

Mapping Gentrification In Garfield Park

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Thesis

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Reflexive Statement

My interest in gentrification occurred after taking an Urban Sociology course at the University of Indianapolis, where I read the book, The Color of Law (Rothstein, 2018). After reading this book, I realized how greatly society is impacted by gentrification, including schools and communities present before gentrification. Since this class, I have spent most of my studies on understanding the depths of gentrification and joined a Housing Committee that aimed to support the homeless in Garfield Park. While listening to this committee, I realized how little support the artists, homeless, and communities had in terms of protecting them from the increased cost of housing and gentrification. This led me to want to study Garfield Park more in-depth in relation to gentrification to see if signs of disinvestment were as prevalent as I heard from a Garfield Park resident and active advocate for the community.

For this study, I will be using Smith's (1998:198) definition of gentrification, which describes the process as starting as disinvesting into a community before experiencing a reversal reinvestment that causes in-migration of a relatively well-off or upper-middle-class population. In sum, gentrification is the forced economic displacement of groups already living in the areas pre-gentrification.

A 2019 report from the National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC) calls attention to disinvestment in gentrification in San Francisco, perpetually happening systematically, to keep power and class together. It summarizes that there is a correlation between class and power. Generally, in San Francisco, as in many American cities, there is a strong correlation between wealthy and white people. The latter correlation explains that those being disinvested or displaced are more likely people of color. Those in power or who obtain the wealth hold their claims on the city because they also have political power. This means that those on the disinvestment side have less income and are at a greater risk of eviction.

Gentrification and disinvestment go hand in hand; though sometimes this process can take decades, the impact on communities is significant. Since we know that the process of gentrification can take decades, you often see neighborhoods experience many years of sustained disinvestment as a result (Richardson, Mitchell, and Edlebi 2021). During this time, those who can move elsewhere will likely do so. Perhaps years later, these once-forgotten communities, often located closer to downtown areas because of the historical development of cities, suburbs, and White flight, become attractive spaces for new development (Boston et al., 2021). Housing and land prices are often lower in these areas, so those who cannot afford to live in more expensive communities may move to these neighborhoods. However, it is essential to understand that gentrification does not occur because of individual decisions but rather of cities' structural

and systematic choices regarding where and how resources are allocated. This unequal distribution and consistent disinvestment creates conditions that allow neighborhoods to become ripe for gentrification and “redevelopment.” (Zuk et al. 2017)

The act of redevelopment creates changes in the physical attributes of a neighborhood, explicitly showing whether or not disinvestment is occurring. These changes to a neighborhood are backed by developers and investors shifting their role from market regulator to market facilitator (Boston et al. 2021). This process leads these areas to be primed for gentrification. One form of redevelopment can come through transportation investments. In Indianapolis, there has been a focus on Transit Oriented Development (TOD) (Deadmond 2021). One neighborhood that has seen some of this development is Garfield Park. The focus of this study will be to explore whether or not Indianapolis’ Garfield Park neighborhood has been primed for gentrification through viewing whether or not physical signs of disinvestment are spotted.

Literature Review

Defining Gentrification

For this study, I am using Smith’s definition of Gentrification (1998:198), as referenced earlier. Along with this definition, I am highlighting aspects of Andrew Lee’s process of gentrification definition that states, “gentrification happens when wealthier newcomers move into working-class neighborhoods. New businesses and amenities often pop up to cater to these new residents. Potholes might get filled; a new bus line might appear. These changes attract even more affluent people, and property values go up. Landlords raise rents to what these new arrivals can afford to pay, so the original tenants get forced out.” Lee’s definition of the process of gentrification highlights the gentrification cycle that starts with disinvesting in an existing

community which then turns into one that is revitalizing the said community, priming the area for in-migration.

In addition to different ways to define gentrification, there are also different signs to look for when trying to understand if gentrification is occurring; some researchers have defined gentrification through physical manifestations (Sims 2018). These physical signs of gentrification can be the removal of small, independent stores replaced with chain stores or homes renovated into loft-style homes (Barton 2014). Loft-style homes are different from an average home; these normally stand out due to their large open floor plan, high ceilings, and large windows. Boston and colleagues (2021) reiterate this by explaining that gentrification's physical signs can be the sight of heavy construction, luxury homes, chain stores, etc. The reiteration helps emphasize that these changes to a neighborhood are backed by developers and investors that shift their role from the market regulator to market facilitator (Boston et al. 2021). Market regulators, referring to housing, are helpful when protecting consumers where there is a competitive force. A market facilitator in housing would be owning or controlling the marketplace, usually facilitating the transactions or sales (Schill, 2005). Hwang and Sampson (2014) analyzed physical signs of disorder to categorize what disinvestment looks like in a neighborhood; according to them, this can be trash, unkempt vacant lots, or housing decay. Similarly, Tanya Golash-Boza's current study in DC (2021) used these signs to justify whether disinvestment in a community had occurred, even going so far as to include the condition of sidewalks when looking for the physical disorder (Delgado and Swanson 2019).

These themes explain that the physical assets of homes can disrupt the landscape and history of an existing neighborhood with the changes in colors of houses, more oversized windows, or newness of aesthetic choices (Delgado 2021). If these physical changes are present,

gentrification is more likely to occur. You can tell this as the surrounding infrastructures look outdated or inadequate, signaling disinvestment or neglect in a neighborhood.

These changes bring fear to homeowners as Delgado (2021) claims, “We know how it goes; wealthy folks move in, and those who cannot afford or simply do not desire to make the necessary changes to their homes are priced out of the area” When Delgado states that these residents are priced out of the area, it is another way to describe Smith’s (1998) definition—referring to the process of gentrification itself, one that starts as disinvesting into a community before experiencing a reversal reinvestment that causes in-migration of a relatively well-off or upper-middle-class population. The reversal reinvestment piece causes residents to get priced out of the area. When loft-style homes are present, and investments are made in the community, property taxes arise, which not all can afford.

Although we do not have to disinvest in our communities to revitalize an area, we see a continuum of this disinvestment cycle breaking apart existing communities. By using physical manifestations and Smith's definition, this study will look at signs of disinvestment or investment occurring in Garfield Park.

