed tactics further clarified power asymmetries and revealed the conflicted role of CDCs in the planning process, leading CVA to conclude that neither CDCs nor the planning establishment were prepared to deliver equitable development.

The process we describe here suggests that institutional participation and insurgency are bound in a contradictory relation, with the constraints of institutional participation giving rise to discontented insurgents seeking to achieve the promise of community control and democratic planning. Viewed in this way, planners trained in participatory methods should not diminish insurgencies as marginal to their projects and as threats that need to be silenced (as was the case in Detroit). Instead, progressive planners should value insurgents as crucial vehicles for achieving Arnstein's goals.

Planners are positioned to enhance the influence of insurgent residents in the planning processes. First, planners can engage with insurgents through a good-faith dialogue to ascertain the nature of their grievances. If, like CVA, insurgent residents articulate their critique in written documents, planners can read and discuss the documents with residents as a basis to understand their grievances. This exchange can help planners and insurgents assess each other's competencies and limitations. Second, although institutional participation alone is insufficient for ensuring equal voice, a well-designed deliberative process, when combined with an organized and capable insurgency, can offset power asymmetries (Fung & Wright, 2003). CVA used community engagement sessions as public venues to voice their unwelcome critique as they independently sharpened their analysis and capability to mobilize. Planners can counter the establishment's constraints by publicly opening discussion of insurgent critiques in participation sessions. Third, planners who build a dialogue with insurgent residents can exchange knowledge, information, and skill sets needed to contest establishment plans and propose equitable alternatives (Forester, 1982; Uitermark & Nicholls, 2017). CVA's relationship with progressive planners sharpened their insurgency's critique over time. Although planners should not necessarily assume an advocacy position, they can assist insurgents with resources to exert their voices in the public domain. Thus, we reaffirm Arnstein's (1969) call for community control and empowerment, and we suggest that insurgency can counter many constraints inherent in institutional participation.

By revealing the limits of institutional participation and the strategic importance of insurgency, we encourage planners to shift their commitments to insurgent have-not residents. At a minimum, we hope to remind planners of the constraints shaping their engagement with have-not residents. Recognizing their profession's structural limitations can help planners better assess their role, elevate the voices of those with few resources, and work toward a democratic planning process and equitable urban tapestry.

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Chapter 3

THINKING INSURGENCY

the ruse of participation and theories of knowledge for planning[9]

It would be only fair to the reader to say frankly in advance that the attitude of any person toward this story will be distinctly influenced by his theories of the Negro race. If he believes that the Negro in America and in general is an average and ordinary human being, who under given environment develops like other human beings, then he will read this story and judge it by the facts adduced. If, however, he regards the Negro as a distinctly inferior creation, who can never successfully take part in modern civilization and whose emancipation and enfranchisement were gestures against nature, then he will need something more than the sort of facts that I have set down. But this latter person, I am not trying to convince. I am simply pointing out these two points of view, so obvious to Americans, and then without further ado, I am assuming the truth of the first. In fine, I am going to tell this story as though Negroes were ordinary human beings, realizing that this attitude will from the first seriously curtail my audience.

-W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS
Atlanta, 1934
"To the Reader," *Black Reconstruction*

Knowledge. When the mind accept facts
On this plane of livin, knowledge be the key, black
Understanding. Gettin a grip on what's revealed
When shit be real, can't give understanding back

-A Tribe Called Quest
New York, 1996
"Wordplay," *Beats, Rhymes and Life*

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[9] The ruse of participation as a formulation owes its inspiration to Saidiya Hartman's "Ruses of Power" (1996), Jared Sexton's "Ruse of Engagement" (2009), and Frank Wilderson's "Ruse of analogy" (Wilderson III, 2010).

Introduction

Mass movements mobilizing urban residents in the 1960s forced institutional shifts in urban policy that promoted public participation as the main avenue to democratize planning processes (Arnstein, 1969; Katznelson, 1982). To rebalance the asymmetric exercise of power, regular people, especially the poor and working class communities of color who had suffered under the decisions of earlier modernist planners, would get a say in the institutional decisions that shaped life in their cities. Technical information would be matched with local knowledge to plan cities (Corburn, 2003). Yet, in implementation, participation's institutionalization limited local knowledge to a position subsidiary to official planning knowledge. In order to take part in the planning process, much less to have a say in any outcomes, residents would need to gain a handle on and wield planning information. Expert knowledge typically decided the terms of participation, including when, how, and how much input residents got to give (Head, 2007). While experts talked as if they included local knowledge in the process, planners still controlled the terms and structure of community engagement.

Participatory planning evolved to reinstitute expert control by selectively including and systematically devaluing potential inputs of local knowledge. To revalue their knowledge and better their circumstances, engaged residents often turned to opportunities for institutional participation, but the process duped poor and working class minority communities by devaluing their knowledge and deprioritizing their interests, all the while extolling the virtues of democratic wellbeing. The paradigm of participatory planning therefore grew to enforce intellectual asymmetries in the planning process while overtly awarding that process the auspices of democratic legitimacy (Forester, 1982). In the generations following the 1960s, the same communities whose outrage about being treated as second-class citizens had spurred the institutional shift to participation were subordinated by the new paradigm to an intellectually inferior position. This ruse of participation made residents disillusioned with their own knowledge of their neighborhoods and disoriented over the power relations driving the planning process (D. Hyra, 2015). The disillusionment brought general pessimism and cynicism, while the disorientation bred demoralization and confusion over what residents may expect from those in power.

Some poor and working class communities of color, whose knowledge has been subordinated by participatory planning, diagnosed the ruse of power via participation as a charade to legitimate and obfuscate asymmetrical power relations. When these residents collectivized into insurgent forces, they pursued justice and structural transformation beyond the participatory paradigm (de Souza, 2006). This article focuses on such a group in Detroit, Michigan. In a bridge between theory and practice, the Detroit resident association Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) correlated the ruse of participation with new investments of inequitable development in their neighborhood. To promote equitable development, CVA became insurgent planners in March of 2017. They linked up with professionals to build technical knowledge of planning matched with their local knowledge of neighborhood needs, aiming to shift political will through mass mobilization. Led by black working-class long-term residents, CVA's grassroots knowledge production reaffirmed the calls of 1960s liberation movements to build a just city by diagnosing structural power asymmetries, building confidence of long-term residents, and applying political pressure toward democratic ideals. Reporting on insurgent knowledge amid the first two years of a neighborhood planning process, this article argues that insurgent planning offers an avenue to revalue grassroots knowledge, particularly of poor and working class black people, when participatory processes systematically devalue their knowledge.

Detroiters' knowledge, power, participation, and insurgency

Detroit is exemplary both historically and today to examine the power of knowledge in planning (Chandler, 2008). It can be seen as a representative case of cities undergoing urban revitalization, although it has many extreme characteristics that distinguish it from other cities (Yin, 2011). 20th Century Detroit was a hub of both the labor and civil rights movements, and it became an internationally prominent black city. Detroit was a leading modern industrialist city, and the demands of movement leaders in Detroit particularly focused on countering expert knowledge with working class black knowledge. Detroit's black radicalism was answered with capital disinvestment and resegregation that impoverished the city for the past several decades (Sugrue, 2014). In 2013-2014, Michigan's Governor overruled a voter referendum and suspended Detroit's elected government to restructure the city via bankruptcy and integrate it into the ranks of urban financialization (Peck, 2015). The newly mayor-strong government held up participatory planning as a priority (Laskey & Nicholls, 2019). Like other majority-black cities experienced similar versions of disinvestment, restructuring, and participatory revitalization planning (Moskowitz, 2017), in Detroit, under the new urban regime, planners retained the control to include (or not) working class black people's knowledge in revitalization plans, and thus they decided the value of Detroiters' intellectual contributions.

In a 2017 participatory planning process, a Detroit resident association, Charlevoix Village Association (CVA), rejected planners' devaluation of their contributions by publicly highlighting the power dynamics of race and class in urban revitalization: "Where will black people and poor people fit into these plans? Right now, they don't. There must be space for black people and other underserved communities in the New Detroit. You can't replace this community with a richer, whiter community" (Charlevoix Village Association, 2017a). By producing this critique in the face of power, CVA revalued their community's knowledge.[10] This revaluation of knowledge, encapsulated in a set of demands for equitable development, was CVA's first insurgent act. Adopting the motto, "knowledge is power," CVA began cultivating insurgent planners to critically participate and independently organize around their neighborhood planning. CVA's revaluation of working class black knowledge offers a strategic case to diagnose the ruse of participation, to contribute to an emerging theory of knowledge in planning, and empirically to study an unfolding insurgency.

The next section reviews the power struggle engaged by black liberation movements and supported by certain planners to institutionalize participation in planning. A review of the dynamics of participation uncover the paradigm's systematic devaluation of local knowledge and the ruse to mask dominant power under a democratic guise. The next section addresses the prospects of insurgency for unmasking participation's levers of power and revaluing black working class knowledge. A discussion tying these theoretical insights together empirically follows. The conclusion considers future directions for building insurgent planning knowledge and theories of knowledge.

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[10] This formulation views "the face of power" from the grassroots vantage of the black subject (without structural power), while Forrester's view is from the structurally powerful position of a professional planner.

Systemic devaluation and grassroots revaluation of black knowledge

At key historical junctures, the grassroots have collectivized into a political force capable of reshaping urban space and policy. In these cases, working class minority communities who have achieved gains have subsequently faced systematic limits imposed through a backlash aiming to reinstate dominant power. Thus, while black people have made several historically consequential mass movements possible, the backlash, in a double move, both materially undercut the gains they achieved toward justice and freedom and rewrote history to omit their contribution (Du Bois, 1935; Trouillot, 1995). In urban planning, as in other social sciences, the omission and derision of black knowledge and capability reinforced "a normative structure in which the black [subject] was positioned, at best, as an object of study but certainly not the agent of intellectual work" (Gordon, 2012, p. 86). This normative structure devaluing black knowledge and intellectual acuity has been essential to reinforcing white and bourgeois power to maintain the status quo of inequality and racism generation after generation.

The tension between grassroots voice and dominant decision making points to fundamental question about who counts as a knowledgeable being in the planning process. Unfortunately, black people have both historical memory and contemporary experience to accustom them to devaluation of their knowledge. Slave masters were warned not to teach their slaves to read as an essential mechanism of dehumanization. Abolitionist Frederick

Douglass recalls that his mistress had stopped teaching him to read at the instruction of her husband, the slavemaster. “The depravity indispensable to shutting me up in mental darkness” was a training in dominant knowledge (Douglass, 1849, p. 36). “The exercise of irresponsible power” demanded by the slavocracy made an initially kind woman “equal to the task of treating me as though I were a brute” (ibid). In the post-1960’s era, Hortense Spillers demonstrated that public policy institutionalized that same dynamic of irresponsible power. She argued that dominant knowledge’s “ruling episteme that releases the dynamics of naming and valuation, remains grounded in the originating metaphors of captivity,” especially the imposition of mental darkness on the urban black poor. Along a historical continuum, these insults reinforce social science’s normative structure in which black people are treated as less-than intellectual beings (Farley, 2004; Gordon, 2008). For insurgent planners fighting all varieties of contemporary inequality and racism, the devaluation of black knowledge remains a living legacy.

The intellectual and organizational feats of black people in reaching democratic freedom have systematically been downplayed and erased, and in response the grassroots have risen up with demands for collective liberation (Sandercock, 1998; King Jr, 1958). While planning history teaches that modernism was responsible for great city making and city building with Enlightenment ideals, too rarely do planners teach of black people’s work in emancipating North American slaves, from Haiti in 1789 to Brazil in 1888, in shaping global cities (James, 1963; Davis, 2015). In the U.S. from 1860-1880, Radical Reconstruction was responsible for expanding democratic political rights, paving the way for universal public education, electing an impressive array of public officials, and reshaping urban spaces and functions (Du Bois, 1935; Hannah-Jones, 2019). Yet these contributions achieved by black-led mobilization and struggle were ignored, ascribed to white liberal democracy, and turned back with the implementation of Jim Crow segregation. To overturn Jim Crow's legal and customary treatment of black people as inferior and expendable, black people led mass movements for liberation that coalesced into a revolutionary degree of upheaval worldwide (Katznelson, 1982; Wallerstein & Zukin, 1989). Liberation movements from the 1950s-1970s confronted urban inequalities embedded in city systems, from transportation to zoning to health to education to redlining, and especially urban renewal's destruction of 1,600 African American neighborhoods between 1949 and 1973, including Detroit's Black Bottom (Fullilove, 2009). These grassroots mobilizations succeeded at ending the reign of Jim Crow and securing opportunities to influence decision making in their cites via public participation.

Yet by the 1970s, as liberation movements were dissipating and neoliberalism was taking hold, setbacks to civil rights set in motion (Friedmann, 2011; Boyd, 2017). Over the next decades, neoliberal austerity and capital flight bled Detroit and other inner cities of resources, preparing the ground for significant dismantling of civil rights gains in the new millennium. Across the U.S. and particularly in Michigan, a major milestone was the ban on affirmative action in 2006. Not only did the affirmative action ban solidify the opportunity gap in higher education, it affected job opportunities along the workforce pipeline. For instance, Michigan state law requires contracts to be awarded to the lowest-cost bidder; without affirmative action, the unavailability of financing for black companies meant that proposals from black contractors would not be competitive (Baradaran, 2017). Today, the law requires new development projects to hire city residents for a majority of the jobs that they create. Yet it is typical for developers to pay a fine, rather than hire 51% Detroiters.

In the 21st Century, public school systems in several black U.S. cities were taken out of democratic control and put under receivership, whence they closed schools en masse and built up charter systems (De la Torre, Gordon, Moore, & Cowhy, 2015; Jack & Sludden, 2013). Brummet reports, "Over 1800 public schools were shut in the United States after the 2008–2009 academic year alone (Common Core of Data, 2011)" (2014). The first Emergency Manager (EM) of Detroit Public Schools (DPS), appointed in 1999, squandered a $93 million surplus, returning a broke system to the elected school board (Oosting, 2018). In a second state takeover in 2011, the EM shuttered 195 schools, half of DPS (Grover & van der Velde, 2016). Mass school closings took away anchors of neighborhoods, leaving families without prospects for education or employment nearby, and became a major contributor to displacement in cities. Pedroni argues, "the closing of schools represented the opening salvo of the cleansing of racial histories and placemaking from [Detroit] neighbourhoods" (2011, p. 211). He continues, "Detroit, like New Orleans and other American cities, represents neoliberal experimentation on the black body politic" (idem, 213). If schools serve as the hallmark of post-civil rights resegregation (Tatum, 2007), school closures represent the discursive and material imposition of inferiority on black intelligence.

When Michiganders passed a referendum outlawing the state installation of EMs, the Governor swiftly passed a new law, attached to a budget appropriation so it could not be subject to voter referendum, again authorizing the state to install EMs (Oosting, 2018). It was an EM who took Detroit through the largest municipal bankruptcy in U.S. history and installed the city into a regime of austerity, mayoral power, and financialization (Peck & Whiteside, 2016). Retractions of civil rights at the federal level also weakened democratic governance. In the election after the Supreme Court's 2018 decision to dismantle the Voting

Rights Act, Detroit faced failure of voting machines and prohibitively long lines to vote (Mondry, 2019). Amidst unprecedented celebration of diversity, equity, and inclusion, recent retractions of civil rights are systematically preventing black people from exerting the basic degrees of political influence that the public sphere, including participatory planning, takes for granted.

1960s mass movements for liberation shaped expectations of the universal right to freedom and justice, paving the way for public participation and inclusion in policy processes. The next section examines first how participation became a fundamental expectation and legal requirement of planning projects, then how planners upheld the solution of public participation even when its systematic failings began to become clear. The subsequent sections will examine the prospects of insurgent planning as an antidote to participation's theoretical and practical limitations.

