

Original Article:

**GENTRIFICATION, DISPLACEMENT, AND PERCEPTION OF
COMMUNITY AMONG LONGTIME RESIDENTS OF AUSTIN,
TEXAS: IMPLICATIONS FROM SIX CASE STUDIES**

Avery Largent, B.A.
The University of Texas at Austin, USA

Michelann Quimby, Ph.D.
The University of Texas at Austin, USA

Abstract

Gentrification disproportionately impacts communities of color, who face high levels of residential instability, displacement, destruction of social capital, and mental and physical health risks. This study seeks to gain insight into how gentrification affects the Black community in the East Austin area. Participants were Black and mixed-race current and former East Austin residents. Participants were recruited through Black-owned business websites and at businesses on East 11th Street. Six participants (5 men, 1 woman) took part in a one-time, in-person interview. Case studies were analyzed for attitude toward neighborhood change, relationships with neighbors, and perception of current neighborhood environment. Responses revealed variation in participants' perception of community based on individual social context. Findings provide a basis for further investigation into the psychosocial effects of gentrification in Black communities. Future researchers should further investigate the social relationships in gentrifying communities using mixed methods and a larger sample size.

Keywords: gentrification, social capital, qualitative methods,
psychosocial coping, case study

AUTHOR NOTE: Please address all correspondence to: Avery Largent, Department of Psychology, The University of Texas at Austin, 108 E. Dean Keeton St., Austin, TX 78712, USA. Email: averysimone@utexas.edu

INTRODUCTION

Coined by Marxist urban geographer and London resident Ruth Glass in 1968, *gentrification* is defined as “the process of repairing and rebuilding homes and businesses in a deteriorating area (such as an urban neighborhood) accompanied by an influx of middle-class or affluent people and that often results in the displacement of earlier, usually poorer residents” (Merriam-Webster, 2019). Areas of cities that government officials neglected and racially segregated have experienced resurgence and revitalization due to this process. Way et al. (2018) wrote that the process consists of three steps. First, there is an influx of high-income residents to a neighborhood, driving up the cost of living and displacing low-income residents. Second, the public and commercial spaces of the neighborhood transform. Third, the neighborhood’s cultural character transforms. Because gentrification causes residential instability and significant structural change, it has profound effects on communities and contributes to a wide variety of socioeconomic and public health issues.

Social and Economic Impact

There are many theories as to why gentrification occurs, including individual-level choices about where to live, groups of people moving toward concentrations of jobs and institutional amenities, urban strategies stemming from liberal urban policy, and governments making policy strategy dependent on the movement of financial capital (Ley, 1986; Smith, 2002). Over the last 30 years, the United States has seen an increase in levels of gentrification, peaking after the year 2000 (Maciag, 2015). Primary benefits associated with gentrification include economic growth, increased access to amenities and institutional resources, lower crime, and higher levels of social mix (Atkinson, 2002; Byrne, 2003). However, these benefits may be challenging to access as gentrification often leads to physical displacement. Displacement disproportionately impacts Black and Hispanic families, contributes to homelessness, and upholds socioeconomic inequality in public education (Atkinson, 2002; Butler et al., 2013; Kirkland, 2008).

Together, gentrification’s social and economic effects increase the disparity between low-income racial and ethnic minority residents and their wealthier white counterparts. Proponents of gentrification frequently cite increased access to resources as a significant benefit to longtime residents, but the rising cost of living and racial discrimination contribute to displacement. The benefits residents are supposed to reap from increased funds are rendered inaccessible, and community members suffer decreased well-being as displacement separates friends and family members.

Public Health and Psychosocial Impact

Perhaps the most disruptive aspect of residential instability to community and individual well-being is displacement. Displacement separates friends and families, severs

community bonds, and is associated with heightened stress, depression, and anxiety, particularly among older adults (Han et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2018; Versey, 2018). Black Americans in unstable neighborhoods are disproportionately impacted by the detrimental effects of spatial segregation and displacement, experiencing high rates of adverse mental and physical health outcomes (Morenoff et al., 2007; Alegria et al., 2013; Huynh & Maroko, 2014). Positive social relationships serve as a buffer for stress, maximize health, and increase lifespan, but these relationships can be challenging for residents to reach (Kim & Kawachi, 2006; Boardman, 2004; Hoogerbrugge & Burger, 2018).

Together, the effects of residential displacement degrade the well-being of racial and ethnic minorities by increasing social isolation and, therefore, the risk for disease. Because poverty, social relationships, and racial and ethnic minority status all contribute to displacement, researchers must consider each of these variables' influence when evaluating health outcomes in gentrifying neighborhoods. In turn, those evaluating the social and economic impacts of gentrification ought to consider their implications for public health outcomes.

Gentrification in Austin

Austin, Texas has a long history of racial residential segregation, from its implementation of the 1928 Master Plan, which designated East Austin as the 'negro district,' to redlining and failed desegregation in the 1960s. For decades after being displaced from other neighborhoods, the majority of the city's African American population lived in the culturally rich, historic East Austin. Since the 1990s, however, the area has undergone rapid changes that have driven residents from the city (Castillo, 2011). As of 2019, East Austin was named the fourth fastest-gentrifying city in the U.S. (Lambert, 2019). The city's Black population has rapidly decreased, with 66% of East Austin's Black population leaving between 2000 and 2010. None of the other top ten fastest-growing cities reflect this trend (Tang & Ren, 2014).

In 2016, researchers Dr. Eric Tang and Dr. Bisola Falola at the University of Texas conducted a series of studies examining the impact of gentrification on East Austin residents. The first study investigated the perception of East Austin and new neighborhood environments among 100 African American residents who moved out of the area since the 1999 Census. Tang and Falola (2016a) found that the most common reasons for leaving Austin included affordability, better schools, improved quality of life outside of Austin, and racism in Austin (Tang & Falola, 2016a). Those who moved east of Austin reported inadequate access to resources such as swimming pools, health clinics, and grocery stores after moving, whereas those who moved north reported improved access.

The second study examined the perception of neighborhood change among 63 current residents who had lived in the same home since the 1999 Census. Primarily Black and Latino heads of households were interviewed (71% and 21% respectively). Tang and Falola (2016b) found that 74% of residents reported unfavorable views of neighborhood

change, with over half of respondents agreeing with the statement: “It’s expensive or over-gentrified” (p. 6). Residents cited frustration with pressure to sell their homes, lost sense of community, and high property taxes. They also experienced no change in access to resources, such as swimming pools and trails, and negative changes in school quality.

Together, these results suggest that social connection and access to resources have declined in East Austin in recent years. Only those who moved north of the city experienced positive change in the availability of resources and amenities. In contrast, those who stayed in East Austin and moved further east experienced negative changes. Tang and Falola’s results support previous findings that suggest that gentrification caused longtime residents, particularly racial and ethnic minority residents, to experience limited access to resources and increased social isolation. These studies provide a crucial foundation to understand overall shifts in opinion related to gentrification in East Austin (Tang & Falola, 2016a; Tang & Falola, 2016b). However, the results provided little insight into individual psychosocial experiences with gentrification because the researchers reported minimal qualitative data. The researchers did not investigate individual differences in experience.