Measuring Gentrification | Mirrored Studies Explained

What was measured	How Gentrification was measured	Who measured Gentrification
Physical Signs of Gentrification	By coding residential and commercial neighborhoods to detect visible cues of neighborhood change and looking at the symptoms of physical disorder.	Hwang and Sampson (2014)
Physical Signs of Gentrification	By coding residential and commercial neighborhoods to assess public and private investments in Washington	Golash-Boza (2021)

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Measuring gentrification can be done through different approaches. Here, I focus on ways researchers have coded for the presence of gentrification. The coding process is critical to help investigate signs of gentrification and the disinvestment that comes with it. I reviewed what Hwang and Sampson (2014) did in their study for my codes. They measured gentrification by observing physical signs of gentrification that represent both the residential and commercial sides of the neighborhood and coding them to reflect and showcase the ways gentrification shows up in a neighborhood. The codes then helped tell the story of gentrification in Chicago neighborhoods. This is similar to the process in the defining gentrification section, as these physical manifestations can be used to define and measure gentrification. In addition to mirroring Hwang and Sampson’s study, I similarly mirrored Golash-Boza's (2021) ongoing work on gentrification in Washington DC to help me set the foundation for looking at Garfield Park as a whole. Golash- Boza analyzed Washington DC by randomly selecting block faces from each census tract in Washington DC to observe physical disorder through Google Street View. To clarify how Hwang and Sampsons, and Golash- Boza’s studies were used and measured for this study, refer to the table above labeled Measuring Gentrification | Mirrored Studies Explained.

One approach to measuring gentrification would be looking at the physical aspects of gentrification. Some physical signs of gentrification noted in these works when looking for public disinvestment are features like litter and unkempt streets—highlighting that disinvestment can look like abandoned structures or metal fences. The investment side of gentrification, ranging from public to private investments, can have physical features like new public courtesy signs, patio furniture, and the signs of commercial assets (Hwang and Sampson 2014). The symptoms of physical disorder Hwang and Sampson (2014) use are often indicators of

disinvestment in the community. Both Golash Boza's study and Hwang and Sampsons look at physical cues to show the impact of a neighborhood over time, viewing symptoms of the physical disorder and assessing investments made in that community. Regardless of the approach, measurement, or signs, we can protect the people in our community from disinvestment.

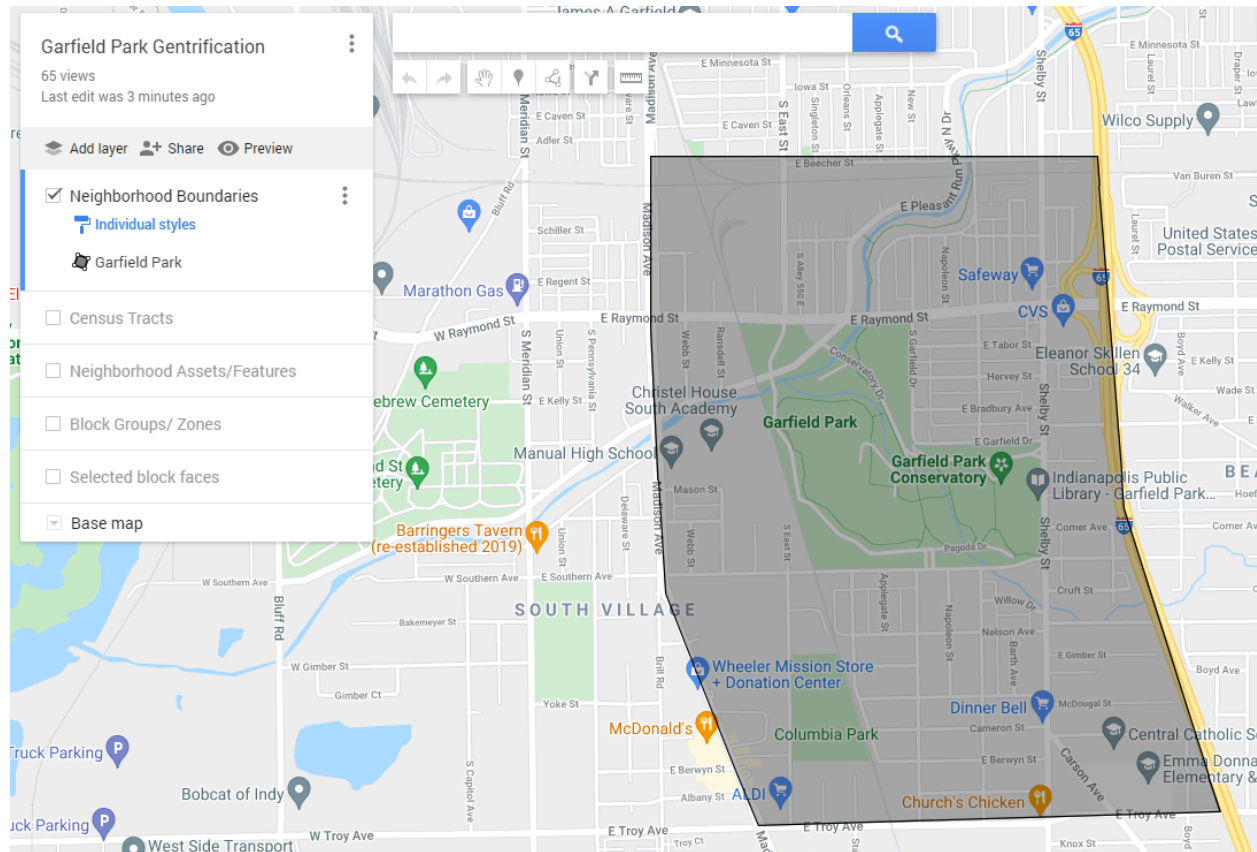
Social Disorganization Theory

Social disorganization theory has primarily been used to study crime and its impact on social stability (Wickes 2017). This theory explains how neighborhood characteristics correlate with crime rates (Cantillon, Davidson, and Schweitzer 2003). Social disorganization theory states that location matters when predicting illegal activity (Bond 2015). This traditional lens looks at drunk people, the volume of police presence, or litter. However, I will use social disorganization theory to investigate physical signs of gentrification and disinvestment in Garfield Park. These physical signs of disinvestment and gentrification can provide evidence that the neighborhood is primed for or currently undergoing gentrification. These signs do cross over slightly to the traditional lens because disinvestment will show up as illegal activity present or criminal behavior present such as litter or police cars.

