

The Detroit Innovation District:

Recommendations for State Alignment and Investment

December 2013

[DRAFT]



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OVERVIEW

After decades of well-documented economic decline and depopulation, Detroit's municipal bankruptcy filing has drawn global attention to its severe fiscal distress and the factors that prompted it. Detroit, however, also is seeing market and social momentum, particularly in its Downtown and Midtown neighborhoods—and the public and market are taking notice.¹

Governor Rick Snyder has been clear that the municipal bankruptcy is just one part of the equation for making Detroit a thriving, strong city again. The State of Michigan has a critical role to play in more broadly supporting Detroit's revitalization. Detroit is the state's largest city and a major driver of Michigan's economy. Therefore, state support of, and investment in, economic development, infrastructure, community safety and place-making must be a priority. This is not a bailout or favored treatment—it is recognition of the critical role that our cities, including Detroit, play in making Michigan a strong player in the global economy.²

Since September 2012, The Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program (Brookings) and The Reinvestment Fund (TRF), with Public Sector Consultants (PSC) and the Michigan Municipal League (MML), have been assisting local Detroit stakeholders and the State of Michigan in accelerating the revitalization of Detroit through the designation and buildout of an Innovation District. Establishment of the Detroit Innovation District is an opportunity for the state to better focus its resources and leverage the substantial investment of local civic, business, and philanthropic leaders in Detroit. It is an opportunity to show that Michigan understands and supports the crucial role of its cities in advancing the state's position within the national and broader global economy. In order to support this effort, the state must take a number of actions centered on:

- More aggressively addressing financing gaps for key housing and commercial developments in the district
- Changing the regulatory system to better foster the type of development desired by stakeholders
- Expanding open space and other public amenities in the district
- Doggedly recruiting new businesses and talent to the district.

WHAT IS THE DETROIT INNOVATION DISTRICT?

Over the past decade, profound economic, demographic, and cultural shifts have begun to alter the place preferences of firms and people and, in so doing, have reshaped the link between economy shaping and place-making. From these trends, a new urban form—*Innovation Districts*—has started to emerge in a handful of metropolitan areas in the United States and abroad. Innovation Districts meld economic development, place-making strategies, and social networking to create well-defined communities where anchor institutions, innovative firms, mixed-use housing, retail and amenities, and transportation cluster and connect. They are emerging in underutilized (largely former industrial) areas of cities, traditional exurban science parks, and in core areas of cities where the existing base of research universities, medical complexes, and clusters of tech and creative firms is sparking business expansion, as well as residential and commercial growth.