Gentrification, Social Representation, and Qualitative Research

Researchers face difficulty characterizing gentrifying communities because gentrification often includes shifts in community identity. Residents experience unprecedented changes in relationships as new neighbors move in, former residents move out, and new businesses replace historic spaces. Each person may experience these changes differently based on their social context, broadening or shrinking their definition of community to reflect their surroundings. Therefore, community research in gentrifying communities faces the challenge of representing a diverse range of experiences and competing views among residents.

Social representation theory may serve as a useful framework to examine both individual and social experiences that inform the perception of gentrifying communities. Social representation can be understood as “the ensemble of thoughts and feelings being expressed in verbal and overt behaviour of actors which constitutes an object for a social group.” (Wagner et al., 1999, p. 95). Through everyday interaction and experience, residents of gentrifying neighborhoods construct social representations of their community that may be altered by sociohistorical context, relationships with current and former residents, and individual psychosocial well-being. Those who have positive relationships with current neighbors may perceive their community as larger and more connected. Conversely, those who are displaced or have negative relationships with neighbors may perceive their community as smaller and less connected.

Qualitative methods may advance social representation research by centering research on psychosocial experience and facilitating community engagement in research. Community engagement in neighborhood research improves the depth and accuracy of research findings. Allowing participants to construct their narratives cultivates a more in-

depth understanding of community experiences (Balazs & Morello-Frosch, 2013). Therefore, gentrification research benefits from qualitative methods by allowing researchers to reflect the experiences and social relationships of a wide range of people in diverse neighborhood contexts.

The Current Study

The present study sought to examine 1) how individuals describe their communities following gentrification, 2) how individuals describe neighborhood change in Austin, and 3) how individuals describe factors influencing displacement. A qualitative examination of case studies was used to gain a deeper understanding of residents' unique psychosocial experiences and social representation of their community. Like Tang and Falola's study of residents who left East Austin, the study included only Black and African American participants to examine the factors influencing disproportionate displacement in Austin's Black community.

METHOD

Participants

Participants consisted of six individuals over the age of 18 (5 men, 1 woman). Five participants identified as Black or African American and one identified as mixed-race (Table 1). The principal investigator recruited participants in person on East 11th Street and via email through Texas Black Pages and Austin Black Wall St., websites that list Black-owned businesses in the Austin area. Participants were current East Austin residents and business owners ($n = 2$) and former residents of East and Southeast Austin who had moved to the greater Austin area ($n = 4$). All participants had resided or worked in East Austin for at least ten years.

The principal investigator recruited two participants through email. Emails contained a brief description of the study's intent and the commitment involved (Appendix B). The researchers asked participants to respond if they were interested in participating. If so, the principal investigator sent a link to an eligibility screener (Appendix C). Participants were eligible if they were over the age of 18, identified as Black or African American, and lived or worked full-time in Austin at some point in their lives for at least five years.

The email response rate was low, with only 5% of respondents replying with interest in participation. Participants recruited in person ($n = 4$) were much more responsive, with 50% stating interest in participation. The principal investigator recruited participants in person through visits to participants' businesses during daytime business hours. The researchers supplied participants with information about the study and a copy of the consent form. Participants were asked to indicate interest either by scheduling a time

to interview in person or by emailing the principal investigator later. If interested in immediate participation, subjects then completed the eligibility screening form and scheduled a time to participate. Those interested in participation at a later date were emailed the eligibility screening form and virtually scheduled a time. Each participant was assigned a pseudonym.

Materials

Interviews were completed in person and were recorded using the iPhone Voice Memos application. Recordings were supplemented with handwritten notes.

Procedure

Participants were interviewed individually and in-person in public contexts, including libraries, the University of Texas campus, and businesses owned by the participants. Participants selected interview locations to minimize costs associated with travel and ensure privacy. Five participants chose to complete the interviews at the businesses during their lunch hour, at which time there were no customers. One participant chose to complete the interview at a library, where he had rented a private room. All interviews were recorded with the participants' permission and took between approximately 10 and 35 minutes.

The interview for current Austin residents consisted of 12 questions about community experiences in their neighborhood context over the last five years (Appendix D). The interview for former Austin residents consisted of 15 questions about their community experiences in Austin and in their current neighborhood (Appendix E). Questions were loosely based on those outlined in Narayan and Cassidy's Recommended and Suggested Items for Measuring Social Capital, Determinants and Outcomes (2001). Interview questions pertained primarily to community support and closeness, community involvement, and feelings associated with changes in these variables. All participants were asked how they believe their neighborhood environment could be improved and provided information about both negative and positive experiences in their communities. Interviews were loosely structured, and different follow-up questions were asked on an individual basis. Sample questions included: "Do you feel like your neighborhood has changed in the past 5-10 years?" "Do you talk to your neighbors on a weekly basis?" "Is there anything you miss about East Austin compared 5-10 years ago?" "Can you tell me about a time that something good happened that made you feel positive about your community?"

Positionality Statement

This research was based at the University of Texas at Austin and conducted independently as part of A.L.'s undergraduate honors thesis. M.Q. served as A.L.'s faculty advisor alongside Dr. Edmund T. Gordon, Vice Provost for Diversity and Assistant Professor of African and African Diaspora Studies. Both A.L. and M.Q. were residents of

Austin. A.L. was born and raised in Austin and M.Q. had lived there for over 20 years. A.L. decided to research East Austin's African American community because she grew up watching the city grow and change and sought to understand how structural change in the city had impacted community well-being. As a 21-year-old white woman, A.L.'s privilege may hinder her from understanding the complexities of the participants' intersectional identities, unique cultural perspectives, and experiences. A.L. and M.Q. hoped the study would increase research interest in how gentrification impacts community relationships, particularly in East Austin.

Data and Coding

Participant interview responses were transcribed manually by the principal investigator. The co-principal investigator later reviewed the transcripts. Both researchers then evaluated interview data using qualitative research software NVivo. The analysis sought to determine how current and former residents view the changes in East Austin, how residents perceive their communities inside and outside of Austin, and what factors influence Austin's African American community to leave the city. Participant responses were categorized by references either to neighborhood context or attitude toward the community or neighbors. Responses were analyzed for residents' overall attitude toward changes, focusing on the perception of new neighbors, displacement, cost of living, neighborhood change, and community connection. Attitudes were linked to social relationships and current neighborhood context to understand factors informing social representation.

RESULTS

Case Study I

Participant

David was a middle-aged African American man who had grown up in the East Austin area. He inherited a restaurant from his father, which he ran for most of his adult life. In recent years, he moved to a neighborhood south of the one he lived in as a child but still worked full-time at his restaurant in East Austin.

Findings

David stated that the neighborhood had changed in the last 30 years, both for the better and for the worse. Negative changes were primarily related to the increased cost of living and loss of cultural resources. Positive changes included improved upkeep of local homes, increased police presence, and diversity of residents. David argued that unity

among all residents was crucial to build a strong community and stated his commitment to building relationships with new residents.