On the other hand, investment can show upgrades in a community or signs promoting kindness. These investments that you see directly relate to social disorganization theory in that location matters when seeking social stability, meaning an improved community or one with upgrades. Seeing these improvements allowed me to evaluate social disorganization as it relates to gentrification and will enable me to view gentrification as it relates to the community and those affected by gentrification signs.

Methods

Garfield Park Neighborhood



The Garfield Park neighborhood is on the Southside of Indianapolis with the boundaries of Beecher St. to North I-65 to East, Troy Ave. to the South and East St./Madison Ave, Garfield Park (the neighborhood's namesake and anchor) sits right in the middle of this boundary. For a neighborhood view, refer to the image above. Garfield Park is the oldest park and was once the biggest in Indianapolis. With this historical neighborhood being in a prime location in Indianapolis, there has been much activity throughout the years, bringing in new businesses and diversity.

A recent IndyStar *Indianapolis Star* (Indianapolis' daily newspaper) article (Bongiovanni 2021) emphasized that gentrification is actively happening in Garfield Park and shares the fears of what could happen to the current artist residents. Assessed values for

properties are increasing as redevelopment rises in Indianapolis. This increase in value can lead to the displacement of existing residents and artists who helped build an area through the act of pricing them out of their homes (Bongiovanni 2021).

The start of a new bus rapid transit (BRT) system, the first line of which (the Red Line) opened in 2019, adds additional challenges to Garfield Park and the boom in gentrification. It is now more accessible for people to be brought into Garfield Park or downtown, creating more business. This transit investment has led to Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) along these bus routes (IndyConnect 2015). The South Indianapolis Quality of Life Plan (SoIndy), Garfield Park, has been very focused on this TOD, even dedicating their winter 2020 summit meeting to the topic (SoIndy 2021). Anecdotally, there has been much discussion of TOD, the Red Line, and the potential impacts on the community (including gentrification) in Garfield Park and surrounding communities. Further anecdotal evidence from those in the neighborhood indicates that many developers and those hoping to capitalize on the Red Line have been buying up properties along Shelby Street with the hope of flipping them or renting them out.

The attraction of improved public transportation brought in more people, as highlighted by Hwang (2019) in the IndyStar, “Lackner said the bus rapid transit system, which will run down Shelby Street from Fountain Square, cutting through Garfield Park and Bean Creek, has ‘added to the frenzy’ of the developing Fountain Square, and now Bates-Hendricks are driving first-time buyers our way.” The gentrification of Fountain Square is well known in the city and has pushed out long-term working-class residents and artists, with some moving into Garfield Park (Calvert 2019). Fountain Square is often discussed as a cautionary tale for residents in nearby neighborhoods. Anecdotally, residents and community organizations can often be heard saying they “do not want to become the next Fountain Square.”

To give background to the people present in Garfield Park right now, in 2004, an organization called Big Car Collaborative (Big Car) was founded in Indianapolis, in the heart of Garfield Park. As found on the Big Car history page, their mission is to bring art to the people, people to the art, and emphasize the importance of creativity. Thus, in addition to keeping the skills alive as they have been in the past, Big Car's efforts are now towards keeping artists in Garfield Park. Additionally, the neighborhood association in Garfield Park has developed many committees, such as their "Walkability and Beautification Committee," which is working to sustain the charm, prevent gentrification, and improve the area's current state for the existing community.

As is evident, gentrification is a prime topic in Garfield Park; it is critical to observe and document ongoing changes and signs of disinvestment and gentrification. Therefore, my research broadly explores the question of whether there is evidence of physical gentrification and disinvestment in Garfield Park. I use Google Street View images from 2019 to look for visual signs of gentrification and disinvestment in the Garfield Park neighborhood to explore this question. I supplement these analyses with decennial census data from 2000, 2010, and 2020 Censuses and the 2015-2019 American Community Survey (ACS) to explore how the neighborhood has changed demographically.

Neighborhood Demographics

The Garfield Park neighborhood contains two census tracts, tracts 3578 and 3579 (Marion County, IN). Tract 3578 is the northern part of the neighborhood, and tract 3579 is the southern part. See the map in Appendix B for more information. I use these census tracts to describe Garfield Park demographically over time. These results can also be seen in Table 1

below. I draw data from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2015-2019 American Community Survey (ACS) and the 2000 and 2010 decennial censuses. Both tracts are majority White at both time points. In 2010 both tracts were between 8.2 -8.7% Black and 84.8-86.8% White. In 2019, tract 3578 was only 5% Black and 91.2% White, while tract 3579 was 12% Black and 84.8% White.

As of 2019, Garfield Park in tract 3578 and 3579 is primarily White race dominated. The most noticeable change in race/ethnicity is that up until 2019 in both tracts, the second most present race/ethnicity in Garfield Park was Black; now, there is an increase of Hispanic race/ethnicity in both Tracts. However, it is essential to note that these tracts contain areas not included in the Garfield Park neighborhood. So, while these data are informative, we cannot determine which families live in what part of the tracts and who is included in the Garfield Park neighborhood boundaries.

To describe the median home prices in Garfield Park overtime, I pulled information from both of the two census tracts used in the map and demographic data from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2015-2019 American Community Survey and 2000 and 2010 decennial censuses to describe what has happened to median home prices. The most significant jump is in tract 3578, with a 16,100 dollar increase from 2015 to 2019. The critical piece to note is the jump in housing vacancy in both tracts from 2000 to 2019. In tract 3578, there is an 11.1% increase in vacancy from 2000 to 2019, and in tract 3579, a 21.3% increase, a significant increase that indicates a lack of affordable housing. Both ownership and length of ownership in homes in Garfield Park show a positive growth over time, depicting that those who are owning are likely to stay or have been living in this neighborhood for a significant time. For at least ten years, ownership of a home has steadily increased from 2000, 2010 to 2019.

