Single-Family Homes in Campau/Banglatown: Values of Placemaking, Homemaking and Placekeeping in a Neighborhood of Artists and Immigrants in 21st Century Detroit.

Doctoral Thesis at HafenCity University Hamburg

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Summary

Detroit's shrinking size has resulted in an overabundance of single-family homes in this single-family home metropolis. On the one hand, the abandoned houses have led to Detroit being declared bankrupt, while on the other hand, it has paved the way for other ways of working and living with and using houses and vacant lots that may not make an immediate profit on the real estate market and may be considered "unreal" estate (Herscher, 2012), but that keep people together as a neighborhood and community. This thesis looks at the circumstances in which residents become homeowners and how as homeowners, artists and immigrants ascribe value to single-family homes and how they make place with their homes in a neighborhood context. The focus is on homeowners' everyday practices that determine the value of single-family homes when the latter is not considered use value or economic value in a real estate market, but recognized as a social and cultural value.

The field of research is Campau/Banglatown, a neighborhood on Detroit's east side that has been characterized over the years by shifting immigrant communities. The everyday practices of immigrants and artists, including urban gardening, building community- and workspaces, and community engaged art projects, led me as both a homeowner and non-permanent resident of a research residency in the neighborhood, to want to find out more about how living and working in this neighborhood is connected to the single-family homes, and how the different communities' social and cultural activities inform a sense of belonging in this diverse neighborhood.

As an ethnographic field research between 2009 until 2019, the research is approached from three different perspectives. From a historical perspective, focusing on how Detroit evolved into a single-family metropolis and how that affected urban development over the years; from the perspective of the real estate market and its stakeholders and how they deal with single-family homes in post-industrial Detroit; and from the perspective of Campau/Banglatown's own residents who own homes, with special attention paid to artists and Bangladeshi American immigrants. More specifically, it analyzes how homeowners use their homes to connect to and engage within their neighborhood to form social spaces. It also asks what role they play in a neighborhood, i.e., as creative placemakers, homemakers or placekeepers.

In Chapter Two, the theoretical framework, current concepts of value are discussed, from single family homeownership to social capital, migration, community, and social space in neighborhoods. Moreover, it addresses the role of artists in creative placemaking and its consequences for gentrification. Chapter Three contextualizes the historical development of single-family homes in the city of Detroit as part of an industrial, multi-ethnic, shrinking city as well as the driver of a foreclosed city. Chapter Four analyzes current residential real estate developments in Detroit.

In Campau/Banglatown newer residents consider visual maintenance and care, DIY culture, density, walking infrastructures, and cultural familiarity as values that inform social spaces in their own community and neighborhood.

In the context of placemaking with art, Chapter Five explores how artists work with single-family homes in Detroit. There are different ways artmaking with homes in Detroit unfolds in different neighborhoods. The chapter documents how in Campau/Banglatown artmaking with homes turns into both placemaking with art and homemaking with art. It is this individual strategy of homemaking that informs social space and the neighborhood's stability. It also shows how the artist's role as homeowner has changed in the context of the neighborhood's development sometimes from a creative placemaker to a real estate developer.

The final chapter critically discusses placemaking, homemaking and placekeeping in the context of cultural displacement. It considers the attribution of social and cultural values to single-family homes, which consequently become components of economic value, while real estate prices have risen moderately in Campau/Banglatown. The chapter concludes that creative placemaking has become part of an everyday practice of care, a form of placekeeping, in the sense of caring for cultural traditions and residential needs, even while it may cause a constant process of inclusion and exclusion.

Zusammenfassung

Im Stadtbild Detroit zeigen sich die Auswirkungen der massiven Schrumpfung besonders durch den Leerstand und Verfall von alten Industriehallen und Einfamilienhäusern. Die ehemals blühende Industriestadt, die nach wie vor eine Einfamilienhaus-Metropole ist, kämpfte seit Jahren gegen sinkende Immobilienpreise im Stadtkern. Das Überangebot von Einfamilienhäusern führte unter anderem dazu, dass Detroit für bankrott erklärt wurde. Andererseits ebnete es den Weg für neue Formen der Nutzung der Einfamilienhäuser und leer stehenden Gebäude und Grundstücke, insbesondere durch neu hinzugezogene Künstler*innen und Migrant*innen. Diese zu Arbeits- und Gemeinschaftszwecken umgewidmeten Häuser und Grundstücksflächen würden vielleicht auf dem lokalen Immobilienmarkt keinen unmittelbaren Gewinn erzielen. Aber die als „unreal estate“ (Herscher, 2012) bezeichneten Immobilien prägen den gemeinschaftlichen Zusammenhalt eines Stadtteils, durch nachbarschaftliche Projekte, kreative Ortsgestaltung und offene Nutzungsformen und wirken somit positiv auf den sozialen und kulturellen Wert einer Immobilie ein.

Der Schwerpunkt dieser Untersuchung liegt auf den Alltagspraktiken von Hauseigentümer*innen, die den Wert ihrer Einfamilienhäuser und Grundstücksflächen täglich gestalten, obschon diese nicht als Nutzwert oder wirtschaftlicher Wert auf einem Immobilienmarkt gezählt wird. In der Arbeit wurden die Umstände untersucht, warum Menschen, insbesondere die neu hinzugezogenen Künstler*innen und Einwanderer*innen zu Hauseigentümer*innen werden. Welche Werte schreiben diese ihren Einfamilienhäusern im Kontext ihrer Nachbarschaft zu? Das Forschungsgebiet ist Campau/Banglatown, ein Viertel im Osten von Detroit, das im Laufe des letzten Jahrhunderts von wechselnden Zuwander*innengruppen geprägt wurde.

Der Umgang der Migrant*innen und Künstler*innen mit und um ihre Hauser inspirierte mich - selbst Eigentümerin eines Einfamilienhauses, das als Künstlerresidenz operiert - diese Nachbarschaft ethnografisch zu beforschen. Die Arbeit untersucht und diskutiert welche Rollen sie in der Nachbarschaft einnehmen als kreative Orts- und Raumgestalter*innen (creative placemakers), Hausbesitzer*innen (homemakers) oder Raum- und Ortspfleger*innen (placekeepers).

Die Untersuchung wurde als Feldforschung zwischen 2009 und 2019 aus drei verschiedenen Perspektiven durchgeführt. Eine historischen Perspektive nimmt die Entwicklung Detroits zu einer Einfamilienhaus-Metropole in den Blick und untersucht wie diese Wohnform die Stadtentwicklung und konkret den Stadtteil geprägt hat. Aus der Perspektive des Immobilienmarktes fragt sie, wie sich der Wert der Einfamilienhäusern im postindustriellen Detroit verändert hat. Eine dritte Perspektive ist die der Bewohner*innen von Campau/Banglatown, der Eigentümer*innen von

Einfamilienhäusern, mit besonderem Augenmerk auf Künstler*innen und Zuwander*innen aus Bangladesch.

Placemaking, homemaking und placekeeping sind individuelle Strategien und alltägliche Praxen in dieser Nachbarschaft, die den sozialen Raum und die Stabilität des Viertels prägen. Diese Methoden das Leben in einer Einfamilienhaus-Nachbarschaft zu gestalten führen zu einem ständigen Prozess der Inklusion und Exklusion von alten oder neuen Stadtteilbewohner*innen. Zudem zeigt die Arbeit und hinterfragt, den Rollenwandel der Künstler*innen als Hauseigentümer*innen im Kontext der Entwicklung der Nachbarschaft, und zwar von kreativen Ortsgestalter*innen zu Grundstücks- und Immobilienentwickler*innen.

Indes lässt sich in Campau/Banglatown eine Wertsteigerung von Einfamilienhäusern durch soziale und kulturelle Prozesse beobachten. Kulturelle Werte werden in ökonomische Werte transformiert, was sich auf dem lokalen Immobilienmarkt in Form von Preissteigerungen und einer gestiegener Nachfrage widerspiegelt.

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Prologue

Only three days after my arrival in town, after a two-and-a-half-year abstinence from overseas travel due to the Corona Pandemic, I found myself sitting on a comfortable sofa, drinking sweet chai tea and eating vegetable and chicken pakora at my neighbors' house in Detroit. Next to me, on a second sofa sat my proud hosts Ali and his wife, my longtime neighbors of Bangladeshi decent. Corine, my Detroit artist friend, who used to live in the neighborhood, had joined us. We were all happy to sit, relax and visit in this very heated living room on a quite cold Tuesday afternoon in March of 2022. Hannah, my seven-year-old daughter, and two of Ali's daughters were playing in front of us on the floor. The TV was on silently in the corner and the distinctive smell of slow-cooked paneer and curry caught my nose's attention from the kitchen next to the living room. I thought silently to myself: "It is the smell of these traditionally spiced dishes that is so familiar and seems to connect the different homes – traveling from the inside of the houses towards their porches outside on the street – to one neighborhood. To my own surprise, the smells make me feel welcome, at home and connected to the neighborhood of Campau/Banglatown."

We were all happy to see and talk to each other after such a long time. Ali and his wife were talking excitedly about their travel plans to Bangladesh in the summer. They would visit their home country now as a family with four children, two grandparents and two parents. For the children, ages 3 to 10 and all born in Detroit, it would be the first time they would return to their parents' roots. For Ali's wife, it would be her first time back in Bangladesh since arriving in the US. Ali had returned several times, making sure that the house in his birthplace was up to American standards so that his children would feel also comfortable, as he explained while proudly showing me pictures of the newly renovated single-family home. Since the beginning of the year, he was no longer working in a factory at one of Detroit's nearby auto industry supplier plants. He didn't have to. He had created his own source of income over the past decade through other houses he owns in this Detroit neighborhood. He is now the landlord of four homes in Campau/Banglatown. He lives in one with his extended family. He has rented two of them out to other people from his community. And the fourth one has almost been fully renovated so that he can rent it out to two different families, with one living on the first floor and the other in the attic.

Three days later, just a few blocks further east of Campau/Banglatown, Hannah and I again found ourselves sitting on a couch. This time, we were in a sort of studio space, which is also used as a living room by artist Emily Jane Wood. She is the owner of this two-family home in the city of Hamtramck – she rents out the top floor. It is her childhood home, where she grew up and returned to in 1999 to continue with her art practice. I had just recently discovered her artwork depicting a house in Hamtramck as a screen-printed drawing (Figure 1.0.) on someone's t-shirt in a neighborhood coffee shop.

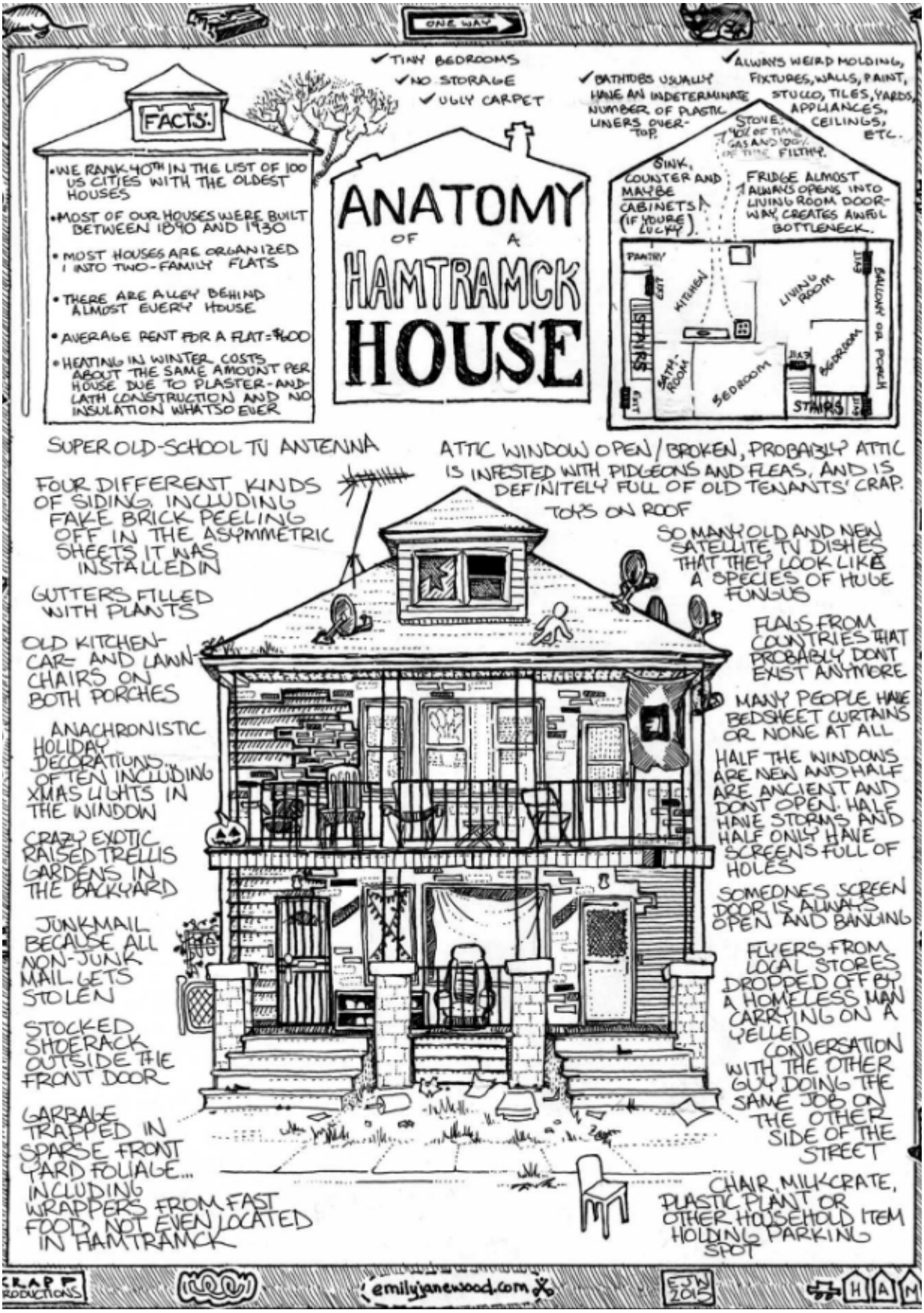

Figure 1.0: Emily Jane Wood, Anatomy of a Hamtramck House, pen on paper, 2015. Courtesy of Emily Jane Wood.

The black and white drawing showed the front of a two-family home in detail. A broken attic window, litter on the lawn, and the way the different kinds of siding were peeling off reminded me of how I myself perceived the exterior of the single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown.

The handwritten comments next to the house described the imperfect condition of these homes and the makeshift ways damage to them is fixed and the conditions former renters or residents have left them in. Wood's comments also show that she has given a lot of thought to the condition of the houses. I had to get to know the local artist and her relation to family homes in Hamtramck, because with her art she has indirectly highlighted the social and cultural context to which these homes belong.

I reached out to Wood by e-mail and just two days later, Hannah and I accepted her kind invitation to tell us something about her obsession with painting homes, iconic buildings and trash in the city of Hamtramck over the past two decades. As Hannah colored in one of Wood's homemade Hamtramck house templates, I dug excitedly through her photography and sketch archive of Hamtramck house facades. Corner buildings, single-family homes, duplexes, streetscapes, churches, public buildings, alleyways, front gardens, and trash – Wood's love for detail and color capture the unique and individually designed anatomy of these homes and the life around and in them, as well as the landscape of this neighborhood in paintings, on coffee mugs, drawings and comics.

Again, I found myself quietly thinking: "Someone has to archive this body of work, because she's documented the visual development of single-family housing in the area in such detail over the past two decades." Her perspective is certainly that of a white, educated, middle class woman, I thought, but while talking to her about her art practice, I found out that she is untrained and holds a B.A. in Anthropology and an M.A. in Molecular Biology from Wayne State University. Over the years, she has nevertheless become a quite popular local folk artist both for her own fascination with the city's streetscapes and her willingness to do commissioned work, for example for homeowners painting their houses.

> For me, a house (like the mind) contains all the tools for living. Also like our minds, our houses are assembled by us but they also dictate how we will live in the future. So, we shape our homes, and our homes shape us. We live within our mental constructs in the same way we physically inhabit the homes we build. (Wood, n.d.)

She stresses that how we shape and design our homes as individuals determines how we shape our future. She takes the perspective of an individual and that individual's lifestyle, connecting it to the way personal choices about how one lives one's life affect communal ways of living together. However, Wood's relationship with Hamtramck's houses was coming to an end. As I became familiar with her body of work, she explained to me that she would be cleaning out her studio and living space over the next few months in order to move in with her boyfriend and his daughter in a much larger space in St. Clair Shores, a Detroit suburb next to Lake St. Clair.

Ali and Emily are just two examples of residents – an artist and a newly arrived Bengali American immigrant – whose lives and lifestyles have been shaped through their connections to their homes. They may have different ideas about how they use single-family homes in the context of their neighborhoods, but they are both connected to them through social and economic relations. These particular neighborhoods, Campau/Banglatown and the city of Hamtramck, on Detroit's east side, have been characterized over the years by shifting immigrant communities. Still, residents occupy the same type of housing – single and two-family homes – built about a century ago. Why and how can these houses function for such distinctive uses?

1.0. From FILTER Detroit to Ethnographic Field Research with Single-Family Homes

In this chapter, I describe the setting of my research starting from my own home in Detroit. I give an introduction into my research topic and explain my approach with its objectives and questions.

1.1. Opportunity in Crisis

There is hardly any metropolitan area in the United States with an equally high density of single-family homes as Detroit. Shortly after the US's Subprime Mortgage Crisis, the *New York Times* article "For Sale: the $100 House" (Barlow, 2009) sparked national and international media attention on devalued single-family homes in East Detroit that had been successfully taken over by a 'stable' Bangladeshi American community and, more recently, by artists and cultural entrepreneurs from Detroit. The author of the *Times* piece, who had moved from Brooklyn to Detroit before the financial crisis, refers to the enthusiastic take-over of abandoned homes as a "strange, new American dream" where anything "imaginable" is possible (Barlow, 2019). He wonders what the new homeowners' motives are for buying such an inexpensive house, whose initial market value is only $100: "if they were actually worth anything they would cost real money, right?" (Barlow, 2019).

Barlow indirectly addresses concerns about investing in something so cheap. He questions the value of a house in a city that has been portrayed for years as run-down, dilapidated, and ruinous because of its abundance of empty single-family homes and industrial buildings. From an economic point of view, it does not make sense to invest in a house whose appraised value has decreased and whose market price is lower than, for example, the mortgage previously taken out. But with what notions of value have the new homeowners in the article been buying vacant homes? Barlow tries to explain their motivation as "new ways of shaping the urban environment," "the opportunity to accustom and renovate the house the way you want it to be" and "being part of a community" (Barlow, 2009).

Detroit's shrinking over the past decades and the fact that one-third of its single-family homes have undergone foreclosure has resulted in an overabundance of available residential properties (Deng et al., 2017). The city's post-industrial status as a shrinking or distressed city and its decrease in property values have been widely discussed in urban and architectural theory (Oswalt & Rieniets, 2006; Thomas, 2013; Sugrue, 1996). On a more positive note, Detroit is seen as a site of possibility, a city whose decline enriches urban studies (Dewar et al., 2015, pp. 31). There is hype predicting Detroit's return and that from the point of view of a growing chorus of optimists, the time is right to invest in the city (Austen, 2014). As performance artist and activist

Invincible (2008) states, Detroit has an unofficial motto: "Opportunity in Crisis."[1] Because of urban decline and distressed conditions and despite its state of bankruptcy, the city of Detroit still has a diverse array of residents living and driving the city (Galster, 2012). In Detroit, concepts of citizenship are linked to community building and the city's grassroots leadership, especially in terms of how racially divided it is (Ward, 2011). From do-it-yourself culture to the sense of the city's history and the ability to salvage old materials, Kimberly Kinder (2016) describes the DIY attitude of Detroit's citizens as a phenomenon that has become routine in deteriorating American cities where public services no longer provide order and safety. Whether it is residents, artists, or immigrants who are invested economically, culturally, or socially in the city, they all, along with many others, believe the city has a future.

The specific urban conditions in a post-industrial metropolis like Detroit – a high unemployment rate, school closures, a high rate of housing vacancies, and a lack of public transportation and fresh food – may have been favorable to artists whose practices are influenced by and participate in their daily environment (Kirchberg, 2020). Particularly in diverse and immigrant-rich communities, community-based art projects have often been cited as "catalysts for positive change", which focus attention on the social impact of artmaking (Helicon Collaborative, 2017). Recent research on artists and cultural production has critically contextualized ownership by and the property values of artists as investors (Akers, 2017a), as creative citizens prioritizing an urban middle-class (Peck, 2007), or triggers of gentrification (Herscher, 2012; Carducci, 2015; Flood & Redaelli, 2016).

Carducci (2014, p. 150) refers to artist practices that include social empowerments that implement creative neighborhood stabilization strategies to revitalize as "Real Utopias" that bear a potential for overall human well-being in post-bankruptcy Detroit. This describes the activities of artists in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood in Detroit, who have worked with single-family homes and vacant lots. For him, they are part of an aesthetic community (Carducci, 2012) that envisions life after capital, in which the "Art of the Common" (Carducci, 2014) is extended to the homes and vacant lots in a space like this neighborhood. Yezbick (2020) argues against this perspective and stresses that as long as blight in Detroit is considered the product of a lack of care, creative intervention to blighted properties runs the risk of being instrumentalized by the state and neoliberal partners in a market-driven value regime.

A more recent urban recovery narrative is about the influence immigrant communities have had on making places in Detroit's neighborhoods by improving the economy (Tobocman, 2014). One advocate for Detroit's immigrant-inclusive economy, Global Detroit, has focused over the

[1] Liner statement of Invincible's 2008 released Hip Hop album "Shape Shifters", Emergence Music, Detroit.

past ten years on establishing immigrant-inclusive institutions and creating equal opportunities for newly arriving immigrants in Michigan (Global Detroit, 2020). Politics and the inclusionary and exclusionary practices of a dominant social group have the power to determine the degree to which migration can inscribe itself in a city (Buckel, 2014, p. 160). In critical migration studies, it is important to recognize the active role of migrants in the production of space (Buckel, 2014, p. 161). In studies of the neoliberal restructuring of cities, migrants' participation tends to be reduced to their mere presence. For example, as fulfilling economic demands for low-skilled or skilled labor, as is the case in Campau/Banglatown. Moreover, migrants are often identified as a mere resource contributing to the shaping of creative milieus (Buckel, 2014, p. 161). Çaglar & Glick Schiller (2018) challenge this perception of migrants as participants in a pre-defined city structure. Along with Buckel (2014), they have used multiscalar analysis[2] to study how migrants are actors of global development on many levels (Çaglar & Glick Schiller, 2018). They identify migrants as active "multiscalar" participants in city-making because of their "relationships to each other and within various hierarchies of networks of power" in a "sociospatial sphere" of practice (Caglar & Glick Schiller, p. 8). Various art and community-engaged projects that consider the equity of residents or the inclusion of immigrant communities in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood as well as their needs, work with immigrants as multiscalar participants in the "sociospatial sphere" of single-family homes (Knight Foundation, 2022; Global Detroit, 2020).

What do these single-family houses mean for different people? Why are they in demand? What role do they play in a neighborhood? In my research, I focus on the ways in what values are attributed to single-family homes from a historical, economic, and ethnographic perspective. I look at homemaking and placemaking practices of homeowners and users. Single-family homes in Detroit have previously been analyzed in relation to land justice (Safransky, 2018), development and race (Thomas, 2013; Sugrue, 1996), as part of an investment strategy (Deng et. al., 2017), through gentrification (Dewar et.al., 2015; Elliot, 2012), in the context of vacancy as part of beautiful ruins (Apel, 2015), through "alternative urbanisms" (Herscher, 2012), and as becoming part of a "Real Utopia" through the way artists have made use of them (Carducci, 2014). In this context, the values of single-family homes are often discussed as resulting from neoliberal politics and the influence of private investors (Peck & Whiteside, 2016; Akers, 2013). But is there not something aside from economic constraints that makes these single-family homes attractive to individual residents and community groups?

I assume that artists and immigrants have not merely been buying and auctioning single-family homes in the Campau/Banglagtown neighborhood because of low real estate prices or to achieve

[2] Multiscalar analysis is a two-fold methodological framework. This method avoids understanding migration as an act of integration into a foreign nation-state identity or as a shared common homeland identity (Çaglar & Glick Schiller, 2018). It also does not borrow from the concept of ethnic community as a form of shared ethnic identity in the diaspora.

a quick return on investment. I want to find out what it is specifically that connects them to these houses, that just corresponds to a greater meaning or value. This is why I chose to observe how they achieve this. What kind of values do they attribute to single-family homes and lots? I would like to look at this by analyzing how single-family homeowners and occupants use their homes in everyday life in this neighborhood. Furthermore, I would like to find out how this production of meaning relates to placemaking and neighborhood residents' sense of belonging. Moreover, it is not clear what kind of role recently arrived migrants – artists and Bangladeshi American immigrants – obtain as the homeowners of single-family homes. For example, are they placemakers or have they become active real estate developers of the neighborhood?

There has not yet been a comprehensive study of the values homeowners and users in Campau/Banglatown attribute to single-family homes beyond economic real estate and market values. Therefore, this thesis addresses how neighborhood residents and homeowners make space and build community (Zilberstein, 2019; Helicon Collaborative, 2017; Carducci, 2012). It explores different kinds of everyday urbanism in relation to single-family homes (Chase et al.,1999). More specifically, it analyzes how homeowners use their homes to connect to and engage within their neighborhood. Bourdieu's theory of social space (1986) and the different forms of capital[3] he identifies support the basic theoretical framework of this analysis. Do social activities around single-family homes contribute to social cohesion (Forrest & Kearns, 2001) or inform a sense of belonging (Blokland & Nast, 2014) in this diverse neighborhood? What follows is intended to find out how all of these findings affect the value of the single-family homes in the neighborhood.

1.2 Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck

Campau/Banglatown is just one of many neighborhoods[4] in the city of Detroit. Although it is in Detroit, it shares the same zip code, 48212, as the neighboring city of Hamtramck, which is located to the east. The city of Hamtramck is a city within the city of Detroit and borders on their westside with the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood, which is part of the city of Detroit. The City of Detroit refers to the municipality of District 3 as Campau/Banglatown. Others refer to it as Banglatown, i.e., a community of Bangladeshi American residents who live in the Campau/Banglatown, Davison, and Buffalo Charles neighborhoods (Global Detroit, 2018; goodgood and Global Detroit, 2017). This has also been the case for residents, members of community initiatives,

[3] For Bourdieu (1986) a material resource is a form of economic capital because it can be directly converted into money, especially in the case of property rights, which is an institutionalized form of economic capital (1986, p. 242).

[4] There exist different definitions of what is meant by a neighborhood. They are for example defined by social communities, historical associations or urban planning decisions. In this case, I use the term neighborhood as an municipal term that is defined geographically, just as the city of Detroit refers to its urban districts in their smallest units as neighborhoods.

and other stakeholders whom I interviewed or talked to about the neighborhood. Alexa Bush, urban design director of the East Region for the city of Detroit, explains that the city defines these areas geographically. Therefore, the city of Detroit refers to the neighborhood as Campau/Davison/Banglatown to avoid territorial identification or discussions with the different ethnic communities (A. Bush, personal communication, March 15, 2019). In this thesis, I will refer to the neighborhood as Campau/Banglatown unless quoting or using someone else's materials.
For people who do not live in either of these places, it is difficult to tell the difference between the city of Hamtramck and the neighborhood of Campau/Banglatown in Detroit, even though their residents and houses are governed by two different municipalities. The architecture of the residential homes and their layout are similar. The stores, which cater to everyday needs, merge into each other on Conant Street and Joseph Campau Avenue, which are both located in Hamtramck and Detroit. Residents of both municipalities use schools, the library, the recreation center, the local bars, grocery stores, clothing stores and other amenities in both municipalities. However, Hamtramck is more densely populated than Campau/Banglatown and, with 2.1 square miles, it is also limited in space.

In 2010, the United States Census counted 22,423 people living in the city of Hamtramck with 53.6% of them Caucasian (European, American, and Middle Eastern ancestry), 19.6% African American,[5] and 21.5% Asian American (City of Hamtramck, 2021). According to the most recent census data from 2020, the city's population increased to a total of 28,433 residents, a 26.8% rise over the past decade. From 2005 until 2021 the city was run by a Polish American mayor, Karen Majewski. Neighborhood Public Radio reporters noted that Hamtramck is now closing in on a majority Muslim population, with Bangladeshis and Yemenis as the largest growing immigrant groups (Block & Nadworny, 2017). In 2021, Amer Ghalib, an immigrant from Yemen, became Hamtramck's mayor (Warikoo, 2021). Reporting in these recent changes, Neighborhood Public Radio reporters noted that Hamtramck is now closing in on a majority Muslim population, with Bangladeshis and Yeminis as the largest growing immigrant groups (Block & Nadworny, 2017)

In contrast to Hamtramck, half of Campau/Banglatown's population of 5,000 residents is identified as Bangladeshi American, followed by large numbers of African American, Yemeni, Polish, Bosnian and other diverse residents (City of Detroit, n.d.b). Like Hamtramck, the "newcomer community" (Imam Mika'il Stewart Saadiq, personal communication, March 14, 2018) Campau/Banglatown has been continuously shaped by migration: in the 18th century by Germans, during the 19th century by Poles, by African Americans during the second wave of the great migration, and by war refugees fleeing economic instability or non-democratic regimes in

[5] The African American population, which makes up the majority of residents in Detroit, has always been part of the Hamtramck community, but has never been a majority there (G. Kowalski, personal communication, March 9, 2018; Sugrue 1996).

Europe and Yemen in the 1980s and 1990s. While single and two-family homes alternate along Hamtramck's streets, the majority of the 1,155 homes in Campau/Banglatown are single-family (City of Detroit Government, n.d.).

Historically, the neighborhood emerged because of inner-city migratory movements (see Chapter 3.3.) of former European migrants or African Americans moving away from poor living conditions in Detroit's city center. The most recent wave of immigrants, the Bangladeshi American community, started to move from Queens, New York to Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown in the late 1990s and early 2000s in what has been referred to as a mini exodus, creating a Bangladeshi American community within months:

> A function of economics, word of mouth and the slightly hard-to-figure momentum that often drives such relocations, the migration has escalated in the last year, with dozens of families packing up every month and heading from Astoria to Michigan. (Kershaw, 2001)

Economic conditions, such as cheap housing and access to jobs attracted the Bangaldeshi American community to move to Michigan when they were priced out of Astoria (Kershaw, 2001). Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown are well known for their diverse food culture and fresh vegetable stores that the immigrant communities run. Besides traditional Polish and Bosnian cuisine, there are restaurants serving food from Yemen, India and Bangladesh. There are dozens of neighborhood stores that sell vegetables, daily supplies, and Halal meats as well as several shops for traditional clothing like saris and veils on the main shopping streets, Conant Street, Caniff Street, and Joseph Campau Avenue.

Campau/Banglatown has not only seen an increase in immigrant communities from Bangladesh and Yemen, but also a continuous influx of artists migrating from other parts of the city, the suburbs, and other cities in the United States. Local and newly arrived artists working in fields ranging from visual arts to performance, started to shape the very same landscape of former working-class single-family homes. Some of them addressed urban shortcomings and their own immediate needs while transforming the neighborhood with their community engaged art projects involving defensive architectural devices like security barriers to protect against theft and illegal occupation, the establishment of a Free School, and the creation of communal public spaces such as a skate park. Often, vacant single-family houses and their plots served as the starting point for these artists' own art.

1.3. FILTER Detroit

I visited Detroit for the first time in 2007. Chicago artist Jon Brumit recommended I go there to experience its post-industrial cultural infrastructure, a scene that seemed to function without an art market. At that time, I was a research curator at the Van Abbemuseum,[6] visiting artists and art projects in former industrial cities and regions throughout the Midwest as part of research for an exhibition called Heartland.[7] In Detroit, I was particularly struck by the fact that the local artists did not necessarily follow the art market's latest trends, but rather incorporated questions of everyday life and survival into art practices. An ongoing point of discussion in Detroit has been how to renovate single-family homes according to these artists' needs with hardly any money and how to engage in community arts projects in, with, and outside of single-family homes in various inner-city neighborhoods, some of which are more abandoned than others. The challenge has been how to make better use of vacant single-family homes and lots and how to improve neighborhood structures, creating better everyday living conditions. The neighborhood residents of the chosen areas have often become part of these art projects. It was in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood that I first observed how community-engaged art projects with artists living on site have influenced urban transformation and urban planning at a neighborhood level. Here specifically as well as in other Detroit neighborhoods, I learned how intertwined the relation between bottom-up social movements, DIY projects, and the influx of newly arrived residents through immigration and art production has been and what possible ways of living together have been initiated.

My professional interest as a research curator and former real estate businesswoman attracted my attention to the relationship between art, immigration, real estate, and urban development in Detroit. The low of land with a house were major factors. At the same time, I was fascinated by the serious bottom-up movements led by the artists, immigrants, and activists who lived in and worked with single-family homes. They did more than just experiment with alternative ways of using single-family homes and vacant houses and lots in the different neighborhoods around the city for art projects, they also lived in these neighborhoods and tried to make a living.
Only two visits later to Campau/Bangaltown, in December 2009, with the help of Power House Productions,[8] I bought a single-family home at auction for $4,300. Buying a house, let alone a plot of land, for less than $5,000 was unheard of.

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[6] The Van Abbemuseum is a Dutch art museum located at the heart of the post-industrial city landscape of Eindhoven.

[7] For Heartland, an interdisciplinary research project about independent cultural infrastructures, I road tripped with my curator colleagues to various North American cities such as New Orleans, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Chicago, and Detroit to visit artists and their local cultural initiatives and to get to know the communities and networks they have been part of.

[8] Power House Productions artists, Gina Reichert and Mitch Cope, had already bought several single-family houses in Campau/Banglatown and were using them as objects, more often as reference points for their art projects rather than as homes to live in.

The single-family, wood-frame houses – Bungalows or American Four-Square designs (Cook, 2014) – in Campau/Banglatown were primarily built in the 1920s and 1930s for working-class families during the prime time of industrialization. In this neighborhood the homes primarily consist of an open porch leading to a front entrance with wood, concrete, or brick steps facing the sidewalk (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Front entrance of FILTER Detroit, 2018. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

The small lot size does not usually allow for driveways or parking garages, people park on the street. Sidewalks connect the houses to the street and other houses in the neighborhood. As documented on the left-hand side (Figure 1.1), the homes are densely built next to each other. To the right is a vacant lot where a single-family house once stood. Most houses have vinyl or wood siding or, less commonly, brick. From the front entrance, one directly enters the living room next to two bedrooms on the right and a kitchen in the front (Figure 1.2). The homes usually do not have hallways. In this case, the kitchen is connected to the basement, attic, and bathroom, or an addition. Houses usually have a back entrance attached to a back porch in the backyard. The size of the houses varies from two to four bedrooms, with one or two bathrooms, often depending on the finished state of the attic or renovation work already carried out since the house was first built.

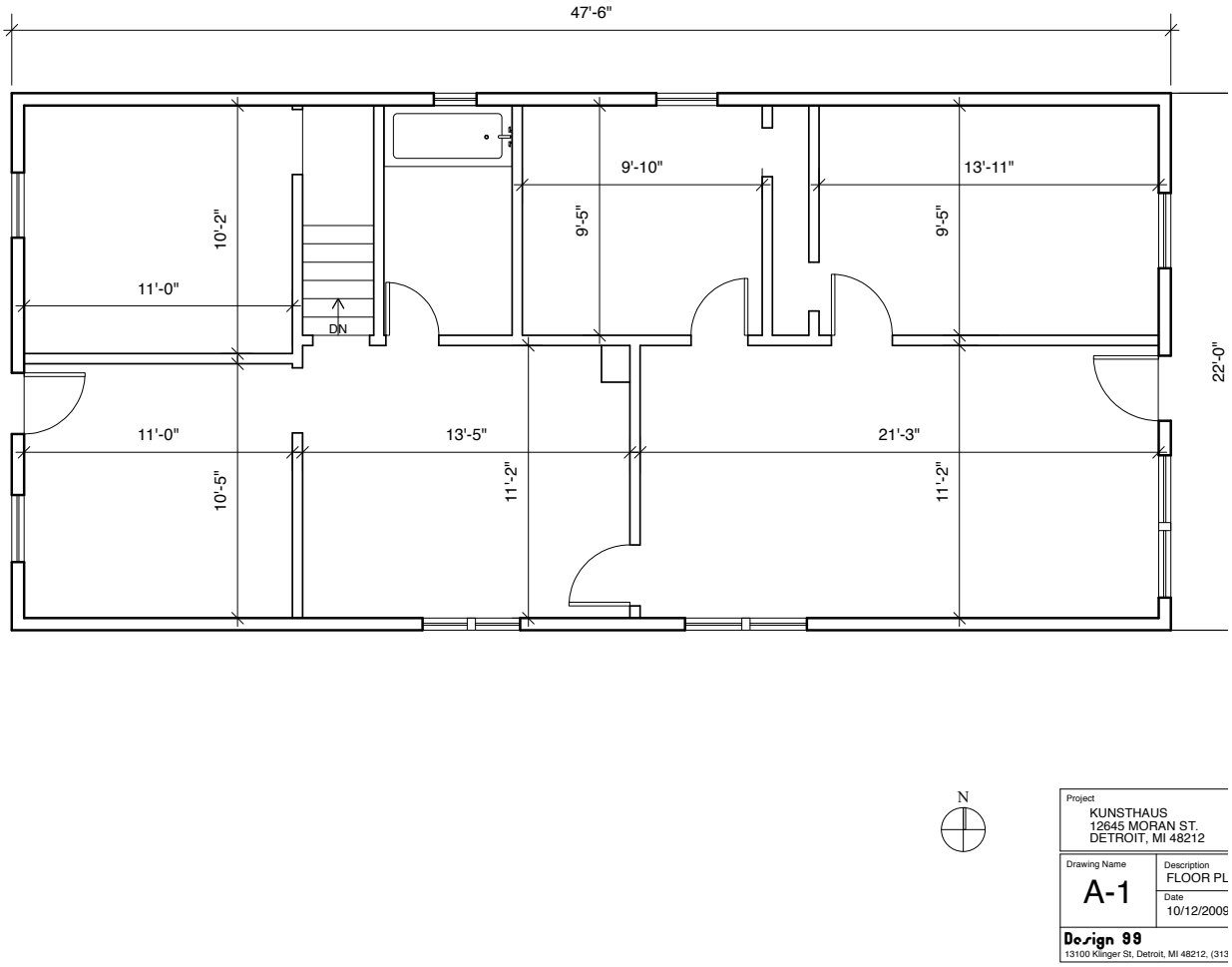

Figure 1.2: Floorplan FILTER Detroit, 12645 Moran Street, 2009. Courtesy of Design 99, Gina Reichert.

The floorplans of single-family homes are usually similar to the one of the FILTER Detroit house (Figure 1.2). Here, the two extra rooms in the back of the house are later additions. Most of these houses have a full basement or a so-called "Michigan basement," which is a partial basement. In the case of FILTER Detroit, the Michigan basement only consists of one room underneath the house's bathroom.

12645 Moran Street, the house I auctioned, had been vacant for about two years and its front was boarded up with plywood when I bought it. My first visit inside the house revealed that the water pipes and all the appliances were missing. To make the house usable again as a place to live and work, the water pipes, water and gas heaters had to be replaced and a kitchen installed. The windows also had to be replaced and two security doors, for the front and back entrance, were installed. After a year-long renovation process with additional work such as flooring and painting, at an estimated cost of $15,000, the house was ready to be inhabited.[9] During this time, I became familiar with the area and its actors. At the same time, I hosted several on-site open discussions with local residents and artists to define the purpose and role of the house in the

[9] From 2013 until 2014 the attic space of the house has been build out as studio space with kitchenette and bathroom for myself and my daughter Hannah, with a separate entrance in the back of the house, estimated cost $ 20,000.

neighborhood. In the summer of 2010, the house was opened to out-of-town artists and Detroit residents to live and work in as a research residency named FILTER Detroit.

The residency is structured as follows: The front of the house is always rented out to a permanent Detroit resident and the two rooms in the back of the house serve as the guest rooms for invited artists and researchers, who share the kitchen and bathroom with the permanent resident. The residency's invited guests are hosted for shorter – at least two weeks – or longer stays, and never more than three months. They can research, work, and network around the city. Networking opportunities with Detroit artists and art institutions are a very important part of the residency. Since 2010, FILTER Detroit has hosted about 30 artists and student groups, including filmmakers, visual artists, designers, architects, musicians, and urban researchers.[10] The aim of the residency is for artists or groups of artists to work with the city and its history for their projects. For the program, it is less interesting for artists to have specific ideas about what kind of work they want to do in the city, and more important for them to have time and the possibility to explore the city. The artist residency program has extended to hosting performances, organizing exhibitions, editing publications, and conducting workshops. Its aim is to provide a platform for artists through collaborations with Detroit artists, neighbors, and the city.

In this context, and because I try to be in Detroit at least twice a year, I started to observe how local homeowners, my neighbors, use their homes not only for living, but also for working and socializing, as a way to connect and engage with the neighborhood as community. The everyday practices of my immigrant and artists neighbors, including urban gardening, walking, building community spaces, and opening stores led me to find out more about how living and working in this neighborhood is connected to the single-family homes, how and why social activities have been structured, and if they have contributed to a sense of belonging in this diverse neighborhood. Moreover, I was curious both as a homeowner and as a key account manager for residential real estate finance in Hamburg (then a growing real estate market) about whether or not real estate prices would increase in the neighborhood and, if so, under which conditions and for what reasons and whether or not artists and the newly immigrated population had something to do with it.
Only in 2016 did I decide that my experiences as a research curator, organizer, facilitator, and regular visitor to Campau/Banglatown should become part of an urban research project about single-family homes. My motivation was driven by the contrasting developments that I saw and experienced. On the one hand, I operated professionally in a real estate market in which there was a rising demand for residential property in Hamburg with ever-increasing real estate prices and the urge of everyday citizens to become real estate owners and, on the other hand, there were the

[10] For more details about the residency, past and current guests as well as programs please visit FILTER Detroit´s website: http://www.filterdetroit.org

vacant single-family homes of Detroit, which were auctioned off at low prices to local residents and investors or not occupied at all. It was this other space (Lindner, 2004), which until then had been unknown and almost unimaginable in terms of real estate market logic, in which Campau/Banglatown residents tested out new types of uses for these homes, in which homeownership and its economic value initially played more of a background role. My experiences in Detroit and with FILTER Detroit led me to begin my qualitative research in 2017 as a research associate and PhD candidate at HafenCity University Hamburg in the Metropolitan Culture study program.

1.4. Ethnographic Field Research in Campau/Banglatown

This research about single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown has taken place at the interface of community engagement, visual and performing arts, cultural theory, real estate administration, neighborly kinship, motherhood, sociology, and urban research. For my research, I consider the period from 2009, during the subprime mortgage crisis, to 2019, just before the Corona crisis. This is based on the fact that I began dealing with single-family homes in Detroit in 2009 when I purchased my own home in Campau/Banglatown.

At the beginning of my research, I concentrated on quantitative data sets for single-family homes and the local real estate market from the perspective of a trained real estate agent and homeowner in Detroit. To find out more about the real estate market in Campau/Banglatown, I analyzed the existing data reports, websites of real estate brokers and the official City of Detroit and Wayne County Public Auction websites. In analyzing this quantitative data, I realized that it does not reveal specific motivations of value attribution other than economic or market related ones, or urban development agendas of the City of Detroit in the context of single-family homes. Therefore, in my analysis, I started to focus on qualitative data.
However, since my pregnancy 2014, my daughter Hannah has accompanied me on almost all my trips to Detroit. Her presence as a newborn and, later, a little child opened up more points of contact and perspectives on how to navigate and research in the neighborhood as a white woman. Hannah is Afro-German and as a result, she has opened the door to interactions and conversations with a diverse array of neighbors from different ethnic communities – particularly my female Bangladeshi American neighbors and children. Overall, my access to the field has evolved over time because of my long-term investment in the neighborhood, my regular presence as a visitor, and the fact that my personal status changed from that of a single woman to that of the mother of a biracial child. In addition, my professional status changed from that of a museum curator to a homeowner and a director of a research residency, from a real estate finance professional to a university research associate.