Perception of Neighborhood Change

David argued that displacement primarily resulted from the increased cost of living in East Austin. While residents could choose not to sell their homes to new buyers, it can be challenging to turn down large sums of money. In his words:

Everybody buying up that land - they not running us off, they buying us out. We have a choice to say yes or no, [but] when you paid \$30,000 for your house and they offer you \$280,000 for it...[It's] hard to say no.

David emphasized the role that landlords played in driving residents and their businesses out of the city. By selling property at high prices, landlords contributed to the mounting cost of rent that many residents could not afford:

It changed a whole lot now. It was 30 years ago five other Black businesses [were] here...It's been changed for a long time. You know, the landlords finally got everybody out of here. But I'm the only one still standing.

As Black residents left the city, so too did cultural activities and quality food. David described his experience as one of the few Black community members still living in the area:

When we had everybody else, they were helping me. But now ain't nobody don't help no more. But see, I'm the only Black man still out here today so everybody been come to me for help. The Black team in little league for football, basketball, little league track team and all that.

Nevertheless, David stated that these changes did not negatively impact his life. "I'm still making money, I'm still here," he remarked. He also acknowledged that the influx of wealthy residents to the area improved policing and neighborhood safety. In his words:

[The police] cleaned up. I mean, they really cleaned up. They cleaned everything up. There ain't no drug dealers out on the street no more. Ain't no prostitutes...All that changed, but it's changed for the good, too.

Perception of Community

As the owner of one of the last Black-owned businesses in East Austin, David was dedicated to staying in the area and providing a space for community engagement. Though

he frequently experienced pressure from prospective buyers to sell his business, David turned down every offer he had received over the last 20 years. He discussed his decision to decline a \$5 million offer shortly before interviewing:

They [prospective buyers] offered me \$5 million and I turned it down for the community. Everybody never done that.... It's worth it because I'm still here. Is it worth \$5 million? Well, we don't know. As long as we staying, we'll be alright. You know. That's what counts.

David advised other longtime residents to keep their businesses instead of selling the property. His family had lived in the area since 1957, and he attributed his success to his family's dedication to East Austin. In his words:

My grandfather here from '57 and I've been here from '76 until now. To get something good, you gotta stay with it and be dedicated and stay with it long enough. It's like being married. If you wanna stay married, you gotta do the work and be dedicated.

David advocated not only for support from the Black community but also from all East Austin residents. "If we all here together," he said, "If we all help each other, we all got no problem." He modeled his business with the promise of unity, adding a mural to the side of the building with a Martin Luther King Jr. quote to convey his message. In his words:

It's a community now. I don't care what color we are, we all came on different ships but now we in the same boat. We all gotta help each other. I don't care what color you is...It ain't gotta be all Black folk there. Whoever here now - everybody. We're all down together. That's why I wrote that on the side of my building. "We all came on different ships, and we in the same boat." I want everybody to understand that.

Interpretation

Overall, David held a relatively positive view of the changes in the city. His perception of the neighborhood change was likely informed by his position as a longtime business owner. He emphasized positive changes in the neighborhood related to police presence, physical structure, and safety. David discussed seeing more customers and more diversity over the years and described those changes as financially beneficial. If the area had not become safer and therefore more palatable to wealthy Austin residents, he likely would not have seen an uptick in customers.

David's view of displacement reflected his resilience and commitment to the city. Like the participants in Tang and Falola's study of those who stayed in East Austin, he admitted his frustration with the pressure to sell his property and property taxes (Tang & Falola, 2016b). He did not blame incoming residents for increasing the cost of living. Instead, he emphasized the role of former residents' choice to stay or leave. He attributed displacement primarily to landlords and longtime residents electing to sell their property for high prices. While he empathized with those who were forced to sell, he was in favor of keeping the Black community together by staying in the neighborhood.

David described himself as "the only one still standing," but did not dwell on the loss of other community members. Instead, he sought to build new relationships and integrate into his new community in East Austin. Though David experienced decreased everyday interaction and availability of cultural resources, he emphasized the need for diversity and community support. Just as his view of the structural changes in the neighborhood related to his business, so too did his view of the community. His commitment to diversity and promise of unity serves not only to build community but also to convey trust to new residents who might become customers. While he valued keeping the Black community together as much as possible, it likely served him well to focus on cultivating relationships with new residents and building his community near his business.

Case Study II

Participant

Caleb was a middle-aged African American man who grew up in New Orleans, Louisiana. He and his family relocated to Texas following Hurricane Katrina. He had owned a restaurant in East Austin for over a decade. His family had lived in various locations around Austin before settling in Round Rock, a suburb approximately 18 miles north of downtown Austin.

Findings

Caleb held complex opinions about the changes in Austin. He viewed increased property taxes, expensive buyouts, and community members' loss negatively, but discussed positive changes in the city's growth and business opportunity.

Perception of Neighborhood Change

To Caleb, the changing state of the city and loss of community members was an inevitable aspect of the developing world that reflected the quality of life in Austin. In his words:

[In] this day and time, the world just improving. The cost of living is changing in different areas...people with a whole lot of money from all

over the world coming to Austin to invest and to live here because it's a great place to live...So what they have done since I been here, for the past 15 years, is just take over the people who lived in a low-income community - what they call gentrification - and just start buying them out and putting their houses up where they want 'em.

Caleb acknowledged that some members of the community had benefited from expensive buyouts. Those who were prepared for the neighborhood to change capitalized on new income, while those who were unprepared struggled. In his words:

Change is positive. Change is not negative. Everybody that owned property around here - it's not like they're getting ripped off...It's sad to see the people go and leave here, but I'm happy to see it's growing and moving forward...Nothing we can do about it except prepare our kids and prepare ourselves. A lot of people wasn't ready for the change.

Caleb noted that the city's response to displacement and increasing cost of living was not unique to Austin. Because the cost of living is rising across the U.S., Caleb argued that the best response would be to increase minimum wages for all. In his words:

I think they gotta make changes -- minimum wage gonna have to go up...Minimum wage people just gotta make more money. You know, even with that Uber stuff and that Favor stuff, you know, they got people 70-80 years old come to deliver food here. So they can make a living. They probably fighting to keep their property.

However, Caleb stated that it was unlikely that the government would step in. Instead, he saw it as the responsibility of individuals to make sound financial decisions. In his words:

I came in smart and hopefully I can leave out smart and hopefully when it's time for me to move, I'll be prepared to move and can afford to buy my own building...The biggest part [of running a business] is being smart. Being smart is no sense in crying just because the people that used to own this stuff in Austin running off.

Perception of Community

Caleb stated that the displacement of former residents had caused ties between community members to disintegrate. When asked if there was anything he missed about

East Austin compared to how it was 5-10 years prior, he noted: “We had good old times on this side. Back in those times it was close-knit... And now I see that go away.”