Based on the average inflation rate of 2.11% from 2000 to 2019 and a cumulative inflation rate of 48.47%, tract 3578 saw a decrease of median housing value by 3.4%, and median income levels decreased by 22.4%. This means that the residents occupying their homes at this time could no longer afford the homes that they are living in. Using the same average inflation rate and cumulative inflation rate tract 3579 saw a decrease of median housing value by 14.1%, and median income levels decreased by 7.4%. With that being said, those occupying their homes are not as affected as they would be if they were in tract 3578. The difference is, in tract 3579, you can see that the median income went down in 2010; this can likely be explained by the recession or the chance of a few people moving. There is an increase of median income by 12,621 dollars from 2000 to 2019 in tract 3579, based on the 2.11% inflation rate. In tract 3578, starting in 2000 moving to 2010, using the 2.11% inflation rate, the median income should be \$30,867.85. Yet, in 2010 the median income was \$34,444, a 3,576.15 dollar increase. An increase above the inflation rate occurred again, moving from 2010 to 2019 at a rate of 323.76 dollars. Looking at the same rate of inflation in tract 3579 starting from 2000 to 2010, the median income at the inflation rate should be \$32,150, yet we saw an increase to \$34,361.03. In 2019 the median income was listed at \$46,272. Yet, if the median income were to be changing at the inflation rate, it would be only \$32,828.36. There is a significant increase of \$13,443.64 above the value expected from the inflation rate. This jump could signify that gentrification is starting to move into this part of the neighborhood. You can see the transition seeping in from tract 3579 and likely moving into 3578, and this is justified through observational signals discussed more below and census information. Gentrification is a part of the class displacement, and median income can start the displacement of families in Garfield Park. While looking at these tracts, it is well-established that Census tracts and resident-defined neighborhood

boundaries do not always align (Coulton, Korbin, Chan, and Su 2001). I use these neighborhood boundaries as defined by the neighborhood association on their website to set the boundaries for this study.

Table 1: Neighborhood Characteristics using 2000, 2010, 2019 Census and ACS data

	Tract 3578			Tract 3579		
% Race/ Ethnicity	2000	2010	2019	2000	2010	2019
Black	0.66%	8.7%	5.0%	2.1%	8.2%	12%
Hispanic	4.7%	5.7%	4.4%	8.3%	9.1%	14.4%
White	92.8%	86.8%	91.2%	87.2%	84.8%	84.8%
% housing vacancy	13.3%	10.6%	24.4%	8.1%	11.8%	29.4%
% owners	63.4%	63.4%	50.4%	59.8%	50.3%	61.3%
% living in unit at least 10 years	69.3%	58%	82.9%	64.7%	72.3%	74.3%
Median housing value for owner occupied units	\$64,800	\$76,800	\$92,900	\$69,600	\$86,700	\$88,800
Median Income	\$30,230	\$34,444	\$34,847	\$33,651	\$32,150	\$46,272

Data is drawn from the 2000 (tables DP03, P007, H004, H007, H038 and H076) and 2010 decennial censuses and 2015-2019 ACS data (tables DP03, DP04, and DP05).

Methodology

Following Golash-Boza's (2021) methods, I used the stratified random sampling method to randomly select ten-block faces from each census tract in the Garfield Park neighborhood to observe physical disorder. Following Golash-Boza (2021), I ensured that residential and commercial representation from each tract was represented in the blocks selected sample. Once the ten blocks were chosen, I developed and applied a series of codes for signs of gentrification and disinvestment. The physical disorder will vary; what will help me see the disorder is signs like whether houses range from revitalized to abandoned. I detail these codes below.

Additionally, in Appendix B, there is a link for more detail on the codes and a description of what each code entails. These codes were based on codes developed and used by Golash-Boza (2021), Hwang and Sampson (2014), and Hwang (2015). I created a spreadsheet in Excel for each block to track and apply codes. I used data from 2000, 2010, and 2020 Decennial Censuses to observe demographic changes that may have taken place in the Garfield Park neighborhood to provide additional context for my Google Street View analysis. This coding process helps share the gentrification status of Garfield Park and show signs of physical disorder if any. A physical disorder in this context is synonymous with signs of disinvestment, such as looking for signs of littering. This definition of physical disorder varies from the traditional forms of physical disorder described above. My observations through Garfield Park do not allow me to see if people are drunk or arguing. Instead, my observation focuses on the physical disorder of the homes on each block.

Codes

Following Golash-Boza (2021) and Hwang and Sampson (2014), I code for the number of structures, number of apartment buildings, number of residential structures including apartments, old structures, minor upgrades (new shutters, new doors), major upgrades (new

paint, new roof), new address numbers (identified by updated font or appearance), new patio or landscaping (identified by appearance), decay (paint chipping, roof cracks, missing siding), number of abandoned homes (identified by homes being boarded up or abandoned), new signs controlling traffic, condition of sidewalks, presence of large-scale development, signs discouraging disorder, vacant areas such as lots, street beautification (e.g., planted trees, park benches, upkept flowers), amount of litter, unkempt vacant area, spaces for commercial uses, art galleries, if people are present and if so what characteristics they had. Detailed examples for each code can be found in Appendix B. Detailed information for each block is provided in Appendix A. There are several differences among blocks, with the most current Google Street View date available in 2019. I am using most of the codes that the previous authors used in their study except for the following: new public courtesies, an indicator of foreign presence, describing indicators of foreign presence, and I did not compare the tracts from year to year as I focused on the most updated year available. I left these out as these details were not as pertinent to look for when examining Garfield Park. However, what was vital for me to look at was the addresses on the homes. Since I am viewing the physical signs of Gentrification, I wanted to see if the new trends of modern font addresses would be indicators of gentrification. A local nonprofit in Indianapolis, ArtMix, has their students creating these house numbers in multi-colored and modern fonts. You can also find house numbers at Lowes Home Depot and can order them online. With an increase in interest in these numbers, I was interested in seeing if the interest would tie in with signs of disinvestment. I did ensure to code for disinvestment signs such as sidewalk conditions, whether abandoned homes were present, and litter. It was essential to keep these codes in this study as it would aid in understanding the social strength of the neighborhood.

Findings

In total, disinvestment signs in Garfield Park were similar from block to block in their respective tracts. In tract 3578, you would consistently see similar signs of disinvestment regardless of where the home was in that respective tract. After applying and analyzing the codes, I can conclude that each block in Garfield Park had a “style,” and it was rare for one house to stick out completely. The one time this rule was broken was with the photo referenced in Appendix B section C. This was a case of a significant revitalization that occurred and changed the way the neighborhood was originally styled. The disinvestment signs that I coded for were generally consistent across Garfield Park. This consensus helps me identify what phase in the gentrification process Garfield Park is at in relation to Smith's definition of gentrification. The phase Garfield Park was in upon looking at my codes explains that Garfield Park is showing beginning signs of gentrification.

Table 2:

List of codes color-coded into sections that are similar in nature for finding discussion purposes.