From the point of view of a homeowner and part-time resident in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood, my research approach has been led by ethnographic methods exploring the cultural

and social phenomena of Campau/Banglatown as a field. Field research is a method that seeks to access contemporary, everyday cultures and the forms of orientation and practices of subjects in their respective life contexts from an internal perspective (Schmidt-Lauber, 2007). Lindner (2004) explains that certain methods are required for approaching the field in particular spaces, which can vary from context to context. The research for this dissertation started with participant observation as part of an interactive process (Lindner, 1981) in the neighborhood as the owner of a house and part-time neighbor. With this method it has not been possible, however, to find out how the residents relate emotionally to their single-family homes and the neighborhood.

To strengthen my position as participant and observer and to objectify my position as a homeowner in the field, I have applied a diverse spectrum of qualitative methods for ethnographic fieldwork in addition to participatory observation and text analysis. I have conducted fifteen interview walks with residents and frequent visitors to the Campau/Bangaltown neighborhood to include the voice of permanent residents and frequent visitors to the neighborhood. The walks took place during different visits to the city in 2017 and 2018. I interviewed residents and regular visitors of Campau/Banglatown (Appendix A). Originally, I had planned to do "go alongs" with the interview subjects to find out more about the neighborhood and the subject's relationship to the spatial and physical environment. A go along is an open walk during which people engage in conversations that are inspired by the place and scenery (Krusenbach, 2003). Since I had to bring my daughter Hannah to the first go along, my interview partner and I were interrupted many times and because of rainy weather, we were not able to walk freely. Therefore, I developed an altered method, which I refer to as a "walking interview." A walking interview is more structured than a go along. It comes with a set questionnaire of eight questions that I asked every time (Appendix B).

Moreover, I have conducted seven semi-structured interviews with stakeholders such as a real estate agent, an urban planner, and artists (Appendix C), I have participated in a neighborhood workshop about the restructuring of Jane's Playfield (a neighborhood park next door to my house), and I have hosted a workshop and walking tours called "Working the Land: Responsibilities and Values of Land and Ownership" (K. Niemann, memory log, October 5, 2019) with residents and stakeholders in Campau/Banglatown. I have also worked with maps of Detroit and documentation and archival material, including from local archives, as well as self-representations of initiatives and artists found on websites, in newspaper articles, brochures, and other publications. In addition, I have used quantified data, including statistics about real estate values, the Detroit census in 2010 and 2020, mapping surveys of real estate sales, and tax assessment figures from the City of Detroit. Moreover, I have worked with digital maps, quantified geodata provided by local and public organizations.

I then coded all of this material. My approach has been a deductive data-driven coding, also known as open coding (Saldaña, 2015). After coding, I developed categories, which then funneled

into my assertions regarding value, neighborhood, homeownership, and social space. The codes and categories that I derived from analyzing my walking interviews are the foundation and point of orientation for the other materials and sources that I looked at.

Looking back, I would say that the years preceding my outing as an urban researcher in 2017 in the field of Campau/Banglatown, were a good preparation for slowly working out my access to an unknown city and, back then, unknown group of actors. During that time, I built up access to my field in the context of art and single-family homes, collaborating with artists and cultural institutions in the city as well as engaged residents, architects, urban planners, and other urban researchers while creating networks and relationships. In addition, I was able to become better acquainted with the city's different social and cultural movements. While converting my house into an artist research residency and renovating an attic into a studio that would serve as my private retreat, I learned about and experienced the structural and material substance, architectural flexibility, economic obligations, and weak points of my single-family home – partly by hiring professionals to do so and partly by doing it myself, hands on, following the instructions of skilled neighbors and artist friends. I have learned to make quick decisions and expenditures, both financially and in terms of time, and, from a security standpoint, to put the house in a state that works for different lifestyles and work models as well as the neighborhood at large. At some points in this work, it was difficult to differentiate and separate my personal experiences in the field from those of a researcher, either due to my work as a landlord or as director of a research residency and mother in the neighborhood. But it is precisely this personal involvement that has contributed to my very intense and broad access to the research field.
As described earlier, I have had in various roles in the research field, from real estate expert, homeowner, contemporary art curator, mother, and cultural studies researchers. This has ultimately led me to address the question of the meaning of the value of single-family homes from a historical, sociological, and economic point of view.

1.5. Thesis Structure

This ethnographic field research about single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown is approached from three different perspectives. From a historical perspective, focusing on how Detroit evolved into a single-family metropolis and how that affected urban development over the years; from the perspective of the real estate market and its stakeholders and how they deal with single-family homes in post-industrial Detroit; and from the perspective of Campau/Banglatown's residents as homeowners, with special attention to artists and Bangladeshi American immigrants.

Chapter Two provides an overview of the state of research and the theoretical framework with which I work. It describes and discusses current concepts of value and unvalue, single

family homeownership, social capital, migration, and community as well as social space in neighborhoods. Moreover, it addresses the role of artists in creative placemaking and its consequences for gentrification. It links and discusses the values of single-family homes to social relations and social space.
In Chapter Three, history is applied for understanding the emergence of single-family homes in Detroit. Maps are also used as tools and an old and contemporary medium to document the city's transformation. Furthermore, in the context of an industrial city and as part of a multi-ethnic, shrinking city as well as the driver of a foreclosed city, the analysis documents how homes have structured and shaped the city up to the present.

Chapter Four looks at the real estate market in Detroit and which factors play a role in residential real estate today. Value-shaping factors such as pre-existing cultural and educational institutions, public-private investment, and urban digital data shape developments in midtown and downtown. The local market in Campau/Banglatown is driven by other location factors, including affordability and value-in-use factors, such as safety, a high homeownership rate, and strategic neighborhood programming on the part of the city of Detroit. Recent residents value single-family homes as social spaces that create a sense of belonging in the neighborhood or help form different communities.

In the context of placemaking with art, Chapter Five explores how artists work with single-family homes in Detroit. There are different approaches to how artmaking with homes in Detroit can unfold in different neighborhoods, as shown by the examples of Heidelberg Project, Hamtramck Disneyland, and Dabls MBAD African Bead Museum. Placemaking with art in Campau/Banglatown has turned into homemaking, an individual practice of homeowners that sometimes inspires network infrastructures, gardening, neighborhood stabilization, and real estate development as a community-engaged process.

Chapter Six brings together the results of the analysis of artists and immigrants as single-family homeowners. Here the three perspectives – history, homeownership and real estate – come together. The chapter critically discusses and explains how the social and cultural values attributed to single-family homes become part of their economic value, while real estate prices have risen moderately in Campau/Banglatown. In this context, creative placemaking has morphed into an everyday practice of caring that can be understood in terms of nurturing cultural traditions and residential needs, even if it may lead to displacement. The chapter looks at how strategies of homemaking produce an extension of social space and the degree to which these timely, ongoing practices can contribute to placekeeping while maintaining a sense of belonging to the neighborhood for the majority of residents. I also develop the notion of placekeeping as a recognized value by residents and actors in Campau/Banglatown.

2.0. State of Research and Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I develop and discuss the theoretical framework for analyzing the meaning of the value of single-family homes in the context of placemaking and homemaking. I link changes in residential real estate value and ownership in the context of Detroit's decline to changes in social relations and social space as well as to creative placemaking. My research draws on theoretical approaches from real estate, housing studies, urban sociology, cultural theory, urban studies, sociology, and art.

Detroit has transformed from a fast growing, prosperous industrial city to a shrinking and outlier city that has produced extreme conditions for living and working (Dewar et al., 2015). The shrinking conditions have shaped spatial, social, political, and economic processes that have been researched as a "Model City" (Dewar et al., 2015). This model challenges theoretical concepts around urban growth (Logan & Molotch, 1987). Concepts of growth are, however, important to include in an analysis of the city's neighborhoods because Detroit's urban development has been shaped by growth logics and the city has long been a growing city. Nonetheless, vacancy and decay and their consequences on urban space in post-industrial Detroit have generated theoretical concepts all their own. Wherever possible, I underpin the state of research with the current, Detroit-specific research on the topic. The theoretical approaches that I work with are value, unvalue, homeownership, social capital, migration and community, social space, sense of belonging, gentrification, art and placemaking. This theoretical framework provides a point of reference for the analysis in subsequent chapters, as well as for the summary at the end.

2.1. From Value to Unvalue to Value

The city of Detroit has gone through many challenges during its industrial decline, from massive population loss in the inner city as people moved to the suburbs to a decrease in employment, low household incomes, and the city government's fiscal problems, to name only a few (Dewar et al., 2015, p. 39). As a consequence of Detroit's shrinking, single-family homes have become available and vacant, and one-third of them have undergone foreclosure, which has resulted in an overabundance of residential properties (Deng et al., 2017, p. 153). The surplus of land and abandoned homes leads to unoccupied houses which leads to further decline in property taxes for the city of Detroit. Financial distress due to unemployment or the 2008 financial crisis led even to more homes being left empty. At first glance, from an economic perspective of growth and surplus, many of these single-family homes no longer serve a residential or investment purpose. The low demand in Detroit for housing and investment in housing has consequently had an effect on the development of the property values of single-family homes. They have lost their value as part of a real estate market system.

But who and what defines value in residential real estate? In real estate economics, "value" is understood as price or worth (Lorenz & Dent, 2018) or as an asset (Poleg, 2020). Lorenz & Dent (2018, pp. 33-42) explain that value acts as a stimulus for decisions and actions, defining and governing space. Real estate value in the real estate market is an economic exchange value, i.e. a piece of land attached to certain property rights and sometimes attached to a building, which is treated like an investment and is worth a certain amount of money.

From the point of view of real estate appraisal, Lorenz, Dent, Kauko, Lützkendorf and Hill (2018) explain that different real estate market actors, from bankers and investors to owners or tenants, integrate different value categories such as physical, value-in-use, existent value (cultural and social value), emotional value, image value, and environmental value to economic conceptions of value (Lorenz et al., 2018, pp. 44-49). In terms of market value, they view value-in-use as an economic value of a property. In my research (see Chapters Four and Five), I particularly explore value-in-use as well as what Lorenz, Dent, Kauko, Lützkendorf and Hill (2018) refer to as existent value (social and cultural value) and image value. Value-in-use can be described as an asset that provides for its owner as long as it is in use. It is a functional value and may be affected by the needs, wants and requirements of the individual home owner, their preferences, their perception of risk or their past experiences with homes (Lorenz et al., 2018, pp. 47-48). According to them, social value refers to interaction, social prosperity, well-being, health, and safety, which could reflect the social space in the neighborhood around the property in my field work. They view the cultural value as related to cultural tradition and lifestyles, the image/ sign value as identified with corporate identity, and the image or reputation of the property or neighborhood it is located in (Lorenz et al., 2018.).

But they also point out that all forms of property value are timely in terms of overall social contexts arising and disappearing in relation to our needs (Lorenz et al., 2018, p. 44). In their real estate market-orientated theory of value, they address how the links between the economic and non-economic components of property value relate to each other. Therefore, they demonstrate that it is important to appreciate the value of the built environment within which real estate is determined, namely the local market and the many factors that create supply and demand in this environment, which include the needs of the residents. To them, there exists a sense of value that goes beyond economic value, which they identify in a social context as "lifestyle and identity based on group belonging or individualism" (Lorenz et al., 2018, p. 44). Their theoretical definition of real estate value thus relates "value" to a broader systemic concept that goes beyond price or value-in-use.
In my analysis of value categories in Chapter Four, these categories serve as a point of orientation for checking which factors apply in Campau/Banglatown and which ones have not been accounted for in the local context.

Urban researcher George C. Galster (2019), who considers value from a social-systemic perspective, expands the definition of value even further. He explains that value is not only determined by its features and location in the neighborhood, but by the surrounding environs, including socio-economic, racial, and family-status composition, environmental amenities, the quality of local public services and infrastructure, and land-use patterns (Galster, 2019, p. 11). Moreover, from a historical perspective of land use in Detroit, Safransky (2018, p. 500) concludes that the value of land "is disputed by people who live on the land, care for it, and imagine different futures on it." In Safransky's analysis of land justice movements,[11] she highlights the importance of historically developed relationships and networks around homeownership. According to her, homeownership in Detroit may be influenced by residents' negative feelings, such as uncertainty and resentment because of class or race, revealing "historical traumas around land loss" (Safransky, 2018, p. 501). The cultural historian Scheurmann (2013) takes up this historical discourse and compares the value of a building or land in terms of its urban heritage. She points out that value is a reflection of social negotiation processes over time, which can manifest themselves in value concepts such as commemorative value, symbolic value, and sustainable value (Scheurmann, 2013, pp. 9-10).

In my analysis of single-family homes in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood, I examine the concept of social-systemic relations of value from Lorenz, Dent, Kauko, Lützkendorf and Hill (2018) and Galster (2019) in order to relate the economic value of residential real estate to non-economic value while analyzing what sense of value exists or has been created by residents and actors in this neighborhood. Urban sociologists Blokland & Nast (2014), who thoroughly studied the use of neighborhoods, further stress that residents' emotional and cultural practices belong to a spatial value system as well. In this context, my research examines individual and community-related daily practices of single-family homeowners and users, their emotional connections to a neighborhood, and their cultural practices within it.

To Birdsall, Halauniova and van de Kamp (2021), who explore the spatial and cultural politics of value, economic and non-economic values are co-dependent in placemaking processes. To them, valuation is an activity rather than a product and it is part of a process between human and non-human participants where:

> [...] the acknowledgement of shifting agencies between those evaluating and those being evaluated open[s] up new possible pathways. (Birdsall et al., 2021, p. 351)

[11] Land justice movements such as Detroiters Working for Environmental Justice or grassroots community activist initiatives such as the Boggs Center and many others help build equal opportunities as well as protect homeowners in Detroit from foreclosures and similar issues.

Like the approach of Lorenz, Dent, Kauko, Lützkendorf and Hill (2018), Birdsall, Halauniova and van de Kamp. (2021) identify urban valuation as a multi-sensory practice, which involves concrete acts of moving in, relating to, designing, and experiencing urban spaces. For my work, a multi-sensory approach (Bidsall et al., 2021) is helpful in understanding the dynamics of values in relation to the placemaking projects of artists and migrants that make use of single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown.

Vacant single-family homes have then been "rendered valueless according to the dominant regime of value" or have become "unvalues" that hinder the property's circulation within the market economy (Herscher, 2012, p. 9). Inhabited or not, they have often become unvaluable (Herscher, 2012). In the context of declining single-family homes, they have become less valuable or useless to those that profited through them, such as banks through mortgage payments, the city through property taxes, and the residents and investors who profited through sales or strategic investments. But as the architect and architectural historian Herscher (2012) explains, because single-family homes became "unvaluable" to the dominant regime of value, they have become available to other value systems, i.e., by occupying them with other forms than only residential living, by engaging them in activities that have not been relevant for the market economy but relevant for the people living next to them. He argues that the uselessness of homes as speculative or utilitarian objects forces residents to re-think their relationship to their houses and their land in the neighborhood (Herscher, 2012, p. 7). Herscher refers to Detroit's urban territories that have fallen out of the real estate market economy[12] as "unreal estate" (Herscher, 2012, p. 8). To him, unreal estate arises when the exchange value of a good – in this case real estate – falls to the point where that good acquires a use value not recognized by the market economy. In contrast to urban growth, Herscher sees potential in unreal estate because it becomes more interesting for other value systems such as non-economic possibilities of use and activity (Herscher, 2012, p. 9). He argues that the uselessness of single-family homes as speculative or utilitarian objects for living effects everyday urbanism (Chase et al., 1999), the daily experience of making use of homes and lots in the city.

In this context, I work with Herscher's analysis of unreal estate as alternative, often bottom-up urban cultural projects and initiatives in Detroit that adapt unreal estate to implement it in the everyday context of the urban environment. I argue that empty single-family homes or those that have fallen through the traditional value appraised market network that Herscher defines as unvalues, have established their own use value by becoming, for example, cultural project or community spaces. Therefore, they have again become part of a real estate value-in-use factor. The unvalue of real estate produces value again. Namely, the way in which residents appropriate

[12] Real estate is a term describing a plot of land along with any permanent improvements attached to the land, whether natural or man-made – including water, trees, minerals, buildings, homes, fences and bridges (Chen, 2020).

single-family homes and empty spaces in their everyday practices makes a difference and has the potential to alter and influence value. Expanding on Herscher (2012), Carducci (2014) explains that emerging grassroots initiatives in Detroit, which often work with the city's material culture on an aesthetic level, have trespassed conventional property relations and enhanced their potential for overall human well-being in the form of common use values for residential homes. Herscher's theoretical approach of unreal estate is useful in understanding vacant or "non-assessable" property as a complement rather than a negation of value, as a way to re-evaluate space through everyday urbanism into new values (2012, p. 9). Using Herscher's (2012) theory of unreal estate as a framework, I analyze and discuss the kind of unvalues and new values that citizens – particularly artists and newly arrived immigrants – have formed, identified and related to concerning single-family homes in Detroit's Campau/Banglatown neighborhood.

2.2. Single-Family Homeownership

A single-family home in a neighborhood or city is not only a house or an architectural structure in a particular location whose purpose is to be occupied. Research on single-family homes has examined them for their functions or disfunctions as locations, as architectural structures, as investment objects, or considered them as urban planning tools. In their research on homes, Saunders & Williams (1988) consider them as socio-spatial entities, providing space for social interaction. Housing studies have described single-family homes as places holding social, psychological, and emotional meanings for individuals and groups (Easthope, 2004, p. 135). In urban studies, homes are often identified by the social and physically built environment such as the neighborhood location or the communities that make use of them or through political and financial agendas.

In the context of a shrinking city, Detroit's single-family homes – in their material form, but empty and abandoned – have been defined as objects of speculation (Akers, 2013), objects of disinvestment (Deng et al., 2017), and as triggers of blight (Yezbick, 2020), as part of a faltering regime of financialized urbanism (Peck & Whiteside, 2016) or as triggers of urban decay represented in ruins (Apel, 2015) with neighborhood-destroying capacities.

In this research, a single-family home is considered an immobile location providing shelter for the purposes of living, working, and socializing. Regardless of its renovation status, a single-family home can be considered a point of departure for humans to interact in social, cultural, economic, and material environments. Despite its physical immobility, a home is not passive with regards to everyday activities in a neighborhood, it can make active contributions, i.e., to forming social and cultural spaces in a neighborhood. This is why a single-family home can also be considered an actor in urban space, similar to the concept of Actor-Network-Theory

(ANT) that describes the social activity around, in, and between material things, non-humans, technology, and concepts or human modes of living, such as in a house and the people that make use of it, through network relationships (Latour, 2005). Conversely, as an actant, a home has both the capacity and capital to shape a neighborhood and its value as real estate.

Since single-family homes are physically immobile and embedded in a physical as well as non-physical set of relations and everyday activities, they produce and enforce specific relationships. Relationships can be viewed as an urban assemblage of networks, spaces, and practices (Farias & Bender, 2009). Therefore, it is suggested that any kind of relationship created through and with the location of a property, be they human, environmental, digital, spatial, systemic, related to nature or else, can contribute to the value of that social space:

-Relationships with neighbors and within families as well as relationships with other humans at a particular location are human relationships;

-Relationships between buildings or facilities and humans are environmental/built environment relationships;

-Relationships between a location as a space and other spaces are spatial relationships.

All of the aforementioned relationships are temporal but can last longer than a human being's lifetime. Building relationships can take a long time. Therefore, their timely aspects are essential to their functioning, i.e., environmental and spatial relationships can last for as long as the location and/or the building structure exists. Relationships change due to different life phases and the life circumstances of each real estate user, or external circumstances such as climate change or urban shrinkage. How the relationships are composed may present specific challenges or may make a place particularly livable, beloved, sustainable, or the opposite. In other words, spatial relationships can either add quality to a location or make it more difficult for people to live there. Nevertheless, the physical shape of houses is immobile, whereas the people who live in them are in constant movement within their built environment and between single-family homes, giving them the power to build or destroy these relationships.

Homeowners in Detroit have had to deal with the consequences of the city's shrinking on a variety of levels, including economic decline. They have also been forced to live with the resulting social and spatial consequences in their very own homes and neighborhoods. The distressed conditions often hinder low-income homeowners from selling their houses because they would not receive the amount they need to buy residential property elsewhere. However, some residents have seen opportunity in crisis and possibilities to work with residential homes, i.e., as a form of speculation, buying the houses cheap and selling them for a lot more money later, or with a non-market orientation, working with the land for community projects like urban gardens or to build

their own homes and communities.

Homeownership can be understood as a form of entitlement. It is the right to enact power over a particular piece of land in a particular location. Land or homeownership are limited resources in a specific location. They are "the rich stock that we can never make more of" (Gallagher, 2013, p. 56). In economic sociology, homeownership is understood as a material resource and form of entitlement, but also as part of a social practice in a certain geographic location that produces values and places (Bourdieu, 1986, 2005; Easthope, 2004; Lloyd & Vasta, 2017):

> House ownership is [the author] most often integrated into a complex system of strategies of reproduction and […] thus laden with the whole history of that which they aim to perpetuate – namely, the domestic unit, itself the product of a work of collective construction, which is once again largely attributable to the state; and that, correlatively, economic decisions are not taken by isolated economic agents, but by a collective, group, family or enterprise functioning as a field. (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 17)

In the context of economic sociology Bourdieu (2016) identifies the act of homeownership or taking ownership over a house or lot as an economic, social and cultural practice that shapes social space. For Henri Lefebvre (1974) the production of social space is a constant process shaüed by three dimensions of space, the reprensentation of space, representational space and spatial practoces. On contract to Lefebvre (1974), Bourdieu positions homewonership as a value-laden practice linked to economic, spical and cultural capital in an urban field than a single act that ends with the payment of the purchase price. Analyzing the economic structures of single-family homes in postwar France, he points out that the "the purchase of a house is so laden with meaning" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 16), revealing the complex web of structures in which a family house is embedded. Bourdieu (2005) concludes that the cultivation of the resource of residential homeownership depends on the formation of the social space where the single-family home is located. He links social space closely to economic value and practices of ownership. For this reason, I analyze the connections between single-family homes and the everyday activities of their homeowners that form a social space (Bourdieu, 1986). Invoking Lorenz, Dent, Kauko, Lützkendorf and Hill (2018) on value through everyday activities and social practices, I consider the value of single-family homes from a cultural studies perspective.

In North America, land and homeownership have historically been equated to living and pursuing the American Dream as part of social mobility (Reid, 2007). Homeownership is associated with a sense of security, material and social well-being, and civic and economic responsibility. Harvey (2013, p. 50) establishes a connection between homeownership and the capitalist crisis in urban areas, explaining that homeownership in the US has only become a cultural value because attractive government funding programs promoted and supported the idea in the past. He explains how homeownership was promoted as a component of the American Dream (Harvey, 2013). Creative director Toby Barlow (2009) uncritically refers to the sudden hype for purchasing cheap houses

in post-bankrupt Detroit as the strange but new American Dream. From the point of view of urban planning, Safransky (2018, p. 500) agrees that 20th century "growing" Detroit celebrated this "dream of homeownership." But in her historical diagnostic of landownership, she shows the connection between the racialized dispositions and displacements that were created during that time and Detroit's housing precarity and land crisis today in the 21st century (Safransky, 2018). Unlike Bourdieu (2005), in her engagement with urban land justice movements in Detroit, Safransky (2018) not only addresses the influence of class and capital when referring to land and ownership, she also addresses the impact of institutional racism, segregation and colonialism. According to her, not everyone has access to real estate ownership nor has everyone benefited from owning residential real estate, some have even experienced it instead as a contested space (Safransky, 2018). Various studies, e.g. on low-income homeownership without governmental support, show that low-income homeownership only works under certain pre-conditions such as the time of purchase or the ethnic composition of the neighborhood as a support system, or it often depends on a locally framed and engaged setting of residents in a neighborhood or community (Santiago et al, 2010; Reid, 2007).

For my research, I understand homeownership not only as a right or entitlement to use a certain amount of land or a house that one received because one accumulated enough economic capital for that certain location, I also understand it as a constant process of actively making and producing ownership that the house's user has to actively engage in by forming a social space (Bourdieu, 2005) through the accumulation of other forms of capital[13] such as social, cultural, and symbolic capital within the context of a single-family home. I focus on social capital in the context of homeownership.

2.3. Social Capital: Migration and Community

For Bourdieu (1986), in a community or social setting, social capital is a potential resource obtainable through the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. He views social capital as a product of individual or collective, conscious or unconscious investment strategies, which aim to establish or reproduce directly applied social relationships (Bourdieu, 1986). In the context of Bourdieu's research, which assumes that an individual is limited in his or her possibilities of development by

[13] Capital is accumulated labor, whether it has a materialized or symbolic form. Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between different types of capital, from cultural, symbolic, social capital to economic capital. These can all be accumulated individually, but they also relate to each other and ultimately determine an individual's position and relation in social space in the field (Bourdieu, 1986). A field is a system of social positions, an arena in which actors circulate and appropriate capital. The types of capital brought in by the different actors in a field are important determinants that define influence and positions, the disposition, in the field (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986).

habitus as well as class relations as forms of distinction, social capital is one form of capital that has a positive influence on an individual's economic capital. Social and other forms of capital – economic, cultural, and symbolic – make up the structure and functioning of a social world (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 15). For Bourdieu (1986), social capital is manifested in an individual's social networks. The existence of networks cannot be assumed. Networks must be built up gradually. As a new homeowner, for example, one must first get acquainted with the social environment of one's neighborhood. However, in the context of a neighborhood community, networks can contribute to the production and reproduction of social mobility or social inequality. From Bourdieu's European perspective, networks that enhance an individual's social capital often relate to origin and can indicate group affiliation but, in turn, the exclusion of others.

Political scientist Putnam (1993) takes a different view of social capital. He tries to define social capital from a US context by a kind of sense of community and through democratization processes based on social relations or civic engagement (Braun, 2001). He identifies it as a "public good", a collective characteristic of a specific community that comes together to build up relationships and social trust based on shared norms or out of civic engagement (Putnam, 1993). As an outcome of social organizing, social capital enhances benefits or efficiency while also facilitating mutually beneficial coordination and cooperation to individuals or a group of people. Putnam (1993, p. 2) indicates that "cooperation in a community is more successful when it already has a substantial stock of social capital." I use both Putnam's (1993) and Bourdieu's (1986) approaches to better understand the extent to which each homeowner relies on social capital in the form of an individual network or to be part of collective action when forming communities of intention in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood.

In migration studies, the production and reproduction of social relationships in a community and the accumulation of social capital is defined by how a society defines and deals with migration (Buckel, 2014, p. 160). Political governance and the inclusionary and exclusionary practices of a dominant social group have the power to determine the degree to which migration can inscribe itself in a city (Buckel, 2014). From the point of view of critical urban geography, Buckel (2014, p. 158) stresses that migration is a basic structural condition for cities and not an exceptional situation or a problem of one marginalized ethnic group in one particular neighborhood. Critical migration studies recognize the importance of acknowledging the active role of migrants in the production of space (Buckel, 2014, p. 161). In terms of the neoliberal restructuring of a city, migrant participation tends to be reduced to their mere presence, i.e., fulfilling demands for low-skilled or skilled labor. Alternatively, technology and innovation-savvy and well-educated migrants have been identified as a resource that contributes to the shaping of creative milieus (ibid.) and that become part of the creative class (Florida, 2002).

Çaglar & Glick Schiller (2018) challenge this perception of migrants as participants in a pre-defined city structure. Unlike Buckel (2014), who identifies migrants' assets as being used for certain areas of city building, they use multiscalar analysis[14] to study how migrants are actors of global development on many levels (Çaglar & Glick Schiller, 2018). They identify migrants as active "multiscalar" participants in city-making because of the "relationships to each other and within various hierarchies of networks of power" in a "sociospatial sphere" of practice (Caglar & Glick Schiller, 2018, p. 8). About a hundred years earlier, Burgess, McKenzie and Park (1925) had already demonstrated the power of a human group to transform a space through its social activities and displace another group. Their human ecology perspective was based on their research into Chicago's immigrant neighborhoods, which had experienced a high level of immigration as a new group of migrants replaced the social activities of another human group that had migrated there before (Burgess et al., 1925). This classic model explains neighborhood transformation filtered from the center to the outside of the city by invasion and succession by a new migrating community. Yet their model was based on the model of a growing city rather than a shrinking city.

Global Detroit[15] identifies migrant communities as a driving force behind urban revitalization (CBS Detroit, 2015). They understand community development and placemaking as part of an economic development investment strategy within immigrant communities in Michigan. For example, they support immigrant homeownership or immigrant entrepreneurship in an inclusive neighborly environment between migrant and non-migrants (Global Detroit, 2020). In my field of research, the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood, I identify not only the Bangladeshi American community as migrants, but also the artists who do not always correspond to the profile of the creative class but are part of a larger network of people who have recently migrated to the neighborhood, engaging as a community in placemaking via artmaking. In the context of my research, it is important to understand the impact of the migration of a human group as an inclusive practice of occupying space not only by obtaining homeownership but through social activity in space with other neighborhood groups, independent from race or ethnicity.

However, Bourdieu (2005, p. 21) calls the act of homeownership a "social reproduction project". In terms of social space, he relates social reproduction in neighborhoods to social cohesion in the form of communities of purpose or kinship. Siebel (2015) takes a more differentiated view of communities of purpose that exist in neighborhoods due to social reproduction processes. Since

[14] Multiscalar analysis is a two-fold methodological framework. This method avoids understanding migration as an act of integration into a foreign nation-state identity or as a shared common homeland identity (Çaglar & Glick Schiller, 2018). It also does not borrow from the concept of ethnic community as a form of shared ethnic identity in the diaspora.

[15] Global Detroit is a non-profit regional economic and community development organization invested in inclusive growth strategies in Detroit and Southeast Michigan (Global Detroit, 2022).

a (highly technologized) society has a certain level of mobility, he claims that neighborhood structures and relations are more important for certain age (children, elderly) and status groups (single mothers, the disabled) than for others (young urban professionals, the wealthy). Zunz (1983), who researched Detroit's social history during industrialization, found out that ethnic and class relations contribute particularly to the urban development of certain neighborhoods in Detroit. He argues that the socio-spatial transformation of ethnic groups from close-knit communities to individual groups dispersed all over the city, for example, advance or prevent upward mobility for residents in the city.

According to Weber-Newth (2019), all actors in a community instrumentalize urban regeneration or are instrumentalized. She uses Bourdieu's capital theory to analyze how, in communities such as London's Stour Space and Berlin's Holzmarkt e.V., organizing has resulted in the democratization of urban regeneration. Still, the everyday practices of actors in "DIY urbanism" lead the community to "be imagined and created bottom-up as a strategic act of self-defense" (Weber-Newth, 2019, p. 145). With regards to single-family housing and independent from in-migration of artists from the suburbs to the city of Detroit, for example, or immigration from outside the US, I understand community as a form of organizing and participation in a collaborative manner producing social space, with close-knit and loose relationships for a specific cause or purpose, such as neighborhood network relations. A community is characterized by the everyday practices and needs of every resident – artist or immigrant – who lives or works in a neighborhood.

Community in Campau/Banglatown is not only defined as a group of people within a specific geographic arena, an ethnic group, or a community of purpose. As French philosopher Rancière (2009, p. 31) points out, community can be understood "as a frame of visibility and intelligibility that puts things or practices together," as a "community of sense." Drawing on Rancière's concept of sense, cultural critic Carducci (2012, p. 129) describes the aesthetic practice of artists and other "creative types" in one location as an "aesthetic community." The "Aesthetic Community in Detroit" operates on different levels. For example, when it combines and uses "recycled castoff materials," adopts "makeshift technique[s]", or engages in the "conscious collective of ideas", which are made tangible, to improve urban space (Carducci, 2012). In the case of Detroit residents, this means they care for their often distressed and vacant inner-city single-family home neighborhoods through self-organized initiative and community work (Kinder, 2016; Carducci, 2012). Urban planner Kimberly Kinder has studied grassroots urban strategies for governing neighborhoods, concentrating "on a subset of commonplace, indirect tactics that involved reshaping domestic architecture to restrict access to empty spaces as a means of exerting social control over the behaviors carried out in those spaces" (Kinder, 2014, p. 1767). Neighborhood residents make vacant structures appear inhabited and lived in, reducing their vulnerability, protecting their own homes from theft or arson, and preventing the deterioration

of public infrastructures (Kinder, 2014). For Mark Binelli (2012, p. 54), Detroit has become a place "where regular civilians took it upon themselves to tauten the civic slack." Like Kinder (2014, 2016), Binelli (2012, pp. 53-55) also refers to Detroit as a DIY city that has made room for street-level anarchy, through which Detroiters have reinvented their city without waiting for a solution driven by consultants. Detroit's citizens have made use of what is available within existing parameters by boarding up empty, neighboring homes, mowing the lawns of vacant lots, and establishing small-scale economies such as community gardens "to keep their neighborhood alive and safe" (Niemann, 2010, p. 2). Kinder (2014, p. 1771) refers to these residential strategies as "guerilla-style defensive architecture" and categorizes them as self-provisioning tactics. These defensive strategies of communities or single-family homeowners are measurements to protect single family homes from blight, stabilize neighborhoods and ultimately defend a property's economic value. They are not only measurements to protect homes or homeownership, they are bottom-up placemaking strategies to improve a residents' living environment, such as a neighborhood. These kinds of DIY initiatives have become routine in deteriorating cities where public services no longer provide order and safety, as Kinder (2016) explains. Self-provisioning and DIY is an everyday practice that residents use to keep homes functional, but it is also, to return to Bourdieu (1985) and Putnam (1993), a form of social capital that depends on networks or intentional communities, producing social space.

2.4. Social Space in Neighborhoods and Sense of Belonging

For Bourdieu (1991), social space tends to be reflected in physical space in the form of a particular distributional arrangement of actors and characteristics. Bourdieu (1985) works with the concept of social space[16] in a broader sense, connecting social practices and modes of sociality with physical space in a social world. Deborah Reed-Danahay (2017) argues that Bourdieu's concept of social space is more relevant to the social sciences and humanities than his field theory because social space expresses articulations between physical spaces, embodied habitus and sociality. For her, Bourdieu's social space is not a physical space, but a symbolic structure expressed by positioning and relationships between "habituses" (Reed- Danahay, 2017, p. 3). Easthope (2004, p. 137) extends the concept of social space as "a kind of place" to an emotional level. She argues that it is more than a physical locality because people's social, psychological, and emotional attachments to it influence political economies of place (Easthope, 2014).

Löw (2016) connects to Bourdieu's (1985) concept of space through placement. To Löw (2016), there exists a spatial dependence in relation to place, people, and the imagination of space.

[16] The social space, which is also related to as a field, determines a person's social environment, their relationships, milieu, status, hierarchy. It is not only inscribed in physical space, but also in people's thought structures (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 163).

The constitution of space is a relational arrangement influenced by two processes (Löw, 2016, p. 225), "a synthesis of social goods" of people and places in one's own imagination, which is an accumulation of perceptions and memories, i.e., good or bad experiences, smells, or sounds, and through "spacing" by means of the "physical placement" of goods, placing people in place and in relation to others. A synthesis of social goods and spacing, these two processes are related to Bourdieu's (1997) capital theory and the actor's individual position in social space.[17] Löw (2016, p. 225) highlights how space's reproduction through synthesis and spacing takes place in everyday routines and through repetitive actions. Furthermore, to concur with Easthope's (2004, p. 137) argument, places in this research can be understood as nodal points within networks of social relations that have a particular significance for a person or group of people. She draws on Massey's (1995) concept that place is a social construct and that homes are places that exist, constructed within social relations.

Like Löw (2016), Easthope's (2004) concept of place ties the physical world to social, cultural, and emotional constructs. But Easthope (2014) locates the space in a local context of other places and their community building process. In terms of housing studies, Easthope (2014) does not only view the dynamics surrounding conflicts about places of residence as economically produced factors. She also considers neighborhood relations, community building, and cohesion to be value-adding factors (Easthope, 2004, p. 137). In my analysis of values in relation to single-family homes, I refer to Löw (2016) and Bourdieu (1987) to argue that the production of social space manifests itself through everyday activities, i.e., bringing children to school, driving to work, or going shopping. I confer with Easthope (2004) that the influence of neighborhood relations and activities attribute to social cohesion.

To understand the diverse dynamics and composition of the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood as a destination for various forms of immigration, inner migration and outer migration, it is important to include Siebel's (2015) sociological view about neighborhoods, which he defines as social networks of relationships due to spatial proximity. For a neighborhood to become social, factors such as common interests, matching behavioral norms and similarities in social capital and lifestyle are necessary (Siebel, 2015). From a historical standpoint, spatial proximity also means social proximity. From the perspective of a homeowner, a neighborhood can be understood as a geographic location, a condition, and at the same time a social space where social interaction typically occurs among neighbors (Galster, 2019). For Siebel (2015), neighborhood is a "shared

[17] The social space can be distinguished from other fields by distinction – e.g. a person with a high amount of cultural capital, such as education, determines what constitutes taste in society (Bourdieu, 1984). The people who inhabit or occupy social space have unequal opportunities with regards to "appropriation space" depending on their possession of capital (symbolic, economic, cultural and social) (Bourdieu, 1985, 1997).

destiny." Galster (2019), an economist and with a focus on urban sociology, echoes this idea of sharing. He claims that social-interactive dynamics such as social discourse, social pressure, and social ties in a neighborhood effect a wide range of behavior, including well-being and socioeconomic opportunities (Galster, 2019):

> This means that collectively those in the neighborhood have at least a potential for influencing the home investment behavior of homeowners residing there. (Galster, 2019, p. 14)

From his point of view, the impression of a neighborhood that sticks together and where homeowners support each other determines the investment behaviors of individual homeowners.

An older approach is Jane Jacobs' (1992) critical concept of a neighborhood as a self-contained unit. As an architect and urban researcher, she follows a relational approach. For her, it is important to understand that a neighborhood is not only a closed social network of relations or a self-governing organ, but rather a part of a city kept alive by "mobility" and "fluidity of use" (Jacobs, 1992, p. 117). Crowded neighborhood sidewalks and multi-use streets are the main arteries that connect a neighborhood's users with their destinations (Jacob, 1992). Following Jacob's (1992) argument, the influence of social networks from the in and outside of the neighborhood that actively use what she calls "public spaces" produce a sense of belonging and social cohesiveness (LeGates & Stout, 2020, p. 190). Her concept of neighborhood space aligns with Easthope (2004) and Forrest & Kearns (2001, p. 2140) who understand neighborhood as a social arena. In their work, they discuss the interaction between social capital and social cohesion, identifying eight domains of social capital within neighborhoods. For example, supporting networks and reciprocity, collective norms and values, and belonging (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). For them, social cohesion is a continuous practice of getting by at the mundane level of everyday life (Forrest & Kerns, 2001). They refer to Turner (1991) who, in terms of social order, emphasizes the importance of the lived experience of simple, everyday routines. Residential-based networks (social capital) perform an important role in the routines of everyday life. We learn "tolerance, co-operation and acquire a sense of social order and belonging according to them" (Forrest & Kearns, 2001, p. 2130).

Talja Blokland (2017) argues in her research about "Community as Urban Practice", that community is not a stable construct, but that non-durable, fluid encounters constitute community, theorizing communities as shared urban practices in a globalizing world. Blokland & Nast (2014) have analyzed neighborhood use in the context of public familiarity in two neighborhoods in Berlin and understand "belonging" to be a part of an experience which has been created by residents through their daily practices, for example, "of knowing enough about the street grid and built environment to find one's way easily, and of being able to assess what to expect from others"

(Blokland & Nast, 2014, p. 1144). Drawing on different forms of belonging – including selective belonging (Watt, 2009), elective belonging (Savage, 2005), and place consumption (May, 1996) – Blokland & Nast (2014) identify two notions – public familiarity and comfort zones – behind the production of everyday space via daily practices. To them, comfort zones are zones where people trust in each other and know the rules of conduct thanks to a predictable and understandable setting (Blokland & Nast, 2014):

> Public familiarity, we argue – the recognizing and being recognized in local spaces, where one meets some people whom one knows and many whom one does not, but with whom ones develops some level of acquaintance, however superficial and fluid – creates a comfort zone that allows people to feel they belong, even though they may have no local friends or family, never talk to their direct neighbors, and not even like the place they live. (Blokland & Nast, 2014, p. 1155)

Public familiarity influences how someone experiences their residential area as a comfort zone. Urban sociologist Tuttle (2022) has researched ethnic enclaves in Chicago and points out that residents experience a declining sense of ownership or control over space as newer commercial establishments of other ethnic origin move into their communities. Tuttle (2022) understands place as a product of social action by residents who have a strong sense of attachment to a place. According to him, the symbolic significance of local businesses figure into neighborhood residents' attachments to place and sense of belonging (Tuttle 2022).

In my analysis, I focus on Blokland and Nast's (2014) concept of public familiarity, wherein people trust and respect each other in order to understand how social cohesion (Forrest & Kearns, 2001) works on an everyday basis in relation to single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown.

2.5. Gentrification and the Role of Artists in Creative Placemaking

According to Chicago artist and designer Rachel Whitehead (2006), artists have the toolkit and ideas to contribute to place attachment by creating relationships with locations, buildings, and neighbors. They have the power to form and influence spaces such as neighborhoods with their intangible values. Whitehead (2006) credits artists with having experience in asserting themselves with their own ideas about urban interests and economic constraints. She has a positive outlook on artistic engagement in the context of urban development because according to her, artists have a say, they can shape and be engaged in the development process of urban areas. Others identify the contribution of artists in urban development processes more as a top-down tool that is earmarked, for example, for increased investment by real estate developers or for image improvement in city marketing (Zukin, 1988; Brown-Saracino, 2009; Rich, 2019). According to Peck (2004), as members of the Creative Class (Florida, 2002), artists, with their creative solutions skills, have been valued for their economic functionality. Furthermore, artistic projects in formerly overlooked spaces of the city or their movement to a certain part of the city often have been indicators of the

start of gentrification,[18] where older residents are displaced by younger residents (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984, p. 111). Geographer Smith (1979, p. 538) recognizes gentrification as a back-to-the-city movement of economic capital where wealthier residents push out residents who cannot afford the rising rental costs. Moreover, according to Smith & Williams (1986), gentrification has become part of an integral process of housing and urban land markets derived by an uneven development of space based on economic advantages. Ryan & Deutsche (1984, p. 111) stress that gentrification is aided by an artistic process. Artists, because of their imaginative and inspiring thinking, are considered commercial vehicles that attract other citizens and creatives by developing milieus or scenes (Landry, 2008; Lloyd, 2006), therefore making investment in urban space more lucrative for real estate developers, but also making real estate less affordable for people that already live in the neighborhoods.

Gentrification as a phenomena of displacement and urban revitalization is often analyzed in terms of population growth of people moving into an area from elsewhere, forcing older residents to move out of that area. However, in Detroit the "nodes of growth occur in the context of widespread, profound disinvestment" (Dewar et al., 2015, p. 43). Sociologist Elliot (2012) points out that gentrification in a shrinking city like Detroit, does not necessarily take place on the level of physical displacement within Detroit, but as a form of cultural displacement for those residents who feel they no longer have a voice in the development and shaping of their neighborhoods:

> By cultural displacement, I mean a sense of place and community and feeling like you have the right to creating the vision for that community's future. Even if people are not forced from their homes due to rising rents, they may feel like their community is less their own than it used to be. (Elliot, 2012)

Elliot connects the experience of gentrification with the loss of a sense of place as well as a loss of power or control over making spaces. Zukin (1991) describes this sense of ownership in the context of urban deindustrialization where gentrification produces "landscapes of power"[19], in which spaces of production are abandoned and turned into spaces of consumption. And these landscapes of power, even if they are subtle and gentle, can lead to a feeling of alienation for long-time residents in their own neighborhood because they experience a decline of ownership, control, and belonging in their own neighborhood (Tuttle, 2022).