Prospects and limitations of the participatory planning paradigm

Planning was heavily influenced by 20th Century liberation movements, and planning scholars drew from grassroots critiques to support public participation in planning. Planning scholars, teachers, and practitioners like Jane Jacobs (1961), Paul Davidoff (1965), and Sherry Arnstein (1969) drew on their experiences with grassroots mobilizations, especially with engaged black residents, to argue that planners needed to do a better job planning for, and with, communities. Planning pedagogy's technical training felt pressure from new urban studies programs that began teaching planners the critical theory to understand how traditional approaches to planning reinforced structural inequality and racism (Sandercock, 1997a, p. 286). Globally linked critiques of top-down decision-making led to seminal advances in planning theory, especially planning's first explicit theorization of knowledge by John Friedmann. Aggrieved that the rational decision-making model produced negative outcomes in South American development policy, Friedmann conceived of a new paradigm to envision planning as the recursive linking of knowledge to action (1973).

By the 1970s, Friedmann became troubled by the trend toward cities' neoliberal profit and deregulation, which he saw as "a turning point in world history" (2011, p. 5). He looked to the 1960s liberation movements for guidance on changing the power structure of state and capital. Friedmann began shifting from a state-centric view to align with the intellectual tradition he identified as "radical planning," and defined as an "amalgam of ideas and social movements… [that] shared a critique of social oppression and a yearning for a more emancipated, egalitarian, and self-directed society" (2011, p. 60, 1987). Opening planning theory's attention to grassroots actors paved the way for other scholars to extend and exceed Friedmann's contributions. In particular, Leonie Sandercock demonstrated that Friedmann's conception of radical planning needed to further grapple with planning's constitutive absences of gender, race, class, ethnicity, and locality (Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992; Sandercock, 1997b). Sandercock also extended the radical tradition to include concepts such as "insurgent citizenship" and "insurgent planning histories" (1998). Since that time, scholars working across the intellectual tradition of radical planning have urged planners to do better at planning for the vast numbers of people without structural power (Beard, 2002; Miraftab & Wills, 2005; Porter, 2006).

The participatory paradigm represented a monumental shift because it promised to distribute control of planning knowledge and decision making to everyday residents without structural power. Regular people's knowledge, especially black people and other minorities in poor and working class neighborhoods, would be part of the planning and development processes that directly affected their lives, especially where they lived. In cities like Detroit, black radical groups who had pushed the system to change in the 1960s became incorporated in formal processes. Community development corporations funneled resources into low income areas by running job training programs and low income housing (Arena, 2012; McQuarrie, Clemens, & Guthrie, 2010). Citizen district councils had veto power over developments in their areas (Silverman, 2003; Kaffer, 2014). With tools like post-it notes, overlays, and sharpies, and with strategies like charettes and breakout groups, professional planners became expected to interact with communities and collect resident input, from which they created the knowledge for action.

However, by charting an institutional route for radical groups, participatory planning repressed local knowledge and coopted movement leaders and demands to retain top-down control. Participatory planners highlighted civil society as the means to distribute knowledge and power (Healey, 2015). In glorifying civil society, participatory planners celebrated institutionalized nonprofits rather than encouraging grassroots mobilizations (Goonewardena & Rankin, 2004). Planners legitimized nonprofits, especially Community Development Corporations, as the main conduit for communities to participate and express their voice (Vidal, 1996). To secure funding, contracts, and adhere to regulations, nonprofits professionalized and aligned with their benefactors. This move structurally disconnected them from the radical grassroots tendencies that had demanded their invention (Laskey &

Nicholls, 2019). Head concludes, “There is little evidence that the widespread advocacy and adoption of ‘community engagement’ and ‘partnership’ approaches have yet involved substantial power-sharing” (2007, p. 452). Not only do “Government institutions find it difficult to devolve power and control,” community groups lack the means “to participate effectively, or to create alternative forums” (ibid). Ultimately, participatory planning’s focus on civil society reinforced institutional control in a way that siphoned away grassroots knowledge and organizing power.

Furthermore, planning scholars ardently promoted participation but did not develop the theoretical tools equipped to recognize and incorporate other knowledges. Equity planning, advocacy planning, collaborative planning, communicative planning, and inclusive governance all promised better ways of providing a voice for oppressed people via various innovative inclusionary methods. Yet, they effectively continued to privilege technocratic information and expert decision making. Participatory planners did not understand and were not adept at dealing with experiential knowledge, local knowledge, or nonexpert critical thinking. They acknowledged that planning information flowed along the bias of power asymmetries, but even progressive planners could only stem the tide of misinformation so much (Forester, 1982). The type and character of knowledge surely mattered, but participatory planners found it hard to grasp experiential knowledge and other nonexpert forms (Innes & Booher, 1999; Healey, 2006). As Innes explained, “Most research on practice simply does not use a lens that allows researchers to see what types of knowledge are in play, much less to document their functions” (1998, p. 60). Local knowledge of various types thus remained unknown to planners, and planners systematically devalued the unknown in their recursive linking of knowledge to action.

In sum, participatory planning's monopoly on legitimate knowledge actually reinforced the omission and devaluation of local knowledge. The liberation movements of the 1960s had forced experts to recognize movement demands and make policy changes. This intellectual work, recursively linked to action, moved the levers of power to institutionalize participation. Yet weakening movements, undercut by cooptation and repression, coincided with planning theory's inability to grapple with nonexpert knowledge and critical thinking from the grassroots. These limitations folded back on civil rights gains materially and enabled participatory planning to flourish institutionally, while it systematically devalued, rather than raised up, local knowledge.

Revaluing grassroots knowledge through insurgent planning

Faranak Miraftab (2009) solidified the radical intellectual tradition's insurgent branch into its own theory of planning by tapping justice-driven grassroots planning as the antidote to the participatory paradigm's blind spots of inclusive governance. Earlier, James Holston's critique of modernist domination of cities, exemplarily Brasilia, had suggested 'insurgent citizenship' to be the grassroots force capable of opposing top-down planning's structured racial inequalities (1998, 2008). Leonie Sandercock had built off Holston's insurgent citizenship to frame a special journal issue and book project highlighting "insurgent planning histories" and emphasizing the importance of theory and historiography to radical planning (Sandercock, 1998). Other scholars built on this theoretical and empirical basis to develop theories ranging from covert planning (Beard, 2002), and Latina kitchen table planning (E.

Sweet, 2015), and glocalization (Meir, 2005). Foregrounding theory building from the Global South, Miraftab articulated the distinction of insurgent planning from the branches of radical planning that promoted participatory planning (2009). The participatory paradigm served to reinforce the status quo inequality of neoliberal dominance, while insurgent planning pursued justice through studied and forceful grassroots interventions.

Insurgent planners face substantial barriers to turning grassroots knowledge into independent action. Holston envisions urban insurgents facing off against modernist state power in a "war zone… [where] the dominant classes meet the advances of these new citizens with new strategies of segregation, privatization, and fortification" (1998, p. 52). Miraftab depicts the participatory paradigm inviting residents into state-sanctioned spaces, but these "invited spaces" are adversarial places legally organized "against us" (Wilcox, quoted in Miraftab & Wills, 2005, p. 207). To develop their own ideas and strategies on how to create a more egalitarian and less repressive city, insurgents invent their own spaces (Miraftab, 2004) . Reinforcing the ethos of 'planning from below,' Miraftab argued that insurgent planning "recognizes, supports and promotes… coping mechanisms of the grassroots" when they are included in state sanctioned spaces, as well as grassroots practices to "innovate their own terms of engagement" (Miraftab, 2009: 41). Insurgents must navigate formal planning knowledge and devaluation of grassroots knowledge in invited spaces, but invented spaces can allow for the revaluation of insurgents' particular local knowledges and cultivation of critical thought and study.

The structural challenges that make cities a war zone, participation adversarial, and innovation of insurgent alternatives a necessity, also pose barriers to insurgent planning scholarship's endeavor to revalue local knowledge. Black and Latina feminist scholars have faced severe difficulties in publishing articles that revalue grassroots knowledge. Elizabeth Sweet's revaluation of insurgent knowledge through "Latina kitchen table planning" (2015) was rejected by a top-tier planning journal by the editor, despite recommendations of three anonymous reviewers to publish (2018, pp. 8–9). It took over a decade for Tiffany Willoughby-Herard to publish work that applied "Black feminist politics, concepts, and ethical systems" to diagnose the "matrix of race, class, and gender violence" that shaped "female 'white writers'" histories and theories of South African cities (2015). Once published, insurgent planning scholars have been challenged to prove why their work even counts as planning (Alexander, 2011; E. Sweet, 2018; E. L. Sweet, 2011). The liability extends to the next generation of scholars. A graduate student working with the grassroots insurgent planners in Detroit discussed in this article faced the recoil of a nonprofit 'partner' and 'leader' of participatory processes, who aimed to get that student expelled in order to quell the grassroots insurgency (Laskey & Nicholls, 2019). While it has been often noted that insurgent planning is an incipient field, it has been less clearly recognized that insurgent planning scholarship is up against the same powerful forces of knowledge devaluation as are the grassroots people it studies.

Insurgent planning diagnoses the limitations of participatory planning and upholds the revaluation of local grassroots knowledge as an antidote, but the literature is vague on how *insurgent knowledge* forms and functions. This article fills that gap by showing how traditional planning undermines the legitimacy of and demoralizes local residents, and in response residents construct alternative insurgent knowledge. Participation is a ruse when it enforces power asymmetries in the planning process, which it does by devaluing the knowledge of poor and working class people of color. Nevertheless, everyday residents often have sophisticated local knowledge, and they seek deeper understandings of the injustices they experience. They read copiously; talk to each other to build understanding; and engage with intellectuals, both academically trained and grassroots scholars, to tie their local knowledge to broader conceptions of structural injustices in cities and from that basis to influence political processes. Intellectuals engaging with insurgents are accountable not to the state or neoliberal forces but to the grassroots insurgents who guide knowledge production. Such grassroots knowledge, articulated collectively and mobilized into insurgent interventions, can counteract the dominance of participation, opening new horizons for structural transformation to rebuild cities with a backbone of justice.

Research setting

The remainder of this article provides ethnographic evidence from the Detroit resident association Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) when they challenged their neighborhood planning process. In January 2017, the author became a volunteer and participant observer with CVA (Goffman, 1978; Madison, 2011). She began attending public community meetings, hosted by a variety of groups including nonprofit, grassroots, and government. She also attended CVA's strategy sessions and began conversing informally with residents. These observations (n>250) were documented in fieldnotes, photos, and audio recordings. The author also formally interviewed a cross section of stakeholders in Detroit's revitalization (n=24), including long-term residents, professional planners, activists, CDC representatives, pastors, developers, city staff, an elected official, and a business owner. The data from observations and interviews were coded according to themes relating to knowledge (e.g. “stupid”, “information”, “analysis”, “reading”) and triangulated by way of documentary evidence, such as flyers and newspaper articles. The data were analyzed through inductive iterative methods of constant comparison and theoretical sampling to write thick empirical descriptions along the theoretical lines outlined above (Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007; Strauss et al., 1990).

The thick descriptions presented below demonstrate that the devaluation and revaluation of black working class knowledge has been present and intense in CVA’s participatory neighborhood planning. Black people in Detroit have built coping mechanisms to deal with their customary treatment as intellectual inferiors. Insurgent planners recognize and grapple with this legacy, both when it surfaces in private conversations and in public. This disrespect has been a motivator for residents to learn how to intervene in the planning process insurgently. A pivotal insurgent practice has been knowledge production about equitable development, a sample of which appears here.

“I don’t want to be treated like I’m stupid”

This section shows how planning expertise in the participatory process functions to belittle regular people’s knowledge and intelligence on a racist and unequal basis and how CVA strategized to revalue black working class knowledge.

After years of interacting with a local CDC director, CVA’s president, Toyia Watts, decided to stop dealing with him entirely. The CDC director was someone whose knowledge strongly influenced policy. In city council decisions to give millions of dollars of tax abatements to developers, the director's testimony endorsing the projects was treated as a proxy for community opinion. CVA had attended the CDC's community engagement sessions and had met with the director privately. In their private meeting, CVA representatives had asked the director to endorse their demands for equitable development. Declining to address the substantive concerns articulated in the demands, the director suggested that CVA schedule a neighborhood clean-up. His paternalism at best negated the clean-ups residents had organized for decades, and at worst conjured metaphors of slave labor. "He don't know how to address the people, approach the people," Ms. Watts explained. "He thinks black people are dumb, stupid, illiterate" (fieldnotes, 3.28.18). Despite expressing similar sentiments to Ms. Watts, other local organizations continued to deal with the CDC director because of his political influence and connections to resources.[11]

During the planning process, CVA contested the structure of participation. A major win in late 2018 included organizing enough pushback to the first major development planned for the neighborhood that the rezoning approval had to be postponed to allow for additional community meetings. After that untimely delay, the planning team decided to invite residents to sit on selection committees to vet developers for the next upcoming projects.

The selection committees included long-term residents from CVA; however, the selection committee meetings took place when many of the long-term residents who had been invited had to work. For long-term residents who could attend, the meetings used technical language that alienated them to such a degree it made them "feel low," like they were in the Jim Crow South (Laskey and Nicholls, 2019, p. 356). Defending the selection committee structure of participation, the lead planner explained to CVA organizer Tristan Taylor that this process was providing an unusually generous opportunity for participation, and he asked, what other cities did this? Mr. Taylor replied that slave masters used to say they were good slave masters because they gave their slaves water, and that did not make them good slave masters, even if some masters did not give their slaves water. “That’s, now, that’s outrageous!” the lead planner sputtered. “No it’s not, because we’re fucking descendants of slaves! Yes! That’s going to be our frame of reference,” Mr. Taylor replied (fieldnotes, 7.12.19).[12]

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[11] Toyia Watts was a union steward at an auto factory and later worked at a local Community Development Corporation before retiring. Since 2000, Ms. Watts has been president of Charlevoix Village Association (CVA).

To be effective, CVA had to carefully consider the implications of insurgent planning with black people who were accustomed to being treated as intellectually inferior. “I don’t want to be treated like I’m stupid. I’m not stupid. We are not stupid,” one long-term resident insisted to CVA organizers handing out flyers. Reflecting on the interaction with this resident, Mr. Taylor instructed, “Now, that’s legit and in fact we have to sharpen that to a higher degree” (fieldnotes, 6.18.19). Just because some self-proclaimed community advocates were handing out flyers does not mean it would be worthwhile for residents to take heed. In a neighborhood like CVA’s, numerous entities -- including nonprofit organizations, church groups, and city government – were vying for residents’ participation and promising an improved neighborhood. Mr. Taylor described the demoralization of another long-term resident he met while canvassing:

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[12] Tristan Taylor was trained as an organizer with the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action, Integration, and Immigrant Rights and Fight for Equality By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) beginning as a junior in high school fighting to defend affirmative action programs at the University of Michigan. His experience in organizing includes successfully fighting to keep public schools and libraries open, defend homeowners from eviction, and stopping deportations. He also led a campaign that successfully defeated Mayoral Control of Detroit Public Schools.

> He had been there 70 years. He was pointing out what used to be here and there, he was pointing out the gas station that used to be across from the bar now. He talked about traffic. There used to be people all over the place.
>
> And it makes me think, if you're a person who has lived in the city, you just got yo' ass beat. And like, to the point where it's visible. He remembers. When they come, and they clean this street, they don't clean it like they used to. You are reminded every day when you walk out the house, that you lost a fight. That you were beaten. Like, to the point where your physical surroundings show it (fieldnotes, 7.12.19).