In Appendix B is a more detailed look into the codes including definitions of each code

Number of structures
Number of residential structures
apartments
of Structures considered old
old residences w minor upgrades
residences w major upgrades
New signs/ structures controlling traffic
New address numbers present

residences w new patio furniture or landscaping.
Condition of Sidewalks:
of Structures w metal gates/fences
Signs discouraging disorder
Vacant area and public street beautification
Litter
Unkempt vacant area or public st. frontage:
New large-scale development
Commercial uses aligned w cultural aspects of gentrification
Art Galleries
Describe commercial uses:
Visible people?
Describe visible people:

Each tract used the same set of codes to analyze disinvestment signs in Garfield Park

Tract 3578 Code Findings

Looking at the pink block first with the code's number of structures, the number of residential structures, and the number of apartments, it was found that tract 3578 as a whole is primarily a residential neighborhood. In this given tract, out of 302 structures, there are five apartment buildings, indicating that this tract is predominantly one that consists of individual homes. The individuality allowed me to analyze more in-depth the phase of gentrification that this neighborhood is experiencing as I could look more closely at the unique style of each home.

Since this neighborhood comprises individual residential structures, the following coding process was vitally important in dictating Garfield Park's phase. These codes were looking at the number of structures that are considered old, the number of old residences with minor upgrades, the number of residences with major upgrades, and looking to see if any signs control traffic.

One hundred sixty-five residential structures are coded as old out of the 302 structures in tract 3578; therefore, more than half of these homes were older. Since Garfield Park is the oldest park in Indianapolis, most of these homes were built when growing and have not been significantly updated since. Golash-Boza's (2021) study indicated that an old house would have a historical landmark. For my research, since these homes are in the oldest park in Indianapolis, I looked to see if they had been refreshed in the past few years by switching the year in Google Street View or if they had a historical landmark. While coding if a home was old or not, I coincidentally would look at the upgrade status of a house; minor upgrades signally a door change or new shutters, and major upgrades being fresh paint, roof, or fences. In tract 3578, it was more common to see minor upgrades being present than significant upgrades.

While viewing upgrade statuses, it was a natural step to look at the next codes; new address numbers present, number of residences with new patio furniture or landscaping, condition of sidewalks, number of structures with metal fences, signs discouraging disorder, litter, number of unkempt vacant area or public street foliage and looking at the number of vacant areas and public street beautifications present. As mentioned earlier, there is a new trend of updating your home address to a different font, usually more modern or colorful. In this individual tract, not many addresses were updated to follow this trend; however, the homes that did upgrade their font status had also upgraded other parts of their home, such as their landscaping or fences. Each block in tract 3578 had at least one house upgrade to their landscaping or had new patio furniture present, although fences were uncommon in this tract as a whole. Out of the ten blocks that were looked at in this block, only one had poor sidewalk conditions, which meant they weren't present or had significant damage. The rest ranged from mild to good, meaning there is the presence of a sidewalk, but it may have some cracks or weeds

poking out of the cement. Sidewalk status is important to view as when an area is going through significant redevelopment, sidewalks and potholes are one of the first things to improve. Along with sidewalk conditions, it is normal to see signs discouraging disorder in redeveloping neighborhoods like signs that discourage littering, neighborhood watch signs are shown, police surveillance signs present, or the police themselves. In this tract, there were no signs of that discouraged disorder in this tract and no vacant areas present. If there were any spaces, there were newly planted trees. However, this only happened on one block out of the ten in this tract. Unkempt vacant areas were also lower in this neighborhood, with only two signs of this: weeded yards or faded traffic signs.

Moving away from the residential side of the neighborhood, I coded for the following: number of new large-scale developments, commercial uses that aligned with cultural aspects of gentrification, and art galleries. New large-scale developments means newly renovated homes, new commercial spaces, or significant remodeling projects. In this tract, only one street had a significant number of new developments occurring on block-face number eight. In relation to commercial uses, there was none present, there was a closed down restaurant on block-face number nine, and no art galleries present either. As stated at the beginning of the findings for this tract, it is densely more residential than commercial; therefore, the lack of commercial existence was to be expected.

Out of the ten blocks viewed, there were fourteen people captured in the Google Street View photographs in terms of people shown. Out of the fourteen, six were white women, three were black males, and five were white men. With Google Street View, people are not captured very clearly, and it is hard to give descriptive details other than race and assumed sex.

Tract 3579 Code Findings

Starting at the pink block first with the code's number of structures, the number of residential structures, and the number of apartments, it was found to be similar to tract 3578, which was mostly residential. However, there were more structures present in tract 3579, with only two out of the 320 structures being apartment buildings. Therefore, more individual residential structures were present in tract 3579.

The next codes to look at were the number of structures that are considered old, the number of old residences with minor upgrades, the number of residences with major upgrades, and looking to see if there are any signs that control traffic. Using the parameters described in tract 3578 in 3579 to dictate what it is that makes a house old, again, you see the trend that the homes are predominantly older, with the number of old being 235. Similar to 3578, minor upgrades were more prevalent in this neighborhood; however, it was more likely for this tract to have major upgrades than 3578. Zero signs were present for controlling traffic.

For the next block of codes, I looked at; new address numbers present, number of residences with new patio furniture or landscaping, condition of sidewalks, number of structures with metal fences, signs discouraging disorder, litter, number of unkempt vacant areas, or public street foliage and looking at the number of vacant areas and public street beautifications present. First looking at new addresses present, there again were not many homes that had upgraded their addresses yet; if they did take this step, they had new patio furniture or landscaping. Which, in this tract, was a huge trend of having at least landscape or new patio furniture. Fences were less common than having landscaping or patio furniture in this tract. However, sidewalk conditions were overall good to mild except for block face number nine. Interestingly in block-face number ten, it is noted that as you went down the street, you could see a change in sidewalk conditions going from good to mild as you moved closer to Southern Avenue. There were no signs

discouraging disorderly behavior, no vacant area was unkempt, and no vacant areas and public street beautification presence. Only two blocks had signs of some litter out of ten blocks.

Moving to the next set of codes that focus more on the commercial aspect of this tract, I coded for the following: number of new large-scale developments, commercial uses that aligned with cultural aspects of gentrification, and art galleries. For new large-scale developments, there were only three houses that were renovated or were being renovated. For commercial uses that aligned with cultural aspects of gentrification, the building types present were; restaurant chains, neighborhood health centers, two art galleries, one independent shop, and gas stations present.