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[18] First coined by sociologist Glass (1964) gentrification refers to the transformation of working class neighborhoods through residential rehabilitation by moving in citizens of higher income and status. According to Ruth, gentrification changes the social character of the neighborhood. As a consequence, less wealthier residents have been displaced because they could no longer afford the cost for living.

[19] Zukin (1991, p. 16) uses the term "landscape" in a geographical context that can be a representation of the material, social and symbolic space in society.

The presence of artists in formerly run-down, often working class or industrial neighborhoods also means that they invest cultural as well as social resources, which in turn makes it attractive for capital investment or wealthier residents to move in (Brown-Saracino, 2009; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984). Artists are often criticized in this role for being first-aid kids who pro-actively solve "urban problems in a creative way for urban developers, real estate companies and city managers" (Zukin, 1988) in neighborhoods, more like contract workers for a private developer, the state, or both. According to sociologist Rich (2019), the artist's presence, courage, energy or their resources spent in formerly less wealthy, less secure neighborhoods, may lead to "arts themed development", in which the state, the city, or a private developer recognizes the positive effect of the artist's presence and therefore supports them to extend their stay or engagement through incentives like grants or public programs, which can range from public art projects to painting murals. For example, Rich (2019, p. 719) explains how artists in Baltimore have become tools for gentrification via arts-themed development that helps raise property values and spurs the re-colonization of large industrial buildings in the inner city for middle and upper class living. Similarly, in Detroit, Andrew Herscher (2012, pp. 7-8) notes that the "creative class" – often white, privileged and well-educated artists – has both set itself up as the city's heroic savior in the process of shrinking while also giving a race and class-oriented portrait of the members of the creative class.

According to economic geographer Peck (2005), who argues against creative-city policies in response to what Florida (2002) calls the rise of the Creative Class, art and culture have been discursively commodified and become a productive asset of creative capitalism. He argues that the urge to value and valorize whatever creative asset city might have is the basic recipe for the creativity fix, a distinctive development vision (Peck, 2007) that excludes others who are not part of the creative class. Florida has identified the talent, technological knowledge, and tolerance of the often well-educated creative class as driving forces behind the "creative" economy and guarantors of sustainable prosperity (Florida et al., 2015). This vision is an economic development program that puts creative people in a city first "while raising a favored bundle of middle-class lifestyles" (Peck, 2007), i.e., through tax incentives or particular funding structures that support creative economies as part of an urban development objective. For my research, I analyze the role of the artist as neighbor in the urban development of the city of Detroit, whether or not they have been supported or driven by an economic development vision that connects to the creative class. I focus on the role of artists as residents in placemaking processes with single-family homes in a neighborhood.

Art historian Miwon Kwon (2002b) notes that there has been a transformation of public arts practices from "aesthetic concerns to social issues". She sees the role of the artist in public space as shifting from an individual artistic practice to a multi-disciplinary collaborative approach (Miwon Kwon, 2002a/b) that involves creating networks of connections with other urban actors. Artists have become place-makers, marking sites through site-specific art pieces (Kwon, 2002a). She criticizes

what she sees as site-specific or public art that has been "put to the service of generating a sense of authenticity and uniqueness of place for quasi-promotional agendas" (Kwon, 2002a, p. 4).

Urban sociologist Sharon Zukin has been critical about overusing cultural strategies for urban redevelopment. To her, culture has economic power and can produce both symbols and spaces, particularly in post-industrial cities (Zukin, 1995). Zukin (1995) has identified the growth potential of culture as a symbolic economy, competing over a city's image because culture has become the business of cities. Likewise, Markusen & Gadwa (2010) view the implementation of arts-based creative placemaking practices as a strategy for strengthening the global economic role of American cultural industries. Moreover, in their study of creative placemaking, they demonstrate that arts and cultural activities are powerful economic and social catalysts (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010, p. 6) through the way in which they shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood. According to Markusen & Gadwa's (2010) white paper, whether creative placemaking is on a macro or micro level, it has the power to increase a place's livability as well as diversity. Like Kwon (2002a/b), they find that process-oriented community projects involving art can improve social and post-industrial infrastructures (Gadwa & Markusen, 2010).

Creative placemaking can also be understood as a colonial practice, in which creatively made places are not perceived as places with particular physical value or specific cultural roots, but rather as the results of placemaking (Starowitz & Cole, 2015). On the other hand, Flood & Redaelli (2016) stress that creative placemaking in the US is both a field of knowledge and a practice combining urban planning, public art, community development, and social and cultural policy. In their work about cultural strategies and community revitalization, Flood & Redaelli (2016) do not relate creative placemaking to building wealth for already privileged citizens, but instead to building community:

> The concept of creative placemaking refers to a variety of community-based practices that draw on local arts and cultural assets to building a stronger community (Flood & Redaelli, 2016, p. 258).

My analysis is informed by Flood & Redaelli's (2016) understanding of creative placemaking as a transformative leverage that builds a stronger community, bringing together different practices such as urban planning, public art and social as well as cultural policy. Until now, creative placemaking in shrinking cities such as Detroit has been analyzed and accounted for as a tool artists use to engage with and inspire neighborhood revitalization among members of a community and neighborhood (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). Beyond approaching artists "as catalysts for positive change" (Helicon Collaborative, 2017) in placemaking processes, I want to discuss the degree to which the presence of artists as residents and users of single-family homes

in Campau/Banglatown creates a sense of belonging through interactions with the immigrant-rich communities.

Using the example of the city of Baltimore, the sociologist Kirchberg (2016) has analyzed the role of art and culture as an instrument of urban development and concluded that it has changed. With regards to urban development, art went from being an educational tool and instrument of status to an economic incentive for urban and economic growth in a global context to what we find today: art as a socio-political tool for urban stabilization as an element of placemaking (Kirchberg, 2016). Cultural scientist Berger (2018) specifies the role of artists as placemakers, explaining that it has changed with regard to artists' participation in the urban development process and their own agency due to shifts in hierarchies within the urban design process. Namely, artists have become initiators of (local) processes that can only be developed together collectively (Berger, 2018).

The finding that the production and mediation of art is involved in a complex network of actors is not new, however. In his "Art Worlds", theorist and sociologist Howard Becker (1982) explains that all artistic work requires a larger number of people and a complex system of networks through which art happens. He identifies art as an activity informed by artists' cultural capital as well as their network of relationships and the social system through which it developed (Becker, 1982). Becker (1982) outlines four different types of artists (integrated professional, maverick, folk artist, and naïve artist) within conventions that he defines as "Art Worlds". In Chapter Five, I will make use of the typology suggested by Becker (1982), identifying different types of artists that work with single-family homes, because not every artist has intentionally worked with a network of actors to revitalize or improve neighborhoods in Detroit.

Kaddar, Kirchberg, Barak, Seidl, Wedler and de Shalit (2020) build on Becker's theory of network relations but discuss the role of artists in urban space through their level of political engagement in the city. Through inter-urban fieldwork, they look at artists' perceptions and political roles in the city and their modes of intervention.[20] They stress that not every artist is interested in working in the field of art and urban development, but artists have been assigned different roles in cities according to their contextualization in urban processes and the three dimensions of artistic-political engagement: participation, contestation, and efficacy (Kaddar et al., 2020, p.2). Like Becker's (1982) typology, their theoretical tool identifies artists in terms of their living and working environments. Following Kaddar, Kirchberg, Barak, Seidl, Wedler and de Shalit's (2020) typology of artistic citizenship, I look at the level of participation of artists in the Campau/

[20] This inter-urban fieldwork took place in the cities of Hamburg and Hanover in Germany as well as the cities of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa in Israel (Kaddar, et al., 2020).

Banglatown neighborhood and discuss whether and how their role as placemakers of and with single-family homes has changed.

The starting point of my research is the role residents play in social space and how they make place through everyday activities around their home. In my thesis, I build on this to understand the value dynamics related to placemaking projects of artists and immigrants using single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown. With Bourdieu (1986), I link social space to economic value and practices of ownership. I also discuss homeownership as a value-laden practice. My focus is on the social-systemic value relations of residential real estate (Lorenz et. al., 2018; Galster, 2019). I point out how, in the context of a shrinking city, social capital, community and self-provisioning relate and depend on each other. I argue how the social space and infrastructure of a neighborhood around single-family homes can create a sense of belonging through everyday practices. My analysis of everyday techniques of placemaking through, with and in single-family homes reveals that a sense of value is created by residents, which relates to public familiarity (Blokland & Nast, 2014) and a sense of belonging (Forrest & Kearns, 2001) to their neighborhood. In my analysis, I show how the role of artists in this particular neighborhood has changed from that of a placemaker to that of a homemaker and in some cases to that of a real estate developer. Empowering to some neighbors, this development is positive in the context of a strategic neighborhood development program in terms of urban growth and the economic expansion of value for real estate. At the same time, it has side effects such as the loss of ownership or social space that are felt by those residents who do not partake in the value-adding dynamic created through more recent placemaking projects in that neighborhood. In my final chapter, I critically discuss the positive and negative consequences in the neighborhood through placemaking in relation to cultural heritage and placekeeping, as well as physical and cultural displacement.

3.0. Detroit – A Single-Family Home Metropolis

In terms of territory covered, the successive growth of single-family housing estates in Detroit created one of the largest cities in North America. As a common architectural style, the single-family home became a significant identifying element that divided communities into neighborhoods and influenced urban planning and the economic development of the city for years. To understand the transformation of space since the city was first settled, this chapter shows the prerequisites for the different stages of development, their possible causes such as privatization, industrialization, migration, shrinking, suburbanization, urban reinvestment and planning, foreclosure, speculation and their mutual entanglement. Here, history is one element for understanding the emergence of the single-family home, its trajectory in the city's urban economy – from expansion to shrinking – its use-value, as well as its essential role in neighborhoods and communities throughout history until the present day.

In this chapter, maps about and mapping projects in Detroit play key roles as tools and mediums documenting the city's transformation as well as a projection of future and strategic planning in politics and community organizing. I contrast cartographic material with historical geographical maps as well as more recent maps.

Maps of cities have specific functions as instruments used to identify spatial and territorial issues. According to urban geographer Denis Cosgrove, maps and mapping techniques are "bearers of urban meaning" (2006, p. 148). Furthermore, maps serve as mediators for understanding and reading cities, regardless of whether they are used for orientation or as political tools to indicate relationships and territories. Möntmann (2004) rather sees maps as depictions of representative spaces that incorporate an authorial standpoint as political, religious and cultural elements. On the one hand, maps are helpful tools for understanding and navigating cities and identifying specific land-related issues such as vacancy or neighborhood development (Bekkering & Thomas, 2015). However, Newman & Safransky (2014) address that participatory acts of "Remapping the Motor City" local residents using their everyday knowledge and how they make use of their living environment have become helpful tools to reassessing a space. Apart from the usage and ownership of the physical space, maps in this participatory process have become tools of power for re-imaging and re-mapping "what a city can be as an urban, ecological, social and cultural space" (Newman & Safransky, 2014, p. 23). Cosgrove (2006) identifies maps as an intervention or process. As a subjective technique, mapping has the power to produce scale, points of reference, or categories, depending on the context in which the maps are produced. However, every map produces property lines while also omitting information:

> Cartography acts not merely to record the various ways that the city is materially present, but as creative intervention in urban space, shaping both the physical city and the urban life experienced and performed there. (Cosgrove, 2006, p. 148)

Mapping can clarify, conceal, or convince. This is why it has always been a complex tool for power, framing spatial relations of material space and their everyday use in a two or three dimensional grid.[21] Wildner & Tamayo (2004) describe mapping and maps as cartographic option tools for the cultural and social sciences. They view maps as potential interpretative instruments reflecting the inhabited space within which often floating everyday social, collective, cultural, and political practices are localized (Wildner & Tamayo, 2004). In the case of Detroit, mapping has a long history stretching back to its first fortifications, to redlining, to the city's division into urban districts and neighborhoods, its shrinking, and the politics of austerity. Here, maps have expanded, shaped, and transformed the uses of the city's urban space and its identity, i.e., as industrial city, shrinking city, or as design city. Part of my methodological approach is to analyze Detroit's archaeological maps, historical area maps, plat maps, zoning maps, land price development maps, future city maps, and Google Maps to understand the emergence, proliferation, and impact of single-family homes on the city.

3.1. The Origins of the Single-Family Home

This section describes the course of Detroit's historical trajectory from Indian territory to a colonized Fort that grew into a township. Detroit became the capital of the Territory of Michigan and eventually one of the most well-known industrial cities in the Western Hemisphere. More recently, it has become one of the United States' most hotly debated post-industrial regions. A territory long fought over for its natural resources such as the Great Lakes, wetlands, wildlife, and fish, Detroit's strategic location and infrastructural connections allowed it to develop into an influential metropolis.

Before the arrival of French and British colonizers in the seventeenth century, Native Americans had already settled along the Detroit River and on land that would later become the city of Detroit. According to the 2010 census, there are still about 30,000 American Indians residing in Detroit's metropolitan area (Herberg, 2017).

In the sixteenth century, the colonizers recognized the presence of the Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi, documenting their presence on territory maps and in letters. Also known as the

[21] For the most part leaving out sensory information such as sound, smell, and sight.

"Three Fires People," they are considered the first inhabitants of the Great Lake Region. Tribes such as the Wyandot, Iroquois, Fox (Meskwaki), Miami, Anishinaabe, and Sauk used Detroit's riverbanks to hunt and gather (Detroit Historical Society, 2019a).

Figure 3.0: Native American trails in Michigan, 1931, by Wilbert B. Hinsdale. Courtesy of University of Michigan.

Historian Paul Sewick (2016a) found a map by W.B. Hinsdale in an archaeological atlas of Michigan (Figure 3.0)[22] depicting Native American trails that have been preserved as modern roads and highways. Published in 1931, the goal of the atlas was to document and analyze archaeological features via traces such as field notes, narratives, and older maps in order to come to a better understanding about what he refers to as the "lines of Indian travel and transportation by both water and overland use" (Hinsdale, 1931, p. 5). Most contemporary highways run along trails the tribes followed for centuries (Hinsdale, 1931, p. 5).

[22] Hinsdale, a medical doctor by profession, had a lifelong interest in archaeology and was named the custodian in charge of the development of collections in Michigan Archaeology in 1922 (deBella, n.d.).

Figure 3.0 documents waterways, major roads and trails, townships, and villages. Detroit's borders are marked in grey. The bold squares represent the state of Michigan with its current division into counties: Lenawee, Monroe, Washtenaw, Wayne, Livingstone, Oakland, and Macomb. The black bold lines indicate the trails of the Indian population. The mapping suggests that different Native American tribes, such as the Saginaws and Potawatomis, inhabited what would later become Detroit territory. The majority of their trails ran alongside the river or from the riverbank in what is now Detroit's city center out towards the suburbs. Today, these trails are major access roads such as Woodward, Gratiot, and Grand River Avenue, and major highways such as I-94 or I-75. This map documents how historic trails have shaped the landscape in Detroit and how its 300 year old history remains present in the city today.[23]

As was true for many major American cities in the sixteenth century, Native tribes and their peoples lost their right to the land through trade agreements with white settlers, battles over resources, and territorial wars. In addition, they also lost land for hunting, gathering, and passing on their cultural traditions as Michigan's "white" population increased through migration – primarily through settlers fleeing Europe to seek a better future.

In 1701, French officer Antoine Laument de la Mother Cadillac founded Fort Pontchartrain du Détroit[24] as an outpost for the colony of New France (Bekkering & Liu, 2015). His colonization blocked English expansion and increased the fur trade with the Native American peoples. This initial settlement was located on the right bank of the Detroit River connecting Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie.

In an essay on early Detroit, Brian Leigh Dunnigan, associate director and curator of maps at the William L. Clemens Library at the University of Michigan, argues that the reason why the French established a settlement in the region was the potential it had for agriculture, fur trading, and lumber it offered (Dunnigan, 2015). The pre-existing waterways such as the Detroit River, Lake Erie, and Lake Michigan served as transportation lines to other settlements, colonies, and Canada, enabling the expansion and growth of trade nationwide.

3.1.1. From Colonial Fortification to Farming

Although Canadian traders and military garrisons were already withdrawn from this region, Cadillac argued in favor of establishing a settlement, i.e., a fortified outpost, on the Detroit River

[23] Paul Sewick traces urban history, especially settlement patterns, using maps, historical documents, and historical markers. To share his work and research, he started the blog Detroit Urbanism (http://detroiturbanism.blogspot.com) (Sewick, 2016a and b).

[24] The French word "le détroit" is translated into English "the strait."

(Dunnigan, 2015). He chose the high riverbank (from the Belle Isle Stretch to the Ambassador Bridge), the river's narrowest part, as the fort's position. According to Dunnigan, the river's proximity influenced the development of the land into plotted farm lots (Dunnigan, 2015).

Not only did Cadillac exert an influence on what later became the city of Detroit, he also influenced the ethical composition of its citizens, what Dunnigan (2015) refers to cultural assimilation. Namely, he invited Native American groups to establish their own villages under the influence of colonial officials and missionaries, while also encouraging French Canadian farmers to cultivate land in the colony.

Later, he granted plots of land around the fort to French farmers. Known as "ribbon farms," the granted farmland was free, but came with the requirement that settlers pay Cadillac an annual rent and a percentage of their crops. Ribbon farms were narrow in width – varying in size up to 200 feet, because of the guaranteed access to the Detroit River – and up to three miles long (Sewick, 2016b).

Figure 3.1: Detroit Ribbon Farms in 1796 by George Henri Victor Collot. Map detail by Alex B. Hill.

On the 1796 map (Figure 3.1), Georges Henri Victor Collot (1796), then a French military officer, drew Fort Détroit as a black square surrounded by unused land symbolized by trees. Adjacent to it, on the left and right shorelines of the Detroit River and Lake Erie, he drew rectangular ribbon farms adjacent to the fort. The numbers on the farm plots refer to the names of the owners, which were primarily French. Some of these names survive today as location references for plots and parcel identification numbers.

Native Americans and a steadily growing number of French Canadian farmers chose the area outside the fort because of its moderate climate and fertile soil. Through wars over land and agricultural activity, these early settlers determined and shaped settlement patterns in this arable area for single-family homes and traffic routes up to the present (Sewick, 2016b). Nevertheless, the kind of colony that the French settlers inhabited was not defined by raising cattle, for example, but rather as a supplier for trading outposts and the French military power (Fowler & Wright ,1972). The population within the fort was protected through outposts, with the river as its natural border. Protection was necessary in order to withstand Native American attacks and the later colonial conflicts. Between 1760 and 1796, Fort Détroit was controlled by Great Britain and later by the United States. The continual growth and expansion of what would become the town of Detroit resulted in a densely constructed living area in the center surrounded by fortifications.

In 1805, a fire burned down the entire town of Detroit. It was able to spread quickly because of the dense buildings and living conditions in the fort-like structure of the rather unorganized military outpost. The federal government in Washington DC appointed Augustus B. Woodward to draw up plans for further fortifications (Jackman, 2018). Woodward, the first Chief Justice of the Territory of Michigan, arrived just after the fire. He asked landowners and citizens not to rebuild their city immediately, but to wait for his proposal. He suggested a city plot dividing the land into triangles to prevent high density building (Jackman, 2018). However, the demand for land and working with land in the city was urgent. The fire had destroyed people's living quarters and they had nowhere to live. Under these circumstances, the city's ongoing growth threatened its future structure as well as citizens' well-being. As a result, only parts of his plan for the city center could be realized.

3.1.2. The Privatization of Land

Around the same time, in 1804, the first Detroit Land Office[25] was created by the United States Department of the Treasury to register land claims for public domains. There was not much documentation such as titles and deeds about the public land Cadillac had granted to farmers, even though it was more than just a rental deal. In 1805, Congress passed an act:

> [I]f you had a house and/or farm on a parcel of land before July 1, 1796, the U.S. Government would recognize your ownership and issue you a deed. (Sewick, 2016b)

As a public authority, Detroit already supported private investment through land occupation. This

[25] The Land Office was responsible for surveying, platting, and selling public land on behalf of the United States Department of the Treasury.

way of organizing land distribution shaped the city's structure and its later urban development. Detroit was granted township status in 1802. As one of the twelve colonies of the United States, Congress founded the Territory of Michigan and made Detroit its capital in 1805. Detroit was then incorporated as a city in 1815 (Detroit Historical Society, 2019b). The town outgrew its protection the fort like structure that protected it after the war of 1812 and, according to Dunnigan:

> [T]he army's continued occupation of valuable real estate contributed to the decision to abandon Fort Shelby [Fort Détroit was later renamed Fort Shelby] and open its site for urban development. (Dunnigan, 2015, p. 22)

When Congress established the Detroit Land Office, it took its first steps towards privatizing land for farmers who could prove their right to it by improving, working, or occupying it. An act authorized by Congress in 1807 declared that approved lands had to be surveyed. Commissioners like Aaron Greely reported land claims in the Detroit district between 1809 and 1810. Greely created the Map of Private Claims on the Territory of Michigan (Figure 3.2) in 1810, only three years after Congress passed the act. Although the map does not provide a scale, it documents the different private claims to land plots associated with ownership names and plot sizes. In comparison to Collot's earlier map (Figure 3.1), it appears that some of the ribbon farms – running north of the Detroit River towards the east and west sides of the city (Archivegrid, n.d.) – increased in size.

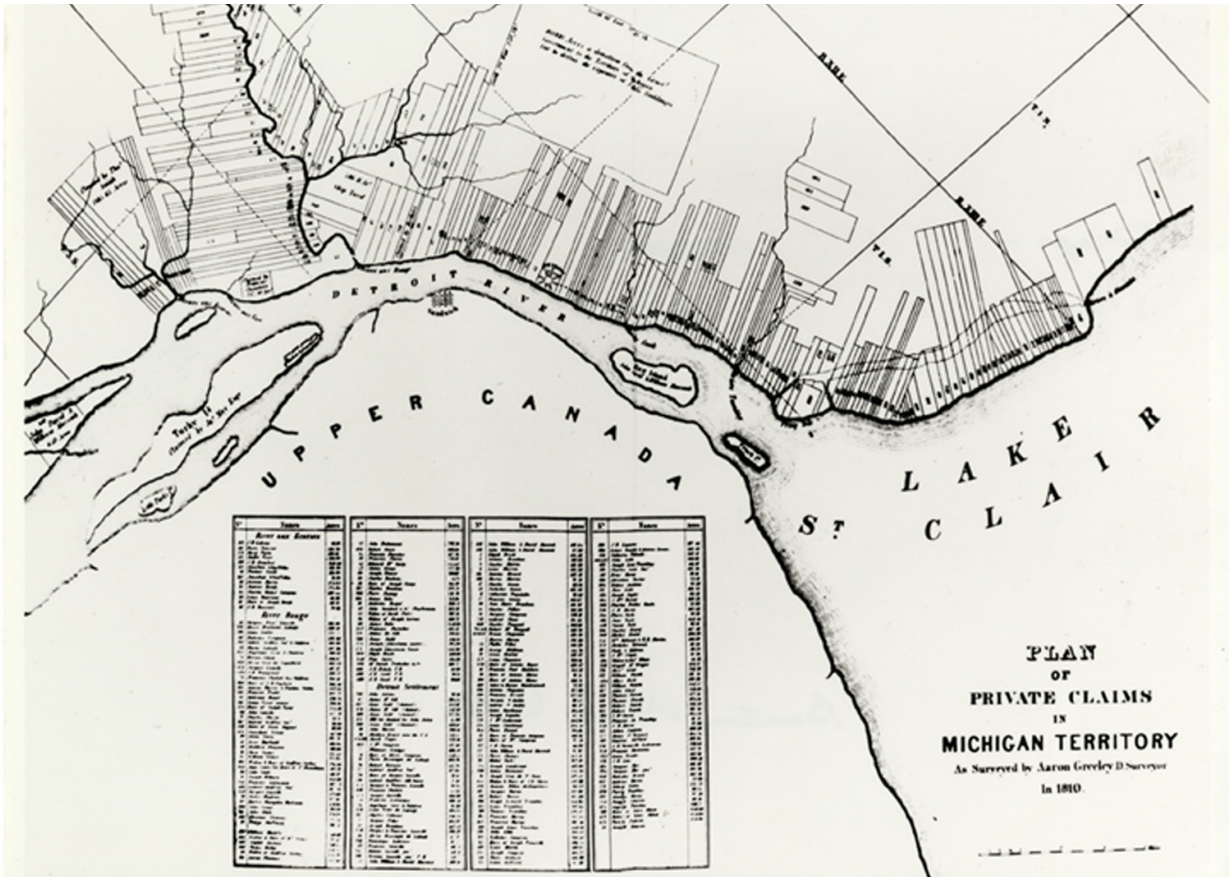


Figure 3.2: Plan of Private Claims in Michigan Territory in 1810 by Aaron Greely. Courtesy of University of Michigan.

The ribbon farms that Cadillac granted usually extended two to three miles inland with one narrow side accessing a waterway, in this case the Detroit River. The farms' layout allowed farmers to build a house at the end of the lot, which was economical as they could then live next to their workplace. Due to the narrowness of the lots, farmers were never too far from their neighbors, promoting community and exchange.

Figure 3.3: Details from McNiff´s 1796 Plan of the Settlements at Detroit layered over the city of Detroit grid of today. Courtesy of Detroit Historical Society and Google Maps.

On his history blog, Sewick (2016b) has studied the shape of the ribbon farms over time. He argues that the disparity of the farms' width caused the uniformity in the city's street grid today (Sewick, 2016b). He merged a Google Map of the streets today with an older ribbon farm settlement plan from 1796 (Figure 3.3). Comparing plat maps of Detroit from the eighteenth century to the

present, it is clear how the establishment of the ribbon farm parcels controlled the course of some streets and, ultimately, the settlement of people and houses in Detroit. For instance, some ribbon farm parcels still survive as street units with the original or slightly altered name of the ribbon farm. These streets tend to run perpendicular to the Detroit River. Moran Street, where FILTER Detroit is located,[26] is named after the owner of the ribbon farms (Figure 3.3). Moran was the name of the grantee or, rather, the farmer to whom Cadillac assigned the farmland in the early eighteenth century.

Former ribbon farmers became developers and divided their land into lots with streets and alleys. The lots were sold privately, though farmers would subdivide their land in sections and not sell them all at the same time. Thus subdivision came to exist and for about 30 years which were primarily privately-owned were plotted out in a grid system adjacent to the city center, located on the borders of the former ribbon farms and sold off to private landowners:

> In the absence of a plan to tame Detroit's growth, the city retained its old obstacles and grew by accretion. (Jackmann, 2018)

Due to the privatization of land and its development into living quarters, sprawling Detroit had hardly any public land. In 1826, the federal government donated the land of former Fort Shelby to the city, making it possible for citizens living in the old part of Detroit, i.e., the fort, to secure land titles (Sewick,2016b). "Every adult citizen of the town received a lot on the new plan" (Sewick, 2016b), which was divided into park lots leading alongside Woodward Avenue to what now is known as Midtown. As a continuation of the park lots, the federal government also donated the Ten Thousand Acres Tract to the Territory of Michigan with the intention that it be sold off to builders of private homes so that the city could build a courthouse and jail with the revenue. Even after three public auctions in 1818, about three quarters had still not been sold and were then deeded to Thomas Palmer, one of the contractors, to build a jailhouse (Sewick, 2016b; Bekkering & Liu, 2015).

The professional organization and administration that made public land private sparked a process establishing forms of ownership and individual responsibility and attaching economic value to the land, giving it a trade value and eventually a place on the real estate market place. This was especially true for the ribbon farmers, who had originally been assigned land in order to transform it into parcels for economic investment. The parceling of land in Detroit began as the village turned into a city. Farming within the city limits became less attractive with the

[26] Today, Moran Street starts at Conant Minnesota Ground Park in the northeast and runs about five miles, interrupted by the GM Hamtramck Detroit Assembly, and ending at Mount Elliot Cemetery close to the banks of Detroit River.

growth of the population, its needs for housing, and the (infra)structural changes brought about by industrialization.

Figure 3.4 shows the parceling of the rectangular Ten Thousand Acres Map north of the original city, close to the north of the current city, divided into sixty quarter sections. Each section represents one quarter of a square mile. Architects and urban designers Yanjia Liu and Henco Bekkering (2015) analyzed the urban morphology of Detroit's landscape and found that the Ten Thousand Acres Grid adapted the orientation of the ribbon farms as originally established and remained within the city limits. Parcel No. 20 represents the corner of today's Davison Highway and Conant Street.[27] This parcel is now part of the northeast corner of Campau/Banglatown.

Figure 3.4: Surveyed part of the Territory of Michigan by Risdon with the Ten Thousand Acre Map, 1825. Courtesy of Wayne State University Press.

The map in Figure 3.4 is from the time when Detroit became a township and capital of the Territory of Michigan (1805 to 1847). The Detroit River can be seen as a dividing line and the point of origin where Fort Shelby stands. The vertical juxtaposition of the ribbon farms dictates the direction of the city's growth. The parcels of the Ten Thousand Acres Tract are aligned accordingly. These were then integrated into the Jefferson Grid, the public land survey system.

[27] To trace history in fixed places, Bekkering & Liu (2015) superimposed the structure of the Ten Thousand Acre Act on a map of Detroit from 1968. They identified Tireman Avenue/West Grand Boulevard to the south, Conant Avenue to the east, the railroad track north of Oakman Boulevard to the north, and Ironwood Avenue and Nardin Avenue to the west as borderlines to the ribbon farms pattern and the Jefferson Grid. Yet more proof of how mapping has shaped the character of an area through the present.

As a form, the grid, which is used more commonly in urban settlements in the US, underlines its material presence since its shape and presentation equalize space, are infinitely extendable, and reduce each point to a coordinate (Mumford, 2014). Architect Eric Mumford (2014)[28] argues that the growth of Detroit over a typical American town grid allowed for planning extensive land consumption through single-family and two-family home plots, thereby expanding the cities' boundaries. Alex Hill (2015) summarizes the different concepts of city development at play from the city's establishment as a Fort to the Ten Thousand Acres Tract as a clash of land division systems, where old French long lots meet up with Judge Woodward's Ten Thousand Acre Tract and are filled in all around with the U.S. Public Land Survey System (Hill, 2015).

These cartographic materials and historical sources document that colonialization via European settlement as well as public-private spatial administration of land use have served as the foundations for Detroit's widespread and dense growth as a city of single-family homes. Early settlement structures allowed neighborhoods to flourish and establish community and commercial areas while also allowing established famers and other private developers to invest in and develop the land.

3.2. Single-Family Homes in an Industrial City

Constructed in 1825 and extending from the Hudson River in New York City to Lake Erie east of Detroit, the Erie Canal represented a turning point for the state of Michigan and especially the urbanization of Detroit. Lots close to the water became attractive to the growing number of citizens, especially first wave immigrants from Germany looking to settle (Detroit Historical Society, 2019c). In this regard America became a land of glittering opportunity to Europeans oppressed by poverty and misrule (Fowler & Wright, 1972). Moreover, the revolution in forms of transportation, including the railroad, was the final element that supported the ongoing westward influx of millions of migrants and settlers from New England and New York, accelerating the search for fresh land and making Michigan the fastest growing American territory in the 1830s, but also an industrial destination through trade and manufacturing (Detroit Historical Society, 2019e).

3.2.1. Early Industrialization

After the Civil War (1861-1865) and during the Industrial Revolution, Detroit grew exponentially in size due to the expansion of roads and the building of railroad tracks in the region as well as an increase in steamship traffic. Centrally located on the Canada border as well as the Detroit

[28] Mumford (2014) traced different forms of Metropolitan North America, e.g. analyzing the Detroit CIAM (International Congress of Modern Architecture) maps and emphasizing rapid city development in accordance with its industrial territories.

River, which connects the Great Lakes, namely Lake St. Clair to Lake Erie, it connected the booming regional steel and iron industries through waterways and railways, helping to expand them. This area encompassed the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, West Virginia, and Illinois and was referred to alternately as the Manufacturing Belt, the Factory Belt, and the Steel Belt (Meyer, 1989). This infrastructural connection also paved the way to the establishment of a variety of product industries in the area around Detroit, which were connected to the larger infrastructural network of the Upper Peninsula in Michigan and neighboring Canada, and through freight transportation by ship towards the East Coast and by rail to the Midwest.

As a river settlement, Detroit had already established industrial trade through shipping prior to industrialization. Railroad traffic did not only connect the main trading posts and harbors, it also allowed traffic and trade to spread throughout Michigan and upwards into Canada. Before the territory became a state in the 1830s, the Detroit and Pontiac Railway was founded, reaching Pontiac in 1843, followed by tracks to Chicago, Milwaukee, and other centers in the region (Detroit Historical Society, 2019d). The railway not only served as a means of transportation for manufactured goods, but most of all for human traffic as well.[29]

Detroit had a diverse manufacturing industry between 1860 and 1900. It did not start off with monocultural automobile production, but instead had a variety of what were referred to as "Bulk Product Industries," such as iron, steel, salt, chemicals and wood (Hyde, 2001). From the 1870s to 1910s, Detroit manufactured large numbers of railroad freight cars and Great Lake ships. The city also produced heating and cooking stoves, cigars and tobacco, pharmaceuticals, and foundry and machine shop products (Detroit Historical Society, 2019d). As industrialization took hold, Detroit's territorial expansion was characterized by the growth of industrial productions sites in the city as well as the need for housing for people who worked in these industries and factories.[30]

The Figure 3.5 documents the directions into which the city expanded between 1917 and 1921 as the Michigan Railway Lines were constructed, i.e., towards larger industrial producers located close to railroad stops and crossings, as in the case of Hamtramck and Dearborn, as well as orientated towards the water side, and the major trade trails leading outside the city to the east and west. Rail crossings and stations were especially helpful to the growth and development

[29] During and after the Civil War, Detroit became part of the Underground Railway operated by churches and non-governmental institutions. For about three decades, the city became a waystation en route to Canada. Due to this passageway, there were also opportunities and spaces for African American settlement early on before automotive manufacturing brought more African Americans from the South to live and work in Detroit.

[30] In 1880, Detroit's had a population of 116,342. In 1890, the population had almost doubled, reaching 205,876 (Hyde, 2001).

of certain areas of the city where citizens lived and worked. The area that is now Campau/ Banglatown was surrounded by three different railroad lines with major junctions (Ford Junction, Belt Line Junction, and North Detroit).

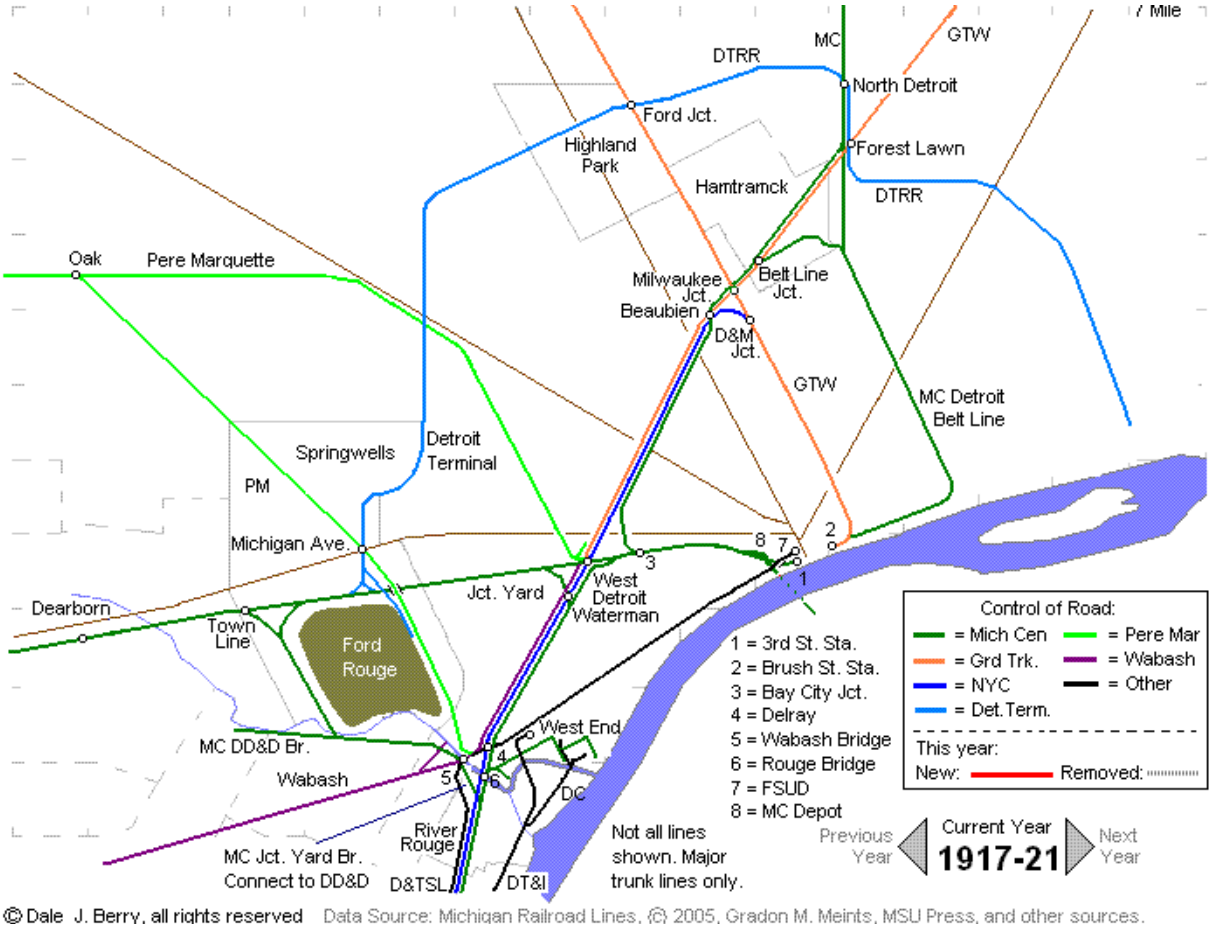


Figure 3.5: Evolution of Michigan Railroads – Detroit – 1917 to 1919 by Barry Dale.

Industrialization shaped Detroit's pre-existing landscape, including its villages, ethnic neighborhoods, and more rural areas, into a working class environment. Pre-existing urban structures supported the influx of migrants and the expansion of infrastructural connections to other states and Canada by ship and rail (Martin, 1993; Zunz, 1982; Hyde, 2001)

3.2.2 The Auto Industry

It was not long before Detroit had transformed from a Midwestern commercial and industrial center producing stoves, cigars, and other items, into a predominantly monocultural industrial landscape. The expansion of the city's railway lines not only enabled (supra-)regional freight and passenger transport, it also determined which areas of Detroit would become residential and commercial. The automobile industry made use of the pre-existing water and railways, starting with Henry Ford's attempts in 1898 to establish automobile companies in Detroit[31] and

[31] After several unsuccessful attempts to establish an automobile company in Detroit, Henry Ford moved Ford Motor

the simultaneous development of car manufacturing plants by Cadillac (1902), Dodge (1915), Chrysler (1925), and GM (1908 in Flint, Michigan). Analyzing the effect of the rising automobile industry on development, Bekkering & Liu (2015) state that with its beginning (1910), many small privately owned workshops dispersed all over the city, supplying the larger factories as subcontractor.

However, technological advances altered the form of industrial production and land use in Detroit. After the First World War, Henry Ford introduced Fordism to the automotive industry as both a spatial model and cost and time effective production form, enabling the mass production of automobiles in large industrial plants. Production was divided into several steps, each performed by a different worker[32]. The different auto parts were combined on an assembly line, allowing for faster production, but also demanding larger spaces because the process incorporated individual workspaces. As a result, the growing automotive industry triggered an industrial construction boom of large factories within the city limits, some of which were designed by German-born architect Albert Kahn (Bekkering & Liu, 2015). According to historian Elizabeth Anne Martin (1993, p. 4), 3,000 manufacturing plants, 37 automobile plants, and 250 automobile accessory plants were dispersed across the city in 1925. This spatial distribution – especially the spatial relationship between residential and industrial neighborhoods – was altered by how the larger automobile factories organized work (Hyde, 2001). Inner-city industrial manufacturing plants moved closer to where production workers had already settled or established neighborhoods were relocated. Consequently, the location and production cycles of the assembly plants and the supply industry influenced the spatial development of Detroit's neighborhoods. At this time, people chose to live close to where they worked and Detroit became even more attractive to live in. The city's population grew from 116,340 inhabitants in 1880 to 993,678 inhabitants in 1920 (Zunz, 1982, p. 3).

The location of the former main automotive manufacturing plants and suppliers on the map in Figure 3.6 show that the industrial production sites were located next to and within pre-established neighborhoods in the center of the city. Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck, for example, were located close to the Chrysler and Dodge plant.

Company to the Detroit suburb of Dearborn in 1910.

[32] Workers on an automobile assembly line did not need extensive training. Most jobs could be performed by unskilled laborers.

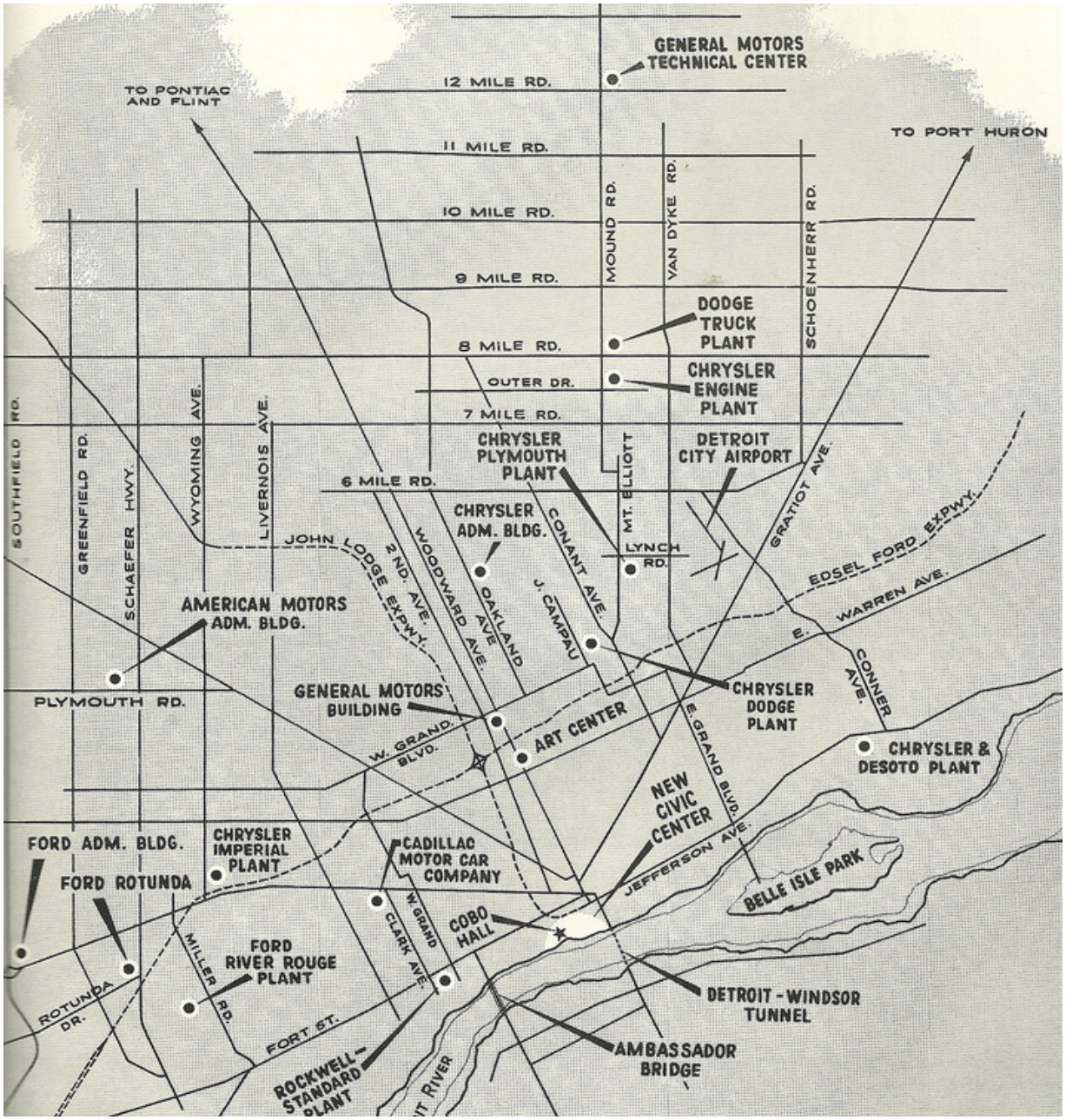


Figure 3.6: Map of Detroit Auto Industry, 1960. Map detail by Alex B. Hill.