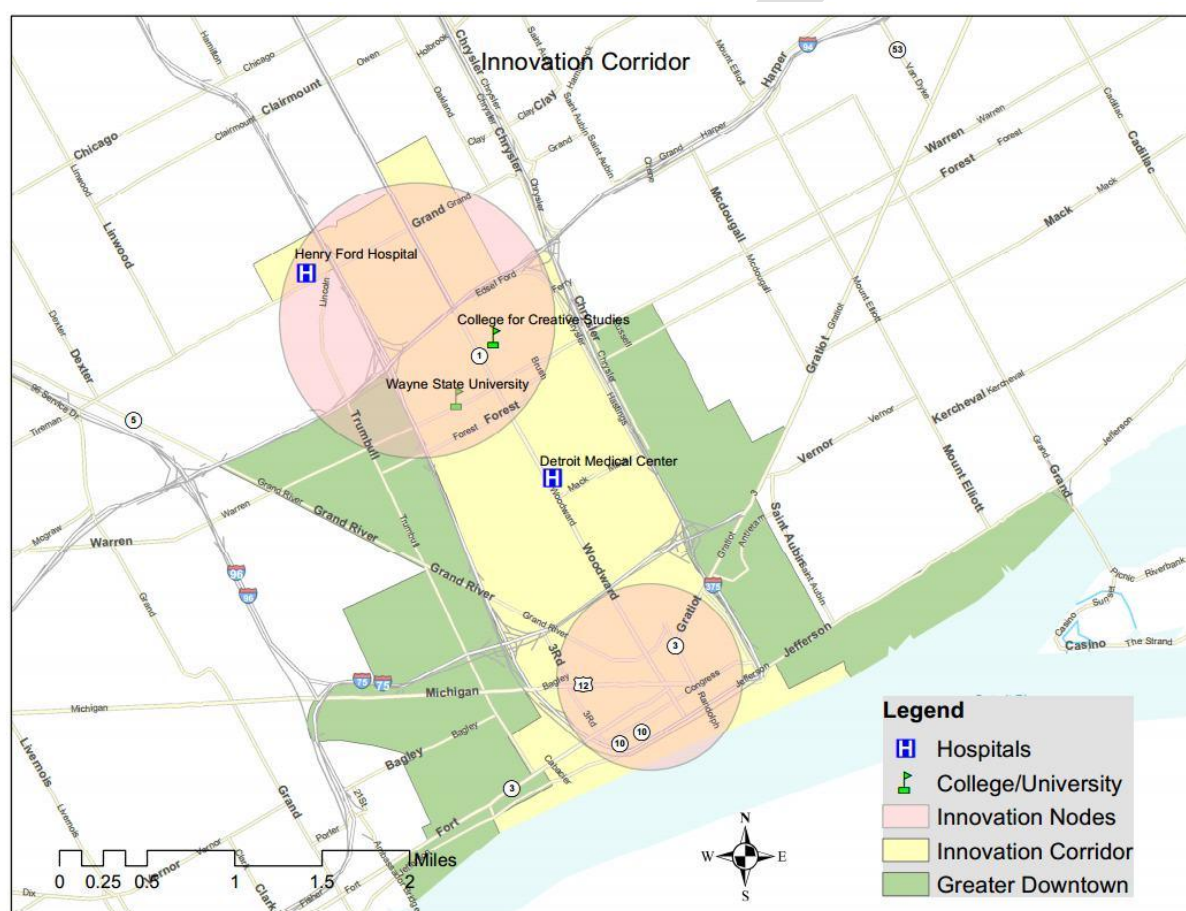
¹ See, for example, Public Broadcast System (PBS). August 9, 2013. "Detroit Residents Try to Turn Around Slow Decline." *PBS Newshour*. [Online, accessed 11/4/13.] Available: <http://video.pbs.org/video/2365061059/>; and Segal, David. April 13, 2013. "A Missionary's Quest to Remake Motor City." *The New York Times*. [Online, accessed 11/4/13.] Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/14/business/dan-gilberts-quest-to-remake-downtown-detroit.html>

² The state already plays a significant role in the city's community and economic health, with more than \$1.7 billion invested in the past five years. Public Sector Consultants, 2013 (Unpublished). Information on state grants, contracts, and loans was collected from state agencies for the period 2008–2012.

Geography

The Detroit Innovation District encompasses approximately 4.3 square miles in the Greater Downtown area (see Exhibit 1). The **district includes a mile-wide corridor centered on Woodward Avenue, from the downtown to New Center**, and is anchored by two primary innovation and employment hubs: the cluster of predominantly private-sector firms in the central business district (CBD), and the university and medical center campuses in the upper part of Midtown through New Center. The new **M-1 rail** line, scheduled to begin running in fall 2015 and funded by a consortium of public, private, and philanthropic institutions, will physically link the two hubs, running 3.3 miles from one end of the district to the other, with 11 stops along the way.

EXHIBIT 1. Map of the Detroit Innovation District



Market Momentum

The Downtown and Midtown neighborhoods that make up the Innovation District are the linear “heart” of Detroit’s Greater Downtown, and have been experiencing substantial market momentum in recent years. The Innovation District comprises just 3.1 percent of the city’s land area, and 3.1 percent of the city’s population (22,000)—yet it contains 37 percent of the city’s jobs, and 11 percent of its business establishments.

The CBD is the longtime home of the city and county governments, as well as the region's major financial, legal, accounting, and consulting firms. Major employers, many of which relocated to

*With nearly a quarter of the city's jobs, the **Downtown CBD** has Detroit's largest concentration of employment. From 2009 to 2011, the number of jobs in the CBD grew by 5 percent, even while employment declined 6 percent in the city as a whole.*

Downtown in the past decade, include General Motors, DTE Energy, Blue Cross Blue Shield of Michigan, Compuware, and the Rock Ventures/Quicken family of companies. New tech and creative industry firms also are moving in, helping to fuel the growth of a digital cluster in the city's core.