Decades of promises answered by deteriorating conditions bred understandable pessimism and cynicism. And yet, and still, Mr. Taylor and the other CVA volunteer organizers wanted to sharpen the analysis of neighborhood residents to bring a critical eye on the entities promising resources for neighborhood betterment, and to substantively engage with CVA's critique and strategy of mass mobilization.

In building their own community engagement opportunities, such as holding meetings and canvassing, CVA had to balance between sharing information and listening and learning. CVA had built a team of volunteer researchers who uncovered a great deal of importance about development happening in the city, so much so that it became complicated to juggle between informing residents of what they had learned and making sure residents got the opportunity to share their knowledge with the research and organizing team. During one team discussion about how to strike this balance while canvassing, Mr. Taylor argued against the direction of another volunteer, a seasoned canvassing director, who advised that volunteers present all information upfront, clearly, and concisely. Mr. Taylor rebutted, "I'd rather ask and find out how much they know than just go on with my spiel. That actually puts people in the defensive position, and causes people to clam up, and they do not want to feel stupid, so they'll keep their mouth shut and not ask questions. For fear of being made to feel stupid on basic questions" (fieldnotes, 4.7.19). Mr. Taylor's local knowledge of what black working class residents in Detroit had gone through and were going through honed his ability to learn from people and show them that their knowledge mattered, and it helped the whole team incorporate the lessons of his local knowledge into their public practices.

In sum, planning's traditional ways of exercising knowledge within the participatory framework generated pushback, discomfort, and alienation for many local residents because it undercut their ability and showed blatant disrespect. Where participatory planning was tone-deaf to long-term residents' needs and experiences, CVA's insurgent planning assumed people had important knowledge and that they could learn and plan best collectively.

"Stop the displacement and resegregation of Detroit"

CVA invented the initial space for insurgency in March 2017, in the midst of their neighborhood's participatory planning process led by an interdepartmental City of Detroit team.[13] Alarmed by the way that the terms of engagement invited by the professional planners had shut their knowledge out of the planning process, CVA decided that a forceful epistemological intervention would be necessary. Residents presented a set of demands stressing the importance of equitable development and the pitfalls that the planning strategy needed to overcome. "Stop the displacement and resegregation of Detroit" and "equitably allocate funding throughout all of Detroit, not just a few chosen areas," they demanded, along with specific needs such as home repair funding, reliable services, poverty assistance, support for black businesses, resident decision making over land use, as well as a moratorium on home foreclosures and an end to school and library closings (Charlevoix Village Association, 2017a). CVA raised their demands in a half dozen community engagement meetings for the design of a neighborhood plan in Spring and Summer 2017, but even when the meetings got contentious, the planning team managed to avoid publicly engaging with the demands.

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[13] The interagency planning team for Islandview and the Greater Villages had city representatives from the Planning and Development Department (PDD), the Housing and Revitalization Department (HRD), and the Department of Neighborhoods, in addition to various contractors. This paper refers to both PDD and HRD employees, who were formally trained in planning, design, and architecture, as "planners."

Indeed, the meetings got contentious. The final public meeting of the summer began with CVA holding an informational picket at the entryway to the venue. Signs read: "Gentrification = Displacement," “Remember Black Bottom,” and "We Will Not Be Displaced!" Inside, the neighborhood planning team directed the meeting format, which began with a presentation of the implementation plan. When the presentation got to installing bike lanes on Jefferson Ave, a CVA member, Xylia Hall, raised her hand and apologized for interrupting. But what about buses, for which residents had consistently emphasized the need? The planner replied that there would be a particular time for questions, later.[14] Ms. Hall persisted in pointing out that the presentation “is not what we have been saying” (fieldnotes, 8.17.19). From the front of the room, the planner reiterated that they had taken resident input into account and turned back to continue the planned presentation. From the other side of the room, Mr. Taylor echoed the importance of Ms. Hall’s concerns. The Mayor’s community liaison, the District 5 Manager, moved swiftly to block Mr. Taylor, grabbing him physically and attempting to push him out of the room. “If I’d hit the ground, everyone would have been out of their seats, and [the District Manager] knew it," Mr. Taylor later recalled (fieldnotes, 8.17.19). But the disruption did not prevent the presenters from finishing their deck of slides.

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[14] Before coming to Detroit, this planner worked for a large U.S. city with a large working/poor black population facing gentrification pressures. She has since left Detroit to work for another large city’s planning department.

The public presentation of their neighborhood design implementation plan had not addressed CVA's demands or general critique in any way. After the presentation, the planners split the meeting into breakout groups. At that point, one of the lead planners took Ms. Watts aside and handed her a memo that was a response to the demands. Report-backs from breakout groups had not been on the agenda, but the planners decided to include them due to popular demand. Report-backs were spirited. On the way out the meeting, planners asked residents to stick post-its to a board that said, "Did you learn something useful?" Ms. Watts posted, "I felt intimidated."

"I want to learn"

The next day, Ms. Watts communicated with a sense of urgency, "We need to take this to a different level." She stressed, "They taking us for a joke. This is an insult to me. This is a low rated insulting joke to long term residents. It's a slap to the people's face in the community" (fieldnotes, 8.18.17). Participatory planning's execution of knowledge and power created feelings of disrespect, which in turn became the source of ethical outrage. This ethical outrage then became fuel for insurgency. Ms. Watts's related the effort to step up in the face of insult to her refrain, "knowledge is power." She considered the CVA organizing along with this ethnographic project. "You know what you got me to start doing?" Ms. Watts asked me over the phone. "Since you writing in that book all the time," she said, referring to my data collection for this project, she reckoned,

> Let me start writing down what's important where I can feedback and look in this book. This is a legacy, and it's a good thing to have it written down, some points I want to learn, the concept of all this going on, with the city and long-term residents. Learn these big words. Google it and bring it down to earth. Break it down for my knowledge. Allison got me doing something that I never thought I'd do. In a good way.

Ms. Watts added that her notetaking was not the only intellectual development that CVA's insurgency had produced. "You and Tristan brought it out" in other residents' critical interests, questions, and analyses as well, Ms. Watts credited. Henceforth, Ms. Watts began bringing her notebook and a recorder with her to meetings to document the planning process and build insurgent knowledge. She kept a binder to archive everything CVA wrote. She also started reading more than she ever had in her life. "Every day I read so much," she reported (fieldnotes, 2.6.18), and she began sharing with the CVA team a newsfeed of articles that she curated during her nightly "homework" about gentrification, development, and urban policy. Ms. Watts was moved by the global reach of the dynamics she was seeing in Detroit, and this knowledge helped give her confidence amidst both the gravity of her neighborhood's transformation and the repudiation by critics and naysayers who tried to quiet CVA.

CVA's insurgent knowledge production

The memo that the planner had delivered to Ms. Watts at the community engagement session during the breakout groups was a point-by-point response to CVA's demands, explaining that Duggan administration policies already answered the demands. The information in the response was not new to long-term residents. The policies to which the memo referred were policies that the demands critiqued. CVA decided to expand their critique of the administration's revitalization plans by fleshing out a detailed reply to the memo.

Producing insurgent knowledge involved reappropriating expert knowledge by the community and bringing it into conversation with local knowledge to provide frameworks for practice. While CVA's long-term residents did not necessarily have strong writing skills and knowledge considered legitimate, their college educated volunteers who did could draft the reply under the direction of long-term residents. The reply took many hours of research and writing by seven volunteers, including four PhD students. Updates to the demands reply became an agenda point at weekly team meetings. After some months, the volunteers delivered a draft, but when CVA leaders read the reply, they found it lacking both a depth of research and the neighborhood's voice.

Ms. Watts assessed, "I think our demands are just a little, eh... We gotta slap 'em somewhere."

Mr. Taylor affirmed, "We gotta slap everywhere" (fieldnotes, 12.20.17).

Grassroots training as a civil rights organizer since he was 17, combined with a Detroit Public Schools education, one year of college, and parents who were always reading gave Mr. Taylor research and writing skills, while lifelong experience as a poor and working class black Detroiter gave Mr. Taylor the local knowledge to deepen the research and draft the final reply. The research he conducted was taxing in a way that the collegiate volunteers, who were not long-term Detroiters, had not experienced. Multiple facets of the structural racism and inequality that had conditioned plenty of difficult life experiences came together as Mr. Taylor's policy analysis showed him new facets of "what all they'd done to us." Mr. Taylor "gained some perspective on exactly how deep the austerity measures were and how heavy of a defeat Detroit had actually experienced." While the research was at times absolutely overwhelming, for Mr. Taylor it eventually put into perspective "how hard the fight was going to be" if CVA's efforts would have a chance to shift newly entrenched neoliberal policies that produced inequitable outcomes on a racist basis.

When the final draft of the demands reply had been edited, the team delivered it to Ms. Watts to seek her approval. "You're telling me it's time to read it," she expressed. "Read it like I do my homework every night." The demands reply contained words that she had learned and analyzed in the previous months' flyers, meetings, and conversations, like *resegregation*. It elaborated on concepts that she had helped define, like *racist displacement*. The demands reply was an exemplar of black working class insurgent knowledge, authored by her group (Charlevoix Village Association, 2018c). It began:

> Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) is committed to stopping the racist displacement and resegregation of our community. We are actively speaking the plain truth about the racist and unjust nature of Detroit, Michigan's current "revitalization" that is creating separate and unequal conditions for long-term residents of Detroit. Our issues are not made up hype, nor are they an expression of our "misunderstanding". Scholars, policy experts and organizations, journalists and community members of various backgrounds have been writing extensively on the issue of growing inequality in Detroit. Many of these writings point out how Detroit's "comeback" does not include long-term residents of the City, specifically the largely poor and working-class black population.

The fifth (of eleven demands) reply, to "Protect new and existing affordable housing," highlighted the administration's double-move of treating Detroiters like they were stupid while failing to acknowledge real concerns. CVA's reply called attention to growing inequality in other cities. Citing a Housing Authority of New Orleans report, CVA's reply warned of resegregation (Charlevoix Village Association, n.d.; Housing Authority of New

Orleans, 2016; Williams, 2016). “Because of the policies of racist and unequal redevelopment in New Orleans, many long-term residents saw themselves priced out of their communities” and “concentrated in highly segregated, socio-economically impoverished areas that lacked access to quality schools, resources, and jobs.” New Orleans was not only a comparable city to Detroit, it appeared on the CV of Detroit’s then-Director of Planning and Development, Maurice Cox, to credential him in participatory design. Meanwhile, the planning process administered by Cox’s department in Detroit “maintains guidelines it admits does not meet the needs of long-term and poor residents. To add insult to injury, the administration uses arguments that insult the basic intelligence of the average Detroiter” (idem, p. 8). The demands reply was bold and concrete enough to demonstrate that CVA’s local knowledge contradicted the planners’ expert knowledge, and that CVA was prepared to challenge the planners’ dominance to win concessions.

The fifth demand reply continued by detailing developments where the administration had sold land to developers “at basement bargain prices” and given tax abatements rather than “help generate money the City can use towards infrastructure and improving living conditions in Detroit.” The reply noted poor conditions of new affordable housing. CVA pointed to City Council’s approval, with the administration’s support, for a billionaire’s development company to build “’affordable’ units separate from their downtown housing project.” CVA was horrified at this “permission to build separate and unequal housing in Detroit!” It was proof that the democratic system had grown weak enough that it would support a new generation of separate and unequal, allocating public resources for private gain, if mass mobilization could not unseat the dominant political will. The fifth demand reply concluded:

> As it stands now, Detroit is on the trajectory to become exactly like New Orleans, San Francisco, New York, and other cities experiencing the racist displacement and resegregation that comes with gentrification. If housing costs are "low" now, and people already cannot afford them, then costly development yielding costlier housing will further decrease housing that is affordable for most Detroiters. This paves the way for upwardly mobile newcomers (who are overwhelmingly white) from cities with exorbitant rents to make up the "New Detroit.

The administration's disregard for long-term residents' concerns around affordable housing demonstrated that the planners were specifically helping "developers gobble up resources to build expensive apartment buildings while long-term residents are neglected and threatened with being pushed out of their homes and neighborhoods." Resources had finally begun flowing to their neighborhoods but not to meet their disregarded needs. Evidence from other gentrifying cities showed that long-term Detroiters would be fools to expect this new wave of planning and development to benefit them, even if it was participatory and inclusive (Moskowitz, 2017). The demands reply concluded with a quote from "Civil rights leader and mass organizer Bayard Rustin," who "once wrote that the turning point of the Civil Rights Movement was when black people had 'concluded that the future lies in casting not just a ballot... but the total vote - the human person against injustice.'" CVA fully believed that it was still possible to pursue a plan for equitable development in Detroit, but first a critical mass of Detroiters would have to wage the struggle of their lives to prevent what the planners wanted from coming to their neighborhood.

Knowledge, power, and teaching each other

I ignite under certain circumstances
-Jean Grae
New York, 2003
"Hater's Anthem," *The Bootleg of the Bootleg*

You've been shedding too much light, Lu (Dumb it down!)
You're makin 'em wanna do right, Lu (Dumb it down!)
They're gettin' self-esteem, Lu (Dumb it down!)
These girls are trying to be queens, Lu (Dumb it down!)
They're trying to graduate from school, Lu (Dumb it down!)
They're startin' to think that smart is cool, Lu (Dumb it down!)
They're trying to get up out the hood, Lu (Dumb it down!)
I'll tell you what you should do (Dumb it down!)

Bishop G, they told me I should come down, cousin
But I flatly refuse: I ain't dumb down nothing!
-Lupe Fiasco
Chicago, 2007
"Dumb It Down," *The Cool*

This article argues that participatory planning is not fundamentally equipped to recognize multiple epistemologies of intricate varieties, and especially not poor, working class, black, and other racialized knowledges. Rather, planning recognizes specialized valid knowledge and legitimates this select knowledge in public appearances. Even if unintentionally so, this is a strategy of condescension. Planners say and believe participatory planning is equalizing, but the process reinforces the power of planners by way of their valid knowledge and legitimating functions. Planners maintain control of expertise and the control of who may speak when. In this paradigm, planners sharing knowledge easily turns into the higher bestowal of good knowledge unto urban dwellers so that they can better speak. The participatory paradigm distributes power down on the basis of equality, but it is a ruse, in that it only serves to reinforce recognition of the legitimate knowledge thus bestowed.

Through the example of Charlevoix Village Association (CVA), this article demonstrates how grassroots insurgents construct knowledge and give it value. CVA took a leadership role in fighting for equitable development in Detroit when they pushed back on the structure of participation and defined independent terms of engagement to build insurgent knowledge. CVA's insurgent knowledge diagnosed the limits of participation and power asymmetries in local planning processes, and they bolstered their community's confidence by awarding value to their local knowledge. To intervene in the planning process, they assembled a team led by working class black Detroiters that included academic and grassroots intellectuals with expert knowledge and long-term residents with local knowledge to define strategies and frameworks for study and action. They stayed accountable to the broader community by sharing (i.e. acquiring, disseminating, and mutually constructing) information at regular public meetings and through resident networks.

CVA contributed far more than data for this paper. Their local knowledge refined my understanding of Detroit and similar cities, framing the historical importance of the city; the functions and strategies of Jim Crow segregation; wins and retractions of civil rights over the past half century; the continuing and various struggles long-term residents face on the daily; as well as the role of grassroots leadership in building mass movements. In some cases, my ethnographic interlocutors pointed me to scholarly published work that formed the basis of their perspective (e.g. Akers, 2013; Douglass, 1849; King Jr, 1958; Li, 2016; Moskowitz, 2017). In some cases, the published record is full of gaps or contradictory, so the experiential knowledge of Detroiters helped me make sense of authoritative sources (e.g. there is no authoritative post-1967 Detroit history, so local knowledge was essential to understanding the conditions that led to state takeover of schools and the bankruptcy settlement). While this paper's theoretical framing is my own, it was shaped through CVA's collective construction of insurgent knowledge, in which I took part. Dwelling on this facet of insurgent interlocution revalues working class black knowledge in the published record. At the same time, on the ground, the participatory process is invisibilizing CVA's knowledge and presence in planning for the New Detroit, as analogous communities in gentrifying neighborhoods around the country also experience the planners' disavowal.