By 1924, the "Big Three" automakers (General Motors, Chrysler and Ford) were all headquartered in Detroit. During the Great Depression, Detroit´s employment landscape was characterized by layoffs and the automobile industry´s slow growth. Just a few years later, during the Second World War, the city's automobile manufacturing sites were converted into the country's largest production site for tanks, jeeps, and bombers, seizing the opportunity to stay in business. Car production was put on hold and Detroit's industrial infrastructure became known as "The Arsenal of Democracy" because it produced most of the weapons supporting the European Allies at war with Germany (Sugrue, 1996).

Despite the draft, the city's industries still had to accommodate newly arrived workers as well as organize war shipments to Europe. During this time, African Americans continued to migrate

from the South of the United States to Detroit. About 350,000 people arrived in the city, attracted by wages that would allow them to buy homes. This second wave of "in-migration" of African Americans was fueled by economic hardships and ongoing racism in the South (Sugrue, 1996).

Living in a city that dedicated its land use to the production of automobiles meant that many people who worked in the industry could soon buy cars, making it possible to reach the sprawling multitude of single-family homes in neighborhoods far from the center. The automobile industry shaped what urban historian Clemens Zimmermann (2013) calls the "Urban Gestalt". In a Motor City like Detroit, the industry was not only interconnected to questions of urban mobility, it influenced city´s development and design of the city. Traffic increased as the population grew and the old main routes became congested with cars on a daily basis. Population growth and the demands of transporting goods from manufacturers directly outside the city accelerated the building of an inner-city highway.

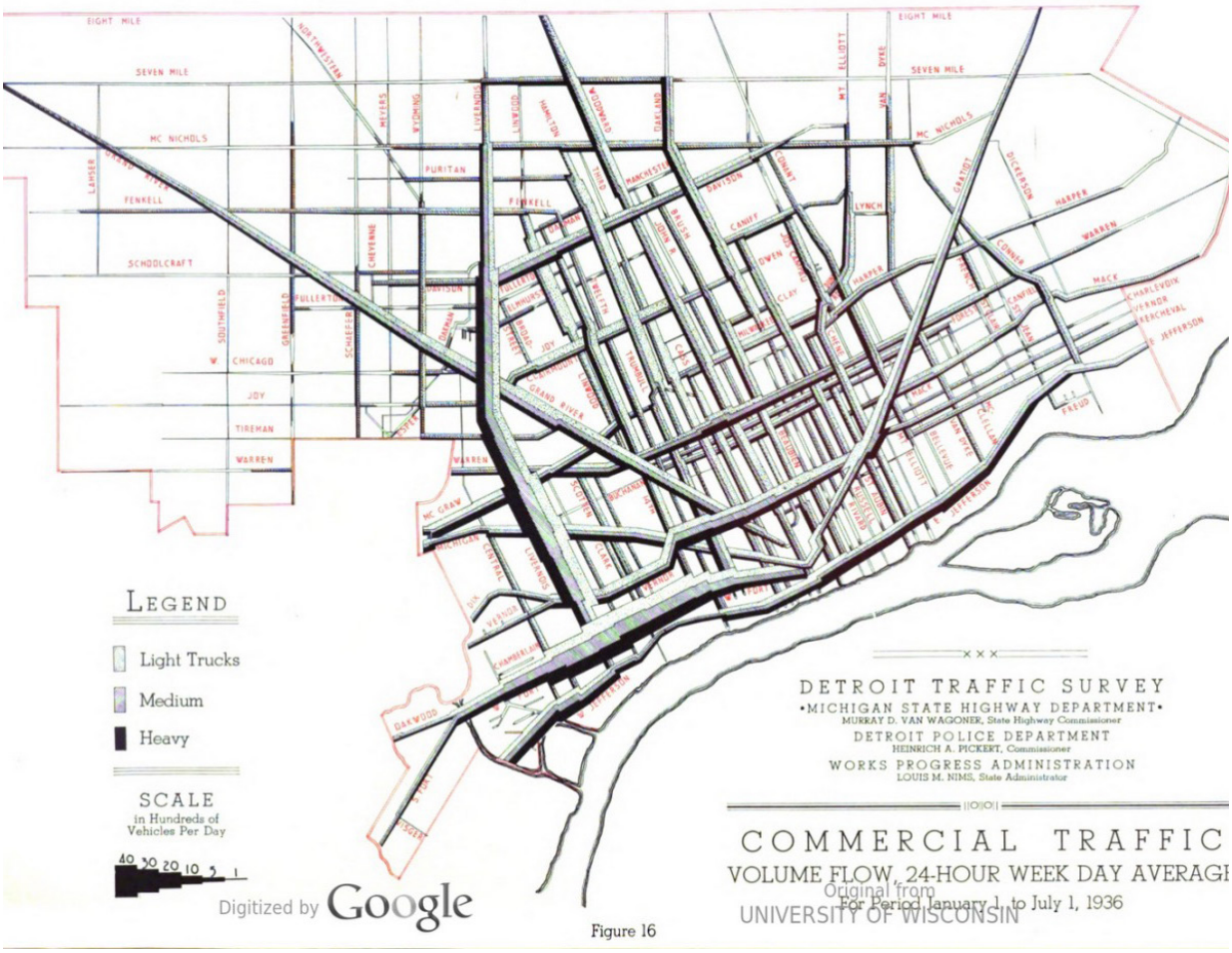


Figure 3.7: Detroit Commerical Traffic Survey, 1936. Courtesy of University of Wisconsin.

The Commercial Traffic survey in Figure 3.7 shows how congested the streets in the different neighborhoods were in 1936. Industry-related traffic flooded neighborhoods. The area between Conant, Davison, and Caniff (today's Campau/Banglatown neighborhood) was fenced off on all sides by commercial traffic. Comparing Figure 3.7 with Figure 3.6, it is clear that the automobile

manufacturing plants did not have much space to expand, located as they were within a street grid with different neighborhoods on all sides.

In 1942, one of the first inner-city roads, Davison Avenue, connecting Highland Park with Detroit, was converted to M-8, or the six-lane Davison County Road, and later renamed Davison Freeway (Detroit Historical Society, 2019f). This freeway was one of the earliest freeways built into the urban fabric of a US city. Oakland Avenue was the last exit on Davison, only 1.5 miles away from what is now Campau/Banglatown. Connected to the new Interstate (I-75) and Chrysler Highway (M-10), the Davison Freeway was extended in 1968 to Conant Street (Besster, 2022). The corner of Davison and Conant Street now represents the northwest border of Campau/Banglatown and is still a very important gateway to the city center and northern suburbs today.

Detroit was favorable to the settlement of several car manufacturing plants and their supply industries in its city center thanks to its excellent railway connections and waterway access. Fordism established automobiles as a mass product worldwide. The growth of mass production within the city impacted the city as a whole. When the working class, whose labor spurred the industry, could afford single-family homes, homeownership became the dominant economic model for city life. Becoming a homeowner was a side effect of the economic boom and improved worker's mobility, which resulted in a lasting change in the city's land use. Initially, living and working districts located next to each other resulted from earlier settlement patterns and the location of the car factories. The city's population grew rapidly in numbers and sprawled outwards, expanding ethnic neighborhoods within city limits and beyond thanks to the increased mobility. However, the cultural diversity (of society) in Detroit continued to grow at the same time because of migration spurred on by the pursuit of available (industrial) labor and the chances of upward mobility in the twentieth century.

3.3 Single-Family Homes in a Multi-Ethnic City

Migration of different ethnic groups to Detroit has taken place in various forms, whether under the umbrella of colonialization, segregation, global wars or economic failure in other regions of the world or in the US. The ethnic influence on city life, whether through foreign food cultures, traditions, or homeownership structures and community life styles, has contributed to the formation of ethnic group identities and is still visible in different neighborhoods around Detroit. According to Buckel (2014) migration is a basic structural condition of city life.

In this section I show how migration as a resource (Buckel, 2014) and migrants as multiscalar participants (Çaglar & Glick Schiller, 2018) in city-making have influenced neighborhoods and housing in Detroit. In the late eighteenth century, Detroit had already become a multi-ethnic

city shaped by a majority of European settlers who lived within their ethnic communities and formed different neighborhoods such as Corktown, Greektown, Germantown, and Poletown. The Homestead Acts[33] also benefited newly arrived migrants, allowing them to claim land for living and working. The neighborhoods were often named according to the origin of their inhabitants. Before and during industrialization, the neighborhoods differed from each other in distinct land uses such as farming, residential, manufacturing, and commercial use. These distinctions must be seen in relation to the ethnic compositions of the neighborhood communities and the extent to which the city chose to invest in developing infrastructure. This was especially true of Detroit's East Side, whose first settlements were formed by immigrant groups, and which developed from farming into working class neighborhoods during industrialization.

In this section the focus is on the settlement practices of three influential immigrant groups, the German in Norris/ North Detroit; the Polish in Hamtramck and the African American in Black Bottom / Paradise Valley. Their settlement has shaped Detroit's east side neighborhoods before and during industrialization. It shows how their placemaking practices in regards to single-family housing has influenced these neighborhoods in the context of their ethnic communities. In reference to Flood & Raedelli (2016) and Zunz (1982), I consider place making an activity that draws on local cultural and social assets to build a stronger community.

3.3.1. The German Settlement

German immigrants were one westward expanding ethnic group that contributed largely to the development of eighteenth century Michigan culture. The driving forces behind German migration towards Michigan depend on where they were coming from as well as the economic and political conditions of those places, including religion, climate, crop failures, overpopulation, and land scarcity (Kilar, 2002).[34] Today, Germans make up the largest ancestral group in Michigan (Kilar, 2002). Most German immigrants were probably skilled laborers, craftsmen, or farmers, but they also found work as unskilled laborers in the factories (Kilar, 2002). They resided in large communities on the city's East Side (east of Woodward) along Gratiot Avenue around the 1880s, where they built small frame houses.

To save up for or build a house, German immigrants, like all newcomers, worked with both family and the ethnic community. Homeownership led to what social historian Oliver Zunz calls a "cultural attitude" about organizing and perpetuating group identity, which was usually

[33] The acts made it possible for any citizen to settle on an unsettled piece of land in the US.

[34] In 1834, toll free borders between German provinces allowed larger numbers of Germans to embark on boats to America from major port cities such as Hamburg and Bremen to America. They would then arrive in New York before typically making their way by boat towards the west on the Great Lakes (Kilar, 2002).

organized around the neighborhood and the church (Zunz, 1982, p. 5). Most working class immigrants, including 55% of Germans, owned their own homes (Zunz, 1982, p. 5). Kilar adds that next to Saginaw, Detroit had the highest percentage of German-owned single-family houses nationwide, more than any other ethnic group (Kilar, 2002):

> Home ownership was a way of organizing and perpetuating group identity around the neighborhood and the church. (Kilar, 2002, p. 26)

Not only was homeownership manifesting an ethnic communities' identity in space, but also as way for them to attain security and stability (Kilar, 2002).

One example of a German settlement was Norris (renamed North Detroit in 1890), which was located east of what is now Hamtramck between 6 and 7 Mile Road, Mound Road, and Van Dyk Road (Svoboda, 2008). It was founded in 1873 by prominent real estate businessman Colonel Philetus W. Norris, who bought the area in 1865. After the Civil War, as part of a federal contract, he was appointed land trustee and charged with managing the unsettled land and developing it at first with building a plank road to Detroit´s city center and later by recruiting for the railroad (Sewick, 2021). Norris, the farming town could prosper because of the Detroit-Bay City Rail Road Station villages, which Norris donated as part of a real estate deal (Scott, 2001). This important infrastructural connection attracted business such as a blacksmith and a sawmill. Norris was once known as a buzzing center of commerce and contributed to the spatial development of the entire area, including Hamtramck to the east and Highland Park to the west.

The yellow area in the north of the 1894 map of Hamtramck Township (Figure 3.8) marks the location of North Detroit. The village definitely had a concentration of Germans. In Figure 3.8, German surnames such as Ortman and Waterman appear as owners of farmland and other properties. The map area also shows the fragmentation of the farmland into living quarters divided into block grids of single-family homes and industrial sites.

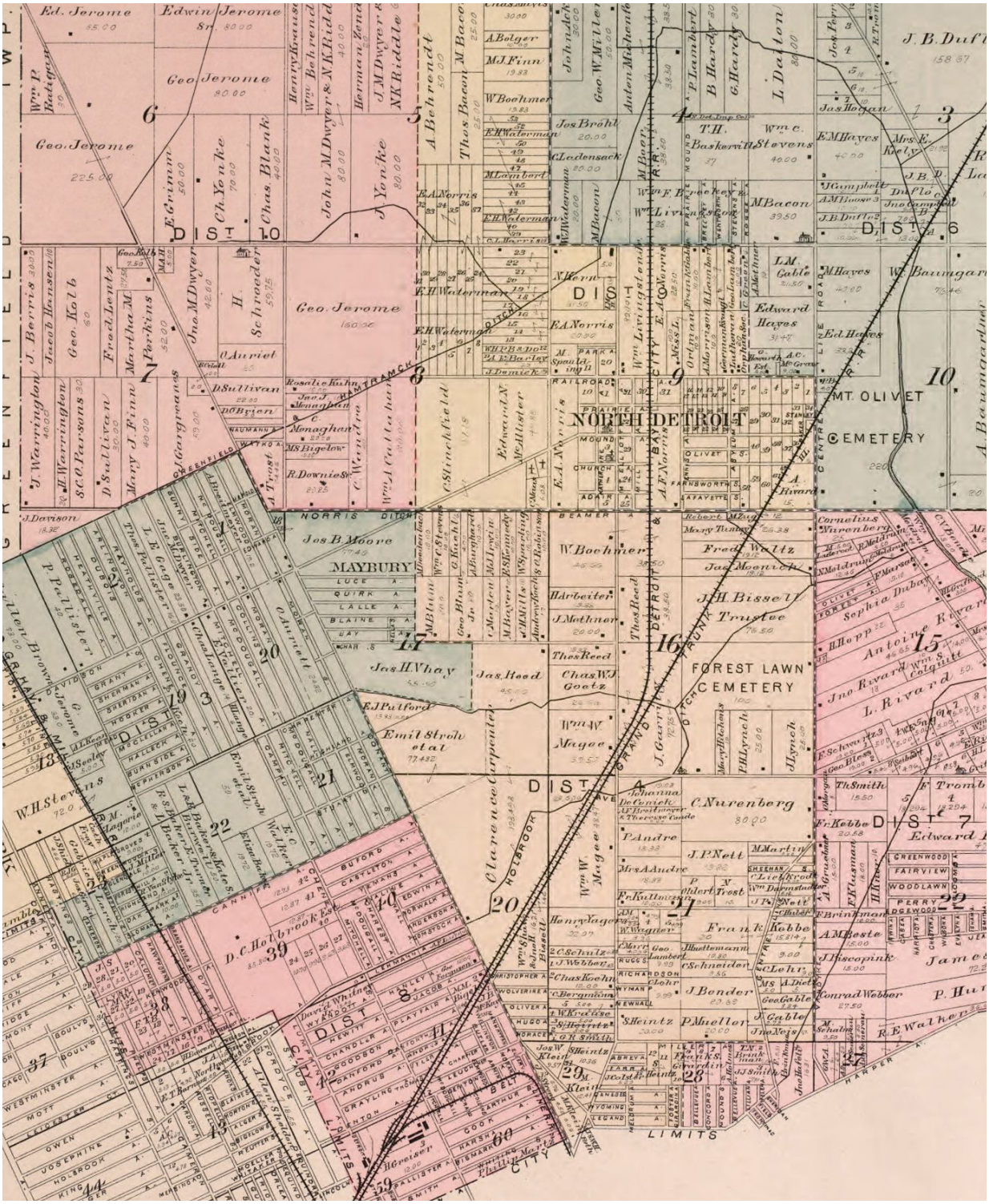


Figure 3.8: Deatil of Hamtramck Township, 1893. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

In the 1920s, the German community became more geographically dispersed. Zunz (1982) considers industrialization as having undermined the possibility for upward mobility within ethnic communities as social class became more important: to him, space formerly used by self-sufficient ethnic communities was reallocated to specialized uses such as for industry (Zunz, 1982). These designated spaces – such as industrial corridors alongside living quarters and commercial areas – shaped the further development of the adjacent neighborhoods. But at the same time, the process of urbanization through the city's growth fragmented the German ethnic community and encouraged assimilation (Kilar, 2002). Some people were able to take advantage

of the flourishing economy and leave their original communities, escaping the industrial quarters for the sprawling suburbs or other parts of the city.

This process of fragmentation can be compared to Polish and Polish American immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s and, more recently, the Bangladeshi immigrant community. The increase of social and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984,1986) over time creates upward mobility and, consequently, immigrants begin moving to more prestigious suburban neighborhoods. The Germans moved north outside the city districts to blend in with other immigrants. This dynamic of spatial and social movement of entire communities resulted from what Zunz (1982) calls socio-spatial transformation. This caused structural changes in the landscapes of industrial and post-industrial Detroit.

3.3.2. The Polish Settlement

German farmers, the wave of immigrants arriving in the 1820s, first settled in the township of Hamtramck, just outside Detroit (Scott, 2001). Hamtramck was named after Canadian officer John Francis Hamtramck, who forced the British troops to surrender the land of Detroit. Founded in 1798 as the Township of Hamtramck, it is one of Michigan's oldest communities. Compared to the size of much smaller contemporary Hamtramck, it initially stretched from the Detroit River to 8 Mile and from Woodward Avenue to Grosse Point. Hamtramck was originally known as Kraft and consisted primarily of farmland. The village of Hamtramck was officially founded in 1901 (Kowalski, 2010). According to historical sources, some German shopkeepers and saloon owners saw potential in the village having two crossing railroads to the south. At this time, the townships around Detroit were slowly being eaten up by annexation to the city of Detroit, however, a change to Michigan's constitution in 1908 created the Home Rule Cities Act, preventing Hamtramck and the neighboring township Highland Park from being annexed (WDET, 2014).

Wayne County was divided into 21 townships during the process of annexation (Scott, 2001, p. 7). Detroit annexed a few of these villages until the period of annexation ended in 1926:

> What remained of Hamtramck Township was absorbed piece by piece by the city of Detroit, which eventually completely surrounded Hamtramck, leaving it a little independent island. (Kowalski, 2010, p. 9)

Described as a peaceful German American farming community in the 1900s with a population of about 500, Hamtramck soon grew into a manufacturing town for the auto industry (City of Hamtramck, 2021a). In 1910, the Dodge brothers opened their auto factory there, helping to transform the burgeoning city by replacing pastures with paved streets and necessary infrastructure

improvements such as schools, churches, and houses, which then led to the formation of Hamtramck as a city in 1922 (Kowalski, 2010).

The first Polish immigrants settled in Hamtramck in the 1850s. By 1925, the majority of Hamtramck's population was of Polish descent. With a total of 2.1 square miles of land and surrounded by Detroit and Highland Park, Hamtramck soon became financially and politically independent from the city. Within a decade, the population size more than tenfold from about 3,500 to 48,000 and reached its peak of 56,000 residents in 1930 (Kowalski, 2010, p. 9).

In addition to providing work, people in Hamtramck could also live right next to their workplaces and had the opportunity to engage both socially and culturally with their community as the city industrialized. Automotive manufactures built their supply and manufacturing plants in and around Hamtramck and Highland Park (Packard Plant, American Axle, GM, Ford and Sears). Recently arrived immigrants usually found unskilled work in the industrial plants and moved to centrally-located Hamtramck. Despite the economic crises of the First World War and leading up the Second World War, Hamtramck's local community maintained cultural and social life in schools and churches in the nearby area (Zunz, 1982).

Multiple generations of families built and inhabited single and two-family homes. The rate of homeownership among German and Polish immigrants was higher than any other immigrant group in Detroit (Zunz, 1982). In the newly founded areas of the Polish neighborhoods, which usually consisted of multifamily dwellings[35], the economic model typically involved a homeowner living on one floor and renting out the other floor to another family. In his researching into the operations of the housing market in the 1920s, Zunz (1982, p. 175) concludes that the newly developed sections of Detroit's German and Polish neighborhoods were economically uninteresting for real estate professionals because of "informal procedures" of building. He refers to the German and Polish community as one of "builder-owners" because residents tended to own their homes without debt and build them with their own hands[36]: "Building a home was a neighborhood business, a community affair" (Zunz,1982, p. 171).

An informal real estate system predominated in these neighborhoods (Zunz, 1982, p. 171). Consequently, the real estate industry did not want to invest in businesses in Hamtramck and its adjacent neighborhoods or assist in "building cheap" homes (Zunz, 1982, p. 175). In an area

[35] Multifamily dwellings in Hamtramck were usually two-family homes where the homeowner lived in one of the house´s two apartments.

[36] According to Zunz (1982), public infrastructures such as plumbing, electricity, and traffic regulation were only developed later with the expansion of the neighborhood.

surrounded by industrial production sites, the profit margin to build and sell a house was too low and, at the same time, the primarily working class builders of homes were not interested in taking out loans from property developers or banks (Zunz 1982). Instead, they relied on community support and local resources from trades such as carpentry, their families, and their own labor to avoid falling into debt. Social infrastructures such as churches and schools were built and cared for by the residents of the communities themselves. However, the city of Detroit adapted to these growing, self-built neighborhoods. Little by little, the city provided necessities such as water, sewers, and electricity (Zunz, 1982).

Newly arrived citizens invested both economically and emotionally in their community, practices which made these working class neighborhoods financially independent. While making them more resilient towards outside influences, this sharing of trades and resources also enabled residents to obtain ownership of homes along with security and stability, transforming inequality into an advantage (Zunz, 1982).

According to Scott (2001), whose research focuses on the geographical boundaries and populations of Detroit's early villages and townships, there was a migratory pattern wherein Polish settlers would follow Germans as they moved northward. This pattern of movement, whose cause Zunz (1982) identifies as upward social mobility, was not only true of Polish and German American immigrants in Hamtramck. More recently, this trend can be observed in the movement of the Bangladeshi American population, which began arriving in Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown in the 1990s and whose more established members, such as business owners, have moved to Detroit's northern suburbs such as Canton or Sterling Heights, seeking better schools or more prestigious living circumstances (G. Kowalski, personal communication, March 9, 2018). Local historian Greg Kowalski describes Hamtramck as a constantly evolving community thanks to its diverse ethnical composition and its opportunities to work and life nearby (G. Kowalski, personal communication, March 9, 2018).

3.3.3. The African American Settlement

The first wave of African Americans arriving in Detroit settled in newer or newly developed areas east of Woodward Avenue. During the Great Migration[37] of 1916 to 1929 many African American families moved from the South to the growing industrialized cities of the North and in large numbers to Detroit. Between 1900 and 1950, the population of Detroit grew from about 280,000 to over 1.8 million and Detroit's African American population doubled between 1940 and 1950 (Sugrue, 1996, p. 23).

[37] During industrialization, from 1916 until the 1970s, African Americans moved north, escaping poor economic conditions and continued discrimination. The Great Migration refers to the act of migration of mostly African American people from rural areas in the South to more urban and industrial areas in the Northeast, Midwest and West of the States.

Among other major auto manufacturers during World War I, Henry Ford was the most welcoming employer of African American migrants from the South. Even though most African Americans did not find immediate employment in the auto industry, they held jobs in the service sector or more dangerous positions in foundries and furnace rooms (Sugrue, 1996). Finding decent housing conditions, however, was harder. White neighborhood covenants and continuous segregation among immigrants made it difficult for them to engage in a settlement process the way European immigrants had done (Sugrue, 1996). Unlike the preceding German and Polish populations, they were unable to live close to their factory jobs. Instead, they were forced to live on Detroit's East Side, then known as the St. Antoine Street District. This was not a homogenous neighborhood, but was shared until the 1920s by newly arriving immigrants from Italy, Greek, and Russia (Martin, 1993).

The most well-known predominantly African American neighborhoods at the time were known as Black Bottom and Paradise Valley. These were two older, densely packed neighborhoods close to the city center, which had been built by European settlers in the 1800s (Sugrue, 1996). Housing conditions in these neighborhoods were poor. Most three to four family dwellings in here were rentals and homeownership was marginal among African Americans (Zunz, 1982). The private sector's discrimination against African American communities and the city's rapid growth as an industrial center after World War II thanks to returning GIs and baby boomer families, contributed to a housing shortage. The African American population had to share the already populated areas where they lived with newly arriving migrants (Sugrue,1996).

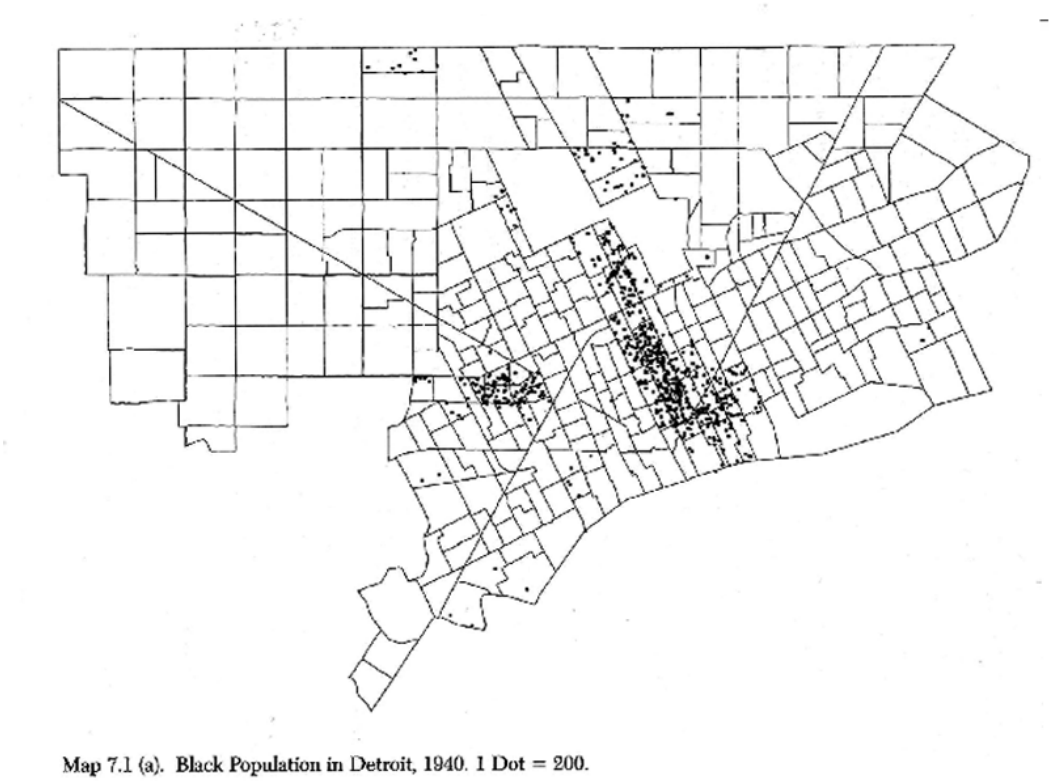
Zunz (1982, p. 373) describes the climate of the era as competitive, with whites fighting African Americans over jobs and housing. Tensions among the different ethnic groups caused, among other things, the three day long Race Riot of 1943.[38]
Black Bottom was a predominantly Black-owned business district and the entertainment center for African Americans. It was located east of downtown and first settled by Jewish and German farmers, who moved further north as industrialization began. Living conditions in Black Bottom were squalid and rats infested most homes. Paradise Valley had the oldest dwellings in Detroit, which officials classified as substandard (Zunz, 1982). Still, Black Bottom and especially Paradise Valley were culturally thriving communities as well as business and entertainment districts for mostly Black entertainment.

Urban renewal programs and the construction of freeways in the 1960s disrupted life in Paradise Valley and Black Bottom. Urban redevelopment often meant African Americans were relocated

[38] Federal Troops were called into the city to establish control, which led to the destruction of Paradise Valley in particular (Zunz, 1982).

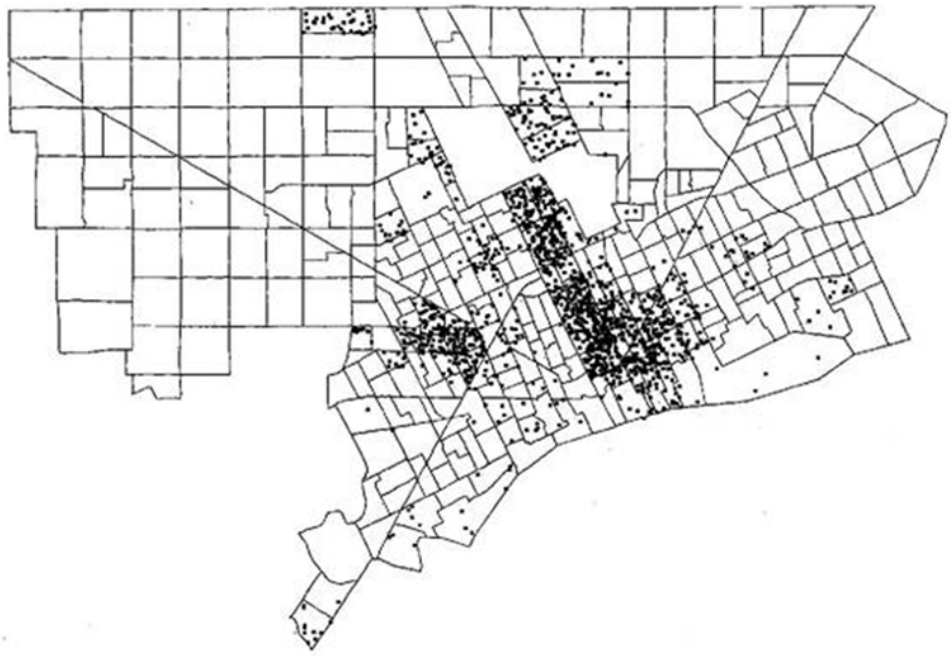
elsewhere. The City of Detroit supported programs that were largely steered by the interests of private real estate developers and financial institutions rather than local community partners. Homeowners and businesses were forced out of Black Bottom and the neighborhood was transformed under the architectural guidance of Mies van der Rohe into a middle-class residential development complex called Lafayette Park, which is now the world's largest preserved Mies van der Rohe modernist complex (Sugrue, 1996). Paradise Valley was destroyed during the construction of the inner-city freeway I-75 and is now home to the Ford Field Stadium, an American football entertainment district.

The maps below (Figure 3.9 to 3.11) document the population movement of African Americans from 1940 to 1970, making use of land outside the inner city "to the east, and especially to the northwest" (Sugrue, 1996, p. 183). It indicates the direction African Americans could and chose to settle after 1940: on the city's Northside, Eastside, and Westside. Hamtramck and Highland Park's figures are not included in these maps. Nevertheless, during this period, a large number of African Americans moved from the city center northwards towards Campau/Banglatown.



Map 7.1 (a). Black Population in Detroit, 1940. 1 Dot = 200.

Figure 3.9: Black Population in Detroit, 1940. Courtesy of Thomas Sugrue.



Map 7.1 (b). Black Population in Detroit, 1950. 1 Dot = 200.

Figure 3.10: Black Population in Detroit, 1950. Courtesy of Thomas Sugrue.

Map 7.1 (d). Black Population in Detroit, 1970. 1 Dot = 200.

Figure 3.11: Black Population in Detroit, 1970. Courtesy of Thomas Sugrue.

In the 1940s, the Campau/Banglatown (Figure 3.9) area was one of the first to which the African American population relocated from Paradise Valley and Black Bottom. This peaked in 1950. In the 1970s, the African American population began to move to the Westside. The 2010 census reported that 30% of Campau/Davison/Banglatown neighborhood population is African American (City of Detroit Government, n.d.).

Landownership was an important part of African Americans' emancipation from their lives and history in the South (Martin, 1993). The rising African American middle class, which could afford better living conditions, started to expand outside their dense concentrations on the East Side in Detroit. The "upper class Black community" lived on the West Side (Martin, 1993, p. 25). White homeowners perceived the spread of African Americans into other neighborhoods as a threat. They feared the value of their land and houses would decrease. Ongoing violent threats were one method of keeping African Americans out of their neighborhoods, but politically and institutionally sanctioned methods such as refusing to sell homes to African Americans helped establish "restricted covenants to assume the homogeneity of the city" (Sugrue, 1996, p. 24).

Almost all private real estate brokers profited from structural segregation (Sugrue, 1996). Some, however, challenged the segregated neighborhoods through "blockbusting",[39] selling one house to a Black family in an all-white neighborhood. In racially transitional neighborhoods such as those bordering African American communities, real estate brokers profited twice. First, from the white sellers, who would sell under market value, because African Americans were moving into their neighborhoods and because they feared a fatal decrease in the market value of their homes. Second, from the African American buyers who were willing to pay a higher price for houses in these neighborhoods because it was a seller's market. In addition, they profited from African Americans as brokers and money lenders because White-owned banks and loan associations refused to give mortgages to the African Americans (Sugrue, 1996). An ongoing practice of structural racism used for many years by city governments, insurance companies, banks, and real estate agents is known as redlining. It is a nationwide practice of mapping neighborhoods or cities and assessing certain areas as risk neighborhoods. It involves publicly sanctioned processes that devalue African American neighborhoods, especially dwellings and homes, and therefore influences the private real estate market (Sugrue, 1996; History.Com, 2018). It works as follows: African Americans pay more for housing (rental or acquisition); white real estate brokers refuse to sell to African Americans, engaging in discriminatory practices that keep them from buying houses; bankers seldom lend to African American home buyers; and, as a consequence, insurance agencies devalue the market value of African American homes, which hinders them from selling at market value.

Until the 1970s, the nationally recognized Sandborn Map Company created maps of risky urban areas for fire insurance companies, marking high risk zones in red. These maps and many others served city governments as models for assessing property values in urban development processes, thus perpetuating economically driven discrimination, as in case of redlining (Wilkinson, 2017).

[39] Offering real estate opportunities to African Americans, blockbusting fueled white flight towards the North of Detroit and into the suburbs. It was followed by a decline in housing prices in the very same neighborhoods, which then affected insurance, tax, and resale values for African American homeowners (Sugrue, 1996).

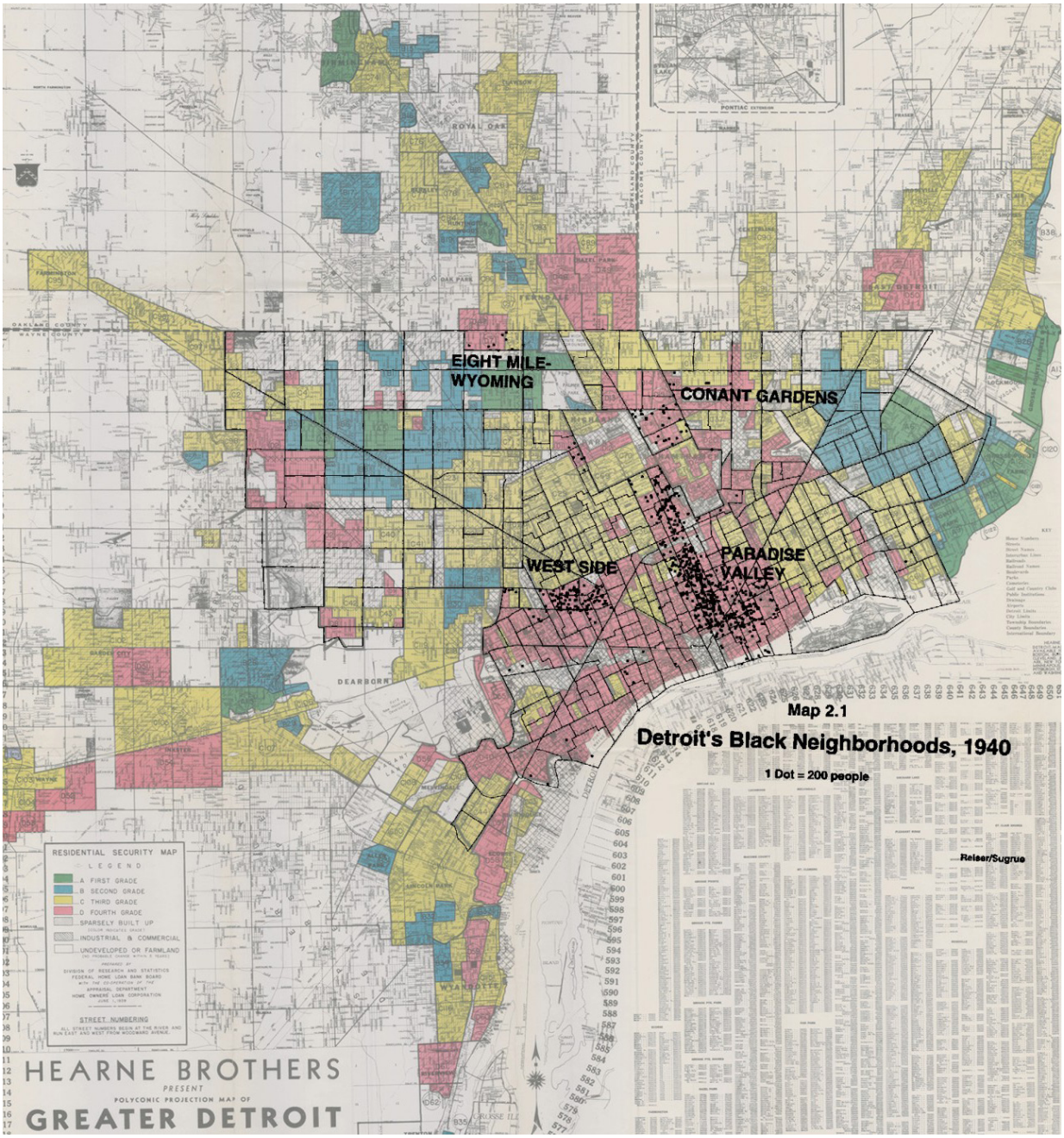


Figure 3.12: Detroit Redlining Map Mash Up 1940 by Paul Szewczyk.

The Hearne Brothers produced the map of Detroit in Figure 3.12, which was commissioned by the federal Home Owners' Loan Corporation in 1933. One of Detroit's larger real estate firms, it sold houses, developments, lots, and mortgages to higher income Detroiters. These Residential Security Maps prevailed and enhanced real estate values in several of Detroit's "white" neighborhoods while devaluing other neighborhoods such as ones that were predominantly African American (Sugrue, 1996).

Newly arriving migrants were unable to settle freely and move to neighborhoods in the city where they desired to live (Zunz, 1982) and federal and local urban development programs in postwar Detroit continued to discriminate against certain communities such as low-income African American residents (Thomas, 2015). The mash up map (Figure 3.12) documents how Detroit's

African American neighborhoods (Paradise Valley, West Side, and even Conant Gardens) were usually part of the higher risk red zones. Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck were higher risk as well as lower risk zones.

Ultimately, most African Americans in Detroit did not profit from the general trend in upward mobility like the "white" migrants who moved up North during industrialization. They were also prevented from moving into certain neighborhoods despite their wealth, because they were refused mortgages or did not receive homeowners insurance. Their own thriving ethnic neighborhoods, such as Paradise Valley, were destroyed by the city's urban planning agenda. The African American settlement history in Detroit was marked by segregation, redlining, and the occupation of areas that were less attractive, because of their location or commuting distance to work. More importantly African Americans were often hindered from becoming homeowners or forming communities to become homeowners by refusing loans and mortgages or not selling to them at all. In contrast, Polish and German settlers were able to increase and expand their homeownership through their own efforts and on the basis of the cohesion of the community.

These are examples of three different ethnic groups in Detroit, that contributed to the urban development in the city before and during industrialization, especially in Campau/Banglatown. There were many other ethnic groups whose settlement, placemaking practices and ways of living have influenced the shape of the city as a metropolis of single-family homes. In the postindustrial age, the inflow of new immigrants to the city has not been interrupted despite different crises, such as the shrinking of the city, the foreclosure crises, and Detroit's bankruptcy. However, the conditions under which they have been able to settle and form communities or engage as citizens have changed constantly, depending on political, economic, racial, and cultural constraints.

3.4. Single-Family Homes in a Shrinking City

Detroit's rapid and vast population growth during the time of industrialization peaked in the 1950s from a total population of 465,765 residents in 1910 to 1,849,568 million people in 1950. Afterwards, the inner-city space began to shrink to 1,511,482 residents in the 1970s (Sugrue, 1996, p. 23). The fast increase in population created dense living conditions, particularly in older neighborhoods downtown, for the newly arrived immigrant populations. The rapid growth of working-class neighborhoods allowed higher income residents to move to Detroit's Metropolitan area to build newer and bigger homes:

> By the 1950s Detroit had run out of room. There were no new subdivision to develop and decline, amplified by white flight and the attraction of bigger homes on bigger lots in the suburbs, set in for the rest of the century. (Scott, 2001, p. 8)

As the city industrialized, Detroit could not keep up with the speed of private land growth or develop and maintain a cohesive urban development plan for all its citizens, who desired to live in their own homes. Instead, private urban development contributed to urban expansion and led to the expansion of the city into suburban areas.

3.4.1. Suburbanization

In the 1950s, what came to be known as "white flight"[40] had already decimated the Caucasian population in the city center and contributed to the growth of the suburbs (Sugrue, 1996). Particularly after the Race Riots in 1943 and 1967, white people moved out to Detroit's suburbs in large numbers, leaving the inner-city population predominantly African American. The expansion of the city and the fact that auto manufacturers started to build their factories outside the city limits also caused suppliers and other residents to leave the city following their jobs (Heßler, 2013).

People who could afford to move to where the jobs were did so, accelerating the suburbanization process and spurring shrinking as well as leaving empty houses behind. Detroit's shrinking can be attributed to suburbanization caused by the increase of individual mobility, growing demands for certain living conditions, and new employment possibilities outside the city center (Pallagst & Wiechmann, 2005). Detroit's deindustrialization coincided with suburbanization and the beginning of globalization.[41] The manufacturing industries increased automation processes and the number of production jobs decreased. Unemployment resulted, particularly at manufacturing sites in the city center. The movement of automobile factories to the suburbs and even further away shaped what has been described as the "The City of Holes" (Bekkering & Liu, 2015, p. 32). This refers to the shape following the depopulation of the city center, leaving single-family homes, entire neighborhoods, and manufacturing buildings unoccupied and empty. The loss of industrial jobs, population decline, and the decrease in occupied housing units posed a massive challenge to Detroit (Bekkering & Thomas, 2015). Decentralization and suburbanization were trends, which provided new residential and commercial space on the periphery of the city and therefore made the suburbs even more attractive (Oswalt & Rieniets, 2006). From then on, regular incomes were often spent in the suburbs, leading to fewer commercial areas in Detroit. Land in the city stopped being used for industrial production or individual housing, and was subsequently abandoned. Furthermore, the city's (infra)structures dramatically changed from those of a densely populated metropolitan area to a median-size US city:

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[40] White flight refers to the migration of white people, mostly of European ancestry, from urban regions and older neighborhoods in city centers to newer homes in suburbs, which tended to be racially homogenous (Sugrue, 1996; Heßler, 2013).

[41] For countries and cities involved in trading mass consumer products with other cities and countries, "the decline of moving goods" spurred global trade (Glaeser, 2011, p. 2).

> So while in 1900, it was very valuable to locate a factory in Detroit because of those waterways and because of those rail yards, [that] became largely irrelevant by the latter half of the 20th century. (Glaeser, 2011, p. 2)

Detroit was not the only American city that suffered from shrinking beginning in the 1950s, economic migration movements caused shrinking processes in industrial areas across the US (Heßler, 2013). The "Manufacturing Belt", to which Detroit belonged, turned into the "Rust Belt"[42], a term that has become synonymous with Midwestern and Northeastern cities facing plant closures, widespread unemployment, and shrinking.