Only four people are shown for the codes of people present in tract 3579. Out of the four people, all were white, two females and two males. Both females were seen walking with a stroller, one man was walking alongside one of the women, and the last man was seen mowing the lawn. Golash-Boza's (2021) study looked to see if families were present when viewing the people and looked for basic demographic information, in this tract, there are indications of families present.

Tract 3578 and 3579 Findings

Overall both tracts were predominantly residential, with most signs of redevelopment showing up as smaller upgrades. In total the area is mainly cared for; however, when you hear gentrification in Indianapolis, one of the places you name is Garfield Park. However, I found that there were not plenty of wholly renovated homes.

Major Findings

One major finding is that new addresses are consistent with redevelopment indications. In Appendix B, you can see an example of a unique address that indicates gentrification versus one that has the original style of the existing neighborhood. The address fonts are normally changed

to a more modern font. When the font looked more modern, you could see that the address change came with more modern trends, such as door colors that were more unique or bright. The patio or landscaping reflected this address change, too, as the patio either had updated furniture or the landscaping appeared to be fresher. These are indicators that redevelopment or revitalization was happening, which in most cases if I noticed there was a new address most times there was patio revitalization occurring too. This indicator means there is a positive relationship between new addresses and redevelopment indications, strengthening the argument that gentrification is underway in Garfield Park. The coding for these new addresses was unique in my study of Garfield Park, as it was not a part of the original coding set that mirrored Golash-Boza's (2021) study.

For a neighborhood known for its artistry, a surprising finding was that there were only two art galleries in total in Garfield Park captured by Google Street View. In relation to the lack of art galleries, there was a lack of artists in the neighborhood, too, with only two significant indicators of artists being present in a neighborhood. This was shown via artwork on homes like fences or garages (see Appendix B for examples). Generally speaking, there is a greater presence of artists here than in other parts of neighborhoods in Indianapolis, especially due to its smaller size. However, the whole Garfield Park neighborhood does not have as much presence as it does in the area represented in Appendix B.

Looking past the physical observations of Garfield Park, the other piece of information that I found to be interesting was the jump in housing vacancy in both tracts from 2000 to 2019. In tract 3578, there was an 11.1% increase in vacancy from 2000 to 2019, and in tract 3579, a 21.3% increase, a significant increase that indicates a lack of affordable housing. I found that there were not many vacant homes in relation to both tracts 3578 and 3579. However, I have

only selected ten blocks randomly from each census tract, yet in these tracts, it appears that there are people living in the homes. Therefore after analyzing the codes, I have found that Garfield Park has not seen major redevelopment or the physical effects of gentrification yet.

Discussion

According to a 2020 report from the National Community Reinvestment Coalition (NCRC), 17% of tracts in Indianapolis are gentrifying. In Indianapolis, one neighborhood that is often discussed when people talk about gentrification is Garfield Park. Therefore, using codes for physical signs of gentrification and disinvestment, I use Google Street View Gentrification Observation (Hwang and Sampson 2014; Hwang 2015) to explore if there are physical indicators of gentrification in Garfield Park.

My analyses find that each block has its own individual housing style. I did find one exception to this where redevelopment was undertaken for that specific home. The particular home indicates that a sign of gentrification is occurring (Boston et al. 2021) as a more extensive revitalization was taken upon in one location rather than any or all of the other homes. However, the overall lack of evidence of redevelopment likely means that gentrification is either not in full swing yet, or that it will occur in Garfield Park without massive redevelopment of homes. There were more elements of disinvestment than gentrification in Garfield Park.

Since I used social disorganization theory to investigate physical signs of gentrification and disinvestment in Garfield Park, when there is not much representation of people or activity it is hard to relate it with signs of police presence or presence of misbehaving people. This limits how I can show the disinvestment side in my study through the traditional lens of Social Disorganization theory. Using the theory in a modern gentrification lens, there are disinvestment signs present such as littering and unkempt vacant areas that would follow suit with the Social

Disorganization Theory, as it shows disinvestment in the community and how location matters for social stability. However, we have seen minor and major upgrades to the community promoting the redevelopment process and signs of investment that are linked to Social Disorganization theory increasing social stability, thus priming it for gentrification.

One difference between Golash-Boza's (2021) study and mine is that I chose to add the physical presence of new address numbers as an indicator of gentrification. In my observations, I did notice a relationship between an updated home address and signs of renovation; therefore, for this study, I used this relationship as an indicator of gentrification or signs of renovation. This additional code helped support the power of relationship indicators in gentrification. Smith (1998) speaks about the process or phases that a community goes through as it is being redeveloped in Smith's definition of gentrification, these indicators helped identify the stage that Garfield Park is currently in, the stage of disinvestment. Golash Boza's (2021) study covered more grounds than mine and I think using this code could enhance the argument for the stages of gentrification that each block was in. Yet, I do not believe it would change her study's results past the additional evidence to support the occurrence of gentrification.

Referring back to the images on Google Street View and looking at the codes that are based on pictures from 2019, Garfield Park is not gentrified all the way. However, there were enough indications of gentrification to conclude that the beginnings of redevelopment are in the early stages, with gentrification looming in the background. This was concluded because there is not enough consistent physical evidence of gentrification, particularly when looking at significant disinvestment signs. All that can be concluded is that disinvestment signs were in cahoots with home styles, meaning that if there were many cracks in the sidewalk, it was safe for

you to see more outdated homes around it. As stated earlier, though, these signs were not consistent enough to dismiss gentrification or say it has wholly occurred either.

Circling back to the finding where there is an 11.1% increase in vacancy from 2000 to 2019, and in tract 3579, a 21.3% increase, which is a significant increase. This increased vacancy rate could indicate a lack of affordable housing for long-term residents, or that housing is not well-maintained and people are moving, or that developers are buying up homes and not renting them, perhaps waiting to renovate or sell them until the housing values increase. Additionally, the Census data provides some evidence for class displacement (a key aspect of gentrification). As stated earlier, the median income for the state of Indiana in 2019 was 47,873 dollars, largely above the median income of both tract 3578 (34,847 dollars) and 3579 (46,272 dollars). With the significant increase of median income by 12,621 dollars from 2010 to 2019 in tract 3579 and the median income being close to the Indiana median income average, the argument for class displacement beginning in Garfield Park is strong and with the start of gentrification to blame.