To decolonize and dismantle racism, philosopher Lewis Gordon charts "a larger story of recovery and constructing alternative models of intellectual life. The latter are the building blocks by which new ideas and lived relations can be formed and latent, and often invisible, ones can appear" (2012, p. 93). Planning's radical intellectual tradition of insurgent planning affirms CVA's diagnosis of participation's limitations and encourages alternative models of grassroots intellectual life. This case study of CVA's insurgent knowledge contributes to a general theory of knowledge in planning by recognizing mechanisms of valuation. It identifies the specific role of insurgent knowledge by making knowledge that was invisible to the planning process openly appear, vibrant in its own intellectual life. CVA is learning how to be a leader in the civil rights struggles of this generation, especially by way of housing justice. In this struggle, they are linked to grassroots groups around the country and around the world who are mobilizing to prevent evictions, deportations, and other forms of racist displacement and ultimately to shift the structures of power so that justice reigns in cities, not wealth accumulation for a global elite. Insurgent knowledge theorizes power, and, as CVA has often quoted Frederick Douglass, “Power concedes nothing without a demand.”

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Chapter 4

“STOP DISPLACEMENT, RESEGREGATION, AND GENTRIFICATION!”:

Charlevoix Village Association and the formation of a Detroit insurgency

Introduction

In the last few years, insurgent planners have emerged in grassroots organizations in Detroit to challenge urban planning’s strategy for revitalization and claims to the city hosting an urban renaissance. While the city and state have launched a concerted effort to govern by neoliberal austerity, these grassroots insurgents have somewhat complicated the plans. Organized through the resident association Charlevoix Village Association (CVA), insurgents have disrupted public meetings, issued demands, testified with public comments, and circulated petitions to challenge land use decisions. CVA argues that the current urban regime’s plan for revitalization rejuvenates old structural patterns of inequality and racism. They argue that attracting investment to “strategic neighborhoods” in Detroit creates wealthier, whiter enclaves, while leaving the rest of the poorer, blacker city with no plan. The planning literature affirms that groups with an insurgent orientation who disrupt planning do exist in urban areas, but the literature does not answer when, where, or how they emerge to affect urban planning’s normal processes (Friedmann, 2011; Holston, 1998; Miraftab, 2009; Sandercock, 1997b; E. L. Sweet & Chakars, 2010). After all, the state maintains significant power to manage conflicts that arise through the planning process. It is often a struggle for poor people and people of color to navigate daily survival; they are not expected to build organizations sophisticated enough to interfere with the city’s planning strategies

(Desmond, 2016; Wilson, 2012). Still, insurgencies have been documented to contend with, especially in the global South and promoting housing justice. In particular, they collectively challenge existing power relations and contemporary strategies of dominance that grew out of locally specific instantiations of slavery and colonialism. This paper addresses this gap by answering two fundamental questions about these insurgencies. First, when and how does an insurgency form? And second, how do urban residents become insurgent planners?

With an ethnographic lens grounded in an analysis of historical and contemporary trends in Detroit, this paper argues that CVA emerged in an insurgent form when they rechanneled a longstanding grassroots associational infrastructure to oppose intensification of neoliberal urbanization. They mobilized insurgency by building a power analysis that informed a strategy of forceful and disruptive nonconsent. CVA has long been a resident association in Detroit. While decades of disinvestment and hypersegregation limited opportunities for development in most Detroit neighborhoods, Detroit's tradition of block clubs and resident associations is part of a deeper associational life that stems from the city's legacy of labor and civil rights leadership in the 20th Century (Babson, 1986; Willoughby-Herard, 2015). When urban planners under a new regime of neoliberal austerity targeted CVA's neighborhood for development, the public participation process connected the city planners with CVA. In need of resources to fix their leaking roofs, replace boilers, and weatherproof their windows, CVA mobilized residents to participate in the planning process. However, CVA soon understood that the participatory process was actually organized against their interests. They sought a different option than participation, which would enforce their structural powerlessness. The alternative they reached turned them into insurgent planners. Residents drew up a set of demands expressing the need for a different direction of development and delivered those demands to the city planners. The demands' analysis would form the backbone of their outreach to other residents and grassroots groups as well as continuing adversarial engagement in participatory processes. To protect from being quashed, sold out, or coopted, CVA shifted their focus from aiming to secure resources to analyzing the power dynamics that kept them without resources. By holding strong to their demands for a different direction of development in both invited and invented spaces (Miraftab, 2004), CVA shifted to an insurgent formation.

The next section thinks through when insurgency takes place, working through constitutive absences in planning history and the contemporary neoliberal moment. The next section investigates the challenges the grassroots, particularly black subjects, face to becoming insurgent planners. After a methodological note, the next section follows threads of insurgency through the long history of Black Detroit and then chronicles the imposition of neoliberal austerity in the 21st Century. The final sections employ ethnographic evidence to recount CVA's transition to insurgent planning and to show how CVA made long-term residents into insurgent planners.

Times of insurgency

While insurgents do not customarily appear in planning history, Sandercock demonstrates that their invisibility is a systematic exclusion that requires "excavation and analysis" (1998, p. 13). The writing of history "is always a representation, a textual reconstruction of the past," which helps shape the self-understanding of a state, a profession, or a community's material conditions, possible futures, ideas, and desires (idem, p. 6). The representation reflects choices about which subjects and objects appear, and the reflection is filtered through dynamics of power. In particular, planning's power dynamics reflect "the absence of all but white professional males as the actors on the historical stage" (idem, p.8). Along with constitutive absences along lines of gender, ability, age, and other systemic inequities, "the silence of mainstream planning historians on the issue of racism in planning has led to the systematic thematic avoidance of the ways in which planning practice has worked to reinforce racial segregation and discrimination" (idem, p. 10). Insurgent planning is a newly named concept to describe a phenomenon that has been shaping city building and city making for a long time, and the contemporary study of insurgent planning uncovers urban processes that were strategically hidden by dynamics of power.

It is possible to trace insurgent planning as an historical force that spurred systems of oppression to yield to movements of liberation at various times. Scholars like W.E.B. Du Bois and C.L.R. James demonstrated that slaves themselves catalyzed the end of chattel slavery in the Americas. James' The Black Jacobins (1963) assesses the conditions, plans, and achievements of the slave-led Haitian Revolution to overthrow French rule, the inaugural and most complete overturning of power in the modern world. Du Bois's Black Reconstruction (1935) exhaustively details U.S. slaves' "general strike" from plantations that provoked the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, then ex-slaves planning in policy contexts and in local critical collectives across the United States during the transformative years of Reconstruction just after slavery, before freedom promises foreclosed into the Jim Crow era. Today's cities would look very different if not for black people's work to overturn the status quo and challenge dominant power at many historical junctures, but planning history has yet to embrace their insurgent influence.

Since the 1970s, cities globally have undergone neoliberalization, a process of freeing the flows of capital to facilitate the marketization of everything, proceeding to increase inequality and shake off democratic fetters (Chaudhary, Porte, Chappe, Taylor, & Jaffe, 2018). Inculcated by international financial institutions through the Washington Consensus, neoliberal austerity has gained adherence across the globe. To manage unbridled debts, states and cities institute cutbacks, known as austerity. Austerity measures include governments retracting basic services, like street lighting, and privatizing public resources, like water (Kornberg, 2016; Peck, 2012). With the state as their traditional benefactor, planning practitioners and scholars often work to achieve neoliberal goals, but neoliberal ideology and actually existing neoliberalism magnify inequality and increase suffering, especially of historically oppressed people (Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2012; Porter, 2013). Neoliberal era governance, including planning, has neutralized renegade elements by sapping their last energies and resources through marketizing global and community development and neutralizing dissent via participatory planning. Because neoliberalism dispossesses people on such a grand scale, it also inspires sharp opposition (Arampatzi & Nicholls, 2012). Insurgent planning coalesces this opposition into grassroots critical collectives who seek to overturn neoliberal governance and build a city committed to justice.

Urban insurgents and the challenge of speaking out

While participatory planning promised urban residents a voice that modernist planning did not, under the participatory paradigm government institutions retained control over decision making (Head, 2007). Planners argue that participation does not evenly offer opportunities for consent (Kaza, 2006). Critical black theoreticians argue that consent has never been available to black subjects on an equivalent footing with Enlightenment subjects or even subaltern subjects (Wilderson, 2003a). Saidiya Hartman clarifies, “the opportunity for nonconsent is required to establish consent, for consent is meaningless if refusal is not an option,” and marked subjects do not get the opportunity to refuse being labeled and treated as black, nor can they decline attending to the specific baggage of anti-black racism thrust upon them (1997, p. 111). As a result, Hortense Spillers diagnoses that Western theory and public policy’s treatment of the black subject renders him “essentially mute.” Spillers implores, “It is time now… for him to speak for himself, if he dares. That this speaking will not be simple is all the more reason why it must be done” (1996, p. 105). Insurgent planning offers a fugitive route for black subjects to speak, to refuse extra baggage, and to make their consent possibly, if improbably, alter the course of planning.

The planning scholarship indicates that various marginalized collectives, including squatter citizens, poor women, undocumented immigrants, indigenous people, and others, mobilize outside of sanctioned spaces to shape their cities and communities (Porter, 2018; Tzfadia & Yiftachel, 2004; Miraftab, 2004; Irazábal, 2008). Such community-based planning moves along a “continuum between societal guidance and social transformation” (Beard, 2003, p. 30), where insurgent planners seek “not to neutralize power relations, but to transform them” (Purcell 2009, p. 140). Purcell argues, “As planners, we must learn from their struggles, and we must make it our business to actively nurture them, for they offer us a way out of the wilderness of neoliberalism” (idem, p. 160). With sophisticated analyses and effective mobilizations, insurgents from disadvantaged locations across the globe can lead planners to theorize, engage with, and challenge power differently.

In previous eras and today, insurgents are likely to appear in urban spaces. Cities are (re)productive spaces where people connect in struggle and form hubs of activists in networks of discourse across cities, between cities, and transnationally (Castells, 1983; Diani & McAdam, 2003; Nicholls & Uitermark, 2016; Sassen, 2004). This is because urban spaces provide resources, strategic mechanisms, and opportune relations, the basic building blocks for struggling people to connect and express their struggles at an aggregate level and perhaps with political power (Della Porta & Diani, 2009; McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2003; Uitermark & Nicholls, 2017). Cities, then, are potential incubators for networked grassroots discourses to form, diversify, and expand.

Insurgent planning theory argues that grassroots collectives in cities appear to contest the domineering status quo, but it does not explain when, where, or how insurgency forms in the urban fabric; nor does it explain how urban residents can become insurgent planners. This paper fills those gaps. I show that Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) in Detroit transitioned to an insurgent formation by rechanneling its associational life to oppose the growing crisis of neoliberal austerity. By delivering demands for equitable development and cultivating those demands into a sustained active critique, CVA renewed their city's tradition of radical organizing to counter the contemporary neoliberal regime's program for revitalization.

Methods

The themes that situate Detroit in a legacy of labor and civil rights activism were guided by insurgent planners through ethnographic investigation (Goffman, 1978; Madison, 2011). The content of the historiographical inquiry that forms the next section on Black Detroit draws from secondary sources, and the following section on emergency management combines secondary and primary sources. The thick description of Charlevoix Village Association (CVA) becoming insurgent is an ethnographic account based on the author's participant observation while volunteering with CVA since January 2017, before the inception of insurgency. As the insurgency unfolded after March 2017, the author gathered ethnographic details as they occurred via fieldnotes, informal interviews, and artifacts. She attended public meetings held by CVA, other grassroots groups, nonprofits, and government. She also attended smaller CVA organizing meetings and spoke regularly to members. The article relies heavily on the literature that CVA produced to publicly disseminate their analyses, physically and digitally, as well as two internal CVA reports intended for insurgents' self-clarification. From June-September 2018 the author conducted 22 semi-structured interviews to triangulate the perspectives of long-term residents, newcomers, business owners, pastors, appointed and elected government officials, developers, and community development corporations. The thick empirical descriptions were drawn through grounded theory methods of constant comparison and theoretical sampling to identify themes and verify findings (Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007; Humphreys & Watson, 2009).

Associational networks and austerity urbanism

This section identifies conditions that undergirded Charlevoix Village Association's turn to an insurgent formation. Black Detroit has a long grassroots tradition of radical movement leadership supported by an associational infrastructure of block clubs and other organizations. Despite deterioration wrought by disinvestment and neoliberal encroachment ushered in by the state, these organizations remained an independent mode of grassroots networking and civic engagement. This section explains the ferocious way that austerity hit Detroit. The next section examines how within the conditions examined here, CVA resisted cooptation by embracing insurgency.

Insurgent threads flow through Black Detroit's history

Detroit has long been an important city for black people and for insurgent planning. Black people first came to the area as slaves, and they were compelled to build the first permanent settlement there, on top of Anishinabee hunting and subsistence grounds. As the Huron name "the Coast of the Strait" alludes to, Detroit is a borderland (Miles, 2017, p. 5). At either end, the Detroit River connects the upper and lower Great Lakes; and, after its years of French then British control, on either side, the Detroit River has connected Canada and the United States. While slavery was practiced on both sides of the international border until the 1830s, fugitives escaping across the river would be free on the opposite bank. Foreshadowing the significant role enslaved and free black people would play in forcing slavery to crumble across the South (Du Bois, 1935), historian Tiya Miles explains that after a century as a slaveholding city, the tradition had weakened in Detroit by the early 1800s. In activities that resemble insurgent planning:

> "…enslaved people themselves dealt the final blows. Adopting a renegade politics, traversing the border in pursuit of freedom, and fighting against those who claimed to own them with legal as well as lethal weapons, enslaved people undermined the corrupt, fraying, suspect system until it snapped." (Miles, 2017, p. 228)

While slavery remained U.S. law and custom, dozens of safehouses in Detroit served as the final stop before freedom on the Underground Railroad for thousands of fugitive slaves crossing to Canada (Detroit Historical Society, 2019). Locally and coordinated with a national network of abolitionists, insurgent subversion of the slavocracy shaped Detroit from its earliest days. As Miles emphasizes, powerful forces shaping history have left the first black Detroiters' story untold for centuries, so this historiography is itself insurgent or renegade, and thereby a theoretical telling.

Despite their pivotal role in the city's founding, black people did not constitute a large share of Detroiters until the 20th Century. Starting in 1910, black migrants came North to escape the oppression of Jim Crow, but they arrived to rife discrimination, unequal living conditions, and burning crosses (Sugrue, 2014). Black people were only allowed to live in certain sections of the city. Most concentrated on the eastside near downtown in an area called Black Bottom. By WWII, these areas became so packed that men paid rent to share bunks in shifts; when one man's factory shift was over, he climbed into a bed that another man had vacated to work the next shift (Bates, 2012). One man paid rent to sleep on a pool table. By the end of WWII, officials determined to remove the blight. They demolished 700 buildings, displacing 2000 residents and destroying the vibrant cultural hub of Black Bottom.

When new apartments opened in 1958, they cost four to ten times the rents of the demolished dwellings (Babson, 1986). Displaced persons crowded into other black areas. If they could find, finance, and protect a home against assaults, window breakings and burning crosses, higher-income black people moved into nearby white areas.