The diagram in Figure 3.13 indicates how the affluent suburbs stood apart from the inner city through social and economic inequalities. More and more incomes, and money in general, was spent in the metropolitan region, creating disadvantages for the inner city. It also led to a specific land use form in the Detroit's metropolitan area referred to as a "donut". This was characterized by the growing economically independent suburbs spreading far out into the rural areas of Michigan and the extensive population shrinkage in the inner city.

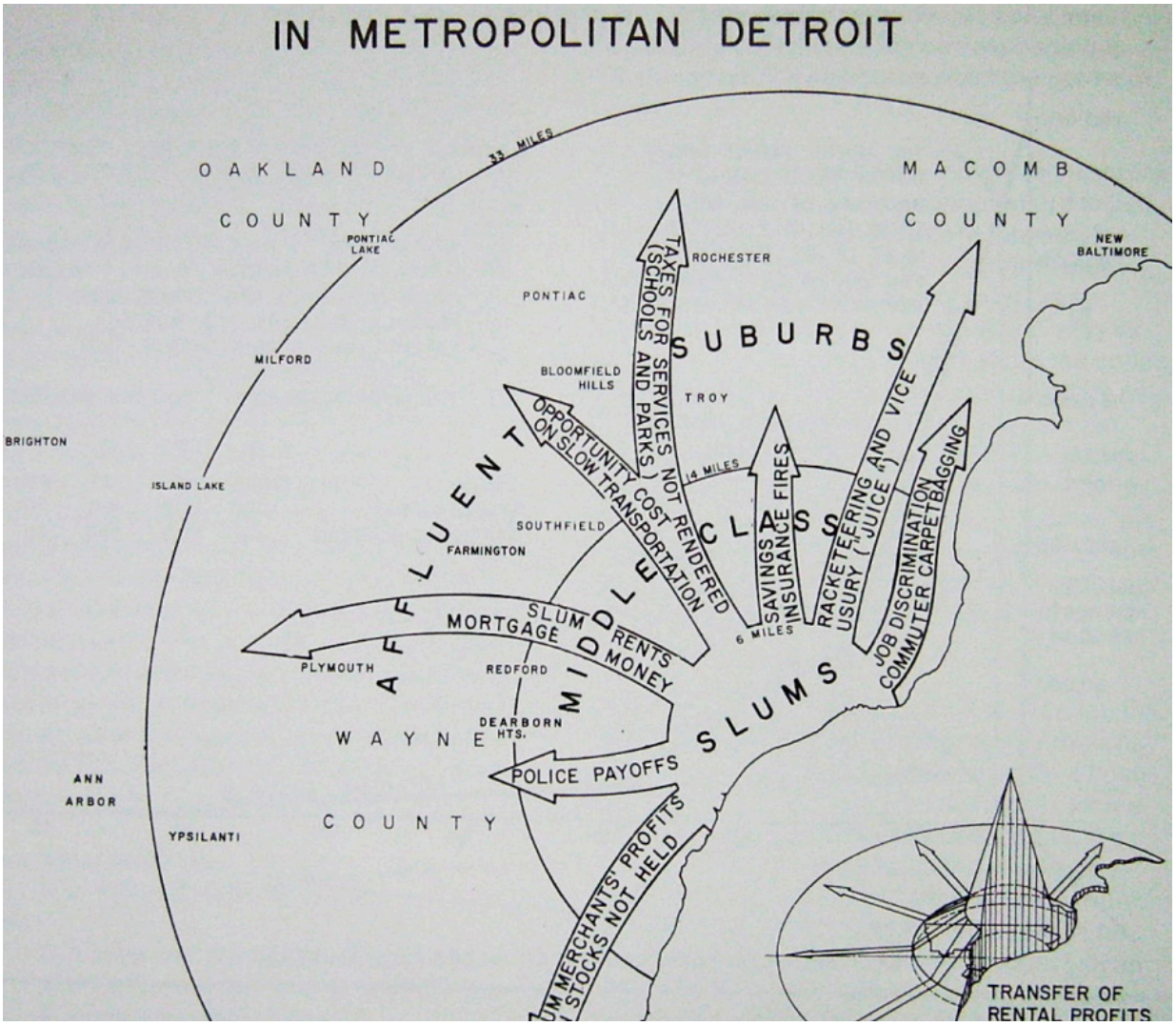

Figure 3.13: Direction of Money Transfers in Metropolitan Detroit, 1971, by William Bunge.

[42] "Rust" because of the iron industries involved in producing manufactured goods in these regions.

This diagram map (Figure 3.13) showing the city's economic decline is part of a cartographic mapping project initiated by William Bunge in 1971 as a way to collect empirical data and analyze who and what caused inequality and drove Detroit's urban crisis and shrinking (Bunge, 1971). The so called "Detroit Geographical Expedition" has been conducted with researchers and Detroit residents, one of the first mapping projects in Detroit engaging the community and their everyday expertise – in this case, using geography for social justice and addressing racial injustice and inequality in the city.[43] However, the map focuses on Money Transfers in Metropolitan Detroit. It shows how Detroit's city center lost its tax base and all of its revenue sources, i.e., income through rentals, as taxpayers spent their money in the suburbs.

3.4.2. Urban Reinvestment

To solve unequal infrastructural and living conditions in the city's different neighborhoods, the City of Detroit launched the Housing Act of 1949 and 1954 as part of President Truman's domestic legislature to focus on urban land use. It provided federal money to what were called "urban renewal" projects, which included permission for urban restructuring and the targeting of blight as well as providing public housing (Thomas, 2015). The City Plan Commission then published the Detroit Master Plan in 1951. This master plan[44] focused on improving and developing post-industrial Detroit. It provided areas for industrial corridors trying to keep scattered manufacturing out of residential areas (City of Detroit, 1951). In contrast to an industrial planning model where people live and work in the same space as they had done up until then, the new plan separated industrial workplaces and family homes. Thomas (2013, p. 4) who has evaluated the relationship between political and economic forces in the city, describes the redevelopment plan of the 1950s and 1960s as "growth coalition dominated land-use decisions," which funneled redevelopment towards downtown and into the suburbs and left out other neighborhoods.

In the 1970s and 1980s – the years in which the effects of the loss of Detroit's tax base, the lack of social services, and the improvement of public infrastructures became visible in the urban fabric – the federal government made cuts to urban spending (Sugrue,1996). During that time, urban governments also started to change their policies. Detroit's "entrepreneurial" city government increasingly mobilized local politics in support of economic development and opened local negotiating to private and semi-public actors (Meyer, 1994). Political scientist Margit Meyer

[43] The Detroit Geographic Expedition's mapping goal was to connect academic geographers and "folk geographers" (Bunge, 1971). Bunge uses this term for people who do not have formal training in geographic methods, but live in the inner city. He aimed to use geography to create maps of how things are and maps of how things ought to be, to reveal systemic splits between wealth and poverty (Morris & Voyce, 2020).

[44] This was be the first of four master plans, with subsequent plans in 1973, 1990, and 2009 (Doucet, 2017). With the exception of the Future City Plan (Detroit Future City, 2013), none of the master plans involved the residents or the cultural needs of local communities in the urban planning process (Williams, 2017).

(1994, p. 317) describes this shift in policy as the introduction of "new bargaining systems" and "new forms of public-private collaboration". She sees the influence and role of real estate development as having been redefined by the interests of the voluntary sector and community groups in respect to business interests (Meyer, 1994). Moreover, urban planning efforts to change the urban crisis were largely concentrated on downtown Detroit, neglecting a citywide approach that would include marginalized neighborhoods. Reinvestment was again restricted to the central district close to downtown, such as Cobo Hall (opened 1960)[45] on the riverfront, the largest convention center in the US at the time. What was new, however, was that the city started to work with private investors to secure financing for these major construction projects. The Renaissance Center (opened in 1977)[46], which General Motors made its headquarters, became a massive public-private investment project meant to revive the inner city as a commercial center and act as a sign of progress. It was followed by the idea of turning Detroit into a tourist destination for Casino Resort Hotels in the 1990s, allowing private investors to build the three casino hotel complexes downtown.

Nevertheless, these larger public-private partnership projects such as General Motor's Poletown plant and the Renaissance Center did not enlarge the city's employment base and instead diminished city funds (Sugrue, 1996, p. 271). Downton renewal projects did not meet the expectations of the city's dream of urban growth. One reason was that corporate actors with the potential to create jobs, such as the "Big Three" automobile companies[47], only showed "a modest commitment to Detroit and the human-capital strategy," preferring to invest in the suburbs (Orr & Stoker, 1994, p. 64).

In the 2000s, there was a dramatically high exodus of educated young people out of Michigan. For this reason, state governor Jennifer Granholm launched the Cool Cities Initiative to revitalize Michigan's urban regions through cultural and artistic projects and make them more attractive to entrepreneurs and the creative class as well as stimulate job growth and economic revitalization (Office of the Governor, 2003). The funding once again focused on the inner city. Three million dollars "using existing resources creatively" were invested throughout the entire state (Office of the Governor, 2003). Detroit's Eastern Market received a small portion of the money. However, none of the money was invested in homes or improving neighborhood infrastructures besides downtown until bankruptcy hit the city.

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[45] Cobo Hall is now called Cobo Center and has been extended and renovated, and put to different uses over time.

[46] The Renaissance Center is still the tallest building in Downtown Detroit. The five-tower building consists of a luxury hotel, shopping mall, and office space. The Center was the idea of auto manufacturer Henry Ford. Later, in 1981, General Motors took it over and opened its main headquarters in two additional towers.

[47] The Big Three refers to the biggest automobile manufacturers in Detroit, Chrysler, Ford, and GM, which still have their headquarters in the metro area of Detroit.

The suburbanization of housing in the metropolitan area led to the shrinking number of residents and commercial businesses in Detroit. What has hardly changed has been the residential housing stock in neighborhoods. Those residents who could not afford to move out of the city or wanted to stay where their community was, continued to live in single or two-family homes and maintain the houses and communities as much as their means allowed. There was no need for and hardly any investment made into new housing while shrinking occurred. However, the decay of abandoned homes and industrial infrastructures caused distressed conditions in neighborhoods and for those who stayed. This included the decline and closing of social infrastructures such as schools, medical facilities, and more. This generally contributed to a decrease in quality of life and shaped the city's negative reputation and image as a Shrinking City among others. The empty, deteriorated, run down single-family home became an icon of decay, a poster child of ruination and economic failure next to empty warehouses and industrial sites in the inner-city (Apel, 2015, p. 3).

3.5. Single Family Homes in a Foreclosed City

The global financial crisis as well as the bursting of the US housing bubble led to real estate values in Detroit dropping dramatically between 2006 and 2009. A modest single-family home on Stansbury Street that sold for $88,000 in 2001, sold again in 2006 for $33,500, and after foreclosure in 2008, the bank sold it for $1,250 (Clark, 2008). The assessed value[48] of residential property dropped by almost 50% (Farley, 2015). Like a viral infection, foreclosed properties affected neighboring properties and houses with decreasing values.

In a housing market already on the decline due to shrinking, the risk of rapid devaluation in Detroit was higher than in other post-industrial cities. As a result, during the 2007 US recession, homeowners in the city were stuck with their subprime mortgage payments:

> Homeowners were upside down – they owed more on their mortgages than their homes were worth – and could no longer just flip their way out of their homes if they couldn't make the new, higher payments (Kosakowski, 2019).

On the one hand, homeowners were not able to sell their houses because they were worth less than was needed to pay back the mortgage. On the other hand, they were forced to pay higher mortgage fees to keep their houses because of subprime mortgage speculation. A subprime mortgage is a loan on a house or property usually given to people with a bad or negative credit

[48] Assessed value is the property's market value and the assessment rate determined by the bank or mortgage company. A property's market value depends on the local real estate market and what the property would sell for, and it takes into account the property's location, size, and condition (architectural style, materials, age, and accessories).

history.[49] The interest rate for a subprime mortgage is higher than the usual mortgage for a house, compensating the lender for accepting the riskier credit (Kopp, 2021). A mortgage loan is always dependent on the value of the house or land, which means that this scheme depended on rising housing values. Loans were often made without a market and speculators and investors started to bid against subprime mortgages. However, when the US economy slowed down, mortgage default rates increased massively. What followed were higher mortgage payments and those who couldn't afford the mortgage any longer would go into foreclosure with their homes (Kosakowski, 2019).

3.5.1. Foreclosure Crisis

The collapse of the subprime housing market is cited as the source of Detroit's foreclosure crisis (Alsup, 2015). During the financial crisis, unemployment was high and investment in real estate low. Consequently, residential homeowners were unable to service their mortgages[50] and fell behind on their property tax payments[51], leading to massive foreclosures. Detroit has the highest repossession rate in the country, i.e., homes repossessed by banks or mortgage holders (Moore & Watson, 2008). Researchers for the Motor City Mapping Survey[52] (Alsup, 2015) estimate that in 2015 about 62,000 properties were headed for tax foreclosure in Detroit. In contrast, 5,090 mortgage loans were in foreclosure in 2009 following the housing crisis.

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[49] In 1999, the Federal National Mortgage Association made these loans in the form of more accessible mortgages despite low credit and savings rates. This form of loan was introduced during an up-trending housing market (Kopp, 2021).

[50] Working for five-years (2011-2016) as key accountant for an independent residential real estate financing company (Hüttig & Rompf AG in Hamburg), I learned that the agreed interest rate for a mortgage is the financial linchpin that must withstand, changes such as a short-term revenue shortfall. When income loss occurs and interest rates increase due to a staggering form of interest (a typical case for sub-prime mortgages), it is hard for homeowners to service their mortgages in the long-term and they will not have money to improve their often cheaply acquired properties.

[51] If they do not pay their property taxes for more than two years in a row, Detroit residents forfeit their home to the county treasurer. The county or other government entities will then start the process of foreclosing the home. After foreclosure, a delinquent property owner is still able to get back the foreclosed property, but is forced to compete in a public (online) county auction with other people and leave a deposit (Wayne County, 2022).

[52] Motor City Mapping is a mapping initiative of three geodata firms in Detroit that collect data about every property in the city to assess their condition (Data Driven Detroit & Regrid, n.d.).

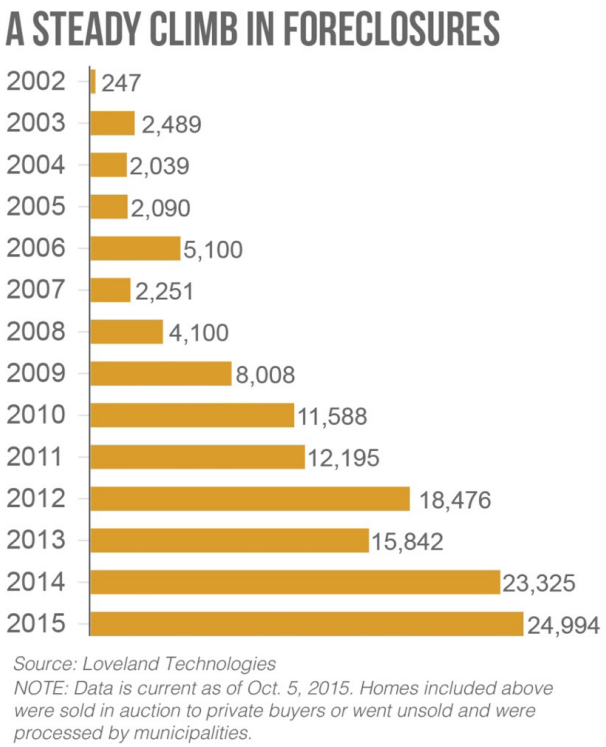

Table: 3.0: Detroit Foreclosures in Numbers from 2002 until 2015, 2015. Courtesy of Loveland Technologies.

Foreclosures in 2015 (24,994) were six times higher than in 2008 (4,100) when the crisis began (Table 3.0). As a consequence, the abundance of residential real estate has led to an overflow in residential properties going up for auction, particularly as an after effect of the subprime mortgage crisis in 2008 (Gallagher, 2013). Urban geographer Joshua Akers (2017) concludes that over the last decade, one third of all residential properties were in foreclosure.

According to urban researchers, the housing or so-called "foreclosure crisis" in Detroit was a long time in the making (Sugrue,1996 ; Darden & Thomas, 2013; Galster, 2012; Thomas & Bekkering, 2015). Risky subprime[53] mortgage brokers encouraged homeownership among minorities and people with poorer credit scores, especially in Detroit (Mayer & Pence, 2008). At the same time, financial gatekeepers like credit rating agencies (Peck & Whiteside, 2016, p. 235) became systematic in influencing (re-)financialization and investments in Detroit. In an interview with a local newspaper, local urban geographer Robin Boyle stated that "the sub-prime mortgage industry was in full flag in Detroit" (Clark, 2008). Calling the issuing of mortgages an "industry" betrays the fact that the housing market was already speculative before the financial crisis began. The foreclosure crisis is often referred to as a housing crisis. Others link the foreclosure crisis to the neoliberal reorganization of Detroit during its Emergency Management and State of Bankruptcy in 2013 (Peck, 2012; Kirkpatrick & Bolton, 2018). This forced the city government to act like

[53] Subprime mortgages are mortgages given out by brokers who work for financial institutions. They are targeted at borrowers with less-than-perfect credit and less-than-adequate savings (Kosakowski, 2019). These mortgages are measured by the value of the house, but are often overrated with regards to the house's actual market value. A majority of subprime mortgages have interest rates that increase over time (Zandi, 2009). If a homeowner is unable to pay the mortgage, the house is foreclosed. Subprime mortgages are also known as mortgage-backed securities.

a business under emergency management, practicing "municipal rightsizing" (Kirkpatrick & Bolton, 2018, p. 28). The neoliberal governing of American cities, which Peck calls "austerity urbanism" (Peck, 2012), has had a huge impact on the city's social and spatial transformations. The neoliberal narrative translates the 2008 Banking Crisis "first into a state crisis and then into an urban crisis" (Peck, 2014). The shrinking of the city and the foreclosure crisis were two contributing factors to the financial breakdown of the City of Detroit. On July 18, 2013, the City of Detroit filed for Chapter 9 bankruptcy, the largest municipal bankruptcy filing in US history, estimated at $18 to 20 billion. Farley (2015) blames Michigan's system of supporting local governments, missing out on opportunities to annex suburbs to Detroit.[54] Moreover, some argue that Detroit's bankruptcy was also caused by an entrepreneurial approach to urban government in which "the routinized game of growth-machine policy" allowed new generations of indebtedness justified by systemically financialized management structures (Peck & Whiteside, 2016).

3.5.2. Auctions and Speculation

The foreclosure crisis in the city of Detroit (Sugrue, 1996; Darden & Thomas, 2013; Peck & Whiteside, 2016), the neoliberal reorganization of the city (Kirkpatrick & Bolton, 2018) paired with the national financial crisis created space for private speculators and investors to obtain bulk properties and homes, particularly residential homes through public auctions or in the foreclosure markets (Akers, 2017).

Auctioning vacant residential properties and abandoned homes that have been tax-foreclosed in Detroit has become common practice. Mortgage investment banks, the State of Michigan, Wayne County, and the City of Detroit regularly auction off vacant residential properties that have not been claimed by any government entities. However, there was no coordinated process for auctioning tax foreclosed residential real estate in the city until the Detroit Land Bank was founded in 2008.

Akers (2013, p. 3) thinks that the auction system of the Wayne County Auction in the early 2000s gave way to property ownership that was used by speculative investment enterprises to avoid taxes and speculate on or dump properties. Speculators resold auctioned properties at a profit and did not pay property taxes to the city or invest in the property (Dewar et al., 2014). The Wayne County Public Auction provided space for land speculation and risky investment transactions that helped contribute to the subprime mortgage market. This was caused by the lack of local regulations or regulations securing neighborhood needs, criticisms of the county's

[54] Michigan's Home Rule Law prevented the merging and annexation of suburban neighborhoods to Detroit. According to Farley (2015, pp. 95-96), the city missed out on the tremendous population and economic growth that occurred in southeast Michigan between the 1940s and 1970s because Detroit did not annex any land after 1926.

auction system, and its role in poor investments and decay intensified (Gallagher, 2013). Akers (2013) claims that declining Detroit has become a site for tailored property market interventions by private institutions. Hill (2014) identifies a connection between subprime mortgage lending, the myriad of tax foreclosures, and targeted blight removal as property speculation:

> Speculation on land and derelict buildings is rife in Detroit because vast amounts of both can be acquired and held over the years at virtually no cost. (Galster, 2012, p. 231)

Speculators tend not to care about the condition of properties they acquire, leaving them vacant in hopes of achieving higher land prices in the future. The unintended consequence is that these properties often attract blight and further destruction of the buildings.

According to Joshua Akers (2017, p. 2),[55] at least 20% of land in Detroit is owned by property speculators, i.e., speculators owning property not registered to an owner living in the same neighborhood. To engage in the residential real estate market, speculators operate through land contracts, rentals, direct sales (without the involvement of a bank or mortgage), or by holding property as part of real estate investment trusts (Akers, 2017, pp. 2-3). Akers (2017) believes the majority of speculators in Detroit are white, have a certain income level, and have either recently relocated to the city or already live in or around Detroit. In a 2019 FILTER Detroit Workshop, he stressed that land contracts are a common form used by bulk owners.[56] which do not stabilize the housing market, but rather force people to live in unstable living conditions.[57]

The visible stasis of buildings and land ultimately leads to "home erosion" (Galster, 2012, p. 221) and the devaluation of entire neighborhoods. Vacancy attracts crime, which is followed by security issues that threaten the cohesion of formerly intact neighborhoods. Therefore, auctioning residential real estate in Detroit has become and remains part of a risky speculative practice even with the creation of the Detroit Land Bank Authority.

The mission of the Detroit Land Bank Authority is "to return the city's blighted and vacant properties to productive use" (Detroit Land Bank Authority, 2022a). Nevertheless, the formation of the Detroit Land Bank Authority took longer than expected. It was founded in 2008 but did

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[55] Joshua Akers is a member of a co-creation platform that initiated Property Praxis, a collective mapping exercise illustrating the impact of private property speculation in Detroit. It is part of the Urban Praxis Workshop, an experimental platform for developing tools, methods, and knowledge through informed action and co-creation (Akers et al., n.d.).

[56] Bulk owners are property owners who own several properties in one neighborhood.

[57] Land contracts are rental contracts in which the contractor buys the rented property through a rental payment. If a renter can no longer afford the rate or pay the rent, they lose the entire down payment on the house as well as the house itself. It is a speculative investment specifically for people with low incomes. However, it also provides them a chance to buy property in the first place since financial institutions will often not grant financial aid to these income brackets. According to Akers, there was a threefold increase in the number of registered land contracts from 2008 to 2016 (Akers, 2017, p. 3).

not begin operations until 2010, right after the subprime housing crisis. A lot of hope was placed in the establishment of a Detroit Land Bank after the model of Dan Kildee's Land Bank[58] as an entity that could manage Detroit's vacant lots and houses while allowing residents to revitalize entire neighborhoods (Gallagher, 2010, 2013; Grover, 2009). To meet its own goals, the Detroit Land Bank Authority must cater to the goals of the city, the expectations of individual buyers, community organizations, foundations, and private developers. At the same time, it must also establish itself as a bank on Detroit's "free" real estate market.

According to Darryl Earl, Manager of Community Relations, the Detroit Land Bank Authority supports Detroit and its citizens (K. Niemann, memory log, October 5, 2019). The DLBA is a public-benefit corporation[59] that is not legally bound to the Detroit City Council and therefore must generate profit to maintain its operations. It offers different programs for what they dub "making homeownership and land purchases accessible to Detroiters" (Detroit Land Bank Authority, 2022a). They offer sales through "Auctions," the "Own it Now Program," and "Buy Back Programs," for those who occupy a foreclosed home but have not yet been able to purchase it back. The "Land Reuse Program (Side Lots)" was established to make empty lots adjacent to homeowners available for $100 per lot. The "Hardest Hit Demolition Program" is meant to organize the demolition of blighted housing structures owned by the DLBA. And the more recently established "Community Partners Program" arranges and helps establish community organizations to steward (land management) and eventually buy bulked lots or organize the redevelopment of entire blocks of homes or empty lots while preventing exploitative investors from overtaking them. According to the City Council Quarterly Report, in January 2020, the DLBA sold a total of 22,417 structures, lots, and side lots, including 14,065 side lots (Detroit Land Bank Authority, 2020, p. 3).

Since its inception, the DLBA has been mired in a series of controversies, including accusations that its properties are not available to everyone[60] (Perkins, 2020). One major complaint has been that it has not followed up on its "Compliance Program", which requires renovation and occupancy within six months after acquisition. Consequently, investors and speculators who bought homes

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[58] Dan Kildee established a new type of Land Bank as a form of "neighborhood recovery strategy" (Grover, 2009) in his hometown of Flint, Michigan, altering federal law so that auctioning residential real estate would become a responsibility as well as an income source for the local government. The auctioning of real estate has since been subject to conditions that prevent the auction beneficiary from speculating and to assure that the auctioned lots benefit the neighborhood.

[59] Funds for the DLBA's operations come from the State of Michigan, the US Department of the Treasury, foundations, lenders, and the National Mortgage Settlement, among others (Urban Institute, 2017).

[60] Before the Land Bank puts a property or house up for sale, it must clear all titles, which can take time. The DLBA also has the power to demolish housing structures if necessary and they are required to hold back property from being sold if the city government already has plans for it. In some cases, the DLBA renovates housing structures themselves to sell them for profit on the market to refinance its own costs for demolition, back taxes, etc. (Detroit Land Bank Authority, 2022a).

without the intention of renovating the premises have not been sanctioned. At the same time, the DLBA has become a powerful player by managing properties and sales of the local governments' vast stock of vacant structures (Perkins, 2020). As a public-private financial institution, it has not only invested in abandoned real estate and provided investment opportunities, but has also taken on the role of an urban development agency, therefore greatly influencing the real estate markets in Detroit´s different districts and neighborhoods.

To conclude, the high foreclosure rates of residential homes and particularly the tax-foreclosure of homes through the financial crisis and bankruptcy have not only lead to a foreclosure crisis. They have also stimulated investment in and speculation with single-family homes, causing massive transformations of how single-family homes are used and function in the context of neighborhoods with higher foreclosure rates, namely from being vacant, or sites of speculation if not occupied.

The way the foreclosure crisis has affected single-family home ownership and neighborhoods highlights how central single-family homes are to Detroit's economic, political, cultural and social life. While, over the past two decades, urban researchers have studied and theorized about Detroit as a shrinking and declining city (Oswalt, 2006), reimaged its possibilities (Gallagher, 2010; Doucet, 2017), strategically planned its reinvention (Gallagher, 2013), sought out DIY techniques to prevent from deterioration and crime (Kinder, 2014), and downplayed its future (Eisinger, 2015), one should keep in mind that there are approximately 258,500 occupied housing units in the city. Detroit remains a single-family home metropolis in which homeowners, renters, landlords and occupiers of these homes have learned to navigate between the city's structural problems, economic constraints, migratory movements because of upward mobility or speculation and personal needs to make a place a home.

The single-family home metropolis has not only came into being because of the privatization of land, the industrial revolution as well as the real estate developers economic talent and investors investment and the city´s planning strategies, but also because of a constant influx of immigrants who have built communities and networks as well as homes based on believes in homeownership, neighborhood and informal procedures of building and sustaining in and with homes, which will be shown in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

4.0 Values of Single-Family Homes During and After the Foreclosure Crisis in Detroit (2009-2019)

Deindustrialization, shrinking, and Detroit's bankruptcy (Oswalt & Rieniets, 2006) all affected the market value of residential real estate in the city. Detroit's real estate market continues to operate under particularly distressed conditions, including a proportionally large amount of vacant single-family homes and land, a high poverty rate, a declining tax base, social inequality, racial segregation, and the city government's foreclosure crisis and recent state of bankruptcy (Dewar et al., 2015, p. 37).

The decrease in property value due to the city's shrinking and the vacancy of single-family homes is both a curse and a blessing for Detroit. A large amount of vacancy in one place can affect a neighborhood's economic, social, cultural, and environmental stability as well as its market value. At the same time, the massive vacancy of single-family homes also means freedom from the market-driven real estate value system, enabling other forms of occupation of homes and lots and sparking other forms of values. For instance, non-economic values, such as establishing social spaces or places of belonging that may produce market value in the long run.

In this chapter, I analyze the values driving the development of residential real estate in Detroit in general and in Campau/Banglatown in particular. First, I look at the specific market value factors of residential real estate that apply to the real estate market at large in terms of urban development and urban economics in Detroit. Second, I analyze the value-in-use factors relevant to the current real estate market in Campau/Banglatown from the point of view of residents, business owners, and urban planning organizations. In the final section, I address the single-family homes that residents own and what these residents say they value in daily life in Campau/Banglatown. Moreover, I analyze the kinds of values – beyond market value – single-family homes produce as part of the social space.

Real estate value is defined by market value, which consists of the value of land (a piece of real estate) or a lot, including its building(s) and accompanying right(s) as appraised at a certain moment in time and also considering values of surrounding properties and market conditions in the area (Farlex Financial Dictionary, 2009). The goal of appraising market value is to determine a suggested value that the property might have on an open market (Folger, 2020). Estimated real estate market value is a powerful benchmark that can affect a city's urban economy and urban planning. In the case of Detroit, it influences the sales prices of real estate, forms of taxation like property and insurance tax, and the condition and interest rates for real estate mortgages and investments. Sales price is the economic exchange value obtained in the sale of the house as agreed upon by seller and buyer at a given moment. The appraised market values are not the only factors

that determine this price. Other influences include regional supply and demand depending on income status or residents, job availability, accessibility to credit, transportation infrastructures, interest rates, inflation, and property taxation as well as its potential for appreciation in terms of a city's potential for urban development (Morgan, 2018). Sales price and economic property value do not only depend on market value. They also depend on the "value-in-use" (Laurenz et al., 2018, pp. 46-49), which is the functional value of an object and refers to the value of individuals and their reasons for living in a particular single-family home in a particular location, such as the proximity of available jobs, good schools, or recreation facilities.

Moreover, market value can also be affected by other forces, including physical (environmental issues like climate change), political (government interventions like rent gaps or the danger of expropriation), and social and cultural (cultural heritage, lifestyle, family) factors and a sense of value, which is larger than the economic value (Lorenz et al., 2018, p. 44). Lorenz, Dent and Kauko (2018) have studied valuation processes (assessment) and the basis of real estate markets during and after the foreclosure crisis, highlighting the changing environment in which value operates. According to them, the links between property value's economic (exchange value, price, tax value assessment) and non-economic (environmental, social, cultural, image/sign) components have become stronger and tend to extend towards long-term, sustainable, non-economic factors (Lorenz et al., 2018, p. 44). From my cultural studies perspective, I will further investigate what influences the value factors that extend the value and market framework of single-family homes in Detroit towards long-term and non-economic factors (Lorenz et al., 2018).

4.1. Real Estate Value Factors in Detroit

Like any other real estate market, Detroit's market responds specifically to local factors. In its case, however, the local factors are not necessarily any different than other post-industrial cities along the Rust Belt. But the accumulation of a set of circumstances over a shorter period of time, such as the shrinking population, the resulting oversupply of single-family homes, the foreclosure crisis, and the city's bankruptcy, have also had an impact on local real estate value.

In this section, I analyze the ways in which regional location factors, such as educational and cultural institutions, influence the development of real estate value. In addition, I look at public-private partnerships for real estate investments in downtown and midtown Detroit as possible motors for the real estate market. And, last but not least, I would like to know the degree to which real estate data collecting and how it is presented and digitized influences residential real estate.

4.4.1. Cultural and Educational Institutions

Michigan and the region around Detroit are already attractive for the global, well-educated workforce in the technology and medicinal sectors as well as for international students. For example, the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor and the Cranbrook Educational Community are two world-class cultural and educational institutions that have long attracted (inter)national students. Richard Florida (2013), who has pitched strategies for how Detroit could become a "creative city," specifically calls attentions to the regional assets Detroit offers – the quality of its knowledge institutions, an international airport, and an openness to what he refers to as global talent.

According to the Global Creative Index (GCI), which measures economic development through how attractive a city is to the creative class (Florida, 2003), a city's creativity is based on three factors: technology, talent, and tolerance (Florida et al., 2015). New and established tech companies, such as MSX International, Quicken Loan, General Motors, and Amazon Tech-Hub, attract international talent that might want to live in the city. Compared to other tech cities like San Francisco, Detroit has the advantage of a moderate cost of living.

The above-average educational facilities in and around Detroit, including the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor and Cranbrook Academy of Art, attract well-educated talent that can be used by local companies. Pre-existing technology production sites which once belonged to automobile companies like Ford and General Motors, profit from these global networks as well. However, the city still is an auto city, with a large number of jobs in the auto industry at Chevrolet, Ford, and General Motors. In addition, the city is home to a series of medical centers with research facilities, patient care and technology. Future health care job candidates are trained at inner-city educational facilities, such as Wayne State University, a public research university. Detroit is also a music city. Apart from the internationally recognized soul music label Motown, Detroit has produced numerous talents in a variety of genres, including punk, hip hop, Detroit house, techno, rock, and more. Detroit has an opera, a symphony, and several world renowned music venues, such as The Filmore Detroit, and festivals such as Movement Music Festival.

Furthermore, Detroit is home to an extensive treasure trove of modern architecture, such as a completely preserved Mies van der Roh complex near the city center. In 2015, Detroit was designated a UNESCO City of Design, building on its reputation as a city of makers that was once the epicenter of American industry, particularly in the cultural and creative sectors (Keller, 2015). The application was submitted by DC3, a network of creative business leaders in Michigan and located at Detroit's College for Creative Studies (CCS), another well-known educational facility. The UNESCO City of Design initiative is a tool for economic development that draws on a city's long-term commitment to design as well as its cultural heritage (Design Core Detroit, 2022).

Moreover, in 2014, Detroit became a "Welcoming City" and launched The Detroit City Council Immigration Task Force (Global Detroit, 2022). Due to its history of immigration, the city already offers infrastructures (international cuisine, religious facilities, and cultural traditions) and hosts a variety of communities, making it easier for newly-arrived immigrants to establish themselves in the city. Former state representative Steve Tobocman (2014) published a report on the role of immigration in Detroit. He recommends supporting immigrant-inclusive initiatives and businesses to help revitalize Detroit (Tobocman, 2014). Since 2010, non-profits like Global Detroit have set up numerous initiatives and programs, including ones for immigrant entrepreneurship and neighborhood revitalization, to identify opportunities and display institutional stability in the region for immigrants.

In short, the city's excellent educational and cultural institutions make Detroit an attractive destination for global business and a global workforce. It is also attractive for people working in the fields of technology, car manufacturing, medicine, and the creative industries. Finally, it is known for being immigrant inclusive. These regional location factors not only influence where local, national, and international companies and institutions invest, but also where an educated and non-educated global workforce seeks employment and real estate opportunities. However, these regional factors are primarily attractive to newcomers at certain income levels or particular educational backgrounds. Local or regional residents who do not have access to financial or educational resources do not necessarily benefit from these resources.

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4.1.2 Public-Private Investment in Midtown and Downtown

Private investment and public-private partnerships (PPPs) in particular have paved the way for large-scale revitalization projects of vacant buildings and lots in inner city Detroit over the past decade. PPPs are usually an arrangement a city or governmental body makes as a public entity together with a private investor with the common goal of providing some sort of public infrastructure from which the city can profit.

An example of a top-down PPP is the construction of the Little Caesars Arena, an ice hockey arena built by the Ilitch Family in Midtown. The family received $400 million in direct taxpayer dollars to build the arena and develop a neighborhood around it with restaurants, bars, and retail and residential buildings whose revenues would increase their own profits (Perkins, 2019).

Figure 4.0.: A home for sale near Little Caesars Arena at 2712 Cass Avenue, Detroit, 2021. Photo by Cordula Ditz.

The arena was built but the surrounding area remains a wasteland of "blighted buildings, parking garages, and surface parking lots" (Perkins, 2019). The community structures in the neighborhood, now known as "The District",[61] have been affected. Figure 4.0 shows a duplex home next to the arena that has been up for sale for a long time and that the investors did not improve or include in the neighborhood revitalization plan.[62] It is surrounded by commercial buildings and suffers from blight. This is an example of how PPPs can enhance the property value of private investors but effect the property of adjacent residents. In fact, it has the capacity to devalue the property of local residents who may not have the financial means to improve their building structures in that neighborhood nor the money to acquire a new house somewhere else.

Another example is Dan Gilbert, who has pursued another kind of "colonial" redevelopment[63]

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[61] The District Detroit was at first announced as a bold vision for public-private investment designed to bring sports, entertainment, economic vitality and a new, world-class arena to the area between downtown and Midtown (The District Detroit, 2018).

[62] Neither the City of Detroit nor anyone else have pressed charges to sanction the Illitch's investment scheme of not developing the purchased and government-funded real estate as promised.

[63] I refer to the investor's redevelopment plans as "colonial" because such plans often do not allow current residents to participate in redevelopment. They do not engage in a long-term urban planning process together with the City of Detroit. Instead, they try to create cases of privatized urban development to which other urban institutions are supposed to be oriented. Their goal is to profit from real estate appreciation, but not to work collaboratively to develop cities or neighborhoods sustainably or improve the living conditions of local residents.

involving downtown space through what has been referred to as "real estate and technology investment" (Rafael & Irwin, 2017, p. 9). The founder of Quicken Loan and a real estate mogul, Gilbert[64] began his private investments by moving the headquarters of his mortgage lending company from the suburbs to Downtown Detroit in 2010. In 2011, he founded his real estate firm Bedrock, which began buying empty office spaces, hotels, and commercial buildings, accumulating around 100 properties downtown, often with the city's support (Rafael & Irwin, 2017).

One of Gilbert's most well-known investments is the Z, a parking garage that, along with the adjacent alley, The Belt, is decorated with 27 murals by international street and graffiti artists (Rafael & Irwin, 2017, p. 9). Today, The Belt looks public and invites pedestrians to stroll along it, as part of a commercial strip hosting restaurants, shops, and a gallery space.[65] However, the beautified buildings are not public property or public commissions. They belong to the portfolio of Bedrock Detroit (Bedrock, 2021).

In Downtown Detroit, Gilbert has used art to brand properties and spaces that he owns but that appear to be public.[66] Not only does he use art to market his own real estate portfolio, but by supporting the arts, he has been able to draw positive attention to his downtown real estate. By creating visual (land)marks in Downtown Detroit, he has used art to develop his placement and development strategies. These projects have also provided space for artists, including members of the local graffiti scene,[67] to present their work, giving local talent more exposure and connecting it to national and international artists.

Many entrepreneurs have imitated Gilbert's use of art, design, and Detroit's cultural history, its music and architecture, not only to decorate their real estate but to spark or revive related

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64 Gilbert's commitment to invest in the city and create employment opportunities has gained him trust over the past decade (Perkins, 2017). Consequently, the City of Detroit has engaged in several PPPs with him, such as the Downtown Street Car and the Q Line under whose tracks Gilbert has installed Rocket Fiber, a high speed fiberoptic internet cable. Gilbert has bought about 95% of the properties, city-land owned, along the Q Line (Rafael & Irwin, 2017, p. 9).

65 The driving force behind the transformation of the formerly "under-utilized space" is Library Street Collective, a commercial art gallery. In an official statement, Library Street Collective claims to curate what it refers to as "Public Art" in "public space" (Library Street Collective, n.d.). The gallery's main projects and income sources involve commissioning artists who work with building structures in Downtown Detroit, i.e., through large scale installations or murals that are owned by or traded through Bedrock Detroit, Gilbert's commercial real estate firm. The Belt and the Z were collaborative projects between the gallery and Bedrock Detroit (Library Street Collective, 2022).

66 In 2013, Rock Venture, Gilbert's real estate investment firm, provided a "visionary place making and retail plan". Together with Downtown Detroit Partnership (DDP) and Detroit Economic Growth Corporation, they branded it "Opportunity Detroit." Its purpose was to develop retail stores, apartments, and offices along Woodward Avenue (Rafael & Irwin, 2017, p. 9), and "to encourage people to live, work, play and invest in the City of Detroit" (Quicken Loans, 2013).

67 While Gilbert has used muralists and graffiti artists to make his properties more visually attractive, he has tried to punish artists who have made art on his empty properties and buildings downtown without his invitation, even taking legal actions against them (Neavling, 2014).

business activity. A series of wealthy suburban Detroit businessmen have also, through their high concentration of land acquisition in centrally located districts, created their own "corporate fiefdom" (Perkins, 2019:1).[68] It is not the City of Detroit that is primarily known for reinvesting into residential or commercial real estate in the inner city, but rather the names of the projects, visions, or ideas of private investors that can be found in information about more recent inner city urban development.

Very often, these investors' development strategies do not consider the existing residential needs or spatial conflicts in neighborhoods. They are only interested in improving a neighborhood according to the value standards of a real estate market driven by economic growth factors. Moreover, these privately-owned and revitalized spaces are private commercial investments that often develop commercial spaces or habitats for higher income classes instead of sustaining residential living structures in low-income neighborhoods or for low-income residents.

Gilbert does nevertheless seem to be aware of his monocultural actions, namely that concentrating on revitalizing inner-city neighborhoods alone leaves the blighted neighborhoods untouched. In an opening statement about public-private ownership in Detroit, he addressed the fact that there is no way that this Downtown or Midtown momentum can continue or for great things to keep happening if the vast majority of Detroit's neighborhoods continue to die (Pyati, 2014).[69]

Commercial and residential real estate investment and public-private improvements in the downtown area through arts and culture have a positive impact on property values in the area because these inner-city improvements both attract people to work and live there and make them appear safe and convenient in terms of everyday infrastructures. They also attract other investors to invest in real estate in the area. Residential and commercial rents and market prices in Downton Detroit have climbed (Aguilar, 2016). But has the rising price spiral of real estate value in the inner city positively influenced the residential real estate market in Campau/Banglatown? According to local resources, Detroit's revival, spearheaded by rich and private investors like Gilbert, is "spreading beyond its downtown spine and the real estate empire" because foundations and banks have followed suit and are helping to secure financing in the city on different levels such as community engaged projects in other neighborhoods (Howes, 2019).

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[68] These include Dan Gilbert, Matty Moroun, Philip Kafka, and the Ilitch family, to name only a few.

[69] Gilbert attended a conference that explored how the public and private sectors can join forces with philanthropic institutions and nonprofit organizations to revive urban cores that have suffered population loss, disinvestment, and a shrinking tax base (Pyati, 2014).

4.1.3. Urban Digital Data

According to one research report on Detroit's housing market, a healthy housing market is an important component of a healthy city (Urban Institute, 2017). The report, by the Urban Institute – a nonprofit research organization that provides data and evidence for promoting inclusive economic growth (Urban Institute, n.d.) – compiled instructions using a number of studies, including the Neighborhood Change Database and census data. By collecting and visualizing this data, the Urban Institute has been able to give advice on the best ways to optimize a healthy housing market in Detroit. Strategies include using landbank programs or lease-purchase agreements and appealing to local stakeholders and leaders. This is, however, a top-down report, done in collaboration with JPMorgan Chase, one of the largest banks in the US. But it is part of a growing series of data reports and surveys that transform data, be it digital or analog, into useful tools that possibly indicate urban development and growth in the city.