Demand for housing has followed jobs. From 2000 to 2010, the number of households in the CBD increased by 26 percent to nearly 3,400. Today, the CBD's residential offerings—mostly apartments and condos in mid- and high-rise buildings—are 97 percent occupied. Home to the Fox, Fillmore, and Gem theaters, as well as the Detroit Opera House, Downtown is the city's entertainment center, boasting the second-largest theater district in the country. Each year, approximately 4

million sports fans come to Downtown to cheer on the Red Wings, Tigers, and Lions, and thousands of other visitors patronize its three casinos. Another 2.1 million attend special events sponsored by the Detroit Riverfront Conservancy, the Downtown Detroit Partnership, and other organizations.

One of the fastest-developing areas in Detroit, **Midtown** has a growing residential base and ripe opportunities for new construction and rehabilitation within its historic neighborhoods. The upper end of Midtown, at New Center, is the corridor's northern hub of innovation and employment activity. This area is home to major anchor institutions, including Wayne State University (WSU), the Detroit Medical Center (DMC), Henry Ford Health System (HFHS), and the College for Creative Studies (CCS). CCS opened a second campus in New Center in 2009 at the A. Alfred Taubman Center for Design Education (formerly General Motors' Argonaut Building). The building—which stood vacant for more than a decade—also hosts the Henry Ford Academy/School for Creative Studies middle and high schools, and Shinola, a small manufacturer of high-end watches and bicycles. All told, these four “eds and meds” institutions have more than 26,000 employees, and, together with a growing number of private firms, will be drivers of innovation-led growth in medical, digital, and creative clusters, much of which will be centered in the neighborhood around the expanding Tech Town business incubator and accelerator.

The lower portion of Midtown—the Cass Park and Brush Park areas—serves as the connective tissue between the CBD and upper Midtown/New Center employment hubs. Though not as developed as these hubs, the lower portion has seen numerous residential and mixed-use projects open over the past few years. One such example is the Peterboro-Charlotte Redevelopment Project, a renovation of the Addison Hotel and adjacent Walker Brothers Catering building into 47 residential units and commercial space. A Whole Foods Market opened on the northern edge of the area, a sign to many that Midtown is primed for additional investment. And, in 2014, the Detroit Red Wings are slated to break ground on a new arena, the plans for which include a mixed-use complex of housing, retail, and office development in the surrounding neighborhood.

Midtown has been growing and redeveloping at a rapid pace. Apartments in this area are 95 percent occupied, and more than two dozen businesses have opened or expanded in Midtown since 2012.

VISION AND GOALS FOR THE FUTURE

This renaissance of the Midtown/Downtown areas is the result of years of strategic investment by a range of business, civic, philanthropic, and public stakeholders, including the state and federal governments. In recent months, many of these leaders have worked with the state—with the assistance of Brookings, PSC, MML, and TRF—to better harness and coordinate their efforts and establish the Detroit Innovation District.

Vision

The overarching vision for the Detroit Innovation District is **a globally recognized live-work-play hub of innovation that powers economic opportunity for the city and region**. This vision nests within the larger framework of the Detroit Future City (DFC) plan, a city-wide revitalization strategy released in December 2012.¹ Approximately 150,000 Detroit residents took part in community discussions and other activities that informed the plan.

The Innovation District is the realization of one piece of the DFC plan. The Downtown and Midtown areas—which make up most of the district—are two of seven major “economic districts” identified in DFC; Dequindre/Eastern Market and Corktown, which flank the CDB and lower Midtown on the east and west, respectively, are among the seven. The DFC states that “[i]n an era of limited resources, Detroit’s economic growth should be built upon the future of these districts” and identifies broad ambitions for each:

Achievement of the vision will be guided by the recommended actions articulated in the Greater Detroit Transit Oriented Development Plan and other sub-district plans, such as the Midtown Master Plan and Opportunity Detroit. It is clear from these efforts that leaders from federal, state, and local governments, as well as civic and philanthropic leaders, are committed to the district vision, and to realizing the specific goals, described below, that flow from it.

Goals

Four major opportunity areas exist for growth and development in the Innovation District. Stakeholders have established concrete goals and priorities aligned to the broader vision centered

“Downtown is poised to become the best location in the state for medium- and large-sized corporations, the center of the region’s digital/creative cluster, and a nationally known center for entertainment. ... Over time, new development will complement the existing Downtown fabric to fill in the gaps and create a mixed-use and flourishing city center.”

“With the advent of the Henry Ford Innovation Institute and myriad collaborative ventures across the College for Creative Studies, Wayne State, and the medical institutions. Midtown has the potential to be a national model for

around these areas. Achievement of these goals will define the long-term success of the district and—given the outsized role of the district in the Detroit economy—will be critical to the economic

and fiscal health of the city as whole. For each individual goal, state actions that support it are described in detail.