One limitation to this study is that I was analyzing blocks through Google Street View which was updated last in 2019, for the most part. However, on two occasions my block faces were not up to date. Both of these occurrences were in tract 3578 with block face six last updated in 2011 and block face four last updated in 2018. In these two instances, I could not get accurate information as to what these blocks looked like as of 2019. Another limitation was that with using Google Street View, sometimes it was hard to see homes behind trees or see addresses which were important for my coding structure. Within this limitation it was hard to get the representation of people in my study, if community members were not outside at the time the images were being captured, I have no analysis in terms of the people I saw. When this limitation occurred, I had to pull demographic data solely from the Census.

Conclusion

As gentrification moves into Garfield Park, the potential threat to those issues increases significantly, with the median income leaning towards a risk of further displacement. Now is the time for community resources like the neighborhood association, SoIndy, Big Car, and other nonprofits and neighborhood groups to be pulling together for the community to stay together and invest in that relationship. When an investment does occur, rather than using it to push out existing residents directly or indirectly, we can instead choose to help those already in the neighborhood by establishing community benefits agreements with investors in large projects to ensure that residents benefit from the investment, expanding public housing and so much more (Van Tol 2019).

Appendix A

Section A → Home price reference



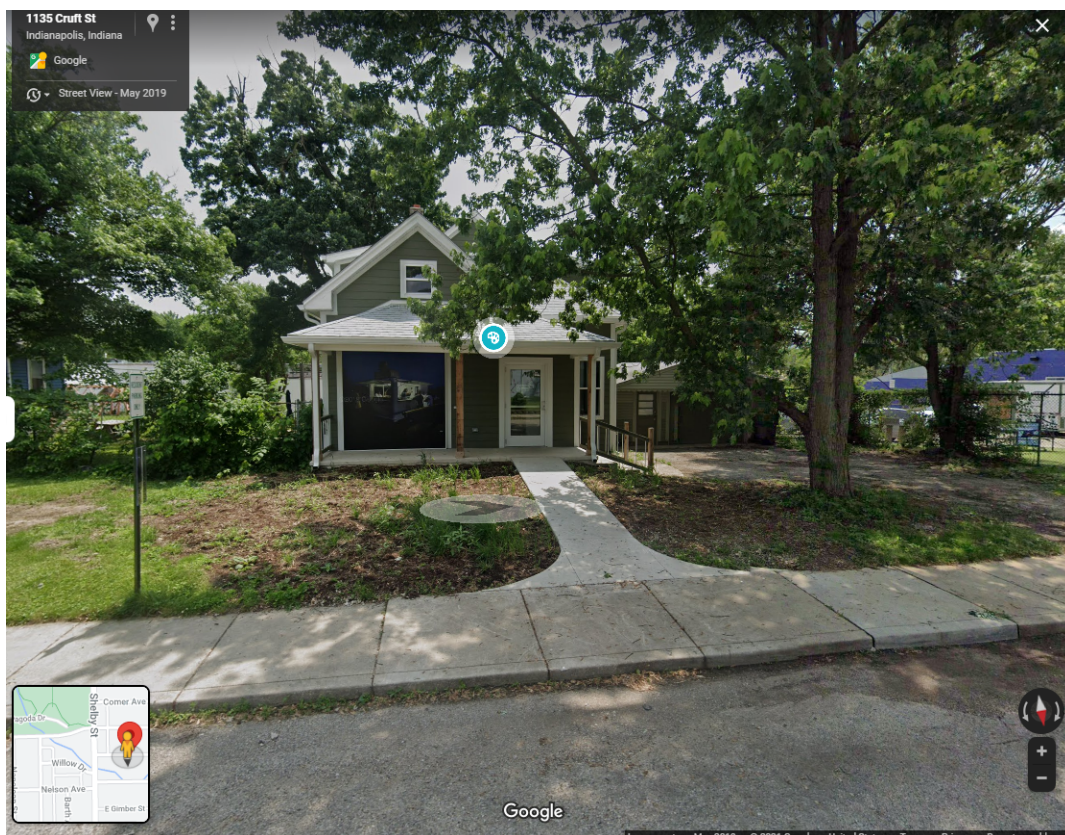
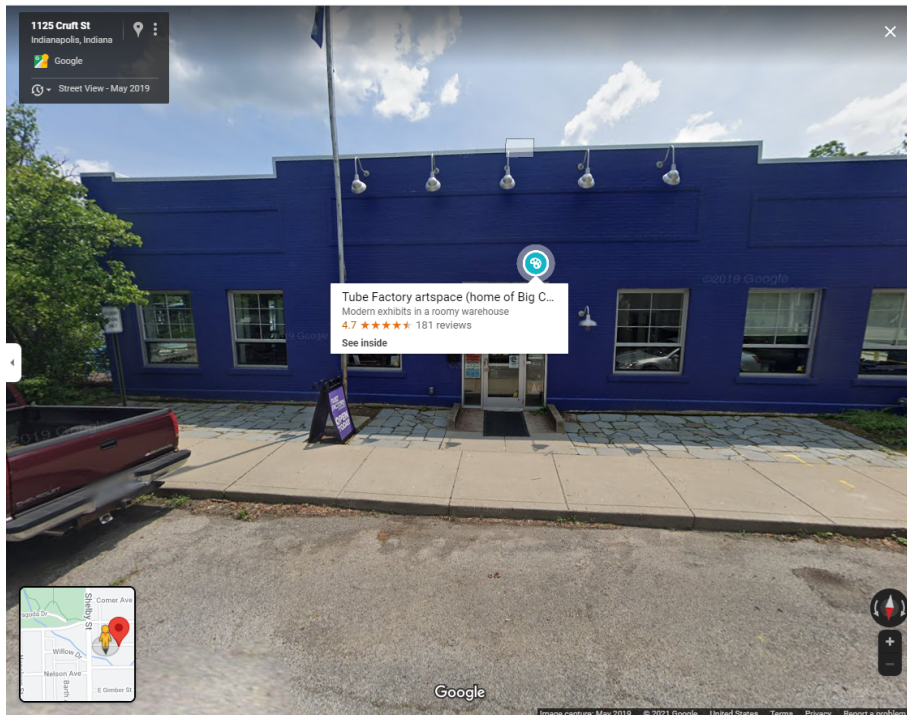
Bradbury Ave. in Garfield Park, July 2011