Over the past few decades, a series of reports focused on residential real estate. These included "The Detroit Housing Market" (Urban Institute, 2017), research studies, parcel survey analyses such as "Motor City Mapping" (Detroit Blight Removal Task Force, 2013), "Property Praxis" (Akers et al., n.d.), and "Detroit Residential Parcel Survey" (Detroit Data Collaborative, 2010). The reports were conducted by non-profit organizations, private foundations, community organizers, banks, urban researchers, and geo data services. Land parcel and location context data was also collected by Data Driven Detroit[70] and LOVELAND Technologies (now known as Regrid).[71] Some of these reports document the current status quo of residential shrinkage, some analyze the current housing market, and others have become guidebooks for how and where to invest in the city. These data analytic activities have contributed to better assessments of Detroit's residential real estate market, i.e., by mapping the conditions of homes and lots through participatory mapping carried out by local residents. These all deliver data that serve as a basis for homeowners, private investors, and public and financial institutions, such as banks. For example, as the 2010 census was approaching, the City of Detroit and private foundations invested in a "Detroit Residential Parcel Survey" (Detroit Data Collaborative, 2010). Organized by Data Driven Detroit,[72] the survey categorized the conditions of the city's housing and vacant lots from good to in need of demolition. It also tried to give a citywide overview of the degree

[70] Data Driven Detroit is one of the first non-profit data collection and analysis firms working with digital urban data in Detroit. For more information see: https://datadrivendetroit.org

[71] Regrid started as Loveland Technologies in Detroit and expanded into a nationwide, urban data analysis service. For more information see: https://regrid.com

[72] Generating their data via on-site mapping complemented by pre-existing digital data, Data Driven Detroit has experimented with public and private data mining and contributed to building up an urban digital twin for the City of Detroit. Most of all, they have inspired and engaged local residents to participate in collecting data, i.e., for the 2010 and 2020 censuses. Because contributing or sharing data over smart phones and social media has become technologically possible, it is now feasible to involve a diverse and broader user group (from homemakers and activists to investment bankers) (Data Driven Detroit, 2022).

of structural damage suffered by residential homes, i.e., through fire or distressed conditions. The survey categorized residential homes and adjacent lots and therefore qualified them as areas with potential or areas of loss. By mapping the vacancy rate in neighborhoods, it also delivered a coherent argument regarding the houses in need of demolition and the areas that are less secure.

Another example is the 2012 Detroit Strategic Framework Plan, initiated by local foundations and the city of Detroit (Detroit Future City, 2013). The initiative used contributions from participating communities, targeted Detroit's overall urban development, and with the collection and discussion of local real estate data, qualified properties and land and advised on how to improve and stabilize neighborhoods with vacant houses (Detroit Future City, 2013).

All of these research projects have worked with geo data systems or geo spatial mapping initiatives collecting and/or mining urban digital data for their own analyses. Whether or not they have a commercial orientation or are non-profit or one-time initiatives, they work at the intersection of digitization and urban planning while providing material and data for citizens and stakeholders to argue for or against urban planning projects (Schwegmann et al., 2021). It is argued that as a form of technology, urban digital data turns single-family housing into an institutional asset (Poleg, 2020, p. 157), a form of digital investment and a good that is manageable because it is digital and has been quantified and can therefore be traded. For example, Global Detroit and goodgood (2017), an interdisciplinary design studio,[73] developed a Vision + Action Plan for Campau/Banglatown in 2016. They collected qualitative data on housing and experiences in the neighborhood through participatory observation, mapping, workshops, and other tools such as focus groups with residents. The results of the plan were made available to the public, but also became part of the Strategic Neighborhood Planning Development, a public-private partnership with the City of Detroit and other investors. I discuss the impact of the Strategic Neighborhood Plan in more detail in Chapter 4.2.4.

The digitization and visualization of data based on mapping and surveys is thus a powerful tool for defining, contributing to, and influencing the development of values for residential real estate. Some of these data collection initiatives have been carried out in correspondence or in collaboration with neighborhood organizations or as part of a neighborhood initiative by local residents, though only a few have addressed community-based solutions or have integrated the collected qualitative data into their data set. On a positive note, mapping and data collection and their resulting documents have made displacement, foreclosure, speculation, and abandonment more visible (Akers, 2017, p. 4). As already shown in Chapter 3, mapping in and maps about Detroit

[73] goodgood is Karen Stein, a Boston based designer, artist, and educator, and Benjamin Gaydos, a Detroit-based designer, artist, and filmmaker, who consider economic, social equity, and ecological factors integral parts of the design process (goodgood, n.d.).

have become powerful tools politically as well as economically, determining urban development agendas and ultimately how to cluster and govern people and their neighborhoods in the city. And yet, digital data collection is more than just a quantified tool of power for delivering arguments in the context of urban development, be it for political, economic, or communal reasons. Some digital data analysis programs also implement into their data collection set qualified data, i.e., about the living quality of a location or for a certain age group. Those residents, initiatives, or commercial entities that have the resources and abilities to produce data on their own can influence data collection by collecting and manipulating their own data. The use of digital data sets in urban planning processes also shows that a city like Detroit not only relies on quantified data selected in the past, but also projects scenarios that work with data (including qualified data) to simulate the city's future developments. The visualization of digital data, i.e., through graphs or other graphic design modes (for either qualitative or quantitative data), makes real estate data comparable and easier to interpret. Capturing digital data is also useful for qualifying real estate in Detroit, either by including social data, updated sales prices, or participatory data by homeowners. Moreover, it has become an influencing factor on the real estate market, for example by using the data to support arguments for or against neighborhood redevelopment.

Regional factors such as education, cultural institutions, an openness to immigrant labor, and public-private investment all influence Detroit's real estate market. But the above examples also show that the way real estate data is collected and presented, i.e., through collecting quantitative and qualitative digital data, delivers arguments and creates a power dynamic to increase the image of the city or stimulate its future planning. Furthermore, it indicates that a real estate market like Detroit's, which has been characterized by shrinking and low demand among buyers due to a surplus of residential and commercial real estate, can be influenced by strengthening its non-economic values, such as educational and cultural institutions, and its urban history or reviving its inner-city infrastructures through art and culture as well as by bolstering prosperous future development by simulating which existing data and specifications are needed for a positive outcome in a specific location or neighborhood.

4.2. Value-in-Use Factors of Single-Family Homes in Campau/Banglatown

In this section, I analyze the value-in-use factors of single-family homes that play an important role on the residential real estate market in Campau/Banglatown and that are locally specific and may vary from neighborhood to neighborhood in Detroit. Part of the economic value of real estate, value-in-use is characterized in terms of residents, city planners, and business owners in Campau/Banglatown. Value is explained in social-systemic terms (Galster, 2019). It is defined by the users and homeowners of single-family homes and their preferences and needs (Lorenz, et al., 2018, pp. 47-48).

Over the past ten years, the market value of real estate in Campau/Banglatown has grown moderately in comparison to the rapid growth of inner-city residential real estate (Census Reporter, 2020). According to the American Housing Survey, the residential market values and sales prices of residential homes built before 1939 improved in Detroit's urban areas between 2013 and 2019 (Table 4.0).

Year of Survey	2013	2015	2019
Total of Metropolitan Area			
Median (US Dollars)	67,000	75,000	125,000
Mean (US Dollars)	x	X	166,200
Metro: Central City			
Median (US Dollars)	32,000	60,000	70,000
Mean (US Dollars)	x	x	118,100

Table 4.0: Values and purchase prices, homes built in 1939 or earlier in Metro Detroit, American Housing Survey 2013,2015 and 2019.

As shown in Table 4.0, the median[74] market value of residential homes built before 1939 has increased in Detroit's metropolitan area and in the inner-city district from $32,000 to $70,000. The mean, which represents the average of all sales in the city of Detroit, was $118,100 in 2019. These numbers certainly do not represent the reality of a typically distressed urban neighborhood in Detroit, but they do indicate residential real estate's growth tendency. The numbers include the purchase prices of single-family houses with smaller lots comparable to the ones in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood as well as larger family dwellings in wealthier neighborhoods in the city of Detroit.

Detroit's Campau/Banglatown neighborhood has the same zip code, 48212, as the city of Hamtramck. They are located next to each other. In the census reports available online, data is often provided under the zip code and therefore placed under "Hamtramck." A comparison of census housing data between 2010 and 2020 affirms that the median value of owner-occupied housing units in the 48212 zip code area increased from $3,628 in 2010 to $72,600 in 2020 (United States Census Bureau (2020). Overall, the median value of owner-occupied housing units in the city of Detroit is $52,700 (United States Census Bureau, 2021). The largest increase is for houses under $100,000 and between $100,000 and $200,000, which represents the price range of houses in Campau/Banglatown compared to real estate prices on platforms like Zillow or Realtor.

[74] The median amount is the middle point for real estate prices, half of the houses are priced for less and half priced for more. The purchase price, sometimes referred to as the "mean" or "average," is the sum of all sales prices of houses divided by the numbers of houses sold (The Balance Editors, 2022).

For example, the property value of my FILTER Detroit house has increased as well. I bought the single-family home at an auction for $3,500, but had to redo the plumbing and some electrical wiring, install a used forced air heater, build a kitchen, replace half of the windows and do some flooring. Later in 2014, I built a studio with a full bath and kitchen in the attic. According to the real estate platform Zillow, the FILTER Detroit single-family home – estimated as having 1 bath, 2 bedrooms, and not including the studio space – had an estimated value of $69,500 in 2019 and $81,500 in 2022 (Zillow, 2022). The real estate platform indicates rising sales prices for residential homes in the 48212 zip code area. According to local real estate agent Nazmul Islam,[75] property prices have more than doubled over the past decade:

> And property, value-wise from, I would say, 2010 to 2017, is more than doubled. More than double the price. The single-family house was selling even until 2014 [for] about $32,000 to $50,000. Now these houses [are] selling [for] $82,000 to $120,000. Two-family units. Single-family [are] selling up to… Some of them up to $100,000. […] Which was in 2010, 2011. Even in 2012, you [could] buy between $25,000 to $30,000. (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017)

Alexa Bush, the urban design director of the East Region in the City of Detroit Planning Department, explains that the Campau/Banglatown area has seen a growth in population (A. Bush, personal communication, March 15, 2019). With this recent growth, the demand for residential real estate and the neighborhood's attractiveness have increased. Bush points out that demand is high and it is a seller's market, because the development of new single-family homes in the area is not possible – there are hardly any empty lots for building new houses (A. Bush, personal communication, March 15, 2019). The already developed areas are densely populated due to the closely arranged residential homes.

Nazmul Islam confirms that the single-family home market has become more competitive.

> More people [are] coming in. And more people [are] coming in because of jobs available and housing is still affordable. (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017)

The real estate agent explains that due to the relatively low cost of housing, demand has been high in Campau/Banglatown. Likewise, he indicates that there is not a large supply of this kind of low-cost housing.

Both the perspective of the city planner and the real estate agent as well as the empirical data

[75] Islam has been the insurance agent for FILTER Detroit's property insurance since November 2012. My then-neighbor Ali referred me to him when I was looking for an insurance agent. His office is only a short, two block walk away. It was important to me to find an insurance agent who I could talk to in person and who is familiar with Campau/Banglatown as a neighborhood.

about the rise of economic real estate value show that within a decade, Campau/Banglatown has developed from a buyer's market to a seller's market for residential real estate from 2010 to 2020. In the following subsections of this chapter, I show which value-in-use factors have informed the demand for real estate in this area over the past decade.

4.2.1. Job Availability, Affordability, & Access to Everyday Infrastructures

Nazmul Islam explained why Hamtramck[76] and Campau/Banglatown are so attractive to live in. When asked how he describes this area to potential customers, he replied:

> This area [has] potential for low-skilled and skilled and semi-skilled people, jobs [are] available. Jobs and housing. Housing is still very cheap compared to anywhere in the United States. Anyway, you can rent any apartment here [for] $500 to $600. I mean, nowhere in the US I would say you find that type of housing. […] People, new immigrant people, easily find jobs in this area and they live in Hamtramck. They like to live in Hamtramck. […] And everything is convenient here. And the communication, the freeways, [its] close to the downtown and also [the] few universities and hospitals and medical centers. (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017)

The affordability of this type of housing in comparison to other Detroit neighborhoods is an important location factor. Writer and Hamtramck-native Walter Wasacz, whose family background is Polish, adds that the houses built in the Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown area are functional "not in terms of architecture. [They are] functional, well-built houses of affordability to live in" (W. Wasacz, personal communication, March 12, 2018). In addition, the real estate agent points out that the availability of jobs in the immediate vicinity for semi-skilled, skilled, and non-skilled labor makes the neighborhood attractive, especially for immigrants.

According to the Detroit Future City Strategic Framework Plan, job growth has already occurred near the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood, which urban planning experts describe as an industrial and international trade area, and is expected to continue to grow in the future (Detroit Future City, 2013, p. 8). Islam also addresses the convenience of pre-existing infrastructures such as regional road access to central locations and the suburbs and the walking distance to infrastructures providing everyday care, including fresh food, grocery stores, and pharmacies. By Detroit standards and according to the Detroit Department of Transportation Map, Campau/Banglatown is already well connected on a public transportation network. There are secondary bus routes downtown and to the neighborhoods to the east and west (City of Detroit, 2021).[77]

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[76] During the time of the interview with Nazmul Islam in 2017, the official neighborhood name Campau/Banglatown did not yet exist. This is why Nazmul refers to Hamtramck or Banglatown when talking about Campau/Banglatown. This also indicates that the neighborhood boundaries between Detroit (Campau/Banglatown) and Hamtramck (Hamtramck) are porous.

[77] At the same time, I have observed over the years that no one I have interviewed or have been in contact with takes

Another resident, Saul Levin, describes the combination of shopping and functional city services such as garbage pick-up and intact streetlights as ideal for Detroit in comparison to other neighborhoods. Levin, who suffers from Crone's disease and requires regular medication, considers the walkable and accessible markets and pharmacies on Conant Street, the neighborhood's main street, as location-defining.

When asked about the neighborhood's unique selling points, Nazmul Islam listed the variety of shops, the variety of religious institutions, and the schools (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017). Moreover, the real estate agent connects job availability (it is close to industrial manufacturing sites) to interest in the area's real estate. According to him, as long as there are jobs available in Michigan, property values will rise (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017). Within the logic of a residential real estate market, job availability, affordability, and infrastructural access to daily local supplies contribute to value-in-use (Lorenz et al, 2018) as well as what I characterize as social and cultural value factors, such as closeness to schools or religious institutions.

Most of what the real estate agent and other residents have described as valuable or attractive location factors are relevant because of Campau/Banglatown's specific location in the city of Detroit and as a result of being a grown neighborhood that is about a century old.

4.2.2 Safety Through a Sense of Security

The proximity of Hamtramck, which is seen as a safe and secure place because it has its own police force and fire department and is even more densely populated, adds to the list of arguments for why Campau/Banglatown is a safe area (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017).

Kamal, one of FILTER's neighbors across the street, specifies that the Bengali community here is very close-knit, providing a sense of security within the community – much like back home in Bangladesh (Krishnamurthy, 2011, p. 77). Mika'il Stewart Saadiq, an Iman who also works as a liaison for the City of Detroit in District 3 as an outreach director for Michigan's Muslim community, praises this area as "safe for your children" (Iman Mika'il Stewart Saadiq, personal communication, March 14, 2018). A sense of security is subjective and can be interpreted in different ways. Safety can mean that a neighborhood has a low crime rate, i.e., that there is no violence, theft or robbery. A sense of safety can also relate to social cohesion, a feeling of

buses on a regular basis. Just based on the number of cars parked in front of their homes, at least one member of every household in my neighborhood has a car. My Bangladeshi American neighbors commute to work by car or by carpooling with those who work the same shifts at one of the industrial supply companies. They even take their cars to go shopping at the nearby local grocery stores. For their children's Quran School on Sunday mornings, parents also organize carpools, even though these schools are often in walking distance from their homes.

belonging to a specific community, or to a place or neighborhood that seems familiar (Easthope, 2004; Forrest & Kearns, 2001) and therefore safe to move around in. I further elaborate on a sense of belonging in Chapter 4.3.5.

Greg Kowalski, a long time Hamtramck resident and local historian, explains that community can also add to a sense of security (G. Kowalski, personal communication, March 9, 2018). According to him, this area, and Hamtramck especially, has more stable neighborhoods because it is an "integrated city." He explicates that the feeling of safety comes from respect for the residents' different countries of origin and cultures:

> There is conflict from time to time on various things, but [no] physical conflict, nobody is threatening anybody. (G. Kowalski, personal communication, March 9, 2018)

Kowalski relates a sense of security to how many conflicts residents experience with each other. Moreover, safety issues caused by physical destruction and damage because of housing is relatively low in comparison to other Detroit neighborhoods. According to Detroit Parcel Survey (Data Driven Detroit, 2009), housing safety issues range from visible fire damage to dangerous housing structures in need of demolition (Figure 4.1). Only 10-15% of the lots and buildings in East Banglatown showed signs of severe safety issues in 2009. This figure suggests that a majority of the residential structures in Campau/Banglatown have been maintained in conditions suitable for occupation without endangering the adjacent neighbors.

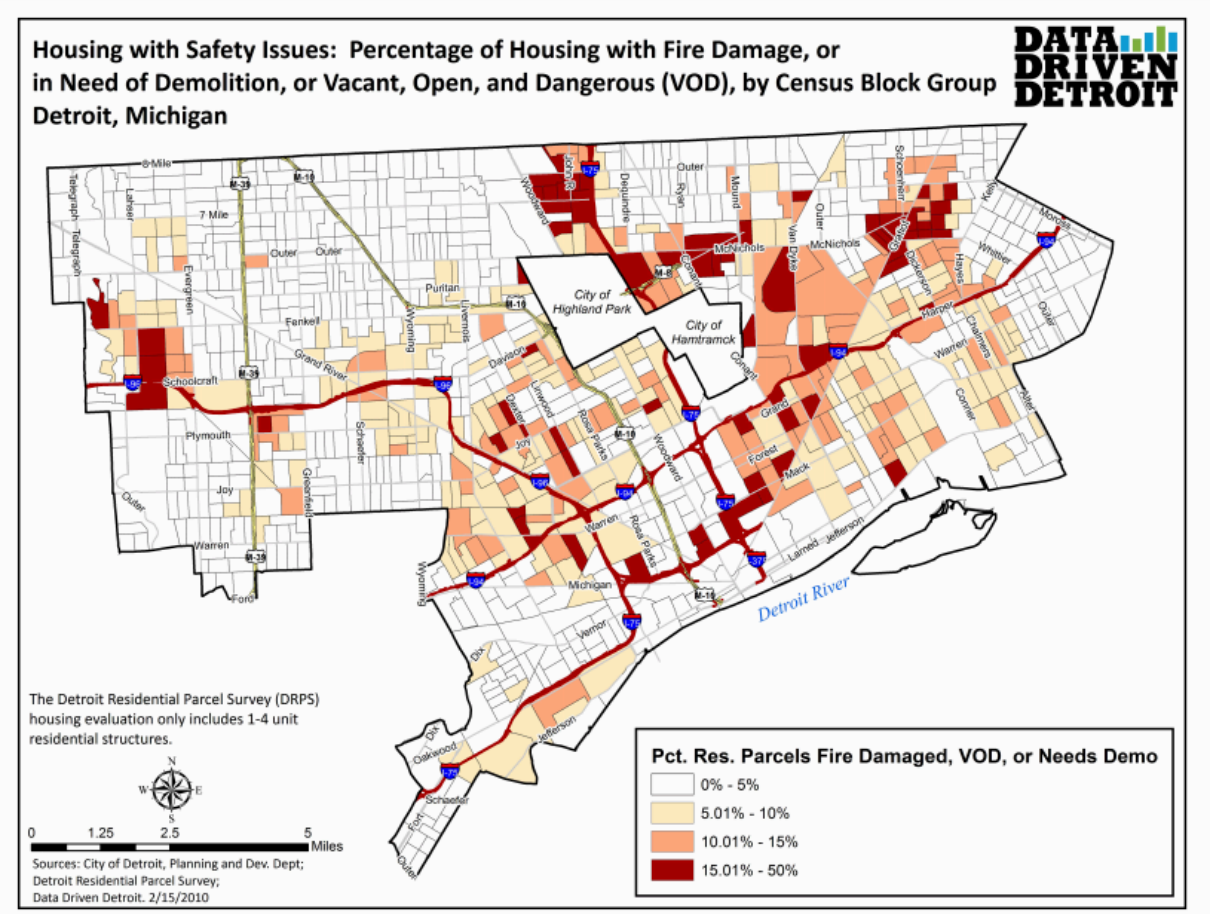

Figure 4.1: Housing with Safety Issues, 2009. Courtesy of Data Driven Detroit.

Housing safety is not only a structural concern for potential homebuyers, but also a major factor in the selection of a neighborhood, particularly in a socially-deprived environment. According to Nazmul Islam, the most common fear in Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck remains fire and crime (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017). He points out that 80% of the residents have property insurance:[78]

> […] anybody who is buying new, through mortgage or even buying cash, they have the insurance. (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017)

In my own personal experience, petty crime and burglary of homes where valuables are stolen is a regular event in Campau/Banglatown. FILTER Detroit, for example, has been broken into several times and refrigerators and computers or tools have been stolen. Almost all the neighbors that I have been in contact with in the neighborhood have experienced at least attempted break ins. Iman Mika'il Stewart Saadiq explains that burglars prey on immigrant communities because they are more vulnerable, not only because they do not have the financial means to protect themselves through alarm systems. He also confirms that because they are distrustful of the Western banking

[78] The location of the neighborhood is an issue for insurance companies and its ratings for crime and insurance cases. Nazmul Islam will not insure properties next to burned or abandoned houses because of the high risk. He advises his clients to take care of their own "stuff," so that he can reinsure the property (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017).

system, local Muslim communities store their valuables and savings at home instead of at banks. For him, this is one reason why houses in the neighborhood have become subject to "burglary spurts", during which burglaries occur several times in a row after the burglars found something:

> You know, so, they break in one house and they say: "Hey, you know what I found." And the streets talk. That's what we say in Detroit, "The streets are talking". So people, they go back and tell: we can score this and we can score that. You know. (Iman Mika'il Stewart Saadiq, personal communication, March 14, 2018)

The Hamtramck Review, a weekly paper for Hamtramck and bordering neighborhoods, even has a section reserved for logging daily crimes known to the police. The crimes range from expired license plates to car theft, domestic violence, arson, and burglary.

In burglary and arson cases, the overall reaction time of the Detroit police and fire department is slow. The mismanagement of the city as well as its financial crisis has shrunk the number of police officers and firefighters. The staff shortage does not run parallel to crime in Detroit. This might explain why the police did not go to my neighbor's house when it was broken into one evening. I witnessed the burglary and called the police while it was happening. The police wanted to know if anyone was injured. No one was. Since it was an uninhabited neighbor's house, that settled the matter and the police never came.

As a measurement to prevent theft, fire, and the illegal occupation of vacant property, my immediate neighbors in Campau/Banglatown established a neighborhood block group and invited everyone living on the block to join a group chat or reach out to each other in the event of a crime (i.e., burglary), suspicious activities, and fire to prevent further damage.[79] Safety through a sense of neighborhood security therefore has different aspects. On the one hand, from the individual perspective, i.e., as a parent who feels safe with their children in the neighborhood or feels safe in their home in terms of its architectural structure. On the other hand, it is described from the community perspective as a cultural value where social cohesion creates a feeling of safety and belonging to a community, i.e., living side by side with little conflict in an inclusive neighborhood of different ethnicities and different cultural backgrounds.

4.2.3 Home Ownership Rate

Another aspect of value-in-use that stood out as a constant point of discussion during my field work was the rate of owner-occupied homes. The owner-occupied housing unit rate for

[79] Despite the low rates of vacancy, house fires continue to be a dangerous threat to the neighborhood. Because the homes are densely built together and made from flammable materials (wood and vinyl frames). A single-family home can easily catch fire, which can then spread to the adjacent occupied homes. Detroit's fire department typically has long response times, which means fires burning for quite some time before they are extinguished.

homeowners in Campau/Banglatown from 2016 until 2020 was 62.5%. That is higher than in Detroit overall where the rate was 47.6% (United States Census Bureau, 2019). In the following paragraph, I explain why home ownership is so popular in the district and what factors play a role in someone becoming a homeowner.

Islam, the real estate agent, explains that alongside cash sales, land contracts[80] were also very popular between 2010 and 2014. According to him, land contracts decreased because of the recent housing shortage and the rise in residential real estate value in Campau/Banglatown (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017). In a seller's market, it is more efficient to sell or own a house and profit immediately from its increase in economic value than to (land) contract a house or rent one over several years:

> And one very interesting thing I see is [that] fate is playing a big role on mortgage. People – here is a Muslim population, [a] large Muslim population – they don't want… They are not comfortable [paying] interest and buy[ing] through a mortgage, they try to buy all cash or they have alternative financing like Islamic mortgage. (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017)

The immigrant Islamic community prefers paying cash not only because they do not have bank accounts, but also because they do not trust banks and do not want to be part of the US mortgage market. However, they do trust banking within their community through what is referred to as an "Islamic mortgage".[81] According to the real estate agent, the Bangladeshi American community would prefer to own a piece of land or a house (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017). Direct ownership of a house without a bank or landlord's involvement guarantees certain rights and power over a space. For example, homeowners can make changes to their own property and buildings in terms of landscaping, architecture, or design based on their own needs and within the limits of what is legally possible. In that sense, homeownership is not only an economic incentive that guarantees certain rights as a homeowner that one would not have as a non-homeowner. It is directly linked to a cultural practice, i.e., for Bengali Americans who have certain religious beliefs and would like to be homeowners without depending on a mortgage.

Mortgage-free housing and owner-occupied housing have many advantages. For example, occupants have an interest in maintaining their properties and want to protect them from crime

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[80] A land contract is a written legal document between a buyer and seller about the acquisition of land. It is an agreement to buy a property. The buyer makes payments over a certain period of time to the real estate owner until the property is paid for. This way, the owner does not have to take out a mortgage and pay interest. However, if buyers cannot follow up on payments, they might lose their rights to the property and what they have already paid depending on the conditions of the written agreement (Kagan, 2021).

[81] An Islamic mortgage is a mortgage run through a bank that finances in compliance with Sharia law. Under Sharia law, it is forbidden to pay interest rates.

and devaluation. For example, by mowing the lawns in front of their houses, by making sure their houses can be reached via the sidewalk or by investing in the improvement of building structures and infrastructures around the house. Thus, they care for their houses, their neighbors and the neighborhood where they live and work in. This individual act of caring as a homeowner can set an example for other neighbors and help stabilize the neighborhood more generally.

My observations of neighbors and friends living in Campau/Banglatown are similar to those of the real estate agent. Homeownership is popular and empty houses are rare. They are often sold by word of mouth without an agent, bank, or mortgage company's involvement. Whenever I talk to my Bengali American or artist neighbors about housing and how to improve the structural condition of one's own home, the topic often leads to updates about which houses are available for sale on the block, who has sold or bought a house in the neighborhood, and what they did with the house.

About a decade ago when I started looking into real estate in Campu/Banglatown, I counted two sales agents, John Ulaj and Leanne Zaliwski-Conger, who catered to the Polish immigrant community, advertising in the Hamtramck Review. Nazmul Islam was the only sales agent who primarily catered to the Bengali American community and did not advertise in the local newspaper. When I asked him about possible competition, he explained that Ulaj owns the Hamtramck Review and that Zaliwski-Conger is a major player in the Polish American real estate market. Islam himself sells to the Bengali American community because of his personal community ties as a former resident of Hamtramck himself (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017). Becoming a homeowner is therefore closely linked to already established community ties or networks with one's own community.

I have found that single-family home ownership has been important to the past (Chapter 3.3) and recent immigrant population in Campau/Banglatown. Furthermore, homeownership that does not rely on bank mortgages and loans is important to residents in terms of their rights as homeowners as well as for cultural aspects that strengthen ties within their community. Furthermore, homeownership is an individual act of care, that can create a sense of safety and security. Moreover, Global Detroit (2018) identifies immigrant homeownership as an incentive behind the neighborhood's economic growth.

4.2.4 From Opportunity Neighborhood to Strategic Neighborhood

To find out more about what residents, business owners, and stakeholders envision for the future of their neighborhood and what its current strengths are, Global Detroit and the interdisciplinary design studio goodgood developed the Vision + Action Plan for Campau/Banglatown in 2016.

According to Global Detroit & goodgood (2017), "the community development efforts in the area have lacked the cross-cultural cohesion and common vision needed to transform the neighborhood," which is why they produced a community plan with a joint vision, involving different stakeholders and actors in the neighborhood, such as the art initiative Power House Productions and the Bangladeshi American Public Affairs Committee.[82] Through their research, they found that the neighborhood already has many strengths, stressing, however, that cross-cultural cohesion between immigrant and non-immigrant residents is necessary for future community development and investment in the neighborhood (Global Detroit & goodgood, 2017). Therefore, they have advised the city to improve parks and nature, neighborhood cohesion, transportation, safety and housing and homeownership. The door-to-door survey revealed that immigrants face additional barriers, including a lack of bank accounts and different credit scores (Global Detroit, 2018). Global Detroit identified Campau/Banglatown as an "Opportunity Neighborhood". This allows immigrant families and business owners to receive administrative support from Global Detroit, which connects them to homeownership programs.[83] As a result, Global Detroit supports them by initiating programs for things such as home repair as well as foreclosure prevention (Global Detroit, 2022a). In addition, they provide possibilities through community engagement as well as funding small business opportunities (Global Detroit, 2022a). At the same time, Global Detroit pushes the narrative of a strong immigrant community while marketing and branding the neighborhood as an urban development hub with growth potential for immigrants (Global Detroit, 2018).

Shortly after the publishing of the Vision + Action Plan in 2019, the city announced that Campau/Banglatown, including the East Davison Neighborhood, had been selected as one of eight "Strategic Neighborhoods". Alexa Bush explains that the Strategic Neighborhood Fund, a public-private fund administered by the City of Detroit, was implemented to direct neighborhood investments towards specific causes. In Campau/Banglatown, for example, the Strategic Neighborhood Fund focuses on "safer streets, new park activities, and affordable housing" (A. Bush, personal communication, March 15, 2019). The focus could be different in another neighborhood. According to the plan, Detroit's strategic goals for the neighborhood include the continuation and expansion of its existing and emerging cultural community, the strengthening of its economic and social vitality, the commercial corridors and increase of housing rentals and homeownership opportunities for current and incoming populations, and the transformation of vacant landscapes into productive, sustainable, and beautiful spaces (City of Detroit 2019a).

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82 Through door-to-door canvassing, attending community events, organizing neighborhood interactions and community picnics, they received the input of about 350 residents, which led to what the initiators called a "joint vision" within a six-month period for their Vision + Action Plan (Global Detroit & goodgood, 2017).

83 For example, Global Detroit helps immigrants for whom English is often a second language with the auction process of the Detroit Land Bank or Wayne County auction and it provides and assists with foreclosure prevention information (Global Detroit, 2022a).

Their intentions see the city of Detroit as not only supporting the economic vitality of the neighborhood, but its cultural and social infrastructures and ties as well. The realization of the strategic neighborhood plan, which is also referred to as an action-based, participative process,[84] started in 2019 in the neighborhood (Noble, 2019).

One of these is the Conant Street Scape Project, which seeks to provide basic road improvements on Conant Street by reducing the driveways of business owners and delineating street parking while at the same time making it safer to cross the street by installing crosswalks, signs, and flower beds to act as speed bumps (City of Detroit, 2022d). Another project is the improvement of Jayne Playfield and the adjacent park and recreation area, making it more attractive for recreational use by improving play areas for ball games and refurbishing the children's playground.

The Detroit Land Bank Authority (DLBA) has become another important partner in helping to strengthen the community and revive the neighborhood by building "new opportunities" (K. Niemann, memory log, October 5, 2019). They promote and support the sale of vacant lots in the southern part of Campau/Banglatown through Community Partner Programs.[85] For example, Hope Center, a mosque with a community-centered program has been able to expand its activities and properties by making use of multiple empty lots and turning them into the Sylhet urban community garden (K. Niemann, memory log, October 5, 2019).
Overall, the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood has started to become part of an urban development narrative of growth and improvement. It has developed from an opportunity neighborhood that was supported largely by private initiatives and an influx of residents, such as immigrants from Bangladesh, Yemen, and other parts of the world as well as artists, to a strategic neighborhood whose infrastructural investments have often been supported through public-private partnership investments.

Regardless of the carrier – DLBA, Global Detroit, or the City of Detroit – all of these actors, implement incentives that are placemaking strategies which not only support and sustain the status quo of pre-existing community-based efforts by artists and newly arrived immigrants, but also aim for the neighborhood's potential economic growth. Therefore, the quality seal "strategic neighborhood" has become part of a value-in-use factor because it means that residents, banks,

[84] To realize the first actionable projects of the Campau/Davison/Banglatown Neighborhood Framework Plan, Detroit's Planning and Development Department (PDD), Housing and Revitalization Department (HRD), and Department of Neighborhoods (DON) collaborated with a team of resident consultants from the neighborhoods. Interboro, an independent architecture, urban design, and planning firm, helped to work out the framework plan together with the selected residents and neighborhood groups (Interboro, 2019).

[85] During the "Working the Land" workshop with community stakeholders and residents of Campau/Banglatown in October 2019, Darry Earl, the DLBA's Manager for Community Relations, promoted the Community Partners Program. In his presentation, he spoke to residents about ideas for using multiple empty lots at the same time while also strengthening community activities (K. Niemann, memory log, October 5, 2019).

the City of Detroit, and private investors speculate on improvements to the neighborhood and thus its real estate.

Moreover, the aforementioned factors about the high demand for real estate in Campau/Banglatown can be explained by the property's location within an older, already established neighborhood that benefits from the already integrated public, private, and community infrastructures as well as the constant influx of immigrants and their ethnic or network community connections. The most significant difference between Campau/Banglatown and Detroit's other immigrant neighborhoods is that it not only provides accessible living and business opportunities for newly arrived immigrants, it is also one of the few communities where different immigrant populations and cultural groups live next door to each other.

Overall, homeownership in Campau/Banglatown is a value-laden practice (Bourdieu, 2005). The economic value of single-family homes in this neighborhood has not only increased because of the high demand for residential real estate in the area. The analysis above shows that residents value factors such as job availability, affordability of homes, access to everyday infrastructures, safety and security, a high homeownership rate, and recognition as a strategic neighborhood by private and public institutions. These values represent use values which make the single-family homes functionable according to the needs and wants of the neighborhood residents and users independent from the real estate market. These value-in-use factors do not always belong to an economic value system from the perspective of homeowners or investors, i.e., a sense of safety is associated with belonging to a community, which is related to social interactions (Lorenz et al., 2018, pp. 44) and what I would define as social and cultural values. The mortgage-free high ownership rate is related to the religious affiliation of a certain community of residents and belongs to a cultural value system as well as the do-it-yourself mentality of artists who buy houses and gradually develop them into living, working and community spaces. The fact that social cohesion between immigrant and non-immigrant communities is strengthened by private investors and the City of Detroit in a strategic partnership underlines how such social interactions count as values in this neighborhood. The designated title of "Strategic Neighborhood" also enhances the neighborhood's image in comparison to other neighborhoods. Not every neighborhood is part of this support program and the title thus carries a symbolic value that can also be categorized as a sign of value (Lorenz et al., 2018, p. 47).

4.3 Single-Family Homes and Social Space

A more recent study of strong neighborhoods by researchers from the University of Michigan has shown that saving neighborhoods from the devaluation of residential real estate largely depends on the effectiveness of community-based efforts (Deng et. al., 2017). Independent from ethnicity

and social status, these communities take care of each other's properties (lots and residential buildings) as well as public facilities. They form communities of purpose, whose actions and networks can counteract the vacancy and deterioration of single-family homes and land. The intensity of these actions can be very different, depending on the communities' outlook, what they think they need to stabilize, or how they improve their neighborhood: from stewardship of land and community gardens to neighborhood watch groups, fencing and dry walling vacant homes or establishing housing cooperatives. These social practices are actions that relate to the social space in a neighborhood (Bourdieu, 1985). Furthermore, all these suggested actions require a sense of community (Blokland & Nast, 2014) that inspires the residents to care collectively about the social space in the neighborhood and its longevity.

The long-term vacancy of houses and lots in Detroit has allowed for unregulated and unplanned re-platting, bottom-up actions by individual homeowners and neighbors who transform empty lots into living or working spaces or sites for communal activities, often including mixed uses for play, leisure, and other activities. According to Kinder (2016), who has researched DIY initiatives in Detroit's neighborhoods, social practices in a physical space are valuable actions that inform that space. Safransky (2018, p. 500) explains that the value of vacant land is disputed by people who live on the land, care for it, and imagine different futures for it. Thus, value and social space are created by people who occupy the land. Kinder (2014) infers that the residents' oftentimes "guerilla-style spatial interventions", such as decorating empty houses with kids toys or furniture to make homes appear inhabited, are initiated by next door neighbors to keep their living environment safe and well-maintained.

These techniques, which can also include mowing the lawn of the vacant neighboring property or reshaping domestic architecture to restrict access to empty homes by boarding up windows and doors, create communal activities among the neighbors (Kinder, 2014). Simultaneously, these techniques and social organizing, inform social capital (Putnam, 1993; Bourdieu, 1986).

A research, architecture, and design group for spatial planning that uses participatory place-specific approaches, Interboro, describes one of these spatial practices as "blotting" (Armborst et. al., 2008). This occurs when local residents adopt, use, squat, or steward empty lots or homes next to their own homes. As an ongoing process, it affects large-scale land ownership as well as the density and the re-platting of city lots (Armborst et. al., 2008). Moreover, these social practices allow residents to improve their living conditions, i.e., through architectural transformations of domestic spaces, self-sustaining gardens, communal spaces for people living in the neighborhood, work spaces and more.

To better understand how an individual's sense of community affects the value of real estate in an integrated neighborhood such as Campau/Banglatown, I will analyze which value factors inform or create social space. I will now look at the relationships residents have with single-family homes.

4.3.1. Visual Maintenance and Care

Compared with other Detroit neighborhoods and the city of Hamtramck as a whole, the exterior facades of residential homes in Campau/Banglatown stand out visually because of their colorful ornamental details on their front yards and porches. Colored paint is often applied to brick parts of the houses' entrances or porches. In some cases, the houses are painted over entirely (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Green painted house next to Ride It Sculpture Park, Klinger Street, Campau/Banglatown, 2018. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

This bright green painted house with its lilac staircase stands out in stark contrast to the grey concrete of the sidewalk and the neighborhood Skate Park, Ride It Sculpture Park, to its right. Individually landscaped front yards or designed entranceways as well as creative uses of backyards as urban gardens further contribute to the neighborhoods' visually diverse appearance.

Figures 4.3: Colorful painted house entrance on Klinger Street, Campau/Banglatown, 2019. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

The visual aesthetics of the houses in this neighborhood (Figures 4.2 to 4.5) are unique and full of details. Former FILTER Detroit resident Luke Niewandomski comments:

> Every single house you look at has an interesting thing going on. People like to costume the ability of the architecture. This community is the opposite of a historic district. (L. Niewandomski, personal communication, August 8, 2017)

Niewandomski sees a connection between the architecture of the houses and people's initiative to decorate and maintain them despite their seemingly simple designs, using, for example, simple materials such as concrete and used carpets to decorate their front lawns and protect them from growing weeds (Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5). The philosopher and regular visitor to the neighborhood, Vince Carducci, stresses that the DIY culture of its occupants allows history and the people in the neighborhood to be visible. The houses represent a "palimpsest of previous occupants" (V. Carducci, personal communication, March 19, 2018). Artist and resident Liza Bielby feels that the houses are colorful because they are "shitty" (L. Bielby, personal communication, August 8, 2017). She is referring to the decay effecting the 100-year-old homes whose owners may not have the financial means to fully maintain them or have access to proper information on how to rebuild or reinforce the old architectural structures and therefore paint them.[86]

[86] Many houses in the neighborhood suffer from problems such as mold and decaying foundations, conditions caused

Figure 4.4: Typical single-family home with concrete front yard and carpet in Campau/Banglatown, 2019. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

Figure 4.5: Carpet design in front yards on Klinger Street, Campau/Banglatown, 2018. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

by dilapidated roofs, insufficient insulation, or broken windows or which are attributable to the lack of investment in Detroit's plumbing infrastructure.

For Shoshanna Utchenik, another Campau/Banglatown resident and art teacher, the colorful aesthetics suggest progress over the homes' decayed stages:

> On all the houses you can see process. On all of the houses coming and going, makeshift, salvaged. If something needs to get done, then in an unaesthetic way. (S. Utschenik, personal communication, March 17, 2018)

Comparing the different images of the front yards, one can see that the painted staircases and terraces are not uniform. Each house has a different color scheme that often employs bright colors or colors that stand in stark contrast with each other. This is similar to how differently-patterned carpeting of different time periods is designed into the gardens, indicating that the visual front yard designs on the house were carried out gradually, i.e., depending on whether there was money for paint or resources such as carpet. These colors and contrasts also indicate that the visual changes to the house are meant to be visible. The visual appearance of the front yards and porches does not follow a particular pattern. They look homemade and DIY and reflect an individual homeowner's personal style while also suggesting that someone is maintaining their house or taking care of their front yard. Caring for a space adds value to it. In this case, visual care and maintenance produces a positive image. The home appears occupied. This is similar to what Kinder (2014) refers to as spatial interventions, except that these interventions are external and visual, making the neighborhood or home appear safe and livable.

4.3.2. DIY Culture and Neighborly Initiative

To avoid break-ins, littering, squatting, and other criminal activities on their property, the artist couple Gina Reichert and Mitch Cope, who also have worked under the design group name Design 99, invented "Sculpture Security Systems" (Ragheb, 2017). They board up side alleys and broken windows and doors with decorative plywood panels that are shaped like sculptures (Figure 4.6). These sculptures (Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7) have become part of the artists' signature in the neighborhood. At the same time, they have become part of a series of objects in art exhibitions, which they conceptualized around objects that use found materials and other utilitarian objects to propose creative solutions in the neighborhood in gallery spaces such as the Museum of Contemporary Art Detroit (Museum of Contemporary Art, 2010).

Figure 4.6: Sculpture Security Systems in Campau/Bangaltown by Design 99.

Figure 4.7: Too Much of a Good Thing, installation view, Museum of Contemporary Art Detroit by Design 99.

Kimberly Kinder (2014) describes the DIY attitude and measurements[87] taken by Detroit citizens as a phenomenon that has become routine in many deteriorating cities. According to her, self-provisioning techniques have emerged "as critically important response strategies helping residents reduce their vulnerability and stabilize their blocks" (Kinder, 2014, p. 1770). She argues that homeowners have begun performing these guerrilla-style spatial interventions because governments and cities have no longer been able to effectively enforce laws or help residents. As is the case elsewhere in Detroit, social control over lots and houses, even vacant ones, starte

87 These include using children's toys on front lawns and window decorations to make a house look occupied.

with locals who wanted to protect the neighborhood and make it more attractive to live in. Power House Productions founders Gina Reichert and Mitch Cope started to conduct these guerilla-style spatial interventions soon after moving to Campau/Banglatown. With their art around and using single-family homes, they drew attention to the vacant houses and lots on Moran Street and adjacent streets (see also Chapter 5.3). Their sculpture security systems, which are regarded in the neighborhood as design and construction objects, are also art objects. The artists' design and construction of sculptural objects has actively prevented empty homes in the neighborhood from being squatted or burned down, while also drawing attention in the art world to how utilitarian objects as art connect to community and neighborly initiative.

Imam and community liaison Mika'il Stewart Saadiq took the initiative of forming an independent neighborhood watch group after the Masjid and its community center, which he bought and founded, was broken into several times:

> You know, and we rode around at night. And on the side of our cars, it would have AICC Neighborhood Watch. We even set up poles outside of school. You know, and helped kids get to school safely in the mornings and in the afternoon. So, we took the initiative. (Imam Mika'il Stewart Saadiq, personal communication, March 14, 2018)

Saadiq also explains how all-inclusive a neighborhood watch group can be and how it adjusts to the needs of the community, from protecting the neighborhood during the night to bringing children safely to and from school. He understands community in Campau/Banglatown as a reciprocal collective that is organic, interactive, and always evolving (Imam Mika'il Stewart Saadiq, personal communication, March 14, 2018). Campau/Banglatown's residents try to keep children playing outside safe, protect people walking around during the day and at night, provide measures against crime and arson, and maintain an overall feeling of neighborhood safety.
Farmer Kate Daughdrill (personal communication, August 7, 2018) specifies that in this neighborhood certain infrastructures have been born out of necessity, such as urban gardening which responded to a need for certain foods that were otherwise unavailable. For example, Daughdrill used gardening to occupy vacant lots with the support of her adjacent Bengali American neighbors.