Unequal conditions and inferior opportunities were also customary in the workplace, including in unions, so the increasing number of black employees pressured the unions to accept them as members, then pushed for changes from the inside. By 1950, the union movement was desegregating factories, as well as entertainment venues and businesses near factories (Babson, 1986). This strength primed Detroiters for a leadership role in the Civil Rights Movement. Detroit became the home of Rosa Parks when she fled discrimination in Alabama, the site of 200,000 person marches, and the host of historic speeches by Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr, and other luminaries. As the postwar era grew a new world order abroad, Detroit's black working class exerted the strategic muscle to galvanize mass movements at home, forcing U.S. imperialism to concede civil rights and labor protections in the heart of empire.

Across Detroit's neighborhoods, with the pattern of "Negro Removal" repeating itself in poor and working class neighborhoods after Black Bottom, hundreds of block clubs and unions of block clubs, called resident associations, organized to protest that and other injustices. Babson explains:

> "Having gotten their start from the City Planning Commission's crime-prevention and neighborhood- preservation program, many of these clubs began challenging city officials over urban renewal policies, School Board decisions, and zoning requirements. The city tried to discourage this opposition by scuttling the program, but the genie was already out of the bottle. Block clubs and neighborhood councils, including homeowners of both races, became fixtures throughout Detroit." (idem, p. 166)

Willoughby-Herard (2017) argues that Detroit's rich "associational life" contextualizes the insurgent activities of its black working class. The wildcat strikes of the 1970s, the 1943 and 1967 Rebellions, and the election of a slate of black radical political leadership in 1973 shook the ruling order of the city to force a pivotal change in governance. In the second half of the 20th Century, Detroit made black power real in a way unseen even by other black urban regimes. Like other black urban regimes, however, Detroit's leadership conservatized, grappling with disinvestment by wooing corporate headquarters and investing in large developments that hurt the predominantly low-income black residents (Reed, 1999). While this leadership catered to middle and upper income black people, many of Detroit's grassroots organizations remained rooted in the working class and low income areas.

By the final decades of the millennium, "My city was etched by independent Black community organizations and an associational life that constituted Black consciousness and Blackness itself around a dizzying array of possibilities" (2017, p. 78). Even as the city became poorer and struggled with public health crises of the crack and HIV/AIDS epidemics, block clubs, credit unions, churches, and other variants of black associational life "took translocal, cross-generational organizing and political education of boys and girls very seriously" (ibid). In the lean years of the 80s and 90s, many leftist organizations that had made Detroit their hub for decades left the city, so the city's radical political infrastructure weakened. Nevertheless, Detroiters' grassroots tradition of "radical civil rights and labor organizing" had become both a characteristic feature of Detroit itself and an accountability mechanism to promote residents' interests in the halls of power (Taylor, 2019, p. 3).

Neoliberal austerity through dictatorship

For its successes at redirecting policy, planning, and profitability, Detroit faced powerful recoil. White businesses and residents, who had started moving to segregated suburbs in the 1950s, accelerated their disinvestment from the city (Kurashige, 2017). By 1970, the city's white population had fallen from its peak by 670,000 people. In 1971, Michigan courts, then the Supreme Court, delivered a national precedent toward school resegregation in the *Milliken v. Bradley* decision. This decision would cement Detroit's eastern boundary with the wealthy, nearly all-white suburb Grosse Pointe as the "most segregating school district border in the country" (EdBuild, 2016, p. 14). As segregation intensified between the city and suburbs, Detroiters voted to tax themselves extra to support infrastructure and services, especially schools, libraries, and water. By 2017 Detroiters paid 47% more in property taxes than Grosse Pointe. Yet pay stayed so low and working conditions remained so decrepit that in 1967, 1973, 1979, 1982, 1987, 1992, and 2016 teachers went on strike (Grover & van der Velde, 2016). Nonetheless, movement gains had achieved some lasting protections for the black poor and working class, and Detroit's black population continued to increase until 2000.

Still, segregation starved the city of resources. To manage debt, city government fell prey to risky investments and residents to predatory lending. In the new millennium, state-imposed austerity measures, such as school closings, drove the teetering city to the point of bankruptcy. Detroit's bankruptcy would signal the end of the black urban regime running the city since 1973, in part neutralizing the city's radical elements that had upheld civil rights and labor protections for decades. The next section reviews the length to which the state of Michigan went to impose austerity, suspending elected government to restructure city

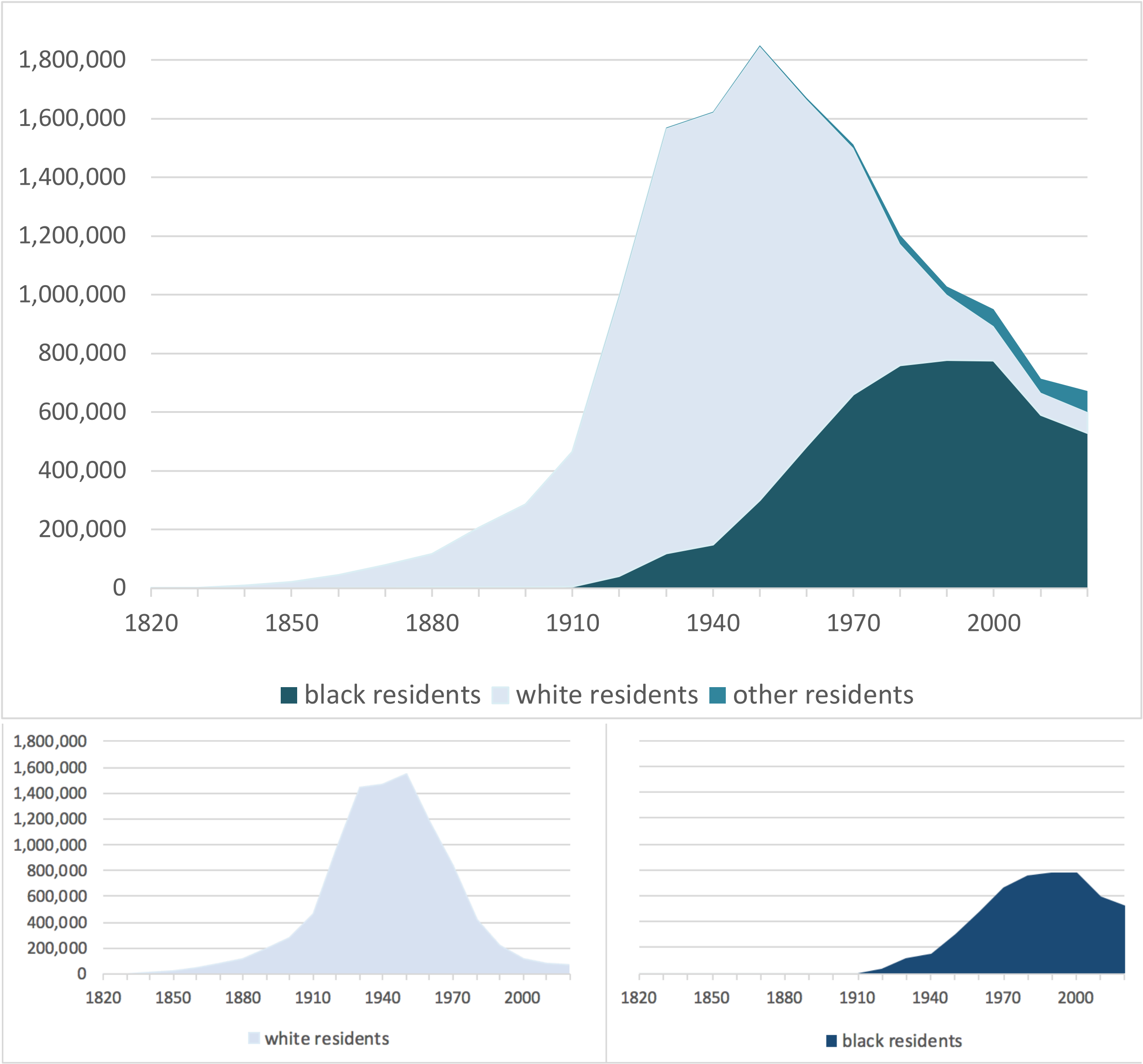

Figure 4.1 **Detroit City Population, 1820-2017**

Once a seasonal home, hunting ground, and rest stop for the Anishinabee tribe and other indigenous people from the region, French settlers brought African slaves and built a fort and fur trading post. They named the place Detroit, and even after the British and then Americans took hold of the land, they kept the name. Population spiked with industrialization and the World Wars. After WWII, white population decreased precipitously, as is highlighted in the shrinking cities literature. Less noted is that black population kept increasing until the final years of the 20th Century. Detroit's black population did not significantly decrease until after 2000, which coincides with state takeover of Detroit Public Schools.

Data Sources: 1820-1990 (Gibson & Jung, 2005); 2000-2010 (CensusViewer, 2012); 2017 American Community Survey functions, including planning, without democratic input. State control of localities' finances represents an intense and growing form of austerity urbanism under neoliberal governance (Peck, 2012). By 2016, twenty U.S. states had laws allowing for state intervention to appoint managers, often called receivers, to take over the fiscal affairs of struggling municipalities. In cities and school districts, receivership allows a state appointee to tackle debt and balance local budgets by cutting public expenses.

Michigan's emergency manager system is "an unusually strong form of this austerity approach to local government" (Loh, 2016, p. 836). After 1990, Michigan had an emergency financial manager law, Public Act 72, that gave the state power to take control of cities or school boards' financial decisions, including budgeting and spending. In 2011, Michigan expanded the law into Public Act 4 (PA4), which awarded the state discretion to suspend local elected officials' power and replace them with an Emergency Manager (EM). Without evidence of financial distress, the state could appoint an EM with the authority to unilaterally enact and ignore laws, overhaul departments, privatize public services, make or void contracts with labor unions, and more. Michiganders gathered petition signatures to put the future of PA 4 up for referendum, and in the 2012 election they overwhelmingly voted to repeal the law. However, within weeks, in a lame duck session, the Michigan State legislature passed a new law, Public Act 436, that mildly revised PA 4 and attached a budget appropriation so that it could not be subject to referendum.[15] Neoliberal state interventions typically balance budgets by cutting public services, but Loh (2016) indicates that they preserve policy processes. Michigan's extreme measures of stripping local elected officials of governing authority and subverting popular referendum reflect a leading edge of neoliberal austerity, "not only circumventing normal decision-making channels but subverting local democracy itself" (Peck, 2012, p. 635).

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[15] (CRC Memorandum, 2012; Fasenfest, 2019; B. X. Lee, 2016; Loh, 2016; MSU Extension, 2017) all review the legislative history of the emergency management laws in Michigan. Public Act 10, which allowed takeover of Detroit Public Schools from 1999-2005 is not included in these accounts (Mackinac Center for Public Policy, 2006).

The rationale for state intervention is to help struggling localities put their finances in order, but emergency management in Michigan has both stemmed from and deepened the structural inequalities that are at the root of financial struggles. For instance, Michigan's Constitution provides for revenue sharing to redistribute sales taxes to localities. Revenue sharing was essential to mitigating resegregation in the late 20th Century. However, as budget woes heightened in the new millennium, the state lessened revenue sharing dramatically.

> Beginning in 2002, under the leadership of both parties, the State of Michigan appropriated over $6.2 billion of sales tax revenues to fill state budgetary shortfalls rather than redistribute those funds back to local communities…. From 2000 to 2012 municipal revenue from the state declined for EM cities, falling by an average of 42.43 percent from 2000 to 2012…. the fiscal crisis of these Michigan cities was, in large part, precipitated by if not a consequence of this significant loss in revenue sharing (Fasenfest, 2019, pp. 38–39).

The implementation of receivership laws in Michigan exemplify the workings of structural racism (Hammer, 2016). With Michigan's black cities starved of resources for decades in the late 20th Century, loss of revenue sharing and the collapse of global financial markets brought them to a new level of urban crisis in the new millennium. Low income black Michiganders bore the brunt of this crisis. Lee et. al. (2016) show, of the 10% of Michiganders who lived under emergency management, 70% were African American (compared to 14% of the population). Any Michigander has a one in ten chance they have lived under emergency management, but black Michiganders' odds are 50/50 (Michigan Civil Rights Commission, 2017). Black residents' disenfranchisement through emergency management reeled of separate and unequal treatment of earlier eras. "I'm old enough to remember the struggle for voting rights for African Americans," Detroit resident Phillip is quoted in *the Atlantic*. "And still within my lifetime, I'm fighting the same battle again" (Lewis, 2013). Like the systems of Jim Crow and slavery, the imposed arrangement of EM power purported to be in the general public interest. However, EMs have not been reliable at fixing localities' finances, and in some cases they have made things much worse. Several of the Michigan localities under state control have been put through emergency management multiple times, showing that finances have not gotten discernably better. Flint has had five appointed managers. Decisions made by EM Darnell Early led Flint into a preventable water crisis that exposed the whole city to poisoned water for two years (see Krings, Kornberg, & Lane, 2018; Pulido, 2016; Fasenfest, 2019). Governor Snyder later appointed Early as EM of Detroit Public Schools (DPS), to public outcry (Bosman & Davey, 2016).

Detroit has experienced state takeover three times, under both Republican and Democrat administrations, beginning with the schools and culminating in bankruptcy. From 1999-2005, the state took over DPS. Voters had approved a $1.5 billion bond for the schools in 1994, so DPS was operating with a large surplus.[16] Without a financial rationale, the state could not appoint a financial manager. The state had to pass a special law, Public Act 10 (PA 10), allowing them to take control for five years (Mackinac Center for Public Policy, 2006). Citing poor academic performance, the state nullified the elected school board and appointed a replacement school board. After 1998 enrollment began declining, which imposed enormous financial strain (Grover & van der Velde, 2016). The state-appointed leadership also made questionable investments in real estate and purchased curricula and textbooks that sat unwrapped in warehouses. The state aimed to extend receivership under PA 10 past five years, and Detroit's renegade civil rights organizations fought them in court to restore democratic process. When power returned to an elected school board in 2005, DPS was broke. Detroit's black population started declining for the first time in these early years of the 21st Century.

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[16] For a timeline of events related to state takeover, see the grassroots Save Michigan's Public Schools's Facebook post (Save Michigan's Public Schools, 2013). The details in this post were confirmed in ethnographic interviews.

With DPS now in financial straits, the state suspended the school board and installed four EMs between 2009-2016. This time, managers began closing schools. Insurgents, particularly youth, coordinated student-led walk-outs and occupations of schools to prevent school closings. These insurgent tactics kept a few schools open. The movement also won in court to prevent the financial manager from controlling school curricula (Gibson, 2010). Nevertheless, from 2000-2015, managers closed 195 public schools, and DPS enrollment fell by 71% (Grover & van der Velde, 2016). Since schools are anchors of neighborhoods, school closings have uprooted communities. Students across the city have had to face the uncertainty and instability of moving schools year after year. Jobs for teachers, janitors, administrators, cafeteria workers, etc. have vanished from neighborhoods. By 2015, DPS had only 91 active schools, and 82 shuttered schools remained vacant (ibid). Emergency management had saddled DPS with $3.5 billion in long term debt. In 2016, DPS became strictly a debt bearing entity, and the remaining schools transferred to a new entity, Detroit Public Schools Community District (DPSCD). With 50,000 students, DPSCD is the largest public school district in Michigan.