Caleb attributed displacement primarily to skyrocketing property taxes, making it very difficult for longtime residents not to sell their homes. As he said, “They had to sell because they couldn’t afford to stay.” He discussed feeling virtually powerless as the expense drove residents out of the city:

The sad part was, like I said, seeing families move out. Had to move out that been here forever... You know, I was wishing and hoping like “man, I wish there was something we can do.” That was the tough part. It was a lot of sad days to see, you know, like, “damn, he moving? She moving?” Nothing you can do to stop it from happening.

Caleb considered these changes to be an unfortunate necessity in the growth of the city. He regarded displacement as part of a broader issue with the socioeconomic disparity in Austin:

I watched all these guys that used to live here, live around here, I watched them get moved out and just watched the neighborhood change into what it is now. And what it is now is... it’s about the people that have money and the people that don’t have money. And that’s just what the world is. You know it’s sad to see it go like that, but the world have to - it have to advance.

Caleb argued that the only people who could have protected longtime residents were city officials. He noted his disappointment in their failure to manage the cost of living and preserve community well-being:

I thought the councilmen would have got together and say, “Okay, we gotta keep the taxes at this [price] so the community stay together.” That’s what I was hoping and pulling for. I was like, “there’s no way it’s possible they’re gonna sit there and let these people buy up the whole community.” But they did. They did. That was sad....The people that make the rules here is weird. They make it and that’s that and you just live with it, not changing it, here to stay and you gotta go.

Interpretation

After living through Hurricane Katrina and living in several cities over the last twenty years, Caleb’s perspective on Austin’s changes was unique. He discussed displacement and loss of community in a broader context of modern capitalism in the U.S.,

stating that the burden of protecting residents should fall on the government, both federal and local. After watching wealthier investors move in and displace longtime residents, Caleb's faith in Austin's government was shaken. He emphasized the importance of financial stability and urged residents to prepare themselves for their neighborhoods to change. Though the loss of displaced community members saddened him, Caleb felt that it was an unfortunate aspect of the nation's economic development.

Throughout his interview, Caleb focused very little on his relationships with members of his community. It is possible that because he lived in Round Rock and traveled to East Austin to work, he was less detrimentally impacted by community members' displacement because he had people to support him in Round Rock. However, it is also possible that after moving multiple times and living through a natural disaster, Caleb's focus was on disaster preparedness rather than building close relationships. Therefore, his perception of his community was shaped by instability and constant structural change.

Case Study III

Participant

Anthony was a middle-aged African American man who grew up in East Austin. He was a business owner in East Austin who had worked there for over a decade, although he had relocated to Bastrop, a neighboring city approximately 35 miles from downtown Austin.

Findings

Anthony had a neutral view on the changes in the neighborhood. Though he reported having less rapport with community members than 5-10 years ago, he viewed his new neighbors favorably. Negative changes were primarily related to policing.

Perception of Neighborhood Change

Anthony's primary complaints about working in East Austin were primarily related to policing. He mentioned the police presence in East Austin had previously interfered with his business because it made customers "uneasy." However, he stated that the police presence had declined significantly in the last five years. "There's less people up here now," he noted. "That's probably why. And they're probably all downtown anyway. Seems like 6th street's got a little reputation now."

When asked if there is anything about the neighborhood environment that could be improved, he stated: "It's still changing so we're still waiting to see how it goes...Some things getting a little expensive but it's ok."

Perception of Community

When asked to discuss a time that something made him feel positive about his community, Anthony mentioned building relationships with new neighbors:

Interviewer: *Can you tell me about a time that something good happened that made you feel positive about your community?*

Participant: *I think when some of the new neighbors moved in. They all came in and they introduced themselves and they were...they asked me if I ever need anything to come to them and let them know... I'm getting some new ones that I'm kind of getting a rapport with.*

Anthony added that though he had fewer connections with neighbors than 5-10 years ago, he was “not a standoff person,” so it was easy for people to approach him.

Interpretation

Anthony’s view of the change in East Austin was somewhat neutral. Though he felt less connected to his neighbors in recent years, he positively regarded his new neighbors and hoped to build relationships with them. He viewed the city as a work in progress. Like Tang and Falola’s subjects, Anthony cited concerns about the increased cost of living, but he did not describe it as a significant drawback to living in the city (Tang & Falola, 2016b). His complaints primarily related to local government, discussing the adverse effects of police presence in previous years. Anthony’s response suggests that he maintained the hopeful outlook that future changes in the city would resolve his current concerns despite prior challenges.

Like David, Anthony’s experience with the changing community was related to his status as a business owner. He was frustrated with the police primarily because they had driven customers away. He did not discuss losing customers to displacement. Indeed, he was the only participant who did not mention the loss of community members from displacement. Because his relationships with his new neighbors were supportive, it can be inferred that displacement may not have significantly impacted Anthony’s life. Instead, his view of his community as supportive and available remained steady despite the neighborhood-level structural change.

Case Study IV

Participant

Jasmine was a middle-aged African-American and Hispanic woman. She had grown up in East Austin but recently relocated to Pflugerville, Texas, a neighboring city 18 miles north of downtown Austin. There, she and her husband had started a business.

Findings

Jasmine stated that the neighborhood had changed over the last 10-20 years. She discussed primarily negative feelings about the displacement of residents and vanishing Black businesses. Jasmine placed Black residents' lack of connection in the context of the city overall, describing racial relations in Austin as aloof and challenging. In Pflugerville, she continued to struggle to connect with residents and watched as her daughter faced discrimination in her new school.

Perception of Neighborhood Change

Jasmine stated that the neighborhood had substantially changed since she had lived there as a child. "I grew up relatively poor in the projects on the East side of Austin," she noted. "They're actually torn down now and the East side as I knew it for most of my teens has completely changed." She discussed feeling saddened by the changes in her former neighborhood despite improved opportunities for residents:

Change is good because the business that it brought in. At the same time, the people that were pushed out...it makes me sad. It definitely, as an Austinite, it takes a piece of your soul away when you, you know, you can't even show your kids or people that visit what true Austin really was. It doesn't feel the same.

Jasmine discussed the role of increasing entertainment industry businesses aimed at young people, such as music and film festivals, clubs, and bars, in increased cost of living in displacement. In her words:

I personally feel like I'm a little disconnected from Austin now...Now that there's no East side, it's like, what is Austin? There is no prime spot...You hear about South By Southwest [Film Festival], Austin City Limits [Music Festival], but that's not everybody. It's a certain selective group...So what is Austin now? Where is our community? I don't know.

Perception of Community

Jasmine discussed significant deterioration in social connections in the Black community over the last 10-15 years. She cited the loss of a centralized space for Black-owned businesses and the displacement of residents as primary factors in the loss of relationships. In her words:

There's less of a connection. It's hard. It's harder to have a real connection with, like, Black people like it was back then. Because it was all Black businesses like we had strips, the clothing, we had one general spot. Everyone lived close to one another so we definitely had to have, you know, that day-to-day build and camaraderie. And it's...it's not like that no more... Those relationships - they're harder to find now, they're harder to keep.