On my block around Moran Street, neighbors including artists, Bangladeshi Americans, and Caucasians formed a neighborhood watch group and text message alert system. In this way, a diverse community interacts to protect the neighborhood from arson and burglary, texting when something has happened or when unusual activity or people have been seen.

In Campau/Banglatown, there are different motivations that determine why and how a community forms. The neighborhood's urban design (density of houses, curbside parking)

and the architecture of the single-family homes (front porches) create community life because residents cannot avoid each other. At the same time, community building also refers to neighborly relations that grow over time as residents have opportunities to exchange and help each other sustain the neighborhood (trash can removal, lawn and home maintenance). Community is also created through cultural and family traditions (community meeting places such as mosques, churches, sidewalks where children play with one another). Moreover, DIY and neighborly initiatives that arise out of necessity among different community members take place to create a safe space for all the residents in the neighborhood.

4.3.3. Density, Front Porches, and Street Parking

The architecture of the 1920s single-family home is simple. The entrance of the houses is on the street side and most houses, except the ones on the corner, have porches facing the street. The homes are arranged close to each other in a grid. The front yards are not fenced in. In comparison to other Detroit neighborhoods, there are no driveways on the street side to the lot unless the next lot is vacant. The sidewalk facing the front yard separates the privately owned real estate from the street, which is often used for parking. I refer to the spaces between the front porch and street side as "public-private spaces", because people who walk on the sidewalk or street pass by or engage with each other and with people sitting on their front porches, including children from other homes who play together out front of the houses in the front yards or on the sidewalks.

Figure 4.8: Street side parking in Campau/Banglatown, 2022. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

Most people park on the street in front of their homes (Figure 4.8):

> Here is street parking – you end up in conversations with neighbors or passersby. (L. Bielby, personal communication, August 8, 2017)

Bielby finds that, because there are no garages on the lots, curbside parking generates community. Walking along the sidewalk to your car is like walking in a pedestrian zone, a public space in which you end up in conversation with your neighbors on their front porches. She explains that the spaces that people inhabit are small but useful (L. Bielby, personal communication, August 8, 2017). Saul Levin (S. Levin, personal communication, March 16, 2018) remarks that first floor living connects one to one's neighbors while one's children run outside. Most neighbors have also tried to optimize their front yard spaces through different uses such as planting vegetables and flowers or turning them into communal spaces or playgrounds for children.

Figure 4.9: Front porch of FILTER Detroit looking at the neighboring porches, 2017. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

The former mayor of Hamtramck, Karen Majewski emphasizes how porches (Figure 4.9) in her Hamtramck neighborhood function as a common platform, but stresses how the individual design and use of porches engages community through neighbors' social interactions on the street (K. Majewski, personal communication, October 4, 2018).

> Look down your porch, you look down a panorama of other people's porches, that are all somewhat the same, but all different – important part of the atmosphere, the feeling of the neighborhood. We all got these front porches, but each of them has its own individuality. (K. Majewski, personal communication, October 4, 2018)

Over the years, I have learned that there are several benefits to sitting on the porch to "watch the world go by" as Walter Wasacz, another Hamtramck resident, puts it (W. Wasacz, personal communication, March 12, 2018). Doing so allows one to maintain social relations with next door neighbors and provides an opportunity to observe, control, and look out for others while showing one's presence and the occupancy of a home, which acts as a further security measure.

Figure 4.10: Pathway between house in Campau/Banglatown, 2018. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

The lots of the single-family homes are usually small. One can enter them from the street and sometimes from the alleyway at the back of the house. A small pathway alongside the houses provides access to the back yard, which is often shared with a neighbor (Figure 4.10). In recent years, homeowners have invested in renovating and building out their attics as studio spaces, which they renting out while they live on the first floor. In these cases, the narrow pathways between houses serve as entrances to the attics from the side or back of the house. The sidewalk is then extended to the side of the house, which also means that there can be interactions with neighbors both out front and on the side of the house as one enters and leaves.

My neighbor across the street confirms that the density of the houses generates a sense of neighborly exchange. Artist Corine Vermeulen explains that interpersonal exchanges depend on the season:

> The neighborhood exchange is determined by the season. It is two different countries: in the summer, architecture is providing visibility, community through outside activity, porch life, in the winter, there is no porch life, there is no activity outside. (C. Vermeulen, personal communication, August 1, 2017)

In the wintertime, residential living is secluded and limited to the domestic interiors since people move quickly to their cars to get out of the cold. However, both Bielby (L. Bielby, personal communication, August 8, 2017) and Hamtramck resident Farhana Islam (F. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2018) note that the closeness can sometimes create community problems. These can include "parking wars, especially in winter" (F. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2018). Student and long-time Hamtramck resident Farhana Islam[88] confirms that the density of houses in the neighborhood causes more conflicts with a growing community, particularly for larger families:

> These houses weren't necessarily built to service large families. (F. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2018)

On a positive note, the dense living situations and knowing that one's neighbor is home or not allows for communal caretaking. As an example, while FILTER Detroit was being renovated, the house had no permanent residents for about three months. My then-neighbor Ali took care of my front yard's appearance without me even having to ask. He mowed the lawn and moved the trash can to the curb, so that my house looked occupied and would not be burglarized. Another neighbor confirms this experience:

> The proximity of the houses does create exchange. We shovel snow for each other in the winter. (S. Utschenik, personal communication, March 17, 2018)

The density of the single-family homes enforces community-building between the different communities because people have to pass by each other to get to their homes, studios, or cars. The density of the homes allows for interpersonal communication because of porches and sidewalks which offer platforms for meeting. This form of interaction and exchange is part of everyday activities that are manifested in social space (Bourdieu, 1985; Löw, 2016). The functional and unique grid system of the houses and streets in this neighborhood contribute to how people connect as a community and live together. Curbside parking, sidewalks, and front porches create relationships between residents, neighbors, and passersby, which can affect social cohesion (Easthope, 2004) between neighbors.

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[88] Like many other Bangladeshi migrants living in the Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown diaspora, her parents came from Sylhet in Bangladesh.

4.3.4. Sidewalk and Alley Walking

The infrastructure for walking created by sidewalks and alleys connecting backyards to each other and to the streets allow residents to walk for leisure, to socialize, or to take shortcuts to other houses.

Figure 4.11: Alley walk for the workshop “Working the Land” in Campau/Banglatown, 2019. Photo by Eva Zielinski.

The backyards of the houses are private spaces. Often fenced in, they connect to public back alleys, which are used, for example, as service roads by electric companies doing servicing and repairs (in Detroit, electrical lines are above ground). A few garages exist in the backyards and these can be accessed through the alleyways. Alleys (Figure 4.11) are often used for walking dogs or growing vegetables. When not maintained, they are either full of large puddles, overgrown with bushes and weeds, or become the site of illegal garbage dumps. Chido Johnson views the alleys “as a way of connecting, like connected streams.” They function as “arteries” connecting the people to their houses and the houses to the streets (C. Johnson, personal communication, March 16, 2018).

Performer and local activist Liza Bielby walks to work and to stores for her everyday supplies, she walks as a recreational activity and to check out the neighborhood. But she indicates that her own community of people, her artist network, which includes Popps Packing, an artist residency and community meeting place, is in close proximity:

> Depends on where I am going. For groceries and the liquor store, I drive. In a group, I walk. Going to work, Play House, I walk. Going to Fainas' [Popps Packing, Carpenter Street in Hamtramck] I crisscross the neighborhood and walk through the alleys. You get to peak into the yards. (L. Bielby, personal communication, August 8, 2017)

This indicates that not only local supplies (markets, pharmacies, and clothing stores) are accessible within walking distance in this neighborhood, her professional work relations are as well (see Chapter 5.3.1.).

The initiative Women of Banglatown, a non-profit offering free creative activities for women in the neighborhood, leads Bangladeshi women and young girls through the alleyways to their project space (A. Lapetina, personal communication, August 1, 2018). In this way, the women are safe from traffic and can avoid the gaze of the males on the street, which can cause cultural conflicts for participating in an after-school activity in the first place. Saul Levin differentiates how he moves around the neighborhood depending on the time of day: He walks during the day and drives at night (S. Levin, personal communication, March 16, 2018).

Figure 4.12: Cracked sidewalk on Moran Street, Campau/Banglatown, 2018. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

Next to alleys and one park, Jayne Playfield,[89] the walking infrastructure in Campau/Banglatown includes sidewalks on both sides of the street, next to front yards and commercial corner stores, providing an intact infrastructure for pedestrians. Sidewalks for pedestrian traffic in front of homes are not a given in every US neighborhood grid. However, this infrastructure is not always well-maintained by residents or the City of Detroit in the neighborhood. In Campau/Banglatown, the concrete sidewalks are often cracked (Figure 4.12) and trees have shifted the concrete slabs into little hills. However, they are still used on an everyday basis by residents and passersby.

[89] Jayne Playfield's has changed drastically over the past decade from a fenced off, neglected field mainly used by dog owners and drug addicts to a functional park that serves the needs of the community via an updated playground, fields for baseball, soccer, and cricket, a basketball court and newly installed areas for barbequing and more. These improvements are a result of Campau/Banglatown's designation as a Strategic Neighborhood in 2019.

I found out that walking infrastructures such as sidewalks, alleyways, and parks –what artist Corine Vermeulen calls "pedestrian life outside" (C. Vermeulen, personal communication, August 1, 2017) – have mostly been appreciated by the residents, regardless of whether they are artists or newly arrived migrant from Bangladesh:

> When you are on foot, you are looking people in the eye. You are connecting in a human way with individuals. I never felt scared to do that. I felt more scared to drive with my windows rolled up then I would be walking down the same street. (K. Majewski, personal communication, October 4, 2018)

Majewski considers the activity of walking and meeting people at eye level as a safety measure for moving around in the area, but also as a way to socially interact and connect. She indicates that the walking opportunities are what attract her to the neighborhood.

Campau/Banglatown's resident writer Anne Elizabeth Moore participated in regular walks with two Bengali teenage girls just before sundown on the sidewalk alongside the porches of neighborly friends. According to her observations, this has become a ritual for girls presenting themselves to male residents from their community (A.E. Moore, personal communication, August 3, 2018):

> Together with two Bengali teenage neighbors during what they call "evening constitution," usually between 7-9 pm, where they walk alongside the porch of neighborly friends and sometimes it becomes a watch fly situation spying or showing off in front of potential "male" candidates. (A.E. Moore, personal communication, August 3, 2018)

Here, walking down the street at a specific time of day is a ritual informed by cultural traditions and the way specific communities interact with each other. Kate Daughdrill values the alleys and cul-de-sacs that represent and form the gardens. As a local urban farmer, she explains that these "aesthetic, cozy, green walkways between the houses represent the green salad bowls between the houses" (K. Daughdrill, personal communication, August 7, 2018).

For residents, walking – either out of necessity to go somewhere or to the car, for social reasons, or as a recreational activity – is an everyday activity. Walking is understood as a way to reach a destination such as the neighborhood's corner stores or the main shopping areas on Conant Street in Campau/Banglatown and Caniff Street and Joseph Campeau Avenue in Hamtramck.

People also appreciate the health benefits of walking and as a way to observe, engage, and interact with other people living in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the element of walking and moving around on sidewalks and alleyways is connected to the element of self-care and socializing and it is part of a cultural tradition and a sense of security. Walking is an everyday practice. Walking creates community, it connects residents to their neighborhood and beyond.

4.3.5. Cultural Familiarity

Sukanya Krishnamurthy, who came to FILTER Detroit in 2010 for a research visit together with a group of Urban Heritage PhD Students from Bauhaus University in Weimar, Germany, showed that the high concentration of migrant families from Bangladesh in the area can be explained due to the fact that family and community networks and culturally familiar infrastructures, such as cuisine and specific kinds of Bengali-run businesses, have drawn particular attention to this neighborhood, often via word of mouth (Krishnamurthy, 2011, p. 76):

> Most people who live here can trace the route they traveled from Sylhet in North Eastern Bangladesh to Astoria, Queens in New York to finally settling in Hamtramck and its neighboring areas. (Krishnamurthy, 2011, p. 75)

Talking to some of FILTER's Bangladeshi American neighbors, she found that a majority of the Bangladeshi community in Campau/Banglatown comes from the same region. In the late 1990s, Bangladeshi Americans began to move to South East Michigan, driven by cheaper costs of living, job opportunities, and word of mouth within their communities (Krishnamurthy, 2011, p. 75). Krishnamurthy describes this specific form of community building as a close-knit community, one that has developed, "becoming an enclave for people coming from similar backgrounds, encouraged by relatives who make this journey in search of a better life" (Krishnamurthy, 2011, p. 75).

My former next-door neighbor of FILTER Detroit, Ali, followed this path too: moving from Astoria where he worked in a restaurant, to Campau/Banglatown, where he works for Magna, a former auto supplier for GM, while supporting his parents and sister. He is a good example of the expansion of family and space in this area. Not only has he become the father of five children since 2010, he has also increased his real estate in Campau/Banglatown by buying two other single-family houses on the same block. He has placed his parents, his sister, and other people from his community in these houses. Renting out homes to his extended family, he represents a community model that circumvents a dense arrangement of family homes by sharing them with relatives and community in a multi-generational manner that remains close to one's own culture (see Prologue).

Moreover, Ali Lapetina (Founder of Women of Banglatown) explained to me that Bangladeshi families in Banglatown prefer to live next to other family members, to share gardens and grow food and vegetables together. According to Lapetina, who has visited Bangladesh, geographic proximity is very important to families because in Bangladesh, families live on large properties

with extended family[90] (A. Lapetina, personal communication, August 1, 2018). According to her and Farhana Islam, middle-class Bangladeshi families usually have larger properties to live on in Bangladesh. As an architecture student at the University of Detroit Mercer, Farhana values the advantages of living in this part of the city, such as access to fresh produce. But Islam also points out that the architecture of the houses only serves a certain type of family, one that is not extended and multi-generational (F. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2018). Farhana lives with her parents and siblings at 11400 Klinger Street in Hamtramck, only three blocks away from Campau/Banglatown. This area is denser because every house on the street is occupied and there are no empty lots between them.

This contrasts with Abdul Motin's living situation. Motin moved from Hamtramck to the east side of Campau/Banglatown (McDougal Street and Lawley Street). Because of the size of space at his disposal, he is able to grow and preserve almost all of the food that his family enjoys throughout the year and sells off what remains to supplement his income (Power House Productions, 2015). Motin confirms that he enjoys the amount of space that he occupies and works on as an urban farmer, maple syrup producer, and beekeeper:

> I do not want to move to the suburbs. I own land and I have no immediate neighbors. (A. Motin, personal communication, March 19, 2018)

In our interview, he confirmed that if you need help from neighbors, they are around. He uses the close-knit community network if needed but enjoys the amount of space he has for his work and personal life.

Demographic numbers have shown that this area, which had been predominately settled by Polish immigrants in the past century, has slowly become dominated by incoming Bangladeshi and Middle Eastern migrants. Today, for example, the majority city council of Hamtramck is Muslim. Banglatown is a "newcomer community" according to Imam Mika'il Stewart Saadiq (personal communication, March 14, 2018). As a former resident, community member, and politician, he sees an active community run by a productive mixture of newly arrived immigrants and long-term residents that takes initiative in managing its own affairs.

The Vision and Action Plan for Banglatown describes it as a "welcoming neighborhood where people from different cultures, backgrounds, and generations can learn about one another and

[90] Farhana Islam, a young architecture student at Detroit Mercy University of Bengali decent explains to me that being middle class in the US is not the same as being middle class in Bangladesh. It is a step down. In Bangladesh, families have bigger homes and servants. "Here, everything is smaller, the lifestyle is a downgrade." (F. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2018)

contribute to the quality of life in the neighborhood." (Global Detroit & googgood, 2017). Local real estate agent Nazmul Islam identifies newly arrived immigrants from Bangladesh and Yemen as a "majority group" and Eastern Europeans and people of African decent as a "minority group" that are interested in buying real estate in the neighborhood (N. Islam, personal communication, October 3, 2017). Alexa Bush, Detroit's urban design director of the Urban Planning and Development Department, argues "that this neighborhood already has strengths, hidden secret assets, that need to be lifted up" (Noble, 2019). To her, the "hidden assets" have to be differentiated between social, cultural, and physical assets.[91] The cultural aspects include the artist community, the diverse Yemini, Bangladeshi and African American community as well as the areas and communities that are active in urban farming, growing orchards, ethnic restaurants, and more (A. Bush, personal communication, March 15, 2019).

Global Detroit identifies diversity through migration as an asset stimulating economic growth in the region, i.e., by helping migrants become homeowners or micro-funding them to establish their own businesses in their neighborhoods such as restaurants, and clothing and grocery stores. Since it has traditionally been a community of newly arrived migrants that support and sustain each other, traditional food and clothing stores already existed in Campau/Banglatown without advocacy groups such as Global Detroit or government funded programs. For the City of Detroit, Campau/Banglatown represents many "of the values that a diverse, immigrant-rich community can offer" (City of Detroit, 2020). According to the liner statement of the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood website, "values" are associated with the community and the diversity which have influenced this unique neighborhood.[92]

Imam Mikai'l Stewart Saadiq stresses the importance of the religious infrastructures such as mosques, Koranic schools for children, and Halal food for newly arriving immigrants with a Muslim background. He has advised African American Muslims from other areas in Detroit to move to Campau/Banglatown:

> You know, I was telling a lot of the African American Muslims that, you know, you are looking for an area that is safe for your children, that is sensitive to your religious preferences and your diet. You know, your religious diet. You know, Halal restaurants. (Imam Mikai'l Stewart Saadiq, personal communication, March 14, 2018)

[91] Physical assets in Campau/Banglatown include Jayne Playfield, a park with a recreation center as well as the already existing branch of the public library. A variety of active neighborhood and community initiatives represent the social assets.

[92] Over half of the 5,000 residents have identified as Asian, 30% as African American, and nearly 10% as two or more races with a majority speaking a language other than English (The City of Detroit, 2020).

Like-minded people with similar cultural backgrounds share a strong sense of community. They care particularly about the upbringing of their children and being able to continue their traditions.

During my interview walks and personal conversations with residents, ethnic food restaurants, grocery stores with fresh produce as well as corner stores for daily needs that are within walking distance are often mentioned as important value factors for living and working in the neighborhood. Saadiq refers to Campau/Banglatown as a food oasis[93] with a lot of fresh produce:

> You can walk north, south, east or west and get a mango, avocado, Romaine lettuce, spinach, Brussels sprouts. (Imam Mikai'l Stewart Saadiq, personal communication, March 14, 2018)

Fresh food is the opposite of a food desert to Saadiq who, as an African American born and raised in Detroit, can relate to the difficulties of finding fresh produce in inner city Detroit without driving to the suburbs.

FILTER Detroit's neighbor, the art teacher Shoshanna Utchenik, values the local food culture because it is a way to connect with others by selecting and eating together (S. Utchenik, personal communication, March 17, 2018):

> Corner stores have potential for communication. There is an opportunity for regularly bumping into each other. (L. Bielby, personal communication, August 8, 2017)

Performance artist and community organizer Liza Bielby values corner stores too because they are often owner-occupied and "they are a communal resource, not necessarily for food but as knowledge of what is going on the neighborhood" (L. Bielby, personal communication, August 8, 2017).

[93] Fresh food and ethnically diverse restaurants have become a unique selling point for visiting or living in this neighborhood.

Figure 4.13: Corner Store at the intersection of Moran and Halleck Street, Campau/Banglatown, 2018. Photo by Kerstin Niemann..

Figure 4.13 shows the corner store at the intersection of Moran and Halleck Street. It is right next to other single-family homes. Half of the ground floor space is taken up by the grocery store and the other half is residential and continues onto the second floor. The signage of the store is in Arabic. Food stores, particularly corner stores, which were originally designed to supply the neighborhood, are built at intersections. Sometimes they act as spaces for living and working, connecting the storefront with the owner's personal living space. Residents and actors in the neighborhood consider them a lever that can set in motion community and cultural exchanges, a space that creates a sense of cross-cultural cohesion and a space of exchange in the neighborhood.

Hamtramck's mayor Karen Majewski recounts how the smell of homemade food[94] and the sounds[95] stand out and uniquely shape this neighborhood, describing the sense of community as a feeling of interconnectedness among a community of purpose that lives in one particular area of the city and is linked through the main senses:

[94] In a traditional Bangladesh American family setting, the mother is a homemaker and cares for the family through childcare, cooking, etc. Bangladesh cuisine consists of curries or slow-cooked stews, especially dishes with oriental spices that can be smelled when passing by the houses on the sidewalks at lunch and dinner time.

[95] In Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck, the Islamic call to prayer is made through loudspeakers. Mosques are found throughout these neighborhoods and are noticeable every day. However, Majewski explains that due to the density of the houses, one can hear the neighbors playing music or children getting yelled at or playing outside (K. Majewski, personal interview, October 4, 2018).

> The overall feeling is "interconnectedness," whether it is visual, sound, smell. That is so warm. It is so individual, but it feeds community. (K. Majewski, personal communication, October 4, 2018)

The diversity of the community is also visible through public events such as the nationally known Hamtramck Music Festival or the Neighborhoods Arts Festival, both popular street festivals in the Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck neighborhoods. These events were self-organized by local residents, as is the Bangladesh Street Festival on Conant Street in Banglatown. Their success and acknowledgement depend on the goodwill, respect, and sharing of neighborhood infrastructures and resources as a whole and as a community despite peoples' diverse backgrounds and approaches. These festivals, the local bar culture with its live music venues, and the diversity of ethnic restaurants and grocery stores from Indian cuisine to Polish food have already been reasons for inspiring non-residents to make regular visits to Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown. Alexa Bush refers to these structures as "cultural assets" because they are attractive for both newcomers and outsiders (A. Bush, personal communication, March 15, 2019). The newcomer communities in Campau/Banglatown constantly shape the diverse residential structures based on their daily needs, including ethnic food restaurants, religious institutions, community and cultural centers, grocery stores with fresh produce, and self-organized neighborhood initiatives such as community gardens or cultural organizations.

These diverse community structures have been increasingly recognized as location factors and values because they meet the daily life requirements of the newly arrived migrants (artists and immigrants). This mix of structures of cultural as well as social lifestyles have been maintained out of necessity and due to cultural traditions, such as special food diets (Halal), ethnic restaurants, and specific forms of schooling due to religious demands (the high density of children with Muslim upbringings); the need to work in network structures (migrant-owned stores, studio spaces); the need to exchange and gather (festivals, mosques, parks, live music venues, theater-homes, exhibition spaces) and to stay connected to the "homeland" or place of origin as expressed through gardening, sounds, and smells.

Visual maintenance and upkeep, do-it-yourself culture and neighborly initiatives, population density, front yards and street parking, sidewalks and walkways, and cultural familiarity have become values for Campau/Banglatown homeowners and residents because they provide for everyday needs and they help them to maintain social and cultural customs. These infrastructures and customs inform the everyday production of social space.

In Campau/Banglatown, social space is reflected in physical space (Bourdieu, 1991), as residents' everyday practices (the use of outdoor spaces adjacent to single-family homes, front yard porches or sidewalks and alleys) and lead to exchanges and relationships between neighbors. It is also

associated with emotional and social constructs such as neighborhood relationships through care and protection or community building through DIY and neighborly initiatives. Easthope (2004) suggests this also generates value-added factors. Furthermore, according to Löw (2016), social space is reflected in everyday activities or repetitive actions such as mowing the lawn or using local shopping infrastructures. There are different motivations behind community formation and maintenance.

The urban design of the neighborhood (density of houses, curbside parking) and the architecture of the single-family houses (front porches) create community life because residents cannot avoid each other. On the one hand, community building consists of neighborly relations that build up over time through exchanges and helping each other with everyday survival (trash removal, lawn and home maintenance). On the other hand, community is created through cultural, social, and familial traditions (community meeting places such as mosques, churches, sidewalks, community centers, etc.).

Job availability, affordability, and access to everyday infrastructures, safety through a sense of security, a high homeownership rate, and the image of a strategic neighborhood represent value-in-use factors (Lorenz et. al., 2018) in Campau/Banglatown, which are part of the economic value system of the local real estate market. At the same time, they reflect parts of residents' and the neighborhood's social and cultural value system through social interactions, prosperity, cultural traditions, and lifestyles.
Furthermore, the everyday activities of the residents, formed and influenced through the design, layout, and pre-existing infrastructures of their single-family homes, produce social space in terms of a sense of belonging resulting from care, maintenance, DIY culture, population density, walking infrastructures, and cultural familiarity. All of these values are attractive to residents with diverse backgrounds, from newcomer communities (newly arrived migrants from Bangladesh or Yemen) to academically educated artists and long-term, working class and middle-class residents (the African American or Caucasian American population).

All these factors create a sense of belonging (Blokland & Nast, 2014) within the different communities. Not only do these factors affect and drive one's own community forward, be it professional, cultural, or social, they create a sense of place and identity for each community member. This sense of belonging to a community informs the residential real estate market in this neighborhood as well. The value factors analyzed in this chapter originate in the structural and historic arrangements of houses. They are also informed by the residents' cultural and social contributions and needs, and they produce a demand to live and work in this neighborhood. At the same time, they also shape a positive image, that of an opportunity neighborhood. These social and cultural assets represent a value-adding factor for investors and the City of Detroit. In

this case, the cultural, social, and image value is directly incorporated as an economic value in real estate (Lorenz et. al., 2018).

Nevertheless, these kinds of value factors that play a role in the local real estate market in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood differ from the market-specific location factors – access to cultural and educational institutions, public-private investment in Midtown and Downtown as well as urban digital data – that influence the overall value of Detroit's real estate market. They represent the perspectives of individual homeowners who live, socialize, and work in and with their homes rather than those of bulk investors or real estate developers.

5.0. Art and Single-Family Homes in Detroit

In this chapter, I discuss the role of art and placemaking in urban development and the presence of artists in urban space. I consider placemaking with art as a form of economic development and as an element of social engagement and real estate investment in the City of Detroit. First, I look at three artists, whose practices involve turning single-family homes into works of art in Detroit. Then, I focus on socially engaged art involving single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown. In this context, I analyze how artists, as residents and single-family homeowners, live and work in Campau/Banglatown, partaking in an engaged and communal practice in which their homes expand their art practices from placemaking to homemaking.

5.1. Placemaking with Art

Art and artmaking in urban space are often criticized as harbingers of gentrification (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Herscher, 2012) and triggers of capital transformation, using cultural capital to update specific processes in urban space (Kirchberg, 1998; Holm, 2010; Zukin, 1995) or causing displacement in the name of neoliberal city politics (Holm, 2010; Peck, 2005). In the literature on urban sociology, urban studies, contemporary art, and public art, artists and their networks are often described as top-down instruments or tools for urban development (Lloyd, 2016; Zukin, 1988). Kwon (2002a, p. 2) identifies a paradigm shift in contemporary artmaking away from object-based and towards process-based public artworks. She sees artists as "placemakers" who mark locations through site-specific projects. While the "unearthing of repressed history" or the support of marginalized groups can lead places to be rediscovered, artistic appropriation for the benefit of urban identities can shift the re-hierarchization of space in times of economic reorganization (Kwon, 2002b). For Kwon, art in terms of placemaking is rather functional (2002a/b) and should be measured aesthetically by its use value. Zukin (1995) explains that art in specific locations, particularly public space, can help develop a city's economy, which is why it is important to distinguish between the cultivation of art and the appropriation of space to promote cities as cultural commodities. According to Zukin (ibid.), the meaningful representation of artists in particular spaces is part of a symbolic economy with the power to impact other fields through community building and networks.

However, Zilberstein (2019) argues that art has the potential to serve as a grassroots force in relation to urban development. As in Bourdieu's (1985) social space theory, grassroots movements – to which artist networks often belong – can imagine "alternative cities" using artistic practices and neighborhood coalitions to communicate their goals and intentions (Zilberstein, 2019, p. 1159). All these theories share a conception of the presence of art and actions by artists in urban space. This presence is recognized as a beneficial value to these places or understood as a trigger for spatial transformation.

Artists have not only become decorative ingredients in urban development, beautifying space or place-based situations and spurring economic growth. Beyond the discussion of art's use in urban development and the political economy of place (Molotch, 1976), Kwon points to another paradigm shift: the fact that, over the past 30 years in North American, public art practices have shifted from "aesthetic concerns to social issues" (Kwon, 2002b).

Both formally and materially, "socially engaged art" goes beyond the tools and materials used in studio art (Helicon Collaborative, 2017, p. 11). The Helicon Collaborative defines "socially engaged art" as an artistic or creative practice, that aims to improve conditions in a particular community or in the world at large (Helicon Collaborative, 2017, p. 4). The group conducted a study to map the landscape of "socially engaged art" and artmaking. Though the boundaries of socially engaged art can be blurry, the creative process always happens within specific social contexts, i.e., in a neighborhood (Helicon Collaborative, 2017, p. 12).

Like Kwon (2002b), Helicon Collaborative also found that the process of making socially engaged art often involves artists working collaboratively (Helicon Collaborative, 2017). In terms of placemaking, Kwon's analysis (2002b) demonstrates how the artist's role in public space has shifted from a solo practice to a multi-disciplinary, collaborative process. In this collaborative process, artists rely on creating network relations with communities or neighborhoods.

Moreover, according to Kwon (2002b), the relationship between artists and other urban actors has increasingly diversified and become more professional. Chicago artist and designer Frances Whitehead (2006) emphasizes the argument that artists have become more professional both outside of and in connection to the world of museums and cultural institutions. Their multiple skill sets enable them to partake in social economies, idea economies, and other intangible values. The Helicon Collaborative (2017) states more specifically which skill sets are applied:

> The socially engaged artists' toolkit includes dialogue, community, or organizing, placemaking, facilitation, public awareness campaigns or policy development, as well as theater games, art installations, music, participatory media-making, spoken word and other media. (The Helicon Collaborative, 2017, p. 11)

From a macro perspective, placemaking by and with artists has changed the way art effects urban space. Initially, placemaking referred to artists working in public space (Kwon, 2002a), but the use of place as a material and context has changed over time. Leaving cultural institutions behind, artists began to network and would engage with residents, with city authorities or with urban space, working collaboratively with non-artists on urban issues or incorporating the urban form as a material in their practice. In art, placemaking is often described as a bottom-up, community-engaged approach to urban development (Marszeweski, 2015, p. 6) or as serving

certain themes in a development agenda encouraged by investors or city planners. Artists working with neighborhood communities are often held responsible as stewards of long-term community engagement. Moreover, art and placemaking as socially engaged practices now extend to other spheres such as social space.

In terms of urban development, art is often considered an element of placemaking itself (Kirchberg, 2016, p. 17). This "Creative Placemaking" (Marszeweski, 2015, p. 6) highlights the important role played by artists and cultural workers in redeveloping urban space: artists are selected or decide themselves to further stimulate the development process with their specific methods, designs, and practices. Creative placemaking can also include the tools of socially engaged art to the extent that "partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities" (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010, p. 3). According to Flood & Redaelli (2016), creative placemaking not only engages artists with urban actors, it also:

> [...] brings together several fields of knowledge and practice such as urban planning, public art, community development, and social and cultural policy. (Flood & Raedelli, 2016, p. 258)

One person who ties together urban planning, community development, social engagement, and economics is Chicago-based artist Theaster Gates. Over the past ten years, he has used abandoned buildings as his raw material, most of which are former residential homes in his own neighborhood, Chicago's South Side. When he moved there to live closer to his work but still have an art studio, real estate was affordable even though the immediate corporate neighbor, the University of Chicago, had been expanding its territorial boundaries towards the South Side for quite some time.

As his career as a world-renowned contemporary artist skyrocketed, Gates started to buy vacant buildings on the South Side and work with their historical roots. By engaging the neighborhood in the development process and giving each of the buildings different functions – community center, library, archive, etc. – he not only salvaged former residential homes, he also managed to establish what he refers to as "a platform for art, cultural development and neighborhood transformation" (Gates, 2019). His first art site was located on Dorchester Avenue. This later became the Rebuild Foundation.[96] It was followed by Dorchester Art and Housing Collaborative and Dorchester Industries:[97]

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[96] According to Gates, Rebuild Foundation leverages "the power and potential of communities, buildings, and objects that others have written off" (Gates, 2019). The Rebuild Foundation would not exist without Gates' efforts and influence. In 2019, he was ranked the 20th most influential person in the contemporary art world (Brown, 2019).

[97] "Dorchester Industries is a manufacturing platform that produces objects from overlooked materials with the […] mission to promote culture-based, artist-led, neighborhood-driven community revitalization" (Theaster Gates, 2019a).

> And so I thought, is there a way that I could start to think about these buildings as an extension or an expansion of my artistic practice? And that if I was thinking along with other creatives – architects, engineers, real estate finance people – that us together might be able to kind of think in more complicated ways about the reshaping of cities. (Gates, 2015)

Gates considers his creative way of thinking about buildings with others as an expansion of his artistic practice, making art with homes. However, he points to other creatives such as professionals from the world of finance, real estate, and urban planning, rather than local residents from across the street. Still, he considers his work at the Rebuild Foundation as a community-centered operation in this neighborhood because it converts and revitalizes spaces. Furthermore, as an artist, Gates also makes arts and crafts in the context of African American traditions and the Black Power Movement.

John Colapinto (2014) from the New York Times gave him the title "Real Estate Artist." According to Colapinto, Gates has been able to distribute his revenue from sales of his art into funding culture in "a neglected ghetto, […] beating the art world at its own hustle" (Colapinto, 2014). By creating pride of place through arts, crafts, and Black history, Gates has helped to revive the image of the South Side and preserve local heritage (Gose, 2018, p. 1). As an artist, he combines a socially engaged practice involving pottery and salvaging neglected materials as well as urban development with community participation and placemaking. Nevertheless, local residents have been critical of his approach, raising doubts about whether he really has the community's interests in mind (Belanger & Cohen, 2017). Others accuse Gates of using grassroots movements like the Black Power Movement, to stage community participation as a tool for collective and creative action (Rothenberg, 2022). He makes art a tool in urban development, helping to improve the University of Chicago's relationship with local residents and artists. The university, where Gates is a professor and advisor for cultural innovation, has an interest in the development of the neighborhood as an expanding enterprise. At the same time, he advances his own career in the art world by making art with homes and using social movements for his placemaking strategies.[98]

His approach of giving new functions and meanings to pre-existing buildings despite their original purposes as living spaces (Offman, 2017; Owen, 2019; Barlow, 2009) is not new. Gate's projects are simply better known examples of increasing place-based artistic practices that have sprung up in post-industrial cities and that work with residential homes. These seem to solve urban obstacles in neighborhoods through community-engaged art or socially engaged artistic practices (Helicon Collaborative, 2017) while also increasing the image of their properties, thus real estate values (Lorenz et. al., 2018).

[98] Finds from these houses, such as wood beams or firehoses became museum and collector artifacts in an international art context because they were contextualized as part of the South Side neighborhood's history, i.e., the Civil Rights Movement or racial justice initiatives.

In the early 21st century, Kwon (2002b) criticized the use of art for placemaking. Kwon saw it as often remaining an imperative in public arts programming while not necessarily addressing the underlying urban conditions or character of built environments. Today, creative placemaking corrects this oversight. In the US, placemaking has also diversified and professionalized over time (National Endowments for the Arts, 2022b), often aiming to build and improve communities' living conditions (Flood & Redaelli, 2016) or neighborhoods' economic statuses. Therefore I discuss in this chapter that with regards to residential homes in a neighborhood like Campau/Banglatown, art production has now shifted from a placemaking practice seeking to improve communities and neighborhoods through socially engaged art to a homemaking practice that establishes sustainable living and working conditions for both artists and residents in the neighborhood at large.

Detroit's ongoing, prolific traditions of making art, industrial, and commercial design as well as music have not only given the city distinct identities such as Motor City, Motown, and Techno City (Apel, 2001). The city's culture of makers as represented by its artists, engaged citizens, social movements, art communities, and creative networks have, intentionally or not, at several points in the city's history influenced inner city urban development. One example of this is the Cass Corridor arts movement in the 1960s and 1970s, a counterculture movement that arose around a community of visual artists with roots at Wayne State University and the College of Creative Studies who were politically engaged and often worked with raw materials or found industrial objects (ibid.):

> The aesthetic capitalized on the urban realities of late 1960s Detroit, with a scrappy cohort of poets, writers, painters and sculptors salvaging beauty from the fractured material remains of a city in post-industrial decline and racial turmoil. (Sharp, 2017)

Like Sharp (2017), Carducci (2014, p. 131) refers to the social context of the Cass Corridor movement as "art of the postindustrial condition," because its artworks often consisted of "non-art materials" such as found objects from the street, abandoned lots, and empty industrial sites. The artists in the movement occupied cheap studios and living spaces on the Cass Corridor, at the time a rundown neighborhood in Midtown Detroit. By living and working in the space, they stimulated the neighborhood's community and cultural entertainment. Alongside the establishment of a network of creatively working people, what followed was a climate that attracted economic investment (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984) from wealthier residents in the neighborhood, resulting in venues like cafes, bars, and music clubs. Today, the Cass Corridor remains a popular and prestigious district to live and work in, close to other cultural and historic districts in the inner city and part of the Wayne State University campus.

Over the past decade, Detroit has been considered an artist's Mecca (Carducci, 2015). Young Detroit-based entrepreneur Kafka even uses billboards in New York to advertise moving to and working in Detroit, believing in the city's rise particularly for artists and young creatives (Willett-Wei, 2015). The infrastructure for artists, such as commercial galleries, studio spaces, and event programming as well as privately sponsored arts and design funding opportunities have also grown through help from the National Endowments for the Arts,[99] Kresge Arts Detroit, and the Knight Foundation. Festivals have been launched in public spaces and neighborhoods, engaging the community and local residents and focusing attention on local artists and other creatives. These include Dlectricity, a festival for light and art in the nighttime (https://dlectricity.com), Sidewalk Detroit (https://www.sidewalkdetroit.com), and The Detroit Art Week (https://detroitartweek.org). Strong civic and political movements and initiatives such as the James and Grace Lee Boggs Center (https://www.boggscenter.org) or Allied Media Projects (https://alliedmedia.org) grow, encourage, and are part of the cultural infrastructure in the city. Educational institutions located in Midtown Detroit like the College for Creative Studies and Wayne State University, have increased their visibility through cultural programming like exhibitions, lecture series, and collaborative projects with citizens in local neighborhoods. Other key factors contributing to both supporting and sustaining a community of artists and their networks over a longer timeframe include affordable housing and living conditions, increased employment opportunities for creatives, internationally renowned art institutions in and outside the city, such as the Detroit Institute of Arts, the Museum of Contemporary Arts, Cranbrook Art Museum, and educational facilities such as Cranbrook Academy of Art and their engagement in and with the city (Silver & Clark, 2016).[100]

My focus in the following sections will be on private, public, and civil initiatives that take place in Detroit under the umbrella of art. I discuss them in the context of art and economic development, art and social engagement, and art and real estate development.

5.1.1. Art and Economic Development

The City of Detroit has a strong interest in stimulating its creative economy through private business networks such as Detroit Creative Corridor Center (DC3), statewide economic development, and advocacy agencies such as Creative Many Michigan, whose goal is to advance

[99] The National Endowment for the Arts is an independent federal agency founded in 1965 offering funding to art projects in communities nationwide through competitive grants (Flood & Redaelli, 2016; National Endowments for the Arts, 2022a)

[100] While investigating what informs places' attractive qualities, Silver & Clark (2016) looked into local arts and cultural scenes and the extent to which and in what form lifestyles in these scenes have shaped residential patterns. For them, scenes are not only defined by "shared interest of a specific activity" such as making music, or the "character of specific places" (cheap rent, close access to other cultural venues, etc.), but instead by a network of influential actors, which they call "movements", that inform residential patterns, such as driving a movement, and migration to a particular place (Silver & Clark, 2016, pp. 162-279).

Detroit's creative industries, and Detroit-specific funding programs via private foundations such as Kresge Arts in Detroit or The Knight Foundation.

DC3[101] (now known as Design Core Detroit) – a department within the College for Creatives Studies – serves "design-driven industries that specialize in design or utilize design as a central discipline of their business strategy" (Design Core Detroit, 2022). Within this context, they provide access to design possibilities, for instance through the annual "Detroit Months of Design".[102] Moreover, they envision growing and attracting design businesses, increasing market demand for design services, and telling Detroit's design story locally and globally by connecting designers with business partners and vice versa (ibid.). Historically, arts and crafts have been part of the city's everyday life – from auto manufacturing (automotive design) to stove building, architecture and other fields. As a designated UNESCO City of Design, art and creative practices in Detroit's post-industrial urban environment have not only become tools to revitalize and engage with communities in neighborhoods, they have also been considered socio-economic game changers and catalysts for economic growth (Detroit Creative Corridor, 2011).

The Kresge Foundation fosters social investment in the arts through its Detroit branch "Kresge Arts in Detroit" (Kresge Arts in Detroit, 2015). Its program, administered by the College for Creative Studies, supports individual artists living in Metropolitan Detroit[103] through awards that are not bound to a specific purpose. The foundation sees its funding structures as:

> [...] a comprehensive community development effort to strengthen the long-term economic, social, and cultural fabric of the city. (Kresge Arts in Detroit, 2015)

The Knight Foundation has a funding strategy based on investing in artists and creative initiatives that help to shape better communities. In Detroit, the foundation[104] fosters community engaged work and their goal is to empower residents to become more informed about the changes the city is undergoing and more engaged in being part of that change (Knight Foundation, 2022a). The foundation's art program, "Knight Arts Challenge," gives matching grants to applicants

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101 The Detroit Creative Corridor Center (DC3) had already hosted the "Rust Belt to Artist Belt" conference in 2011 to connect what they refer to as the creative supply chain, from individual artist to creative business owner. Even then, they promoted the work of artists and creatives as catalysts for economic growth in Detroit (Guerra, 2011).

102 This month-long festival focuses on an international as well as local audience offering informative and educational experiences around design in an urban environment (Design Core Detroit, 2022).

103 Local Campau/Banglatown artists and initiatives such as Design 99, The Hinterlands, Corine Vermeulen, and Faina Lerman and Gream Whyte, the artist-couple behind Popps Packing, have received funding from Kresge Arts as well as the Knight Foundation.

104 The Knight Foundation invests in community-engaged programming, journalism, and the arts in cities where the Knight brothers owned newspapers (Knight Foundation, 2022a).

making art that "take[s] place in or benefit[s] the local community (Knight Foundation, 2022b). They believe art is the core of community and that it attaches people to place and each other (Knight Foundation, 2022c). Unlike Kresge Arts Detroit, the Knight Foundation empowers not only artists, but all local residents with creative ideas benefitting the community at large.

It was not until 2019 that Detroit established its own cultural organization. In May 2019, Mayor Mike Duggan appointed Rochelle Riley to a newly created position, the City of Detroit's Director of Arts and Culture (City of Detroit, 2020a). Riley has established the Office of Arts, Culture & Entrepreneurship through which she created the Detroit Art Fund, which focuses on three missions to use art and culture as catalysts for neighborhood growth, honor existing art treasures, and support them through branding and promotion as well as partnerships with artists, long-running arts programs, and residents to increase entrepreneurship (City of Detroit, 2020a). Implementing these networks and structures, the City of Detroit as well as private art foundations make use of art as part of an entrepreneurial strategy that, among other things, can be a catalyst for neighborhood growth.

5.1.2. Art and Social Engagement

I would argue that Detroit's local art production is informed by found materials and everyday trinkets, "bringing in the refuse of life into the refuge of art" (Carducci, 2014, p. 132). Artists and other cultural creatives do not only use materials they find in the city or that reflect "the unraveling of the Fordist system" in which these materials originated (Carducci, 2014). For these artists and makers, producing art is not only a process for reflecting on or contemplating the city's current social, political, and economic conditions. It is also a way to use the condition of the city as material and to engage actively with other actors in the city: artists as residents collaborating with other residents, municipal authorities or community members in the urban environment. In this regard, residents and artists have tended to be very grassroots and DIY-orientated, making self-provisioning a strong component where art has the capacity to create change (Kinder, 2016) and address urban problems (Kinder, 2014).