Emergency management in Detroit culminated in the largest municipal bankruptcy in U.S. history. Since 2003, the state, foundations, and investors had been pushing Detroit to "right-size" and attract a wealthier, whiter population to make Detroit a "cool city" (Granholm, 2003). Limited revenue combined with risky investments, predatory lending, and illegal property tax assessments exceeded the limits of Black Detroit's resiliency, and Michigan's largest city, the U.S.'s 20th largest city, became arguably the hardest hit U.S. city by the global financial crisis (Dewar, Seymour, & Druță, 2015). 48% of homes went into mortgage or tax foreclosure from 2000-2015 (Akers & Seymour, 2018; Atuahene & Hodge, 2016; Seymour & Akers, 2019). Renegade activity, such as Detroit Eviction Defense, which successfully won people's homes back through legal and direct actions, sought to mitigate the damage. Still, tens of thousands of people a year lost their homes. The city's black population plummeted, and homeownership dropped below 50%. Bankruptcy was looming, and rather than allow Detroit's elected officials to conduct the proceedings, the state intervened, appointing Kevin Orr to restructure the urban regime.

While Orr faced popular disapproval and organized resistance, he was able to work quickly, efficiently, and creatively to restructure government in just 15 months. The "Grand Bargain" that concluded Detroit's bankruptcy slashed pensions for city employees and stripped the city of control over prized institutions, including the Detroit Institute of Art, Belle Isle, and Detroit Water and Sewage. Other services became privatized, and public sector unions were gutted. With these shifts, potential insurgents' meager resources were further depleted and their networks decimated. Restructuring sapped City Council of power in favor of a Mayor-strong system. Under Orr's tenure, voters elected the first white mayor since 1973, Mike Duggan, a neoliberal proponent committed to furthering the austerity measures that Orr laid to initiate Detroit into the ranks of urban financialization (Peck, 2015). In 2014, Orr handed control of the city to Mayor Duggan. To inaugurate the new urban regime, Duggan hired planners to key government posts to implement a revitalization strategy that aimed to attract investors to kickstart a new era in Detroit's urban planning.

In sum, this section explains when local conditions became ripe for insurgency. Detroit's dense associational infrastructure had been partially dismantled and placated by disinvestment but was still independent and functional when the extreme imposition of austerity urbanism signaled to long-term residents that they would not be welcome for their city's next chapter. The next section shows how this antagonism played out in a particular neighborhood, through the insurgency of Charlevoix Village Association.

Insurgent formation of a neighborhood group

At the beginning of 2017, CVA were not insurgent planners. And then by Springtime they were. How did this happen? This section explains how participating as "invited" in a neighborhood planning process failed to address residents' concerns, so they created a set of demands to disrupt business as usual and "invent space" that would allow them to shift the terms of engagement to make their voices heard (Miraftab, 2004).

A new planning effort begins for CVA's area

Late in 2016, CVA learned that their area would be getting a new plan. CVA's president Toyia Watts recalls that a representative from a local Community Development Corporation (CDC) "told me Esther [Yang] was gonna be our planner in our neighborhood. That's why I kept in touch with Esther. I said cool. I'll get to know this lady."

Ms. Watts showed Ms. Yang around the neighborhood and arranged a meeting with a group of CVA members at a neighborhood CDC to talk about planning priorities. In the group meeting with Ms. Yang, the residents raised several concerns around orienting the plan to long-term residents and preventing negative impacts of gentrification. Their priority was resources to make up for decades of disinvestment in their neighborhood, especially funding for repairs on their centenarian homes. Poverty and racism were the key elements they wanted the planning process to address. As investment had begun flowing to Detroit, CVA read about gentrification in other cities. They asked that the planning process grapple with the challenges gentrification posed, namely displacement and equitable development. CVA wanted the new plan to improve living conditions for the majority of long-term residents in the neighborhood, who were black and low income, while redevelopment often made life more difficult for these people. In response, Ms. Yang explained that the planning process was going to be organized into four buckets: mobility, housing, resources + amenities, and commercial + institutional. The plan would address priorities within those buckets.

The first public meeting of the planning process did not address gentrification, poverty, or racism. The planners introduced their interagency team, expressed that they were here to gather input, and promised that the duration of the planning process would be inclusive and engaging. The planners' presentation anticipated new housing and businesses that long-term residents could not afford and amenities that they were not interested in. Moreover, the presentation ran long, so residents were permitted only a few minutes to speak, during a short Q&A at the end. CVA members left the meeting dejected and demoralized.

If CVA continued engaging as they had been invited to, the planning process would continue to deflect and downplay their priorities and concerns. In an internal report prepared later to reflect on the first year of CVA's campaign against displacement, resegregation, and gentrification, CVA volunteer organizer Tristan Taylor assessed that "under the auspices of 'creating community vision' and 'community improvement' CVA was being sucked into doing the work of gentrification as opposed to developing a plan to stop gentrification" (2018, p. 2). As CDCs and city representatives aimed to enroll them in planning, CVA realized that the planning process would design a neighborhood that was nicer than it had been in years but that was no longer for them. CVA members had read, heard, and seen that when redevelopment like this took place in other cities, people like them were displaced and dispossessed. For all the input it was soliciting, the planning process was only offering this brand of revitalization. Mr. Taylor's report continued, "The question to consider is what allowed Toyia and CVA to break from this process that has claimed many victims" (idem, p. 3). In other words, how did CVA break free of the clientelistic relationships that characterize participatory planning to form an independent alternative and build an insurgent planning effort?

Making insurgency an option

After the first public meeting, a multi-generational and integrated group of a dozen long-term neighborhood residents, new neighbors, and activists connected with CVA considered what to do. One idea was to develop a set of demands. Mr. Taylor, a lifelong working class black Detroiter and civil rights organizer who had helped a CVA member win back her house after losing it to foreclosure, encouraged this option. His political experience taught him that having demands would make it harder "for the community's voice to get stifled and distorted" through public participation (idem, p. 8). It would show that the community knew a lot about what they needed and wanted. Rather than simply opposing the plan, the demands would stand in contrast to the administration's planning process, articulating long-term residents' desire for a different direction for their neighborhood.

Residents met at a neighbor's house and agreed to collectively draft demands. The host, a new Detroiter and young activist, typed and projected the document so everyone could see, while long-term residents called out ideas and deliberated on the articulation of their needs. The demands they developed comprised an overarching framework that addressed poverty, racism, and gentrification: "Stop the displacement and resegregation of Detroit" and "equitably allocate funding through all of Detroit, not just a few chosen areas" (Charlevoix Village Association, 2017a). The other demands enumerated concrete priorities including: home repair grants, affordable housing, poverty assistance, small black businesses, reliable City services, decision-making power over blight removal and land repurposing, and an end to home foreclosures and school and library closings. Mr. Taylor reported, "Just being clear and firm about what they wanted meant that CVA believed in their right to these demands" (idem, p. 9). The demands' articulation put an option on the table other than the planners' presentation. If CVA members showed support for the demands at the community engagement meeting, that would be the difference between being steamrolled by the planning process or shifting the terms of engagement.

CVA leaders also outlined a strategy to run the next public meeting differently than the first. Because the planning team was holding the second engagement session at CVA's monthly meeting, they revised the agenda Ms. Yang had sent them to limit the presentation duration and lengthen the time for Q&A. They also decided to have a timekeeper, who would enforce the proposed schedule and make sure residents got their chance to speak. Before the next public meeting, the tech-saavy members agreed to collaborate on a google doc to create a handout that would accompany the demands. The handout aimed to orient the broader community to be confident and informed in challenging the planning process and showing support for the demands. It emphasized that the decision to redesign the neighborhood "was done without the consent of the Community," and "if the City does not respond to our demands, we have to oppose it completely and force the City to make a new plan that is built around our needs and wants" (Charlevoix Village Association, 2017b).

At the meeting, CVA took charge. As volunteers passed out the demands and handout to the assembled community, CVA's Vice President welcomed the City representatives and explained, "This is not how you do community engagement. You have made a lot of important decisions without us. Poor people and black people need to be your most important consultants in this neighborhood." The City presentation ran long, as it had in the first meeting. When the timekeeper signaled that time was up, a planner was speaking about installation of a bike path. She paused, and said, "Um, I'm gonna keep going..." and went on. Rustles could be heard across the room, and people were murmuring to each other. Ms. Yang said, "Let's zip through this." Ms. Watts stated, "We'll give them five more minutes," and people quieted.

In the Q&A, residents raised questions and concerns that echoed demands about home repair, affordability, schools, libraries, and treating black people as knowledgeable. The planners answered by referring to the buckets around which they had organized the planning process and directing residents to another city department. In multiple cases, the community expressed dissatisfaction at the planners' answers. In the final minutes of the meeting, Ms. Yang appealed, "You can either trust me or not trust me, or walk with us through this process. We have thick skins." The demands had been successful not only at giving the community traction to express their interests but in making it so that the planners could not "disarm and deflect community needs and concerns," as they had done previously (Taylor, 2018).

This initial public act of insurgency, "the opening salvo of the struggle" (Taylor, 2019, p. 9), disrupted the planning process by challenging the terms of public engagement, but it did not change the direction of planning. To force the direction of planning to change, CVA would need to sustain and grow the insurgent irruption that they had initially generated.

An insurgent CVA plans for equitable development

This section examines how CVA built on the demands to become insurgent planners. CVA's demands formed the basis for the campaign against displacement, resegregation, and gentrification, and later grew into a concerted push for community benefits agreements with developers. Without offering a comprehensive analysis of the campaigns, I identify themes that characterized CVA's becoming insurgent planners. Blatant nonconsent and power analyses helped CVA reframe their networks and become a leader in the housing justice movement. While CVA has not to date accomplished its larger goal of building a mass movement for housing justice in Detroit, the resident association's insurgency has forced concessions from the administration and developers that have swayed the momentum of revitalization in Detroit.

Making public, collective nonconsent a consistent political force

Developing the demands was CVA's way of giving itself a simple but previously nonextant option: saying no to the plan. They shifted the participation process to give themselves the ability to withhold consent and to demand a different pathway forward. However, vetoing the plan was not the kind of input the planners had budgeted for. And since CVA's "No" did not have the statutory standing that the planning process did, their nonconsent did not have power behind it; structurally, their "No" did not matter to their neighborhood planning process. Thus, CVA could not simply express nonconsent in public for the planning process to respect their wishes. They had to show that their constituents were significant, willing to be disruptive, and could keep showing up.

Soon after delivering the demands, CVA began a petition to "Stop Displacement, Resegregation, and Gentrification!" (Charlevoix Village Association, 2017c). Citing the revitalization that had already transformed Downtown Detroit and Cass Corridor (renamed "Midtown"), the petition reviewed the displacement that had already taken place "through mass school closings, home mortgage and tax foreclosures, and the gutting of city services and amenities." The City of Detroit and developers aimed to continue this strategy of revitalization, so those "who weathered the storm of neglect and assault that has ravaged

Detroit" were at risk of being pushed out to "make more space for the 'New Detroit.'" The petition rejected this trajectory. "We cannot allow a new version of separate and unequal to take place in Detroit. Together we have power. Now is the time to mobilize ourselves and proclaim loud and clear: we say no to the New Jim Crow!" For over a year, this petition, a clear articulation of nonconsent, served as a primary tool for CVA to talk to people about the inequitable development happening in Detroit and to build a contact list of supporters for a different direction of redevelopment.

CVA repeated this articulation of nonconsent in various written and performative forms as the campaign developed over the next two years. A flyer for a mass community meeting June 20, 2017, outlined two outcomes "if we don't fight now together… [first] where developers of the 'New Detroit' have taken interest… we face mass displacement for homeowners and renters…. [second] Outside of these areas of 'interest,' we face continued neglect and deterioration in some of the only areas Detroiters can afford to live." The flier concluded that neither option "is acceptable because they place us in a permanent second-class status…. OUR CITY IS NOT FOR SALE!" (idem, p. 8). Attendees at the mass meeting voted to hold a march and rally in the neighborhood. During the July 8 march, not only did CVA distribute this flyer throughout the neighborhood and collect numerous signatures on the petition, their City Councilperson and Mayoral liaison also attended and saw firsthand "CVA's ability to mobilize active and visible resistance against the redevelopment plans" (Taylor, 2019, p. 12).

To date, the times when CVA made their nonconsent matter by getting the City and/or developers to make concessions in favor of equitable development include:

- $2.5 million restored in 2018 and 2019 to the home repair grant fund, which had been completely defunded by Mayor Duggan.
- CVA's testimony contributed to the Planning and Development Subcommittee of City Council's delay in awarding Transformational Brownsfield tax abatements to billionaire Dan Gilbert for development of the Hudson site in November 2017 (Aguilar, 2017).
- Due to CVA's testimony, the City Planning Commission required the Planning and Development Department to submit a report on the Islandview and Greater Villages neighborhood plan's community engagement process in February 2018.
- The Platform development company has suspended plans for the Cass & York project after its unwillingness to meet demands made by the mandatory Neighborhood Advisory Council (NAC) for the project, which is in the New Center neighborhood. A volunteer organizer working with CVA served as one of two elected members on the nine-member NAC from August to November 2018 (City of Detroit, 2019), and CVA's influence greatly shaped the NAC's demands and negotiation strategy.
- In partnership with residents from the neighboring West Village Association, CVA won a delay in rezoning the Kercheval & Van Dyke development in September 2018. Pressured by CVA's analysis and mobilizing capacity, developers the Roxbury Group and Invest Detroit improved affordability standards before the rezoning was approved in November 2018 (Charlevoix Village Association, 2018d). A year after the delay, the project, which CVA still opposes, has not broken ground.

To this list of concrete concessions, Taylor adds, “The most important thing we did was be an example to people wanting to fight and a group to be in solidarity with” (2018, p. 15). In reflecting on these contributions of CVA to the housing justice movement in Detroit, he emphasizes:

> This would be significant for even highly resourced organizations. The fact that CVA is a long-existing neighborhood association that never did a direct political campaign in their whole existence with no resources other than the self-sacrifice of its members and supporters makes these achievements truly remarkable. But more than that it speaks to the possibility of building an effective, grassroots movement that is independent of the Democratic Party and the non-profit foundations that act as surrogates to the liberals and their agenda of austerity. (idem, p. 2)

While CVA did not mobilize a movement strong enough to change the tide of planning in their neighborhood from 2017-2019, their organizing around the demands did constitute a pole of attraction for a different direction of development and thus shifted the planning process in discernable ways. By forcefully upholding their demands, CVA’s campaign against displacement, resegregation, and gentrification became a rare voice for housing justice in Detroit that garnered its sway from grassroots interests and not pragmatic calculations. The analysis of power that kept CVA holding strong to their demands is discussed in the next section.

From resource seeking to power analysis

Insurgency involved a shift of CVA from seeking resources to analyzing power dynamics. This shift enabled CVA to reaffirm their independence from clientelistic relationships, holding fast to their demands as a viable direction for revitalization. As a resident association in a highly impoverished area, an important role of CVA was to locate resources, such as grants for weatherization or free toilets from Wayne County, and link residents to the resources they may need. They did this by keeping connected with an array of entities who got funding to distribute resources, including Community Development Corporations (CDCs) and other nonprofit groups, as well as maintaining direct connections to elected officials and city staff. By 2017, CVA had started working closely with some of the CDCs in the area. They moved their monthly meetings from the neighborhood community center to a CDC's church and worked on grant applications together. As a grassroots group, CVA was registered with the City of Detroit, but they did not have nonprofit status, so they needed a nonprofit partner or fiduciary to be eligible for most funding streams. However, once they had articulated what they needed and wanted in the demands, they realized that securing grant money would not necessarily make it more likely for the demands to be met. Since the demands were not consistent with the planned direction of development, catering to funding sources no longer appeared to be in their immediate interests (material and otherwise).