The primary reason Jasmine moved out of Austin was to enroll her children in better public schools. "I wanted to have them in better school districts and it worked out," she said. However, she found that fewer Black children attended school in their new neighborhood, and her daughter initially struggled to find a community. In her words:

When we first moved, [my daughter] went to a school that had a lot more Black people, but it wasn't a really good school, so I took her out of it and I got her into [a local Pflugerville school], and she was a little shell shocked. When she started conversating with her friends and having different games, they would call her an oreo. Or like, you're losing your culture.

She related her children's experiences to broader problems in Austin. To Jasmine, people's attitudes were just as detrimental to relationships as residents' physical displacement. While other cities had strong community bonds, Jasmine frequently experienced feelings of alienation in Austin:

I will say this: I travel a lot and so when I go to like LA or Atlanta where it's predominantly Black, it feels like a different world. I could care less about the color of someone's skin. I really care more about treatment. And I think that's the piece a lot of people miss. A Black community with Black kids and Black people - we know how to talk to each other... People here are very dismissive. They are very short for the most part. They could really care less... The dialogue is just very, very different.

Interpretation

As a longtime resident of East Austin, Jasmine's perspective was unique. She watched the changes in the city throughout her life and had a personal stake in both the community and the physical structure of the neighborhood. Jasmine held primarily negative feelings about the changes in East Austin and her community. Like the participants in Tang and Falola's studies, Jasmine cited the cost of living and quality of schools as significant factors influencing her decision to leave the city. While she was satisfied by her children's new public schools, Jasmine's narrative provided valuable insight into the challenges that Black students face integrating into less racially diverse schools.

To Jasmine, the loss of a centralized space for Black community engagement in East Austin contributed to a significant deterioration in community bonds. Unlike other participants, she did not place the burden of displacement on the government or individual residents. Instead, she broadly discussed Austin's culture of aloofness, stating that the disconnect between community members was a city-wide issue that was not likely to change.

Case Study V

Participant

Isaiah was a middle-aged Black man who grew up in East Austin. He lived in the area for most of his life and worked at a barbershop intermittently for approximately 30 years. After spending several years in prison, he moved to the South Austin area and resumed his position as a barber.

Findings

Isaiah stated that the neighborhood had changed significantly over the last 10-20 years. He cited positive changes related to safety and neighborhood appearance and negative changes related to community support. Isaiah discussed the need for residents to support local businesses and acknowledged the challenges of rallying support when many residents work long hours. He discussed several instances in which his community had supported him and how that had influenced his experience returning to Austin after his involvement with the justice system.

Perception of Neighborhood Change

Isaiah stated that the neighborhood had improved as crime rates decreased and diversity among residents increased. In his words:

I feel pretty good about those changes...It's no longer you got a bunch of dope dealers standing on the corner, people shooting one another there, it's not a high crime area anymore. You understand me. And we diversified now, we have nationalities of people from everywhere. And I like that.

Perception of Community

Although he acknowledged that many people had left East Austin, working in a barbershop frequented by former residents afforded Isaiah the ability to stay connected to his community. In his words:

Although a lot of the Black people have moved out of the neighborhood, you know, moved out to Manor and different places out around here, they still come back here and get their haircut. So we're really not missing anything on that front.

Isaiah described several instances in which members of his community had influenced his life for the better. When he was frustrated with his long work hours, he said that his committed clients helped to get him through the day. In his words:

The way of [improving things] is through support. You know. But if you know you walk in that door at 7:00, 7:30 in the morning, and you've got people waiting on you to get to work, you gotta get it...That's your inspiration, your drive to get there.

Isaiah cited his relationship with his manager as a crucial example of community support. He credited the manager of his barbershop for his success and financial stability. After leaving prison, Isaiah discovered that Texas legislators had passed a law taking barber licenses from justice-involved individuals, and Isaiah had to go back to school and work at a chain restaurant. Throughout that year, his manager held a position in the barbershop for him despite receiving other applications. In turn, Isaiah took the job and declined a better-paying offer he received after getting his license. In his words:

I found out the state of Texas...passed a law that if you commit a crime, they take your license, your whole way of living, away from you...It took a year until I could get back in there and take that state exam and get my license back. It wasn't easy...But [my manager] held this spot for me for a year. I gave him my word that I was coming back here. And that's what I did.

While he felt emotionally supported by many community members, Isaiah stated that the community did not adequately support Black businesses financially. He felt that supporting Black-owned businesses was essential to promoting community well-being and preventing displacement. In his words:

There is a short falling in the support of the community for me. We [Black community members] would like to have a community itself to realize that we are a business here, right in this community. And we need their support here...If not for the support of the community, we would not be here.

Interpretation

Isaiah held an altogether positive view of the neighborhood changes. He discussed positive changes in policing and business opportunity, noting the improvement in crime rates over the last 20 years.

Isaiah's narrative was shaped by the fact that he worked at a long-standing business in East Austin. Although he acknowledged the loss of residents, Isaiah was shielded from the social isolation and disconnect that other participants faced because former residents frequented his barbershop. Because he was "not missing anything on that front," Isaiah may have experienced as dramatic a change in social context. Indeed, he positively viewed the change in community members, discussing his approval for the neighborhood's increased diversity. The only complaint Isaiah had about the loss of residents is that there was some community support for local businesses. He emphasized the importance of engaging all community members, including current residents, to promote businesses and improve relationships between residents.

Case Study VI

Participant

James was a middle-aged Black man who grew up in the Southeast Austin area, spending most of his time with friends in the East Austin area. He lived in South Austin for many years until enlisting in the military. He had settled in the Pflugerville area and opened a business.

Findings

James stated that Austin had changed significantly over the last 10-20 years. He described negative changes in the increased cost of living and the negligence of local officials. In Pflugerville, James found strong community bonds and improved civic engagement among residents and city officials. He discussed the importance of national-

level solutions to gentrification to improve conditions for Black communities across the U.S.

Perception of Neighborhood Change

James discussed significant changes in the city related to the loss of community members and increased cost of living. He related much of the change to local music and film festivals that increase expense and shape the type of residents who move in. By catering the city towards wealthy young people, the city disadvantaged other communities. In his own words:

I feel that [Austin is] neglecting a certain type of people. They've been catering mostly to people who moved here, not people who live here or have been here for a long time. Like the Black community and Latino community...I think it's more about the money, the dollars, than the actual people...Austin been having a whole bunch of different events that come here every and I know that's been getting a lot of revenue to the city and everything, but the only thing is, is that, they pricing people out of the city.

James discussed frustration with city officials' complacency throughout East Austin's gentrification. He discussed the city's need to implement laws preventing the cost of living from skyrocketing in some regions of the city before wealthy residents drove all lower-income residents out of the city. In his words:

[City officials] gotta make it more affordable for everyone to live there. They can't just force everybody out of their neighborhoods...I know the mayor's been trying to do some things to make Austin more affordable but I really don't see that much that they can do. Unless they really pass some kind of city legislation that's "Oh, this private property is off-limits, you can't touch that. No, this part of town, you can't touch it at all."