Goal 1: Create a dense and vibrant RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT in the Innovation District, using M-1 transit nodes as catalysts for growth and development in existing neighborhoods.

The housing market in Midtown and Downtown has gained momentum over the past several years as the ranks of workers and students have grown. Indeed, Detroit has captured the interest in urban and downtown living—driven by changing family structures, a concomitant shift to smaller, more numerous households, and the changing preferences of young, educated workers—experienced in cities across the nation. Successful “Live Downtown” and “Live Midtown” programs have leveraged these trends.

The strong demand for urban core living is evident on the ground and in the numbers. Housing market values in the Innovation District are substantially higher than in most of the city, and rental vacancy rates are low. Developers are responding to growing demand, and new construction and rehab activity are visible throughout the area. In spite of this activity, persistently high occupancy rates indicate an undersupply of housing—a condition created by a substantial gap between what it costs to construct or rehab new units, and the (still low) rents the market will support.

This dynamic should improve over the next 10 years with construction of the **M-1**, a rail line slated to open in fall 2015. A detailed plan for this activity is described in the Greater Downtown Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) Strategy. The strategy is designed to attract approximately 23,000 new residents to the Midtown and Downtown areas over the next 10 years—a doubling of the current population—to be accommodated by more than 8,000 units of new or rehabilitated housing. It is anticipated that, over the next six to eight years, the total subsidy needed to successfully meet the residential population and unit buildout targets of the strategy will exceed \$90 million.

How can the state support this goal?

- **The state should provide critical gap financing for priority housing development and redevelopment projects in the district, both market-rate and low-income varieties.** The Greater Downtown TOD Strategy calls for more than 13,000 units of new housing along the Woodward Corridor from New Center to Downtown over the next 10 years. Market-rate sales and rentals are still not high enough to match development costs, so there is often a need for gap financing to close development deals.

Local stakeholders have identified 12 priority projects in the district that need more than \$25 million in gap financing. The state must work with the local Innovation District team to align state housing and economic development resources to address the gap financing needs for these priority projects over the next two years. This could be achieved by allocating district priority or additional “points” for project review, redirecting discretionary program funds, or modifying the program requirements to allow more flexibility. For example, the Community Revitalization Program (CRP) limits the state investment to no more than 25 percent of the total eligible investment for a single project. This is often insufficient to meet gaps in equity financing requirements, and should be amended to allow for up to 50 percent state investment for projects in the district.

- The state should **consider legislative options for allowing the City of Detroit (and other cities) to use land value taxation in place of traditional property taxes** as a means of raising revenue and encouraging sustainable development. This form of taxation only taxes the value of the

land, not the buildings or equipment that make up the full value of the real estate (as done with traditional property taxes). By taxing only the land at a higher rate, instead of the entire property value at a lower rate, the city could remove some of the disincentives for developers to make improvements to properties and reduce the speculative element in land pricing that results in long-term vacant or abandoned properties. This tool has been used effectively in states such as Pennsylvania and Maryland to maintain (and increase) municipal revenue and help improve local economic conditions.

- The state should support more efficient local planning and permitting that ensures pedestrian-scaled, mixed-use, cohesive urban development in the Innovation District. Through the Emergency Manager, the state should **transfer permit review and zoning authority within the Innovation District to the Detroit Economic Development Corporation (EDC)**. With transfer of this authority, the state **should provide financial support for the EDC, in exchange for the organization deploying market-based form planning, including the completion of a target market analysis and development of form-based development codes** for the entire district (based on the development needs articulated in the DFC and TOD Strategy). Using market-based, form-based code in the district and granting review authority to the EDC would streamline the local permitting process and help developers and the local community work together on development projects more efficiently and effectively.

Goal 2: Grow the number of SMALL BUSINESSES to both serve and fuel an increase in residents, workers, and visitors.

Retail, restaurant, and other commercial activities have been rising in the Innovation District over the past several years, serving both the growing residential population and regional visitors. These businesses have been occupying and improving historic and/or vacant structures throughout the area: Between 2010 and 2012, nearly 26 percent of non-residential properties in the CBD, and more than 8 percent of those in Midtown, were issued building permits, compared to just 0.3 percent elsewhere in the city.