CVA's analysis reframed their understanding of the post-bankruptcy urban regime. They levied a severe critique of Duggan administration policies "making Detroit open for business" at the expense of the 700,000-person city's poor black majority (Taylor, 2019, p. 3). CVA wrote a rebuttal to the Mayor's acclaimed "City for everyone" speech that highlighted the inequality inherent in Duggan's portrayal of "everyone". When the Housing and

Revitalization Department (HRD) advertised a Housing Fair to share resources that residents already knew about and were largely ineligible for, CVA responded to HRD with an open letter that questioned “whether the resources it offers are actually beneficial to residents” (Charlevoix Village Association, 2018b). CVA challenged, “if the City believes these programs can be potentially beneficial to residents, it should use the Housing Fair to prove it,” and they offered ideas to make the Housing Fair more useful, like collecting and sharing data on the number, needs, and eligibility of applicants for the available programs. The letter went unanswered. Furthermore, finding that “the Duggan administration’s response to our demands… continues to side with the interests of private investors and the newly white and wealthy residents of Detroit over and against the interests of long-term residents,” CVA wrote an 18-page reply holding that “CVA stands firm in the belief that development can happen on an equitable basis” and outlining policy approaches to achieve that goal (Charlevoix Village Association, 2018c, p. 2). In addition to engaging in spaces curated by professional planners, CVA created these written formats to counterpose long-term residents’ desired direction of development to the administration’s planning process.

CVA’s analysis narrowed in on the racist and unequal power dynamics of austerity that were reshaping Detroit through separate and unequal redevelopment. Choosing to use the word “racist” was a landmark moment for CVA. While long-term residents did not *want* to use the word, and deliberations over the term sparked controversy within CVA, ultimately they decided that the systematically unequal treatment that was reshaping the New Detroit called for “telling the plain truth” about the stakes of Detroit’s revitalization (Taylor, 2019, p. 1). CVA realized that in general, CDCs and funders were vested in an institutional arrangement that promoted gentrification. When CVA made their demands, one CDC director told the CVA president and vice president, “Don’t bite the hand that feeds you.” Another CDC director affirmed CVA’s right to make demands but would not help them with next steps. Realizing that the CDCs would not help them make the demands real, CVA aimed to understand what was going on and recalibrate with new information. The life of Frederick Douglass, “a man born into bondage who stole himself from slavery and became one of America’s greatest political leaders” demonstrated to CVA that “the oppressed have power” and must organize to wage a moral and physical struggle for freedom (Charlevoix Village Association, 2018a). The adage “knowledge is power” and Douglass’s words “power concedes nothing without a demand” became guideposts for CVA to challenge racist redevelopment and to create insurgent strategies of engagement.

As CVA backed away from working with CDCs, they strengthened their grassroots connections. While one CDC rebranded CVA as “the policy people” and her own organization as “the resource people,” CVA’s arms-length relationship to CDCs did not lessen the resident association’s ability to connect residents with resources. CVA still announced resource opportunities at monthly meetings, and residents still turned to Ms. Watts to help solve problems, like needing a new refrigerator. CVA also connected with resident groups in other neighborhoods, including some neighborhoods targeted by and others left out of revitalization plans. CVA members went to their meetings, and they came to CVA’s meetings. From the far Eastside’s Jefferson Chalmers and to Brightmoor on the far Westside, active long-term residents talked on the phone with CVA volunteers, connected on social media, and met in person to share lessons from their neighborhood’s experience. When volunteers traveled to or hosted visitors from other cities, like New York, Chicago, and Oakland, they gathered lessons to bring back to CVA. While keeping up with so many people in so many places could be arduous, their network of grassroots connections facilitated CVA's clarity of analysis and opportunities to intervene in the planned direction of development in Detroit.

Conclusion

Like Jim Crow overturned the progress of justice achieved by Radical Reconstruction in a previous cycle of history, neoliberal austerity is proceeding to unravel the gains of the Civil Rights Movement. Detroit's radical labor and civil rights organizing made black power real in the 1970s to an unprecedented degree. Not only did a black regime control urban governance, an integrated associational life sprung up in neighborhoods across the city as grassroots infrastructure to cultivate knowledge and networks across generations. Yet, the political and demographic shift to blackness marked Detroit as a target. The withdrawal of capital and continuing siphoning of resources from the city turned it into the largest poor city in the U.S. This punishment of Detroit escalated with the imposition of neoliberal austerity in the 21st Century. When state-appointed managers took control of schools and governance between 2000 and 2015, Detroit lost 25% of its population, as 48% of homes went into foreclosure (J. Akers & Seymour, 2018). CVA members, those who remained in the neighborhood by 2017, had long struggled to hold their homes and lives together. Having weathered the storm, when so many of their neighbors could not, they were not prepared to be pushed out. They read about how gentrification was ravaging communities like theirs in cities across the globe. With an available associational infrastructure, CVA answered the escalation of neoliberal austerity with insurgency.

Insurgent planners repurposed Detroit's grassroots organizational life to limit the intensification of austerity. By cutting into basic and necessary city services and functions, neoliberalism creates the conditions for discontent. Even when urban residents have been struggling their whole lives, austerity measures create heightened grievances because neoliberalism relies on increasing inequality and racism. Residents can utilize existing associational infrastructure to collectivize, build knowledge, and mobilize. The independence of grassroots groups is essential to resist repression on one hand and cooptation on the other hand. Insurgency arises to authorize residents' grievances, weaken their cynicism, and invite new terms of participation that seek to impose limits on the encroachment of austerity.

CVA created the option of insurgency when the participatory process shut out the voices and interests of long-term residents. Delivering demands was insurgent and not simply contrarian because it was a theoretically and experientially informed method of seeking justice. CVA's analysis of power showed that their tacit, presumed consent, via participation, would promote inequitable development and racist displacement. If they wanted to assert a veto against plans they assessed as racist and unequal, institutional participation would not suffice. A forceful and creative intervention would have to shift the terms of engagement and invent spaces to disruptively assert nonconsent on an ongoing basis in order to trouble the status quo dynamics of power. This is one story of how insurgents emerged in a U.S. city and began planning for their city to grow toward justice.

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Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

One day in 2017, as the insurgency was just getting its footing, CVA volunteers gathered at a member's house to prepare for their next steps. It was after a long meeting, at a late hour, and Ms. Watts sat on the sofa, leaning lightly on her knees, her hands clasped in front of her, quiet for a moment in her own thoughts. One or two long-term residents remained in the room, and one or two newer Detroiters. "Wow," Ms. Watts said, looking up, to none of us in particular, "we really have been struggling our whole lives."

After a lifetime of trying to get to the other side of struggle, long-term Detroiters see that the plans coming to their city will make things even worse for them. Since long-term residents' resources have already been siphoned away by decades of racist disinvestment, predatory foreclosure, and neoliberal austerity, this revitalization strategy imposes a new material squeeze that is pushing homeowners out of their generational homes, while rents are spiking. This pattern is not entirely new. "Remember Black Bottom," CVA wrote on signs, recalling racist displacement ushered in by urban planning of a previous generation. Yesterday and today, in city after city, high costs of housing are pushing out communities that look like CVA's. When urban revitalization strategies subsidize developments catering to wealthier whiter newcomers, they discursively erase the struggles of Ms. Watts, her neighbors, and people like them in other neighborhoods and other cities. For example, some of the recent renderings for mixed-use multistory apartments in the City of Detroit's Multifamily Housing Strategy depict wealthier folks on fourth floor balconies *looking down on* the modest means of their tenured neighbors next-door (who are unpictured and unthought in the rendering). When CVA explained the inequality and racism inherent in that dynamic, the planners quashed the critique rather than validate it and discuss how to do better by long-term residents. Darker skinned and less affluent residents in Detroit and beyond have come to expect this type of painful disregard from institutional participation, which demeans their intelligence and addresses their interests nowhere.

Refusing to abide by such terms of engagement, CVA built an insurgent platform to assert long-term residents' interests in a manner that would make it hard for the planning process to ignore them. While they had to generate this option anew in their time, history was on their side, in that the legacy of black power had bequeathed Detroiters a leftist tradition and an associational infrastructure to support grassroots organizing for labor and civil rights. However, the infrastructure of this tradition had been depleted by years of disinvestment and the deep impact of bankruptcy. Nevertheless, many Detroiters still connected to and relied on grassroots organizations. Unlike many other groups, CVA did not collect dues, nor did they frequently provide food at meetings; Ms. Watts often said people could come for the knowledge. Their strategy of research and study inoculated CVA from cooptation via the lure of resources from the planning establishment. CVA read widely about gentrification struggles, housing policy, and mass demonstrations, from Oakland to Cairo to Chile. To understand what they were going through and the stakes of their struggle, they read history and quoted leaders that made their contemporary struggle possible, like abolitionist, statesman, and ex-slave Frederick Douglass and labor and civil rights leader Bayard Rustin. They discussed and wrote analyses of their own, as they planned how to reach more residents and increase their organizing power by building a mass movement. The planning establishment labeled CVA as a fringe group to be discounted, but they also declined to answer CVA's letters or in any substantive way engage with CVA's critique. Meanwhile, CVA valued Detroiters' grassroots knowledge and sought to be accountable to their neighbors by speaking the plain truth about inequality and racism, aiming to turn the direction of planning toward equitable development.

This dissertation contributes to urban planning theory and practice by filling gaps in insurgent planning's critique of inclusive governance and by proposing two empirically grounded theoretical branches of insurgent planning that have relevance for planning in general: insurgent knowledge and insurgent formation. I affirm planning theorists' understanding that the system of participation relies on asymmetric information and power that often coopts community development organizations and destroys local neighborhood fabrics (Forester, 1982; Innes, 1998). Nevertheless, critical residents do not become passively quashed; they respond sharply. They create independent avenues to push back on CDCs and other arms of the planning establishment. The planning establishment delegitimates residents' local knowledge, but insurgents produce studied ideas and theories, which they use to critique the planning process and pose insurgent alternatives. Insurgent planners revalue long-term residents' specific and sophisticated local knowledges and link their local knowledges with technical and academic planning knowledge to generalize their condition, strategize how to limit the planning establishment, and intervene in the direction of urban affairs. Finally, this dissertation outlines specific mechanisms through which regular people become insurgent. CVA's insurgency formed by repurposing organizational infrastructure away from participation and toward independent analyses of power. These power analyses directed insurgents to strategically assert nonconsent to austerity and the reimposition of separate and unequal in their city. "Say NO to the New Jim Crow!" CVA wrote and chanted, and their neighbors agreed and exerted pressure that restricted the field of discourse and activity for planning establishment projects. Through these empirically driven analyses of insurgent processes, I demonstrate that insurgency led by black working class residents can to some degree limit capitalism's neoliberal expansion and build toward justice and democracy.

These contributions would not be possible without the steadfast work of Charlevoix Village Association. By way of CVA's exemplary example (Chandler, 2008), Chapter 1 argues that institutional participation often fails to ensure community empowerment, and planners should shift their commitments to insurgencies led by have-not urban residents. Chapter 2 demonstrates that insurgents affect the dynamics of power by critically cultivating knowledge. While institutional participation in Detroit devalued local knowledge, CVA's insurgent planning valued grassroots knowledge and they showed it by reading, writing, and critically engaging with each other. Chapter 3 offers a glimpse into how insurgency arises in the urban fabric, taking a long durée perspective that sees the renegades who formed the underground railroad, the rabble rousers who formed block clubs to limit urban renewal, and CVA's reply to gentrification under neoliberal austerity in the same insurgent threads of the urban fabric. Affirming and extending CVA's demands and the arguments of critical planning scholars, this dissertation raises the alarm that contemporary neoliberal regimes are taking urban planning and public policy in a dangerous direction. Insurgent planning is necessary now to protect the vanishing gains of previous generations for freedom and equality and to keep pushing to make liberty, justice, and democracy realizable for everybody, even *and especially* poor urban black people.

Remaining gaps

These contributions raise more questions than they answer. In particular, writing this dissertation in the format of articles prepared for publication has raised several tensions between insurgent planning and the institutional mode of academic scholarship. Extracting excerpts to seamlessly work into my analysis, supported by existing theory, I had to decontextualize and tone down the voices and formulations of my Detroit interlocutors. Streamlining the argument and demonstrating generalizable elements in the mode of an article resulted in downplaying the vitality of each personality, leadership style, and organizational role of CVA members and volunteers. The previous chapters argued for planning to recognize insurgent planners broadly, but in Detroit, specific people are making insurgency real. The specificity of their leadership and organization is not incidental and needs to be better studied. In order to show more of the complexity of their thinking and experience, I will use the remainder of this conclusion to present the ideas of two people from CVA who appeared in the previous chapters, Toyia Watts and Tristan Taylor, as well as another long-term resident, Mary Golson, who represents many others whose life experience and expressions of support have been crucial in building CVA's strength but who did not appear in the previous chapters.

The segments I include below are all from conversations. Their purposes are multiple. First, methodologically, much of what I learned during participant observation was through conversation. Conversations are primary vehicles for knowledge, situated in particular contexts and settings. These segments introduce the cadence, timber, and thought processes of Ms. Watts, Mr. Taylor, and Ms. Golson, individuals working together on a team with others, who each in their own ways made the CVA insurgency into what it is.

Secondly, my presence in these conversations demystifies the role that I played as a researcher and the character of my participant observation. This autoethnographic detour offers an example of community-based scholarship and how planners can work constructively with regular people. It should be noted that I am one of multiple ethnographers working with CVA. Molly Cunningham's dissertation fieldwork preceded mine, and Claire Bowman's ongoing dissertation fieldwork overlapped with mine since Summer 2018. As is clear in the segments that follow, the conversations that CVA is cultivating with ethnographers has influenced their insurgency.

Third I show how much effort CVA has to expend to decipher what the planning establishment is doing and intending to do. Planners need to investigate why extremely engaged citizens like CVA experience an intense lack of transparency and accountability in status quo planning.

Fourth, these segments index how complexly people are thinking, what type of critical connections they are making, and how insurgent knowledge is a practice of teaching each other. Western theory builds knowledge differently than the rhythm and significations that contour communication via conversation or stories (Christian, 1987; E. Sweet, 2015). This disjuncture presents gaps need to be studied in the realm of insurgent knowledge.

CVA talks insurgency

Over the course of my fieldwork, I talked regularly on the phone with Ms. Watts. We would discuss what had happened at the recent meetings, what was ahead to prepare for, what we were reading, and how to understand planning concepts. In this segment, Ms. Watts discusses how her neighborhood's situation relates to national news.

-1-

Toyia Watts:
Miami want to get the poor people out of there.
In California, why are so many homeless?
They talk about mudslides. That was affecting the rich people.
I forgot to ask Mary Sheffield,[17] where the homeless people gonna go if they move them from Cass? [18]

Allison Laskey:
The goal is, out of sight out of mind.

Toyia Watts:
My cousin sent me pictures of California. Block to block full of people who's homeless.
I didn't think it's that bad!
It's bad, cuz.
I just want to compare the homelessness with displacement. If they can't afford the apartment buildings, where they gonna go? You'll have more homeless people in Detroit than California! We've got enough now.
How you gonna deteriorate homeless people?
How can you help them?
Can't wipe them off the face of the earth.

Why won't the developers sit at the table with the community?
They come with their plans, but they're not for us.

Ms. Watts seamlessly jumps scales of analysis to consider trends in multiple cities and glean national and local implications of development. She asks electrifying analytical questions

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[17] CVA's City Councilperson for the duration of this project.

[18] Cass Ave was Detroit's equivalent of skid row, until the Cass Corridor neighborhood became "Midtown," the first highly gentrified area outside of/along with downtown.

that Detroit's professional planners were not asking. These questions lead Ms. Watts to consider what happens to homeless people in areas with new development, and what happens when people cannot afford housing and the homeless population grows. Ms. Watts also likens the unthinkingness of planning toward homeless people to the disregard she is experiencing from the developers in her community. This disregard was one of the aspects of participation that moved CVA to insurgency. In the next segment, Ms. Watts indicates how adversarial professional planning has been to her community's interests.