James saw Austin's gentrification as part of a broader national and historical issue. He referred to gentrification as "economic racism," stating that the federal government should be responsible for finding national-level solutions. In his own words:

[Gentrification] is pretty much economic racism...My biggest plan is reparations. The United States owes African American descendants of slaves reparations. If they give us the money that, well, the money that we deserve from the past of the United States, then we have enough

money to build our own communities and everything...Black people have been displaced from the community because they got no economic foundation to stand on.

Perception of Community

James left Austin due to expense and a poor school district. He quickly found a community in Pflugerville, enjoying both the community resources and excellent school district:

[Pflugerville has] more of hub of community for Black people now because we got a lot of Black-owned businesses that's starting to open up here...And the school district is probably better than Austin school district because it has, especially on the East side of town, a lot of school closures and stuff like that...[My daughter will] definitely be going to Pflugerville ISD.

James also enjoyed his neighborhood because of its diversity and neighbors with similar values. He described his neighborhood as a “whole melting pot” where he interacted with them “on a daily basis,” both at work and at home. When asked to describe a time that something good happened in his community, James discussed attending neighborhood events and having access to child-friendly activities:

The neighborhoods, local neighborhoods, have lots of different stuff, like my neighborhood has different events, social events, and social gatherings and stuff like at as well, like pool parties, and also Easter egg hunts, and...just lots of different stuff for the kids.

James also enjoyed many resident’s commitment to civic engagement, citing access to city officials as one of the best aspects of living in Pflugerville rather than Austin. Shortly after moving to the area, he became involved in a business that strived to promote Black residents’ involvement in the local government. With the help of community members involved in his business, James succeeded in starting a weekly food truck event for Black vendors in downtown Pflugerville. He cited the close relationships in Pflugerville as a critical part of making change. “I have connections with the mayor, with the current mayor,” he noted. “I can call him up any time I want to...He lives in my neighborhood too. So I got connections with different people in the city, you know, you get to know people.”

James saw these close relationships as unique to Pflugerville and key to maintaining historical resources. While both Austin and Pflugerville have extensive Black histories, Pflugerville residents’ access to the local government improved community initiatives’

success. In Austin, city council members were difficult to reach, and the city council did not represent the community accurately.

I say that the historical preservation here is, well, it's a little bit more than Austin because you don't have to go through so much red tape and stuff...The people that served on Austin's city council didn't even live in East Austin, weren't a part of East Austin or anything, so pretty much all the west side of Austin's interests or needs were met but East Austin was left in the dark.

James described the only drawbacks of living in Pflugerville as primarily related to lack of business opportunities in the city and disconnect between residents and job opportunities. "Two things there are, uh, I can say, are kinda bad about Pflugerville," he stated, "Most of the people that work in Pflugerville don't live in Pflugerville and most of the people that live in Pflugerville work outside of Pflugerville." However, he acknowledged that city officials are working to improve the job market by bringing in new corporations.

When asked if there was anything he missed about living in Austin, James said he was happy living in Pflugerville. "Austin's just a hop, skip and a jump away from Pflugerville, so I really don't miss it," he said. "It would be different, you know, I'd be living in a whole big, different city, but, uh...Austin....Well, like I said, I don't miss that cost of living out there. The property taxes and all that, I don't miss that." Above all, he emphasized the improved sense of community he had found outside of Austin, describing Austin residents as uprooted by the city's changes:

A lot of Black folks here [in Austin], they don't have any roots here anymore, and so they...and so they dying off. That's why they leaving, that's why they leaving the city. It's no roots that they can plant here.

Interpretation

While James had a relatively negative view of the changes in East Austin, his keen sense of community in Pflugerville seemed to protect him from negative feelings about displacement. To James, the burden of displacement fell on local lawmakers and city council members. Much of the reason James enjoyed Pflugerville was related to political engagement: he was heavily involved in promoting civic engagement, worked alongside lawmakers, and saw firsthand the local lobbying effects on reaching community goals, particularly historic preservation.

DISCUSSION

While each participant's views and experiences were varied, several key themes emerged. Like the subjects in Tang and Falola's 2016 studies, participants in this study discussed changes related to displacement and affordability (Tang & Falola 2016a; Tang & Falola 2016b). Every participant stated that many former residents had left East Austin, everyday interaction had declined over the last 10-20 years, the cost of living had significantly increased, and changes in the neighborhood had both positive and negative outcomes. All participants stated that displacement had affected lower-income, primarily racial minority residents, reflecting gentrification's perpetuation of socioeconomic inequality.

Social representation of participants' community varied widely between interviews depending on relationships with new neighbors, current neighborhood, and prior social context and experiences. The concept of community was fluid, and participants often described themselves as members of multiple communities: the East Austin community as it was 20 years ago, the East Austin community as it is now, the Black community in the greater Austin area, the Black community in their current neighborhood context, or the broad community of Austin residents. Most described significant changes occurring in the East Austin community over the last 20 years, shifting to include more wealthy, white residents, and Austin's Black community, which had become more widely spread across the Austin metropolitan area.

The degree to which participants saw themselves as integrated into other communities varied. Connection to community members appeared to be minimally related to their current city. Some, like Anthony, Isaiah, David, and James, discussed feeling like they were part of the communities in their current neighborhood context, and little of their interviews focused on the changes in East Austin's community or the Black community citywide. Others, including Jasmine and Caleb, did not describe themselves as deeply connected to their current communities and spent more time discussing disconnect in East Austin and the Black community citywide.

Though participants' connectedness to different communities varied, every participant experienced decreased social connection related to displacement over the last 20 years. Even those who were satisfied by their community relationships discussed the need for strong community support. Definitions of community support included financially supporting Black businesses, visiting other community members at work, and turning down offers to sell property. Most solutions prioritized creating spaces for community engagement. These solutions may be essential to preserving well-being for residents as promoting social relationships may minimize the adverse stress-related health concerns that arise from displacement (Kim & Kawachi, 2006; Boardman, 2004; Hoogerbrugge & Burger, 2018).

Participant's explanations for the causes of displacement varied widely, though most related it to the increased cost of living. Some participants attributed displacement to landlords or individual residents choosing to sell their homes and emphasized individual choice to stay. Some attributed it to new residents buying houses for large sums of money and driving up the cost of living. Others emphasized lawmakers' negligence, stating that they should have protected residents by managing property taxes or creating protected districts. Altogether, these results suggest that residents have varied experiences with displacement and may offer a diverse range of solutions to prevent it.

The variation of participants' experiences provide evidence for the efficacy of qualitative methods in representing diverse perspectives informing social representations. Rather than solely examining changes in gentrifying communities, researchers must evaluate residents' broader social context. Future researchers ought to conduct studies using mixed methods, larger sample sizes, and community engagement, particularly participatory action research. It is vital to understand participants' social relationships beyond those in the gentrified neighborhood, as they have a significant effect on well-being. Further research is needed not only to examine individual, psychosocial relationships but also to evaluate gentrification policy and population-level influences of social context on public health.