Only about a quarter of Woodward Avenue—along which the M-1 will run—has strong small business activity, however, and that which exists in the area is widely scattered. While the CDB contains about 150 bars and restaurants, for example, this activity does not occur in contiguous blocks and many establishments shutter their doors after daytime business hours. In addition, much of the retail in the major job centers, such as the Detroit Medical Center, Wayne State, and several of the New Center office buildings, is interior-focused, which diminishes street activity.

Buildout of the M-1 and increasing residential density will help drive growth. This development will create jobs for Detroit residents and new opportunities for entrepreneurship, particularly for minority-owned business enterprises (MBEs). This is a critical component of the DFC economic growth strategy. As noted in the report, “[b]usiness ownership shapes the location of opportunity and power in an economy.” Yet while minorities in Detroit make up 89 percent of the population, the firms they own account for only 15 percent of private company revenues (and a large share of these firms have few or no employees). Efforts to help the city’s large number of MBEs to grow will help balance these numbers, both in the district and throughout the city.

The TOD Strategy identifies where, how, and what type of retail and other small business development should be located in Midtown and Downtown, with the goal of filling approximately 450,000 square feet of new and vacant space in concentrated nodes throughout the area. Most important, the hope is these new businesses will provide hundreds of jobs for residents from

throughout the city—an aim that will be facilitated by concerted efforts to promote local hiring among new and expanding businesses.

How can the state support this goal?

- **The Michigan State Housing and Development Authority (MSHDA) and the Michigan Economic Development Corporation (MEDC) should give grant and loan priority to help address financing gaps for at least 10 commercial and/or mixed-use priority projects in the next three years** (similar to the support of housing programs), in order to accelerate development of these properties within the district. Priority should be given to projects identified by local Innovation District stakeholders and consistent with the DFC and Greater Downtown TOD Strategy. Priority to should be given to collective problem solving options to address financing gaps for market rate housing development within the district.
- **The state should provide additional funding for façade improvements or efforts that help make commercial districts attractive.** Midtown Detroit Inc. has an existing façade improvement program and the Detroit Economic Growth Corporation (DEGC) offers the REVOLVE program, which partners with local leaders, building owners, entrepreneurs, and artists to activate vacant storefronts with transformational businesses and art installations. State investment directly in these existing pots of money would leverage the millions of dollars in private, nonprofit, and other community funds already being used by those organizations for façade and smaller building improvement projects. It also allows for more nimble, efficient delivery of these smaller investments.
- **The state should consider legislative options for allowing the city to use land value taxes, instead of traditional property taxes,** as an innovative tool to help grow the number of small businesses and improve some of the existing small businesses in the Innovation District.

Goal 3: Upgrade INFRASTRUCTURE AND PUBLIC SPACES to enhance public safety, eliminate blight, and serve the needs of residents and businesses.

Midtown and Downtown have substantial infrastructure assets, including several major highways, numerous bus routes, an intermodal connection to regional commuter rail and, when completed, the M-1 rail line. The area boasts recent major improvements to its parks and public spaces, including Campus Martius in the CDB, Capitol Park, and Peck Park, to name a few. And more than 140 of the buildings in this area are heated and cooled by energy provided by Detroit Renewable Power's conversion of municipal waste into electricity and steam energy. With further growth in this arena, Detroit's Innovation District could become one of the cleanest urban cores in the country.

But while the Innovation District—as the historic core—is the most developed area of the city, one of its greater challenges remains a lack of density. Further, significant areas remain blighted, and empty. The built environment in the area evolved to favor the car over the pedestrian, such that the area has a large amount of space devoted to surface parking and transit use remains anemic. Meanwhile, population and job losses have left many dilapidated buildings and empty lots, which, although slowly being filled, create major gaps in the urban fabric between destinations.

Keeping and attracting residents and businesses requires a safe, walkable, and transit-oriented environment in which nodes of development are carefully linked together to promote spatial unity and connectivity across the district. Buildout of the M-1—not just the line itself, but the strategically planned residential and business development around it—is central to creating vibrancy in the district by leveraging investments already made. Enhanced public spaces, streetlight improvements,

and development (and/or more strategic use) of underutilized surface parking lots also are needed to green and beautify the area and improve the pedestrian experience.

The TOD Strategy discusses and maps the specific needs for infrastructure and public space improvements, the estimated costs for which—not including the rail construction itself—exceeds \$16 million for the CBD alone.