-2-

> *Toyia Watts:*
> Everyone want to open the door and come on in.
> Where do we fit in when you open the door??
> I don't see long term residents, homeowners or renters anywhere in your plans.
> Where do we fit in with the new urbanism or whatever you want to call it?
> The first thing residents say is, "That isn't for us. Is that for us? Do we fit in?"
> We just doing our research. We won't know what's coming at us if we don't do our homework.
>
> *Allison Laskey:*
> We're making history and to make history you have to write it too.
>
> *Toyia Watts:*
> And we're writing it, and someone has come to step on us to make us stop.
> That's what makes me so angry!
> I thought we was cool, alright in our own atmosphere.
> And all a sudden we get a feedback to make us stop.
> I don't know which way we wanna do this fight.
> And we ain't doin' nothing wrong!
>
> *Allison Laskey:*
> Apparently saying stop stepping on me is too much for some people.

Toyia Watts:
I guess the truth hurt
All I hear Tr tr tr tr tr from this mouth to that mouth.
Not hard but why you gotta make it seems so hard.
And it's a global issue. It's not just us.
People sure know how to knock you down if you let 'em!

First, Ms. Watts references developers, planners, and new neighbors who are drawn to her neighborhood in large part because the long-term residents have been able to hold together the urban fabric despite disinvestment and displacement. The investors and planners discount the degree to which their attraction to the area owes tribute to the investments of long-term residents. Rather, long-term residents do not see themselves in the plans being imposed on the neighborhood. When CVA asserted that they were being hurt by the plans, the planning establishment took offense, reprimanded CVA, kept doing what they had already planned, devalued local knowledge, and labeled CVA as a fringe segment. This angers Ms. Watts. Ms. Watts's insurgent orientation is clear when she aligns herself with communities around the world facing neoliberal urbanization and prepares to finish a fight she did not start.

The next segment displays this insurgent orientation in the writing of the demands reply discussed at length in Chapter 2. In Chapter 2, I wrote about CVA's process for expanding the demands to a long-form critique of Detroit's neoliberal urban regime. The collegiate volunteers who helped draft and edit the report (including myself) had missed important analyses and employed a deferential tone. In the segment below, Ms. Watts and Mr. Taylor discuss why that draft missed the mark and how to strengthen the demands' insurgent orientation.

-3-

Tristan Taylor:
No thanking anyone in the demands. The demands are not a thank you, they're a fuck you.
Shit, I tell people all the time that slave masters had black kids.

It's like when they slashed the budget for the housing department and cut the staff in half, hiring all new people without roots in the community and who don't have an interest in us. Half those people are going to move out of the city and live somewhere else in five years.

Think about all the money they spent on the Q Line.[19] They coulda bought a fleet of new buses! That's pure recreation. You spent millions of dollars so white people could take pictures and ride on a toy train.

Toyia Watts:
It seems like they're trying to suppress us. Is that a word?

Tristan Taylor:
Absolutely. Suppression. And oppression. Constantly starving us of the resources that we need.

An article recently was talking about Dave Bing.[20] A bunch of cities just won settlements because of predatory lending. But Detroit, the city that was hit hardest by the crisis, didn't file a lawsuit against the banks. Bing said no one wrote the proposals. Krystal Crittendon[21] said, actually we did. You just didn't give us the ok to submit the proposals. I'm like dang. You could have sued and got money like other cities and you couldn't even do that.

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[19] The Q Line is a 12-stop streetcar system constructed between 2013-2017 to run along a section of Detroit's main N-S street, Woodward Ave. Named for billionaire Dan Gilbert's mortgage company Quicken Loans, the project cost $144 million from private donations and public grants. While the purpose of the Q Line remained unclear to many, one CVA volunteer explained simply that the streetcar was for suburbanites who would not want to ride the bus with black people. This explanation was confirmed by a study in JPER, where a planner for the system admitted that buses would have been better for regular Detroiters, but "rich, white people don't take buses" (Lowe & Grengs, 2018, p. 8).

[20] Mayor of Detroit until state takeover in 2013

[21] Former city attorney fired from Bing's administration after opposing state takeover in 2013 (AlHajal, 2013).

Like Ms. Watts in the previous segment, Mr. Taylor seamlessly integrates multi-scale connections. In this segment he does it temporally. He likens the deference of the demands draft to a slave's attachment to their master. Then he explains why the attachment is a misrecognition of relationality and the deference is far from deserved. Mr. Taylor catalogues city policies, procedures, and investments that squandered public funds in egregious ways rather than benefit long-term Detroiters. He and Ms. Watts dialogue about finding the language to depict their reality. Still more revelations come to light about Detroit's systemic incapacity to secure justice. The next segment shows Mr. Taylor working through the changes that enabled gentrification to take a foothold in his city.

-4-

Tristan Taylor:
10 years ago we didn't think this shit was possible.
We knew something was coming but we ain't know…
We[22] used to have offices in the Penobscot building, downtown.
Then the transformation started.

Allison Laskey:
That was after 2008?

Tristan Taylor:
No, the first thing they had to do was kick a bunch of people out the city.
Campus Martius been there since 2012-13, before the second term of Obama.
2011 or something. It bloomed from there.
It's been really fast, the new development.
But the process of displacement has been a long process, over previous administrations.
Archer. Kilpatrick. Bing.
When Bing coulda sued the banks for predatory lending, he didn't.

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[22] Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action, Integration & Immigrant Rights, and Fight for Equality By Any Means Necessary (BAMN)

Long-term residents reeling from the rapid changes to their city tried to wrap their minds around what was going on. Mr. Taylor saw that the immensity of changes that had taken place in just a few years had groundwork laid for them over several administrations. Putting together this timeline helped Mr. Taylor make sense of what he had lived through and how the planning establishment organized the process of gentrification. Mr. Taylor grappled with intentionality on one hand and neglect on the other, the pairing of which debased urban residents and set them up for suffering. Where neoliberal urbanization has framed Detroit “as the architect of its own misfortune” (Peck, 2015, p. 145), Mr. Taylor clarified to his fellow Detroiters the role that systemic racism and inequality, rather than personal irresponsibility, had played. Outside of Detroit, what has happened here often seems unfathomable, but Mr. Taylor’s efforts at clarification helped me face, grasp, and communicate the degree of disregard and deterioration that neoliberalism wrought here and promises more broadly.

This analysis, the challenges CVA faces, and the urgency of the work is echoed in the final segment, which introduces Ms. Mary Golson.

-5-

> *Mary Golson:*
> The thing with your research, if you're not offending some people, you're not doing all of what's necessary. That's the whole purpose of you being here. People are not being held accountable. Resources are not being made available for elderly and other people who need them. What do we do with limited resources? Sometimes a little bit is all we need.
>
> We are not asking for a handout or for you to scratch my arm when I can reach myself. They want to make it appear that this is what it is. That it’s our fault if we can't keep the property up. I don’t intend to relocate at this point in my life. I've invested too much. I raised children and grandchildren here. No.

I've been through the worst, and now that we see a little light, why would I run off?

I've seen a lot of changes. On my block, you know, we have maybe two houses, maybe three, that are presentable. The rest, if they are not torn down they need to be. I stuck it out here in the midst of it, even when it was embarrassing when people would come to visit.

Allison Laskey:
There was just a report about tax incentives.[23] Detroit is giving away a higher percentage than any other city.

Mary Golson:
You know what it is. They're trying to drive you out. Force you to relocate. And those that do, you just made it easy for what they were trying to get all along.

It's hard and so sad when we as a nation, country, community, city, have stooped that low, to rob people with their eyes open. Take advantage of people struggling. Where has the compassion gone? Long before your time, we considered the elderly. we are the only country that will not honor our elderly. Others look out for elderly and children. They see our elderly here as being in the way.

We are the ones, the older residents who have put into the system, so we can be where we are. My husband and I worked and we worked hard. We went to work sick. We made sacrifices. We accomplished more than most, and we could have done more. And to be threatened with the possibility that we can't make taxes for the year, threatened to lose all of it… it is bad.

Allison Laskey:
That's what the campaign against displacement, resegregation, and gentrification is about. And that is why I'm doing this research. To tell the truth.

Mary Golson:
Something has to be done. It's hard. When the paycheck is just not enough. If we combine forces and help one another out… today it's me, tomorrow it may be you. There is no togetherness and we make it easy for neighbors to say nobody is looking out for anybody. It's heartbreaking.

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[23] The report is authored by the City of Detroit's Legislative Policy Division. CVA researchers directed me to this report.

> *Allison Laskey:*
> It breeds demoralization.
>
> *Mary Golson:*
> They have given up hope and feel like, "what's the use? We can't fight city hall." There's some things we can take a stand on. We the people have a voice if we combine together. Together we stand; divided we fall. People have gotten to the point, they have given up before they even started. Nothing fails but a try.
>
> It is unfair to expect someone else to fight for me. What we gain and achieve is not just us. It's a trickle down. Even if we can't move 'em, at least they know we were there. If you want to move us, you have to know: We're not objects. We're not pawns you can move around at your convenience.
>
> *Allison Laskey:*
> The goal is to help more people stand up.
>
> *Mary Golson:*
> From the meeting we had the Tuesday before this week, some people are more consistent about getting up, making calls, having a voice, and being more motivated. Before people thought we were talking loud and saying nothing. So once they start to see something tangible, they will be more motivated to come out of their comfort zone. They've gotten into an area of, "dont bother me, I won't bother them." I'm starting to feel good each time I leave a meeting, a little better. I'm starting to see changes, and I'm talking to more people.

Ms. Golson represents a hard working model citizen who feels threatened by the outcomes of status quo planning and therefore chose insurgency. Beginning with a comment on the role of my research, Ms. Golson provides an overview of the changes long-term residents have been through and what displacement pressures feel like today. She and her generation invested in this neighborhood their entire adult lives. Now that planners have taken an interest in the area, long-term residents ask not for a margin of profit but simply not to be pushed out. They ask that their lifetimes in the neighborhood and the city, their struggles and their successes, be a part of the planning efforts. Ms. Golson stresses the importance of neighbors helping each other, but the failures she cites and the threat she feel are systemic, not interpersonal. When she was a young girl in the South, Ms. Golson's mom sometimes left in the middle of the night, not telling the family where she was going in order to protect them. She was a civil rights organizer trying to bring down Jim Crow. From that upbringing, Ms. Golson understand both the stakes of racist policy and personal responsibility in bringing down unjust systems. Now, in her retirement years, Ms. Golson chose insurgency to stand up for herself and for future generations.

Future directions for research

The findings of this dissertation open fruitful areas for future directions of research. I will both extend the areas of insurgent knowledge and insurgent formation introduced here and develop additional avenues of research in methods and sustainability. I will continue to work with CVA as their insurgency unfolds. This dissertation contributes an ethnographic study of a fledgling insurgency as it initially formed. Now, CVA is actively building its organization and critique of the planning establishment through transgressive, imaginative, and independent practices. The next chapter of CVA's insurgent planning will be the implementation phase as the plans laid out from 2017-2019. Continuing ethnographic data collection over the next two years will produce findings on the next stage of insurgent formation. This study will also allow me to further investigate facets of insurgent knowledge. In Chapter 3, I found that insurgents revalued local knowledge and linked it with expertise. Insurgents' intellectual contributions, however, go further, into the realm of theory development. CVA organizers are creating novel ideas about social and political theory, which they are in the process of writing up. Ongoing study with CVA will allow me to investigate how theory production works outside of academia.

I will also direct my research to methodological questions for insurgent planning. This dissertation shows an important orientation of insurgent planning scholars is accountability to oppressed communities. It also suggests that participatory tools are not well equipped to provide accountability to have-not communities, but insurgent planning can build that accountability into its functions. I will elaborate on the question of accountability in insurgent planning, exploring what mechanisms promote accountability of researchers to grassroots insurgents? Ethnography has been favored by insurgent planning scholars because it allows researchers to gain access and trust through intensive investments of time and relationship building. I will investigate whether ethnography is uniquely suited to promote accountability insurgent planning or if accountability mechanisms can translate across methods. Finally, ethnography does not conventionally place researchers in a relationship of accountability to have-not communities. I will examine what about insurgent planning disrupts the colonial legacy of ethnography to build accountability mechanisms.

Lastly, this dissertation focused on territorial battles of gentrification at a neighborhood scale, but I am also curious about other applications of insurgent planning, particularly sustainability and environmental issues. In my next phase of research, I will investigate sustainability struggles through an insurgent lens. How does insurgency respond to ecological crisis, and how does ecological crisis spur insurgency? Several examples provide the cases for study. 1. Climate gentrification is increasingly a concern as the ecological crisis creates new hazards that disproportionately affect poor people of color. 2. The Arab Spring was sparked because of spiking food prices due to extreme weather and crop failures. 3. Neoliberal policies worsen climate catastrophes, as was seen in the case of Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. 4. The climate strikes are mobilizing people globally, especially youth, in record numbers. In holding fast to ideals of justice, liberation, and democracy, insurgent planning grapples with fundamental questions about how to build cities. Ecological crisis spurs the same questions, with the same high stakes. I will investigate how the two feed off of and inform each other in theory and practice.

Why plan insurgently

Institutional efforts of diversity, equity, and inclusion put on a happy (white, black, brown, and yellow) face to cover up the increasing inequality and racism that characterizes the neoliberal era. Poor and working class people in cities face the brunt of the cutbacks. While participatory planning promised have-not urban residents input in the policy processes that affected their lives, these promises were a decoy. In their institutionalization, participation and inclusion shifted the blame of urban problems to have-not residents, while capital interests siphoned resources out of urban centers and kept consequential decisions out of the hands of residents. Consequently, Detroiters have been paying extra for basic services, while sacrificing personal interests, for decades. Now that money is coming into the city, those that have been able to weather the storm and remain in their city are being left out. Detroit is not a unique case, but it has particular features that signal the gravity of the contemporary moment. Absurd levels of poverty and inequality, racism that shifts between blatant and undercover, and policies of attrition have left the population under-resourced, demoralized, and pessimistic, but not stupid.

Equitable development is still possible and greatly desirable, but it does not benefit those in power. For urban planning to promote development that is actually equitable would require a change of course. Planners would have to first and foremost work to accommodate low-income people, rather than developers. The city, state, and federal governments would have to stop giving more incentives to billionaires and the rich. We know this money will not trickle down to people in most need and that most charitable giving is tied to profit motives. As a profession, planners need to be less pragmatic because in the context of this society, it is ultimately pragmatic for those in power to keep accumulating power and wealth at the expense of poor people of color. It is pragmatic for rich people to pillage the planet and leave an ecologically devastated environment where only the wealthy can live decently. Instead of being pragmatic, planners need to be unflinchingly honest about our role in building this society, past, present, and future.

Being honest, planners have a troubling track record. Our profession grew up to manage important elements of the capitalist industrialization that has induced our planet's sixth mass extinction. It is time to do better, and not a moment too soon. That means making real the shift in power that Arnstein advocated as "community control" and honoring the multiple ways of knowing that Sandercock wrote about, while remembering Frederick Douglass's adage, "power concedes nothing without a demand." Following the leadership of critically thinking black working class Detroiters, this dissertation is a step in that direction. CVA asked me not to follow them blindly but to engage with them meaningfully, to listen to their views, tell them what I thought, and work together to learn what was happening to them, why, and what to do about it. People like CVA exist in other neighborhoods and other cities, but they face severe resistance and repression, and they receive little positive feedback. Planners, community-based researchers, and engaged residents, including gentrifiers, can learn to support the material and intellectual development of grassroots critical collectives. Insurgent planning's goal is not to take state power and become the next oppressive urban regime but to fundamentally restructure a sick society that only knows how to treat people and the planet terribly. To do this will take building a locally rooted and globally linked insurgent movement, studied and accountable to those who have borne the worst burdens of modernity, to stifle the power of capitalist urbanization and relearn how to live well on this planet.