The results in these case studies may not be generalizable to the broader East Austin community or gentrifying communities across the U.S. Little demographic information was collected, and educational background and income may significantly influence residents' experiences with gentrification. Those with more wealth and education may have greater flexibility to choose where they live. They may also be able to spend more time away from work engaging with community members. Future researchers should prioritize collecting more demographic information and recruiting more women to better understand residents' experiences with the changes in the city. Further, researchers should consider collaborating with community members to sculpt research methods that promote community engagement and reflect participants' experiences accurately.

Perhaps the most crucial finding of these studies was the participants' dedication to community support and engagement. Policymakers should consider innovative solutions to keep communities together, involve longtime residents in conversations about changes in the neighborhood, and promote spaces for community engagement. However, it may be difficult for displaced residents to establish spaces for engagement in their new neighborhoods, where historic spaces may not exist. Those who remain in gentrifying areas may face difficulty in maintaining these spaces when many former residents have left and there is immense pressure to sell their property. Therefore, it is crucial for policymakers in gentrifying areas to work with current residents to designate historically preserved areas and maintain accessible spaces for residents to interact.

Individual residents, too, have the power to help maintain spaces of community engagement. Many participants in this study emphasized the importance of spreading the

word about longtime residents' businesses and participating in local politics. In each of these cases, a significant part of a supportive community is social connection and sociability. If gentrifiers engaged with longtime residents in public and commercial spaces, communities could work together to come to solutions that preserve community spaces, facilitate connections in the community, and combat the deleterious effects associated with displacement.

Acknowledgements:

Special thanks to Dr. Edmund T. Gordon for his comments on a previous version of this article.

REFERENCES

- Alegría, M., Molina, K. M., & Chen, C. N. (2013). Neighborhood characteristics and differential risk for depressive and anxiety disorders across racial/ethnic groups in the United States. *Depression and anxiety*, 31(1), 27-37. <https://doi.org/10.1002/da.22197>
- Atkinson, R. (2002) Does gentrification help or harm urban neighborhoods? An assessment of the evidence-base in the context of the new urban agenda. *ESRC Center for Neighborhood Research Paper*, 5, 1-20. http://www.urbancenter.utoronto.ca/pdfs/curp/CNR_Getrification-Help-or-.pdf
- Balazs, C. L., & Morello-Frosch, R. (2013). The three R's: How community based participatory research strengthens the rigor, relevance and reach of science. *Environmental Justice*, 6(1), 9-21. <https://doi.org/10.1089/env.2012.0017>
- Boardman, J. D. (2004). Stress and physical health: The role of neighborhoods as mediating and moderating mechanisms. *Social Science & Medicine*, 58(12), 2473-2483. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2003.09.029>
- Butler, T., Hamnett, C., & Ramsden, M. J. (2013). Gentrification, education and exclusionary displacement in East London. *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research*, 37(2), 556-575. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12001>
- Byrne, J. P. (2003). Two cheers for gentrification. *Georgetown University Law Center*. <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/2321/2ea16f315b5d68b4d0a396f6d44df48f281d.pdf>
- Castillo, J. (2011). Census data depict sweeping change in East Austin. *Austin American Statesman Online*. <https://www.statesman.com/article/20110418/NEWS/304189786>

- Gentrification. (2019). In *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster Press.
- Han, K. M., Han, C., Shin, C., Jee, H. J., An, H., Yoon, H. K., Ko, Y. H., & Kim, S. H. (2018). Social capital, socioeconomic status, and depression in community-living elderly. *Journal of Psychiatric Research*, 98, 133-140. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpsychires.2018.01.002>
- Hoogerbrugge, M. M., & Burger M.J. (2018). Neighborhood-based social capital and life satisfaction: The case of Rotterdam, the Netherlands, *Urban Geography*, 39(10), 1484-1509. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpsychires.2018.01.002>
- Huynh, M., & Maroko, A.R. (2014). Gentrification and preterm birth in New York City, 2008–2010. *Journal of Urban Health*, 91(1), 211-220. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-013-9823-x>
- Kim, D., & Kawachi, I. (2006). A multilevel analysis of key forms of community- and individual-level social capital as predictors of self-rated health in the United States. *Journal of Urban Health*, 83(5), 813-826. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-006-9082-1>
- Kirkland, E. (2008). What's race got to do with it? Looking for the racial dimensions of gentrification. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 32(2), 18-30. <https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/blogs.uoregon.edu/dist/4/8542/files/2014/09/Whats-Race-Got-to-Do-With-It-1iiw6hz.pdf>
- Lambert, L. (2019, April). — America's 10 fastest-gentrifying neighborhoods. <https://www.realtor.com/news/trends/the-10-fastest-gentrifying-neighborhoods-in-america/>
- Ley, D. (1986). Alternative explanations for inner-city gentrification: A Canadian assessment. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 76(4), 521-535. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.1986.tb00134.x>
- Maciag, M. (2015, February). Gentrification in America report. *Governing*. <https://www.governing.com/gov-data/census/gentrification-in-cities-governing-report.html>
- Morenoff, J. D., House, J. S., Hansen, B. B., Williams, D. R., Kaplan, G. A., & Hunte, H. E. (2007). Understanding social disparities in hypertension prevalence, awareness, treatment, and control: The role of neighborhood context. *Social Science & Medicine*, 65(9), 1853-1866. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.05.038>
- Narayan, D., & Cassidy, M. F. (2001). A dimensional approach to measuring social capital: Development and validation of a social capital inventory. *Current Sociology*, 49(2), 59-102. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392101049002006>
- Smith, N. (2002). New globalism, new urbanism: Gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode*, 34(3), 427-450. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00249>

- Smith, R. J., Lehning, A. J., & Kim, K. (2018). Aging in place in gentrifying neighborhoods: Implications for physical and mental health. *The Gerontologist*, 58(1), 26–35. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnx105>
- Tang, E., & Falola, B. (2016a). Those who left: Austin's declining African American population. *Institute for Urban Policy and Analysis*. https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/iupra/_files/pdf/those-who-left-austin.pdf
- Tang, E., & Falola, B. (2016b). Those who stayed. *Institute for Urban Policy and Analysis*. https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/iupra/_files/Those-Who-Stayed.pdf
- Tang, E., & Ren, C. (2014). Outlier: The case of Austin's declining African American population. *The Institute for Urban Research and Policy Analysis*. https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/iupra/_files/pdf/Austin%20AA%20pop%20policy%20brief_FINAL.pdf
- Versey, H. S. (2018). A tale of two Harlems: Gentrification, social capital, and implications for aging in place. *Social Science & Medicine*, 214, 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2018.07.024>
- Way, H., Mueller, E., & Wegmann, J. (2018). Uprooted: Residential displacement in Austin's gentrifying neighborhoods and what can be done about it. *University of Texas at Austin Center for Sustainable Development*. <https://sites.utexas.edu/gentrificationproject/files/2019/09/UTGentrification-FullReport.pdf>
- Wagner, W., Duveen, G., Farr, R., Jovchelovitch, S., Lorenzi-Cioldi, F., Markova, I., & Rose, D. (1999). Theory and method of social representations. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 2(1), 95-125. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-839X.00028>

AUTHOR INFORMATION:

Avery Largent is a post-baccalaureate student studying pre-medical sciences at the University of Texas at Austin. She recently graduated with Bachelors degrees in Psychology and Humanities. As an undergraduate, she worked in four research labs spanning clinical psychology, public health, developmental psychology, and cognitive neuroscience. She completed a version of this paper for her undergraduate honors thesis. Avery is interested in the biopsychosocial influences on health in racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual minority populations and plans to attend medical school in the future.