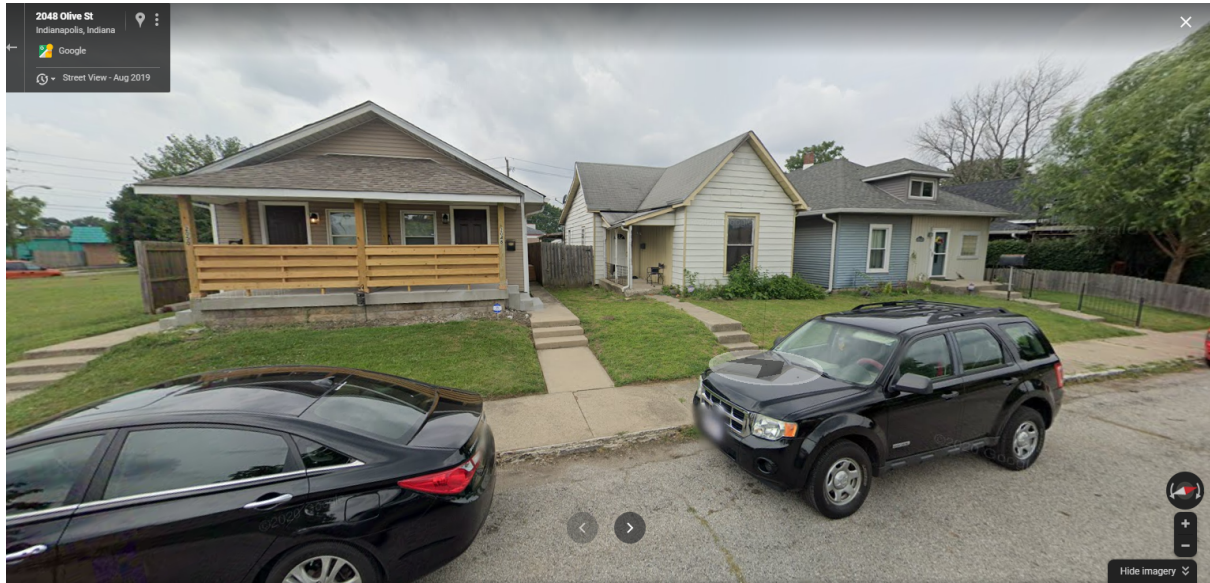
Bradbury Ave. in Garfield Park, June 2021

Section B → Artistry Presence





Section C → Stages of Gentrification



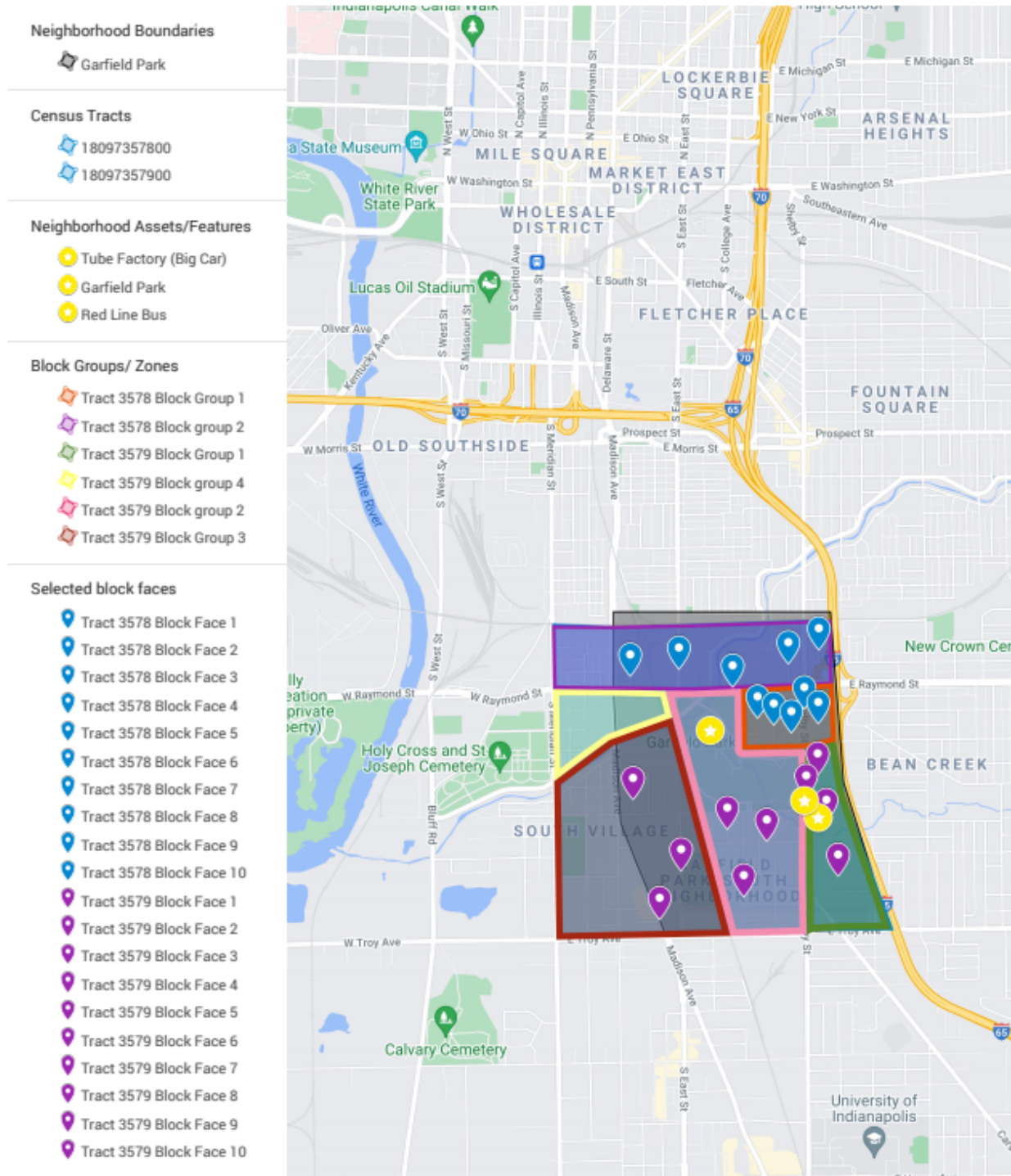
Section D → New addresses versus Original Addresses





Appendix B

Map of Block Faces and Tracts in Garfield Park



This map can also be explored [online using Google My Maps](#).

Codes can be explored using [Google SpreadSheets.](#)

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