How can the state support this goal?

- **Provide funding for two or three high-priority public amenity projects in the next two years.** Again, the Greater Downtown TOD Strategy has laid out specific needs and plans for high-priority public spaces in each part of the district, including parks, transit stations and stops, streetscaping, and pedestrian amenities. Based on recommendations from local partners, the state should **give funding priority for these projects** through Transportation Enhancement Program funds, Michigan Natural Resources Trust Fund grants, MSHDA grants and loans, and MEDC economic development programs.
- **Support establishment of an integrated open space and trail system** in or adjacent to the Innovation District that connects to other planned open spaces and trails systems in the city (and potentially region). Support could include targeted Michigan Natural Resources Trust Fund investment for land purchase and green-space improvements, technical assistance from the Michigan Department of Natural Resources, and/or consolidation of land bank holdings through the Michigan and Detroit Land Bank Authorities.
- **Support designation of the Detroit Innovation District as a [2030 District](#),** a national program for meeting the energy, water, and vehicle emissions reduction targets for existing buildings and new construction in specific, targeted areas of a city. 2030 districts use private-public partnerships to set targets for energy, water, and emissions reductions. By participating in the national program, building owners, property managers, and developers are given access to a suite of resources, tools, and opportunities to improve and add value to their assets and get training, technical support, and incentives. The state could help support the Detroit Innovation District's membership in the 2030 program by providing additional review credits to projects that help meet 2030 District goals through energy efficiency and environmental improvement grants offered through the Michigan Energy Office and Michigan Department of Environmental Quality.

Goal 4: Realize the full potential of EMERGING CLUSTERS in digital and creative industries, health, and small-batch manufacturing by ensuring they have the space and talent they need to grow.

The Detroit region has a long history of innovation. Today, nearly 10 percent of its workforce is employed in R&D-intensive, STEM-oriented “advanced industries”—one of the highest concentrations in the nation. Auto-related manufacturing is a strong specialty in the metro area, but that specialization also brings in, and benefits from, the large presence of advanced services such as computer systems design and other information technology services, consulting, and R&D.

Downtown and Midtown are important components of this ecosystem. A wealth of institutions and companies are concentrated in this area, and many have been making substantial investments that will help drive innovation-led growth for the city.

In Midtown, Henry Ford Health System has made a strong commitment to innovation and technology transfer, launching a new medical Innovation Institute in 2012 that brings doctors, scientists, and engineers together to focus on research, invention, and product commercialization related to improving the practice of medicine. Wayne State is renovating a former Cadillac dealership into a new biomedical research building. The buildout of Tech Town's new Master Plan is intended to leverage the unique strengths of WSU, CCS, and HFHS, and create "new opportunities for collaboration and investment, ideas, and businesses." And CCS's 2009 expansion has further solidified its standing as a leading industrial design school, which, when combined with the region's industrial expertise, helps position the area to grow and attract more "makers" such as Shinola.

Meanwhile, Quicken Loans Inc. founder Dan Gilbert and his real estate arm, Rock Ventures, have helped catalyze a growing digital cluster in Detroit's CBD. In the past three years, Rock Ventures has acquired 22 properties, accounting for 3 million square feet of space, as well as two parking structures.² Since August 2010, approximately 85 companies have located in Rock Ventures-owned buildings in the CBD, including tech and creative firms such as Detroit Labs, Skidmore Studio, Apigee, and Twitter. The ambition of Rock Ventures and its partner organizations is to transform the lower portion of Woodward Avenue—which they've dubbed "Webward" Avenue—into one of the most entrepreneurial tech hubs in the country.

Though rich with innovation assets, the Midtown and Downtown areas still face a number of impediments to idea generation and entrepreneurship. First, Detroit's major "eds and meds" institutions don't have a strong history of collaboration around innovation, leaving existing efforts largely uncoordinated with one another. This manifests itself in a lack of strong partnership, branding, and joint investment around the area's key strengths. This lack of collaboration also can be seen in the dearth of physical spaces needed to facilitate innovation and collaboration. A constant refrain among stakeholders is that there is not enough low-cost flex space for creative new firms, and few spots for meetings and social networking among researchers, students, and established or aspiring entrepreneurs—interactions that are known to be crucial for knowledge-sharing. There also is a lack of smaller speculative ("spec") space and swing space that serve new businesses and entrepreneurs. It is difficult for developers to obtain financing for these projects because they lack signed tenants or new tenants cannot afford the tenant improvement costs.