Address: Avery Largent, Department of Psychology, The University of Texas at Austin, 108 E. Dean Keeton St., Austin, TX 78712, USA. Email: averysimone@utexas.edu

Website: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/avery-largent-760859163/>

Michelann Quimby is an Assistant Professor of Instruction at the University of Texas at Austin. She obtained her Ph.D. in Human Development and Family Sciences from Fielding Graduate University in 2016. Her research interests include human development, cyberpsychology, sociology, transformative learning, and systems theory. She served as Avery's faculty sponsor for her honors thesis. She currently serves as an Assistant Professor of Instruction in the Human Development department at the University of Texas.

Address: Dr. Michelann Quimby, Department of Psychology, The University of Texas at Austin, 108 E. Dean Keeton St., Austin, TX 78712, USA. Email: mquimby@utexas.edu

Website: <https://drmichelannquimby.com/about/>

APPENDIX A

Table 1. Participant Demographic Data

Name	Race	Ethnicity	Gender	Years in Austin	Current City
David	Black or African American	Black or African American	Male	>10	Austin, TX
Caleb	Black or African American	Black or African American	Male	>10	Round Rock, TX
Anthony	Black or African American	Black or African American	Male	>10	Bastrop, TX
Jasmine	Black or African American	Black or African American & Hispanic	Female	>10	Pflugerville, TX
Isaiah	Black or African American	African American	Male	>10	Austin, TX
James	Black or African American	Black or African American	Male	>10	Pflugerville, TX

APPENDIX B**Recruitment Letter**

Hello [insert name/s of organization/community center leaders, online group moderators],

My name is Avery Largent. I'm a student at the University of Texas at Austin. I am reaching out because I really appreciate the work your [organization/community center/online group] does and I was wondering if you would be interested in spreading the word about research I am involved in that I think may be relevant to many members of your [organization, congregation, community center, or online group].

We are studying the impacts of gentrification on members of the Black community who currently live in Austin or once lived in Austin and now live elsewhere. We are looking for insight directly from community members about how they feel gentrification has impacted their mental and physical health and the community overall. Participation in the study includes taking part in an interview, which will take approximately 1 hour. For participants interested in taking part in the interview, they may contact us at gentrificationimpacts@gmail.com for more information. Thanks so much for your time and consideration. If you have any questions, feel free to reply to this [email/message], and I will get back to you as soon as possible!

Sincerely,

Avery Largent

APPENDIX C**Eligibility Screener**

Where do you live?

Participants who answer that they have never lived in Austin or lived in Austin for less than 5 years will be excluded.

- (a) East Austin (East of IH35)
- (b) South Austin (South of Congress Avenue)
- (c) Round Rock or Pflugerville
- (d) Somewhere else

If participants answer (c) Round Rock or Pflugerville or (d) Somewhere else:

Did you live or work in Austin before?

If the participant says (b) No, they have never lived or worked in Austin, proceed to (X) – end of survey/ineligibility.

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

All participants:

How long have you lived in Austin? OR If you now live somewhere else, how long did you live in Austin?

- (a) Less than 5 years
- (b) More than 5 years
- (c) More than 10 years
- (d) Born/grew up here

Do you identify as Black or African American or mixed with Black and/or African American?

Only participants who self-identify as Black or mixed with Black will be included. If the participant answers (c) No, other race/races, proceed to (X) – end of survey/ineligibility.

- (a) Yes, Black and/or African American
- (b) Yes, mixed with Black/African American
- (c) No, other race/races

What is your age?

Participants who answer that are under 18 will be excluded.

- (a) Under 18
- (b) 18-24 years old
- (c) 25-34 years old
- (d) 35-44 years old
- (e) 45-54 years old
- (f) 55 years old or older

What is your gender identity?

- (a) female
- (b) male
- (c) other (insert answer)
- (d) prefer not to say

What is your race(s)? Select all that apply.

- (a) White
- (b) Hispanic or Latinx
- (c) Black or African American
- (d) Native American
- (e) Asian/Pacific Islander
- (f) Other (insert answer)

What is your ethnicity? Select all that apply.

- (a) White
- (b) Hispanic or Latinx
- (c) Black or African American
- (d) Native American
- (e) Asian/Pacific Islander
- (f) Other (insert answer)

(X) END OF SURVEY/INELIGIBLE

Thank you so much for your time. Unfortunately, you don't qualify for this particular study. If you have any questions about your eligibility or the study in general, please contact gentrificationimpacts@gmail.com.

APPENDIX D**Interview Questions for Current East Austin Residents**

The principal investigator may ask more specific follow-up questions based on the answer.

1. Do you feel like your neighborhood has changed over the past five years?
2. If yes, what feelings or thoughts do you have about these changes?
3. How many people in your neighborhood do you think recognize you on a weekly or daily basis?
4. Is that more or fewer than five years ago?
5. Do you enjoy talking to people in your neighborhood? Has that changed over the past five years?
6. Do you have a neighbor you feel comfortable asking for help (with a child, house care, pets)?
7. Did you have neighbors like that in the past?
8. Is there anything you miss about your neighborhood that has changed?
9. Tell me about a time that something good happened that made you feel positive about your neighborhood or your community.
10. Tell me about a time when you something bad happened that made you feel negative about your neighborhood or your community.
11. Do you think the neighborhood environment could be improved? If so, how?
12. Is there anything else you would like to share?

APPENDIX E**Interview Questions for Former East Austin Residents**

The principal investigator may ask more specific follow-up questions based on the answer.

1. Have you ever lived in Austin? If so, how long did you live there?
2. Why did you decide to move out of Austin?
3. Do you feel like your Austin neighborhood changed before you moved?
4. If yes, what feelings do you have about these changes?
5. What do you like about your new neighborhood/city?
6. Where you live now, how many people in your neighborhood do you think recognize you on a weekly or daily basis?
7. Is that more or fewer than when you lived in Austin?
8. Do you enjoy talking to people in your current neighborhood?
9. Do you have a neighbor you feel comfortable asking for help (with a child, house care, pets)?
10. Did you have neighbors like that in the past?
11. Is there anything you miss about your Austin neighborhood?
12. Tell me about a time that something good happened that made you feel positive about your neighborhood or your community.
13. Tell me about a time when you something bad happened that made you feel negative about your neighborhood or your community.
14. Do you think your current OR Austin neighborhood environment could be improved? If so, how?
15. Is there anything else you would like to share?