The second major challenge is that existing and potential firms don't have access to a local workforce with the skills and education they need. With a 17.7 percent unemployment rate in the city³, much of the potential talent should be there—but it is grossly misaligned with employer demands. According to the DFC plan, for example, existing Downtown firms have the capacity to fill 11,500 additional tech-related and other jobs over the next several years, a number that doesn't take into account opportunities created by the new companies stakeholders hope to grow in the area.

For Midtown and Downtown to coalesce into a true "innovation" district, these deficits and challenges must be overcome. Building the infrastructure to support co-working areas, incubators, fabrication labs, and other spaces for experimentation and interaction is essential. The big innovation institutions and firms—including large manufacturers—also require new spaces for collaboration that encourage them to do a better job of sharing and collaborating around research and innovation, rather than working in silos. The Tech Town Master Plan provides a detailed design and strategy to help meet these critical needs.

Growing a stronger cluster-based economy also demands that both young and incumbent workers in the city have access to career and technical education programs that teach the skills required to attain jobs in growing clusters. Investing in programs such as the Henry Ford Academy School for

Creative Studies and organizations such as the Workforce Intelligence Network (WIN) for Southeast Michigan is the best way to expand opportunities for Detroiters to secure jobs in growing industries.

How can the state support this goal?

- MEDC should realign some of its business and talent attraction efforts to more explicitly target attraction within the district, in cooperation with local stakeholders such as DEGC. Efforts should include **hosting at least one major business and talent attraction event in the Innovation District each year, and ensuring business and talent attraction teams are informed and equipped to highlight opportunities in the Innovation District** when making attraction visits and relocation bids.
- The state should realign resources as needed to provide additional **gap financing for smaller (10,000 square feet or less) “spec” and swing spaces that help new businesses get off the ground and provide critical networking and collaborative space for entrepreneurs**. This type of investment has been used successfully in the Boston Innovation District to create several shared work and collaborative spaces that support entrepreneurial efforts and networking.⁴

MOVING AHEAD

In addition to the actions identified above, which directly support the goals of the Innovation District, the state should undertake the following efforts to firmly establish the Innovation District and support all of the goals more broadly:

- Governor Snyder, in partnership with local civic, philanthropic, and business partners, should **designate and officially recognize the Detroit Innovation District**, thereby making a commitment to cooperatively pursue the district’s vision and goals.
- In support of the Innovation District, the Governor should establish a state action team that works directly with local partners, reviews requests for financial and technical assistance for Innovation District projects, and works within their agencies to prioritize and realign resources in support of priority projects. The Governor’s Interagency Collaborative Committee already has a strong MI Place coordinating initiative, and intends to focus on a handful of communities to deploy targeted, strategic place-making investments. The Innovation District would be the priority strategic economic development and place-making focus of this group in the next few years

This strategy for aligning and investing state resources around the vision and goals for the district will help accelerate the market momentum and elevate the Detroit Innovation District to an internationally recognized hub of economic and cultural activity.

¹ Detroit Works Project. December 2012. *Detroit Future City: Detroit Strategic Framework Plan*. [Online, accessed 9/14/13]. Available: <http://detroitworksproject.com/the-framework/>

² Louis Aguilar, “Quicken’s Dan Gilbert teams up with retailers to revive downtown,” *The Detroit News*, May 4, 2013 [Online, accessed 10/20/13]. Available: http://article.wn.com/view/2013/05/04/Quickens_Dan_Gilbert_teams_up_with_retailers_to_revive_downt/#/related_news; “Gilbert’s building portfolio,” *Crain’s Detroit Business*, March 31, 2013. [Online, accessed 11/5/13]. Available: <http://www.crainsdetroit.com/article/20130331/NEWS/303319959/#>.

³ Drawing Detroit. October 14, 2013. *Detroit Area Experiences Employment Increase*. [Online, accessed 11/5/13]. Available: <http://www.drawingdetroit.com/?cat=4>

⁴ See Boston Innovation District website. [Online, accessed 11/4/13.] Available: <http://www.innovationdistrict.org/>; and Boston Redevelopment Authority. May 3, 2012. *Mayor Menino Breaks Ground on Boston Innovation Center*. [Online,

accessed 11/4/13.] Available: <http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/news-calendar/news-updates/2012/05/03/mayor-menino-breaks-ground-on-boston-innovation-ce>

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