One reason why artists in Detroit began to work with their immediate surroundings was the necessity to provide, create, and maintain space for their daily needs (Carducci, 2014) while also collaborating with and listening to the specific needs of communities (goodgood, 2017). Applied, everyday urbanism is a reaction to professionalized urbanism and is shaped by its audience and users in the way they claim authorship over urban space (Herscher, 2012, p. 11). Liza Bielby stresses that it is necessary to "think beyond the boundaries of the individual" as an artist by developing everyday methods and practices that support the collective well-being (Niemann et al., 2016). What Helicon Collaborative (2017, p. 11) describes as socially-engaged

art-as-ecosystem or works addressing social, political, or economic issues, could also be seen as a bottom-up social movement that redefines the goals and uses of urban space through self-organized, local arts initiatives (Zilberstein, 2019, p. 1142).

In the case of Detroit, Benjamin Gaydos and Julia Yezbick describe the resonance of artists working with space and place in the city as "innovative creative practices at the intersection of social justice and creative work" (goodgood, 2017, p. 6). In their report for Creative Many, they analyzed how public and private funding structures impact the artists' work, finding that, in Detroit, socially engaged artists often have, first, politically-engaged, concrete agendas for action or policy change, and, secondly, that these artists often work within and against the forces of neoliberal capitalism such as gentrification and widespread inequality (goodgood, 2017, pp. 111-112). Art and artistic practices in Detroit in the context of neighborhoods or community work are therefore often linked to social engagement.

5.1.3. Art and Real Estate

Apart from the grassroots movements and DIY-orientated art projects, making art in Detroit has mostly not been possible without financial incentives from private foundations, sponsors, and, most of all, real estate developers. Detroit's low property prices make this kind of arts-themed development attractive (Rich, 2019).

Well-known real estate developers in Detroit who use art when placing their new developments include Dan Gilbert and the Illitch family. Gilbert has supported the city's creative industries by offering inexpensive rentals on studio spaces, commissioning mural artists to beautify his own properties, and supporting a commercial art gallery, Library Street Collective, that has installed large-scale artworks in empty commercial warehouses and office buildings that he owns.
Another of the city's arts-themed developers is former New York fashion model Phillip Cooley, who transitioned from a background in arts education to the redevelopment of commercial and residential property in Detroit as a general contractor for O'Connor Development Group L.L.C. (Crain's Detroit Business, 2007). After a career outside of Detroit, he wanted to invest in his hometown and became co-owner of Slows Barbecue on Michigan Avenue next to Michigan Central Station in Corktown. This thriving restaurant attracts different generations of people through its creative interior design, which uses salvaged materials in a renovated historical building looking out onto an iconic Detroit ruin, the Michigan Central Station. The restaurant's popularity in this location (which is also a tourist site), particularly among suburbanites, led Cooley to expand it. He opened a branch downtown and in Grand Rapids. Cooley describes the act of turning empty, inexpensive real estate into thriving business destinations as a matter of inclusivity and part of giving back to the community:

> When you have the infrastructure that we have in the city and you look at the people that we have in the city — folks that design things, build things, engineer things — we have the capability to save ourselves and create our own economy. (Beatens, 2015)

The infrastructure refers to Detroit's iconic architectural buildings as well the arts and crafts of how to design and incorporate them into the narrative of a creative city. Another of Cooley's economic growth success stories is the 33,000 square foot Ponyride building, which he bought for $100,000. Together with his wife and partner, he renovated it into a vibrant space for creatives and cultural production as well as business incubation, offering affordable workspaces along with educational and material resources. In 2019, Cooley sold the building for $3.3 million (Frank & Phino, 2019).

In a lot of successful real estate projects that have undergone renovation in the name of arts, crafts, or design, the promotion of the arts is earmarked for a specific purpose. Here, art in combination with real estate and its development is linked to a growth narrative (Logan & Molotch, 1987) under the umbrella of community development.

In short, arts and real estate development in Detroit have become part of the city's urban development strategy. Moreover, placemaking through the arts is supported by public-private partnerships or private foundations as well as bottom up movements. These have become strategies for supporting artists and artmaking in neighborhoods while also engaging them with local communities (Rich, 2019).

It is clear that placemaking with art in Detroit's post-industrial conditions has evolved in different directions over the past few decades. Art has become a tool for the city's urban and economic development: by supporting the revitalization of inner city neighborhoods like Midtown and Downtown and other areas throughout the city. Furthermore, artists have become catalysts for social engagement in and with communities, helping to increase neighborhood growth and community engagement. Private foundations such as Kresge Arts and the Knight Foundation or public national grants like the National Endowments for the Arts have also encouraged artists to engage in and with communities and neighborhoods, therefore stimulating civic participation, which attracts other artists and creatives to move to the city. In turn, this stimulates business investment and real estate development in areas of the city where profit is expected.

5.2. Artmaking with Homes

In this section I concentrate on artists who have made art with single-family homes in different neighborhoods around Detroit in the past three decades. The projects presented here are exemplary of numerous artworks that have taken or still take place on site in Detroit and primarily address

houses as part of a neighborhood, community, cultural tradition, and form of economic activity and social space. It shows how artists with different motivations and backgrounds have used houses for their artmaking.

Figure 5.0: Kyong Park, 24260 Fugitive House. Courtesy of Martina Dolesjsova.

One example of this (Figure 5.0), and one that is a less grassroots and more object-orientated art piece is Kyong Park's 24260: The Fugitive House (2001-2008). This single-family home, a typical factory worker's house, which Park, an architect and artist, lived in for three years in Detroit, has traveled to various museums and destinations around Europe looking for a new home (Dolejsova, 2014). Park cut the house up, so that it could be moved and reassembled in different urban contexts. Its raw bone-style structure exposes its interior. As both an art and architecture piece, it has become a worldwide symbol for the consequences of "white flight" in Detroit as well as a symbol for the loss of homeownership and opportunities to live and work there.

Using Howard Becker's (1982) different categories of artists, I try to explain each of the following artists' role in relation to the art world with which they may or may not identify as well as in relation to placemaking in Detroit. In his analysis of different art worlds, Becker[105] focuses on the network of relations among artists in comparison to their career progress as artists in different Art Worlds as well as their production networks. He defines different types of artists who are distinguished by their relationship to a community of people, their traditional roots, and their proficiency in the art world, settling on four categories for how actors stand in relation to the organized art world: Integrated Professionals, who belong to the conventional art world; Mavericks, who were part of it but have chosen to continue without its support and create their own institutions; Folk Artists, who work within a well-organized community outside the art world following certain

[105] Becker's (1982) work on Art Worlds is constructed around a field of art that he describes as a network.

traditions; and Naïve Artists, or grassroots artists, who have no connection to the art world and whose work is made without reference to it (Becker,1982).[106] Artists connected to an art world rely on the collective support of people finding creative solutions (Becker, 1982). Depending on the initiative and tasks involved in collaboration, artists can bring different abilities and networks into these relationships or establish them.

In this section, I will first look at Heidelberg Project, a tourist destination known around the world, then Hamtramck Disneyland, an outsider art venue, and finally Dabls MBAD African Bead Museum, an African-centered sculptural attraction.

5.2.1. Heidelberg Project

Figure 5.1: Heidelberg Art Project, 2013. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

Detroit native Tyree Guyton could be called a Maverick Artist (Becker, 1982). Right after graduating from the College for Creative Studies, Guyton began to paint colorful dots on abandoned houses in the neighborhood where he grew up in Detroit. He started with his grandparent's house and moved on to other vacant houses and lots that he did not own. That was in 1986. Over time, Guyton took over more abandoned houses on Heidelberg Street, painted them with colorful dots and started to attach abandoned materials to buildings and trees. He has used junk and left-over

[106] Becker is a Chicago native. A large part of the actors he cites as examples in his theories for the sociology of the arts come from Chicago. Chicago and Detroit are strongly related. There is a vibrant exchange between the artist and activist scenes in both cities, which have common histories, particularly in terms of migration, deindustrialization, and geographic location. Furthermore, Becker is considered part of the Second Chicago School of Sociology, which is known for specializing in urban sociology and ethnographic field research.

materials such as vacuum cleaners, car hoods, stuffed animals and unused office desks found in empty houses or abandoned inner-city factory buildings, schools, and other sites (Figure 5.1). His practice is informed "from the debris of the neighborhood." His neighborhood is his material. He refers to it as the "Heidelberg Project Landscape" (Guyton, 2007), which he works on but does not live in. He has created what can be described as an outdoor museum – because residents of the city and outsiders can experience the artworks by walking down the block alongside Heidelberg Street or watch from their car window. Over its years of existence, the outdoor art project has become increasingly famous worldwide:

> The truth is that Heidelberg's popularity seems to increase the farther you live from it. (Hodges, 2007, p. 50)

Guyton's art installations have created a divide between supporters and opponents. Those who love and embrace the project are often outsiders to the immediate neighborhood or tourists from out of town. Those who do not are directly affected by it, such as immediate neighbors, who have to live in and next to the collected debris and deal with daily visitors treating the installations like a public park (Hodges, 2007, pp. 52-53). With his junk installation, Guyton has drawn visual attention to mass consumer products like cars, Detroit's landscape of deteriorating houses, and the specific neighborhood where he works. Furthermore, in terms of Detroit's history, painting abandoned houses and occupying unused lots is a political statement.

Heidelberg Project is a long-term art project that can be described as an individual act of appropriation. It did not emerge through a bottom-up process, growing in accordance with community members in the neighborhood. Over the years, in response to the critical reactions, Guyton has entered into an ongoing dialogue with locals both in the neighborhood and the entire city. As a result, the artist and his wife founded their own community organization, whose mission is to improve people's lives through art while offering workshops and educational training in the Heidelberg Project's neighborhood (The Heidelberg Project, n.d.). The organization views the project as an outdoor art environment. As far as Tyree Guyton's career in the art world is concerned, he has been treated as a Maverick for a long time, with no exposure in galleries or museums locally or regionally. In the 2000s, he received recognition for his work in the form of grants, gallery exhibitions, and acquisitions by museums and private contemporary art collectors. He also received the Kresge Arts in Detroit Visual Arts Fellowship in 2009, which labelled him as an urban environmental artist (Kresge Arts in Detroit, 2009).

No matter how negatively the consequences of the art installation are for the neighborhood's residences, it remains for outsiders, almost ironically, one of Detroit's flagship projects referencing the decline of the city's growth narrative during its industrial heyday. The way the artist has

learned over time how to reference and make use of vacant lots and homes certainly has started a discourse about how single-family homes have become art objects belonging to the city's history.

5.2.2. Hamtramck Disneyland

Figure 5.2: Hamtramck Disneyland, 2017. Photo by David Lewinski.

Hamtramck Disneyland is another of Detroit's site-specific art installations, built between two garages in the backyard of artist Dmytro Szyla's former single-family home in Hamtramck (Figure 5.2). Soon after his retirement from General Motors in 1992, he set to work on his installation, which can only be seen from the back alley of the house: Szyla has created his own Disneyland on top of and between two garages. The installation consists primarily of kinetic structures and figures made from wood and found materials, colorfully painted bright stripes, and a backyard filled with found photographs, posters, and classic Americana imagery mixed with those of the Europe of Mr. Szylak's past (he migrated from Ukraine in the 1950s) (Hatch Art, n.d.). The installation became a tourist attraction for other artists and people interested in outsider art, while remaining lesser known than Heidelberg and Dabls African Bead Museum.

The artist constantly updated and modified the project until his death in 2015. In 2016, after residents and neighbors started a petition to save the installation, the local art initiative Hatch Art acquired the building to maintain and repair it. The initiative turned the residential home into an artist residency, inviting artists from the area or outside of Detroit to work and live next to the installation while also maintaining it. Even though Hamtramck Disneyland has been posthumously referred to as Folk Art, I would argue that Szylak fits Becker's (1982) category

of the Naïve Artist. He was not connected to a network of artists during his lifetime and did not control how other artists identified and recognized his work, but he was collected by an influential collector of folk art (Wasacz, 2006) and recognized by local and national art students. Unlike Heidelberg Project or Dabls African Bead Museum, it is located in a dense single-family home neighborhood in Hamtramck.

5.2.3. Dabls MBAD African Bead Museum

Figure 5.3: N'kisi House. Courtesy of Dabls Mbad African Bead Museum.

The Dabls Mbad African Bead Museum was founded by Olayami Dabls. The artist started his career in Detroit's automobile industry. He never had an arts education, but a severe car accident led him to take up painting. He then became involved in Detroit's African American History Museum as artist-in-residence and curator, a position he left in order to create his own museum as a space for the communal understanding of African American history (Dabls Mbad African Bead Museum, n.d.).

Founded in 1998, the museum (Figure 5.3) is a set of eighteen outdoor installations made of iron, wood, rock, beads, and mirrors on empty lots adjacent to three townhouses, which are used as gallery spaces exhibiting African beads and Dabls' collection of African art, as well as his own studio. The museum's location at the intersection of Grand River Avenue and Grand Boulevard is "an area where you are least likely to expect to find art", Dabls notes (Report, 2016) – right next

to Interstate 96. The area is not very populated and is surrounded by empty buildings and vacant lots. The center of the outdoor museum is a retail space in a former residential building with a store front that Dabls operates himself, selling the beads and telling stories about them to curious visitors (The Kresge Foundation, 2022).

Like Heidelberg Project, the African Bead Museum has grown into an iconic site for both outsiders and locals alike. The museum's primary support, however, is from the local community. Locals identify with Dabls' installation because it is in the tradition of African culture, providing access to the roots and traditions of continental Africa and thereby reflecting the history of most of the people living in the neighborhood. His museum is viewed as an African-centered cultural attraction using African material culture and symbols, which visitors can experience as part of the outside installation while walking through the sculpture park (Report, 2016). The neighborhood's and the African American community's identification with the project is a key reason why there has been no conflict about making use of the space, the residential houses, and the empty lots.

Dabls can be considered a self-taught Folk Artist working in the tradition of African American culture and history. It is only in recent years that his acceptance in the contemporary art world has grown and his work has been contextualized as urban art or as part of the city's cultural heritage. He has been invited to create murals in various neighborhoods around Detroit and participate in the Cranbrook Art Museum's 2019 exhibition "Landlord Colors," in which the museum was the location for part of the performance and public art series "Material Detroit" (Cranbrook Art Museum, 2019).[107]

These instances of turning homes and adjacent vacant lots into art show the changing roles of artists in the city and how the way they work in the city has transformed over time. In the case of Park's Fugitive House, for instance, the process of how art is made with single-family homes exceeds the realm of the institutional art world and contributes to or raises awareness of the home both as a residential and political space that can be instrumentalized for urban agendas and economic development.

With the shrinking of the city and the immediate consequence of the vacancy of entire residential neighborhoods, artists working with single-family homes or vacant lots have been contextualized as part of urban politics and development, whether they like it or not. As the above cases show, not every artist is interested in working in the fields of art and placemaking. Some, like Dmytro Szyla, have not even positioned themselves in the art world or catered to a political agenda, a

[107] Furthermore, in 2022, Olayami Dabls was named the Kresge Eminent Artist for his storytelling and street corner vision, telling the story of African Americans and African American roots (The Kresge Foundation, 2022).

community, or a grassroots movement to solve an urban problem, i.e., through social engagement. Initially, Tyree Guyton was less interested in improving the condition of the neighborhood he was working in than responding to the cultural tradition of his residential neighbors and working with the material he found and that was provided by the place where he was working.

To my eyes, the three site-specific installations – Hamtramck Disneyland, Heidelberg Project, and Dabls Mbad African Beads Museum – are works of art that have turned their locations into landmarks. They have created sightseeing destinations with and through Detroit's materiality, its history and cultural traditions. These artists follow a very DIY approach in their use of single-family homes and empty lots as material as represented in the form of the physical materiality of the leftover debris of Detroit's post-industrial landscape and the cultural history and traditions of the people that have lived and worked in these places. Mark Binelli explains that the city of Detroit allows for a "DIY positivity" (Binelli, 2012, p. 65), to turn what is left over or left behind into something positive. Indeed, the DIY attitude of Detroit's citizens is part of a phenomenon that has become routine in deteriorating cities where public services no longer provide order and safety (Kinder, 2014).

However, all three instances show that different actors – the neighborhood, a particular community, tourists, or other art initiatives and foundations – are required in order to draw attention and meaning to a place, an artwork, or an artist. Moreover, the above examples show that artmaking with homes and art that occupies land affects the everyday lives of residents and neighborhoods, while also attracting and inviting people from outside to contextualize it historically, communally, and culturally within the urban fabric of the city.

5.3. Homemaking with Art in Campau/Banglatown

This section deals with artists who own single-family homes and live and work in them as residents in Campau/Banglatown. In the following examples, artists may treat single-family homes and their side lots as art objects or site-specific installations, but they are also part of the everyday living and working environment of these artists in their role as neighborhood citizens. As analyzed in Chapter Four, apart from market factors such as the close proximity to jobs or safety, artists and newly arrived migrants value social and cultural factors like access to everyday infrastructures and cultural familiarity in the neighborhood. I am interested in how artists use their single-family homes. Is it as an extension or expansion of their artistic practices? And how does their engagement effect the neighborhood? And to what extent do their actions of living and working in the neighborhood as artists and residents create or establish value or can be considered as a value?

A more recent analysis of "Artistic City-zenship" (Kaddar et al., 2020) focuses on artists as engaged citizens in a city. This can be divided into three dimensions: participation, contestation, and efficacy.[108] This contrasts with Howard Becker's (1982) perspective, which evaluates artists' proficiency through networking and addressing community or cultural traditions within different art worlds. In this section, I am less interested in contestation or efficacy and will instead look at artists' civic participation and how they are involved in social and political activities in the neighborhoods they inhabit (Kaddar et al., 2020). An artist's civic engagement can be divided into three different categories: no participation, uncommitted participation, and committed participation (Kaddar et al., 2020, p. 3). Intentionally or not, artists as citizens become political agents in cities, which might conflict with urban development agendas or present alternative approaches for living and working in the urban context (Kaddar et al., 2020).[109]

Furthermore, it is important to consider different aspects of homemaking when considering artists' involvement in it. Home can be seen as a socio-spatial entity, a psycho-spatial entity, and an emotional warehouse which ties the physical world to people's social, cultural, and emotive worlds (Easthope, 2004). As Easthope's (2004, p. 137) analysis of homemaking suggests, homes are nodes in networks of social relations. In the case of a neighborhood, social relations can stimulate community building or create a sense of belonging through everyday practices (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Moreover, Toby Barlow (2009) emphasizes the economic motivations behind the decisions of artists and art initiatives to become homeowners and residents in Campau/Banglatown, namely the low cost of housing. He stresses that artists are attracted by the opportunity to fix and renovate their homes, by their wishes and needs for a "half-decent neighborhood" (Barlow, 2009).

In 2009, I was only aware of two single-family homes owned by artists in Campau/Banglatown: The Power House, which belongs to artist-couple Gina Reichert and Mitch Cope, and Dflux (Conroy, n.d.), an informal artist residency program that belonged to artists Jon Brumit and Sarah Wagner. What both homes and projects had in common was that the artists who organized them lived on site or in the same neighborhood and also used the neighborhood as a material.

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[108] Contestation to the degree in which the artists contests political power whether local or global. And efficacy is understood as the ability to believe to influence social transformation (Kaddar et al., 2020, pp. 3-4).

[109] The researchers have studied artists' political engagement in cities. The engagement, action, and forces of transformation that they are able to set in motion can create movements of power that either educate about urban injustice or propose alternative development agendas. Through inter-urban fieldwork, they looked at artists' perception and political role in the city and their modes of interventions. This predominately qualitative fieldwork took place in Hamburg, Hanover, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa (Kaddar et al, 2020).

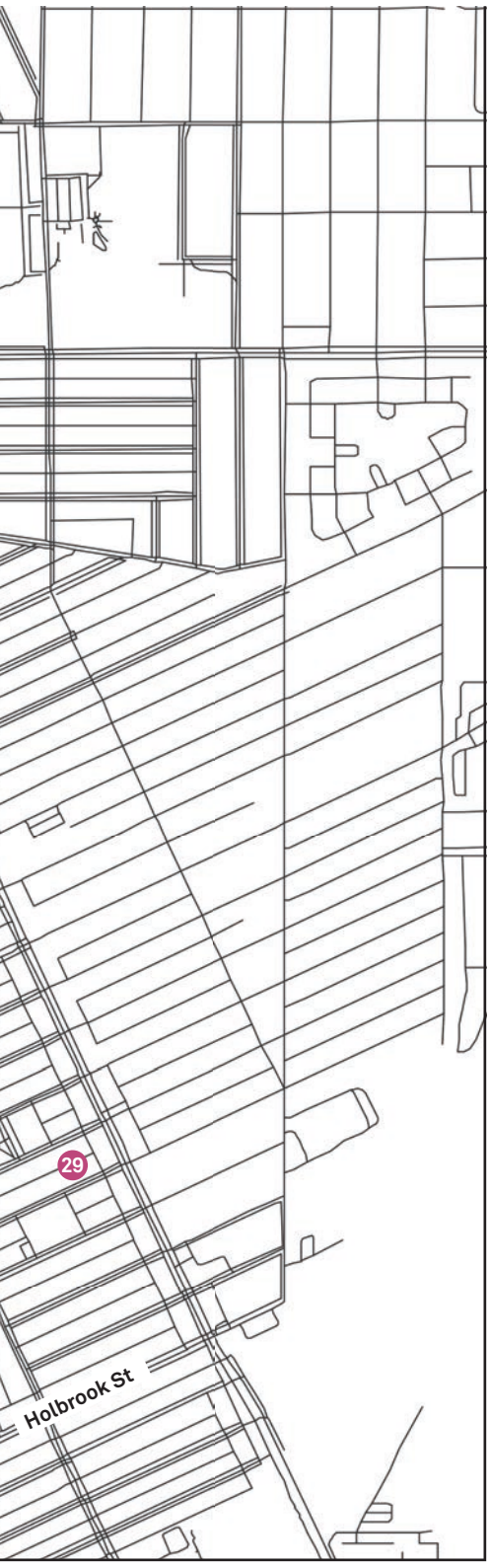
Over the next few years, more artists moved into the neighborhood, such as Charlie O'Geene, an architect who gutted his single-family home so that it could float above the ground (Readymade, 2010). Some artists, including Dflux and Anne Elizabeth Moore, have already moved out of the neighborhood. For instance, Moore had been granted a single-family house by a Detroit writer's organization and ended up writing a book about her complex relationship with Campau/Banlgatown and her experience as a single, white woman as well as her departure from Detroit (Moore, 2021). Other artists only live in the neighborhood at certain times of year, i.e., the owners of the Treasure Nest, an art house (Canilao, 2010), which still has artists as renters living on site and occasional public performances and concerts. During my field research in Campau/Banglatown between 2009 and 2019, I counted over a dozen artists who had established art initiatives (residencies, exhibition and studio spaces, workspaces, community centers, music or theater venues, and other community engaged projects such as urban gardens in and with single-family homes). The fields of expertise of the artists who reside or have workspaces in the neighborhood range from visual arts, music, and performance to architecture and design.

Figure 5.4 shows houses and lots on the map where artists work and live or that are otherwise used for artmaking or community engagement and that I have been aware of since I started working in the neighborhood. I differentiate between artists' private homes (where they sometimes work too), workspaces, community gardens, and urban farms as well as commercial exhibition, performance, and workspaces such as cafés, galleries, studio spaces, and theaters. Most of these spaces relate to the community by being accessible when events are happening or providing network infrastructures for artists or neighbors. This map is by no means complete. As an outsider but regular visitor, I may not have been aware of all the projects and spaces owned and occupied by artists for living and working. The purpose of the map is to document the close proximity of artists' working and living spaces, community meeting points, and how single-family homes and vacant lots can provide opportunities to engage with community other than just through art. It is a point of reference and does not consider the developments and transformation of homes, vacant lots, spaces, organizations, or personal developments after 2019.

The map indicates that commercial venues such as theaters or gallery spaces are clustered alongside the major shopping streets, Caniff Street and Joseph Campau Avenue in Hamtramck. The west side of Campau/Banglatown has a high concentration of artists living and working in one area, where workspaces are next to homes, or in community spaces such as community gardens of studios. The less densely populated east side of Campau/Banglatown does not provide such a neighborly workspace infrastructure for artists. Yet, it is used for urban farming by grass roots initiatives such as Bandhu Gardens as well as community gardening such as Sylhet Farm, which emerged from the context of a religious organization, Hope Center Inc. Moreover, the work and living spaces of artists and their venues are clustered and are located in spatial proximity in Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck.

Art and Single-Family Homes in Campau / Banglatown & Hamtramck

Figure 5.4: Art and Single-Family Homes in Campau/Banglatown & Hamtramck.



Private homes of artists

[1] Power House Productions: private home of Mitch Cope and Gina Reichert
[2] Charlie O'Geene: private home
[3] The Hinterlands: private home of Liza Bielby and Richard Newman

Private home of artists as well as workspaces

[4] FILTER Detroit: private home and residency space
[5] Popp's Packing: private home & Popp´s Packing studio residency
[6] Burnside Farm: private home and workspace of Kate Daughdrill
[7] Chris Shanck: private home and workspace
[8] The Treasure Nest: private homes and workspace
[9] Zimbabwe Cultural Centre Detroit: private home of Chicdo Johnson and studio residency
[10] Detroit Puppet Company / Carrie Morris: private home of founder, indoor venue puppetry theater, community commons and amphitheater
[11] Klinger Street Studios: private home of owner and artist Jonathan Rajewski and rental studios for artists
[12] Hamtramck Disneyland: private home and residency space

Workspaces

[13] Popp´s Packing: Momm & Popp Residency
[14] Popp´s Packing: Emporium
[15] Power House Productions: Squash House
[16] Power House Productions: Sound House
[17] Power House Productions: Jar House
[18] Power House Productions: Power House
[19] Power House Productions: Play House
[20] Power House Productions: Yellow House

Community gardens and urban farms

[21] Bandhu Gardens: community garden
[22] Abdul Motin: urban farm
[23] Sylhet Farm: community garden
[24] Burnside Farm: urban farm

Exhibition- / performance- / workspaces / commercial venue

[25] Book Suey: bookstore and event venue
[26] Public Pool: artist-run gallery
[27] Detroit Threads: record and vintage clothing store
[28] Planet Ant: improv comedy, theatre, performance venue
[29] Hatch Art: art gallery and studios
[30] Ride It Sculpture Park: skatepark
[31] Café Oloman: coffee house and exhibition venue

These places did not all emerge at the same time but grew over the years. Some of these art venues and initiatives only emerged after the artists first tested the neighborhood by experiencing its everyday structures. Some of the artists have rented homes or were frequent visitors of venues and events before becoming homeowners themselves. For example, the theater and performance artist-couple Liza Bielby and Richard Newman (The Hinterlands) came from out of state for a research residency at FILTER Detroit in 2011. Soon after, they started to collaborate with their artist-neighbors, Gina Reichert and Mitch Cope, within the context of their art organization Power House Productions, before buying a house around the corner from FILTER Detroit in 2012. Today, they engage with the neighborhood through different projects as residents. In her role as neighborhood artist, resident, and co-director of the Hinterlands, Bielby has been a consulting partner for the development of the Neighborhood Framework Plan of Campau/Banglatown, a community-based planning process for the neighborhood led by the city (see Chapter 4.2.4.). The Hinterlands participate quite a lot in the neighborhood (Kaddar et al, 2020). Their various activities include managing and programing Play House, a former two-family home that was transformed into a rehearsal space and venue for small-scale performances right next to FILTER Detroit. Play House offers neighbors and visitors a variety of programming such as plays, rehearsal space, a venue for film screenings, and it has been the home of the Bangla School of Music since 2013 (The Hinterlands, 2018). Play House is just one venue in Power House Productions' network of community engaged project houses catering to the community of artists as well as nearby neighbors.

The photographer Corine Vermeulen has a different connection to the neighborhood. She migrated to Detroit from the Netherlands after finishing her master's in photography at Cranbrook Art Academy. She has lived in different single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown as a renter, for example at the Yellow House, which used to be part of Power House Productions portfolio of real estate. Moreover, she has stayed at FILTER Detroit on several occasions as a local resident. Her studio is only two blocks away at Klinger Street Studios[110] in Hamtramck. Vermeulen has collaborated with different artists and organizations in the neighborhood, including organizing a Walk-In Portrait Studio in collaboration with Power House Productions. The non-permanent studio was located in a formerly foreclosed, empty single-family home on Klinger Street in 2009. In the studio, the photographer took photographs of individuals who were engaged in their communities and asked them to tell a story about the neighborhood (Vermeulen, n.d.). Her level of participation could be considered uncommitted (Kaddar, et al., 2020) she uses the art infrastructures (living and studio space or professional gigs), but does not engage with neighbors for longer periods of time. There are many more examples of artists living in Campau/

[110] Klinger Street Studios houses a number of artists' studio spaces and is managed and owned by artist Jonathan Rajewski, who also works and lives in the building compound (Sharp, 2015).

Banglatown who have used the neighborhood's infrastructures or make art with homes or vacant lots on singular occasions. However, Vermeulen has not become a homeowner.

5.3.1. Network Infrastructures and Community Building

Ali Laptina,[111] co-founder of Women of Banglatown, noted that there has been a large migration of Cranbrook Academy of Art[112] students and alumni to Campau/Banglatown (A. Lapetina, personal communication, August 1, 2018). For example, Gina Reichert, co-director of Power House Productions, is an architecture alumni from Cranbrook, as is architect Charlie O'Geene, who lives in a house on Klinger Street, and Kate Daughdrill, whose urban farm and house are on Burnside Street. Vermeulen is also a photography alumni from Cranbrook. She reveals that the connection between her working and private living situation is essential:

> I also have my studio space on Klinger Street in Hamtramck, about three blocks east [one block from the border of Campau/Banglatown]. I am more surrounded with my work and work relations. In the garden there, we hang out, barbeque, or grow food. Work and life are happening there. (C. Vermeulen, personal communication, August 1, 2017)

Vermeulen counts good working conditions, such as the neighborhood farms, a network of artists who relate to her own work, a place to work, and friends close by as part of a good living and working environment.

[111] Ali Lapetina, a former undergraduate student of the College for Creative studies, is the founder and director of the non-profit organization Women of Banglatown, which offers free creative activities for girls and woman, primarily involving the Bangladeshi community. Her community engaged project started in the back-alley garage of Kate Daughdrill's Burnside Farm.

[112] Cranbrook Academy of Art is a graduate school in one of Detroit's wealthier suburbs. The Academy has an international reputation and is known for its photography, architecture, and design programs.

The 2021 Alumni Open Studios map (Figure 5.5) shows that, compared to other neighborhoods in Detroit, there is a particularly high concentration of Cranbrook alumni in Hamtramck and around Campau/Banglatown.

Figure 5.5: Cranbrook Alumni, Metro-Detroit Alumni Open Studios, September 2021. Courtesy of Cranbrook Academy of Art.

According to the Cranbrook Art Academy, nearly every creative enterprise in Detroit has a Cranbrook connection (Cranbrook Art Academy, n.d.a):

> A new generation of artists and designers flock to the city seeking more affordable living and working spaces; a vibrant, diverse, and socially engaged community; and new opportunities for entrepreneurial activity. (Cranbrook Art Academy, n.d.b)

Cranbrook counts affordable living and working spaces, socially engaged community and economic development opportunities as key ingredients in what makes neighborhoods interesting as infrastructures that support and advance artists' developments in Detroit.

It is not only recent Cranbrook graduates who find it attractive to live and work with professional network affiliations in the area. Chido Johnson, a professor and section chair of sculpture at the College for Creative Studies who bought a single-family home in 2013, emphasizes the co-existence of creative spaces. He values the possibilities the neighborhood offers for radical performance and artistic practice (C. Johnson, personal communication, Mach 16, 2018). Not only did he buy a single-family home surrounded by other artists and collaborators in Campau/Banglatown, around the same time, he also established his art initiative, the Zimbabwe Cultural Centre of Detroit (ZCCD), in this house. As the center's director, he invites artists from Zimbabwe to work with artists from Detroit. The invited artists live at his house. They often work at community-engaged workspaces such as Sound House, an experimental sound studio also run by Power House Productions (Zimbabwe Cultural Centre Detroit, n.d.), or Yar House, a studio and workspace with a library, thereby connecting with the neighborhood at large.

Popps Packing, a non-profit arts organization on the border of Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown established by the artist-couple Faina Lerman and Graem Whyte, opened their gallery space and studios around the same time as Power House Productions established itself as a neighborhood organization. Lerman and Whyte turned part of their private living space, a former meat packing plant, into a gallery and meeting space for exhibitions, performances, and conversation, bringing together local and out-of-town artists. Before Popps Packing opened, artists in the city had few possibilities for showing and networking, as Lerman points out:

> Like, all the people that we kind of, like, went to school with and had shown with and, like, everyone nurturing each other because you didn't have other institutions or sources. It was like some Cranbrook people, some CCS people. You knew people, everybody knew everybody, […]. It's like a little micro community of folks. (F. Lerman, personal communication, March 14, 2018, Detroit)

Lerman stresses that a community of artists needed exchange through exhibitions and discussion because of the lack of infrastructures at the time. She confirms that her art networks consist of people graduating from the nearby College for Creative Studies and Cranbook Art Academy. After opening Popps Packing as a gallery and artist residency, they gradually bought more houses and vacant lots across the street, later turning them into Popps Emporium, a tool library and studio space, as well as the Mom and Popp Residency.

Zimbabwe Cultural Centre of Detroit, Power House Productions, Popps Packing, and The Hinterlands are examples of very committed artists (Kaddar et al. 2018) who are both homeowners and neighborhood residents. They have successively developed their own professional infrastructures within the same space, which have helped to foster their communities in collaboration with other artists and organizations around the neighborhood. Therefore, local gathering places such as artist-run workspaces (Sound House, Play House, Popps Emporium, Jar House), artist residencies (FILTER Detroit, Popps Packing, ZCCD), non-profit art galleries and studio spaces (Public Pool, Hatch Art, Klinger Street Studio), performance venues and theaters (Play House, Planet Ant), and music venues (Sound House, Detroit Threads and other local bars and music venues in Hamtramck) in addition to more commercialized meeting spaces such as cafés (Oloman Café, Café 1923), are important networking infrastructures for artists to work, meet, and exchange with other "creatives" and residents in Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck.

In Campau/Banglatown, artists from local art schools, such as Cranbrook Academy of Art and the College for Creative Studies, have provided pre-existing structures such as professional networks and entrepreneurial opportunities for artists or what Becker (1982) refers to as relational and production networks. Through bottom-up organizing or collaborations with other residents, including immediate neighbors, they organize and establish new communities of intent based on their everyday realities – as shown in Chapter Four – such as growing food together, preventing neighborhood crime, or providing a tool library or performance venue that also serve as spaces to non-artists, such as recently arrived migrants. In doing so, the artists take into account neighborhood and personal needs. Artists who are homeowners are more committed participants (Kaddar et al, 2019) in the neighborhood than artists who are visitors or renters. It is in the connection between civic needs, professional relations, and bottom-up organizing that their artmaking with homes informs each other and creates new community structures for the neighborhood.

In the following sections I will concentrate on artists and arts initiatives that I have come to know personally, collaborated with, and followed over the past ten years and that own and occupy single or two-family homes and live and work in Campau/Banglatown or on the border with Hamtramck. Their artistic practices are often socially engaged. They relate to other neighborhood

residents through everyday activities that also contribute to the stabilization of the area, including occupying empty homes and giving them new meanings and functions, i.e., using empty lots and yards for urban gardening or establishing community centers or gathering spaces.[113]

5.3.2. Home Gardening

In this section, I focus on artists and neighbors that garden in vacant lots that are often next to their homes. In the summer, Campau/Banglatown is very green. Empty lots and the front and backyards of the single-family homes are often occupied by vegetable gardens, fruit trees, and flowers. For the Bangladeshi American community, growing their own food allows them to maintain a connection to their homeland (Krishnamurthy, 2010) and makes their daily family budget more sustainable. Home gardening contributes to a healthier lifestyle through the consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables as well as the exercise required to maintain a garden according to a more recent study about urban gardening support programs (Beavers et al., 2021). Moreover, gardens tended collectively can also support social interaction and community development (Beavers et al., 2021).[114] For example, Keep Growing Detroit, one of the city's larger gardening support programs, sees growing food as a way to help maximize a residential neighborhood's community and economic growth opportunities (Keep Growing Detroit, n.d.).

Figure 5.6: Akim Rahman at Sylhet Farm, a community garden, 2019. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

[113] Urban gardening describes the cultivation of vegetable and fruits for personal use in the urban areas by individuals, families, or commercial organizations, or the establishment of community gardens where different individuals from the neighborhood run a garden as a community.

[114] In Detroit, many organizations that support gardening, like "Keep Growing Detroit", help individuals as well as community gardeners by providing low-cost materials, education, and technical support (Keep Growing Detroit, n.d.). In 1975, the Farm-A-Lot Program, a city initiative, had already encouraged citizens to grow food on vacant lots by supplying seeds and technical aid (Klose, 2021, pp. F-G)

Akim Rahman, one of the initiators of the community garden Sylhet Farm (Figure 5.6), has made an asset out of the needs of his community and neighborhood. Behind the parking lot of a former Volvo car dealership that he turned into a community center and mosque (which he also owns), he has bought vacant lots from the Detroit Land Bank and, together with neighbors and members of the community, turned them into a community garden named Sylhet Farm. In the background of Figure 5.6, the parking lot of Hope Center, community center and mosque on Joseph Campau Avenue, is visible. Sylhet Farm is organized by residents who live nearby or next door. The harvest from the community garden and from the gardens of next door neighbors who also grow food, is sold at a weekly farmers market that takes place on the parking lot of Hope Center in summer (City of Detroita, 2019, p. 51).

Figure 5.7: Urban Garden on vacant lot next to single-family home in Campau/Banglatown. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

Many Bangladeshi American families plant vegetables like beans, pumpkins, peas, and tomatoes in their back and front yards. Figure 5.7 shows bean plants growing alongside a carport structure right next to a single-family home on a vacant lot. In this instance, the vacant lot is used as both a parking lot and an urban garden space. When the single-family homes in this neighborhood were first built, the lot types of the homes were parceled out in such a way as to enable self-sufficiency. Both examples – community garden and private garden – are examples of ways to use vacant lots serving several functions and tailored to the daily needs of its users: in this instance, providing space for the community to gather, garden, and park their cars.

One of the first privately owned urban farms in Campau/Banglatown belongs to Abdul Motin. He uses nine empty lots next to his house to grow fruit and vegetables as well as raise chickens and goats to sustain his family. He also sells what is left over for added income (Power House Productions, 2015). He used to have a corner store on the same block where he sold part of his produce, but it burned down (A. Motin, personal communication, March 19, 2018). In addition,

he taps the neighborhood's maple trees to produce syrup and sells it to the community and he keeps beehives on his property (City of Detroit, 2019a, p. 50).

More recently, artists in Campau/Banglatown have taken up gardening on their home properties and adjacent empty lots as part of their artistic practice. One community garden project that connects a single-family home with the surrounding empty lots is the decentralized network of home gardens known as Bandhu Gardens. It is a network of Bangladeshi American and non-Bangladeshi women who grow food in their backyards, "allowing women to manage their households as well as earn some money" (Begum & Staugaitis, n.d.) by selling vegetables, offering catering services and cooking classes, and organizing culinary events. In May 2018, Emily Staugaitis, one of the co-founders, purchased a home with adjacent lots in the less densely populated southern area of Campau/Banglatown at 12285 Maine Street. At the beginning of her garden practice, Staugaitis (also a graduate of Cranbrook Academy) noticed that it was hard to get fresh fruits in the neighborhood, so she decided to plant an orchard of fruit trees (Mc Neil, 2016). As a network facilitator and organizer, she uses her home and the adjacent lots as a material for her artistic practice. Staugaitis's vision is embedded in the concept of growth and social engagement. In the future, she plans to convert the empty single-family home she owns on the lots where she gardens into a commercial kitchen and community space (City of Detroit, 2019a, p. 51).

Burnside Farm is a privately owned farm next to a single-family home in one of Campau/Banglatown's more densely populated areas. The farm is located on a cul-de-sac next to occupied single-family homes. It consists of three empty lots used for farming and gathering, a residential home, and a greenhouse. It is owner-operated by artist, architect, and Cranbrook alumni Kate Daughdrill (Daughdrill, n.d.). When I asked Daughdrill about the neighborhood's aesthetic values, she explained that the plants are the neighborhood's energy, referring to the green walkways, the alleys, and the home gardens (K. Daughdrill, personal communication, August 7, 2018).
Burnside Farm is both an urban farm, an art project, and a private living and working space. I first met Daughdrill in 2010 while she was organizing Detroit Soup. A monthly event hosting communally organized dinners with fresh local produce, Detroit Soup functions as a fundraiser for micro-grants funding creative projects in Detroit. By then, she had already spent time in Campau/Banglatown working with other artists and activists invited by Power House Productions. In 2011, Kate bought a house in the neighborhood on Burnside Street and turned her property into a living and farming space. Over the next three years, she purchased and auctioned further vacant lots adjacent to and across the street from the house to extend her farm and art projects, including an arthouse gallery in an empty garage and a greenhouse.

> The neighbors and I built a fire pit and a cinderblock grill, and started cooking out most Sunday nights. […] They could pick what they wanted out of the garden and put it directly on the pizza. That's when I realized being a gardener was an essential part of my practice [as an architect and artist] and my work now operates at that intersection of art and gardening (Filipovic, 2016).

Kate Daughdrill combines her work as artist and homeowner, her engagement with the community as well as her architectural and artistic practices into her newly established practice as an urban farmer. As an artist, Daughdrill hosts several activities during the growing season at Burnside Farm, such as communal dinners in the garden, medicinal plant walks in the neighborhood, workshops with visiting artists, meditations, musical performances, and art openings in the farm's tiny shed, which used to be a garage. Not unlike Bandhu Gardens, as an artist and resident, Daughdrill uses the materials offered to her by the land around her house in her artistic practice. Moreover, she uses the surrounding social and cultural infrastructures, such as the vegetable growing knowledge of the Bangladeshi families living next door. Her practice as a professional artist working with urban farming has been rewarded and validated not just locally but also nationally and internationally by art world institutions in the form of grants and gallery exhibitions.

Bandhu Gardens and Burnside Farm have gathered cultural capital in their own communities and networks – the worlds of art and architecture – which they use by incorporating farming, gardening, and preparing fresh produce as resources and materials in their artistic practices. Out of everyday necessity, they reach out to other community members and neighbors and include them in their projects or share skills and tools that enrich their own projects. The connecting resource has been the garden next to their homes and living spaces. However, Daughdrill's farm project has also been criticized, especially by the Bangladeshi American community, which wonders why she is supported by grants and private funding for urban gardening, while they have been doing the same practice on their own initiative and with their own funds for many years as a way of stewarding vacant land, connecting to neighbors, as well as helping sustain their families and community.

5.3.3. Neighborhood Stabilization Through Community Engagement

Using the example of the two arts initiatives Power House Productions and Popps Packing, I show how as homeowners, artists contribute to neighborhood stabilization in Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck through community engagement.

The Power House, another of the neighborhood's empty single-family homes, was bought in 2008

and is the starting point for Power House Productions,[115] a non-profit organization founded by the artist couple Gina Reichert and Mitch Cope.[116] In the following years, Power House Productions as an organization as well as Reichert and Cope as individual home owners auctioned more houses and vacant lots, also as part of their community-engaged projects. The Power House is located across the street from FILTER Detroit.

At first, the Power House served as a workspace for visiting artists. For example, Dutch artists and architects funded by the Mondrian Foundation came to reconfigure the space while salvaging material and making the house more sustainable. In my first conversations with Reichert and Cope, they told me that the Power House was meant to be an artistically designed power plant for the entire neighborhood as part of a neighborhood sustainability project (Wasacz, 2014). It was something of a role model for a single-family home that could technically go off the grid, energized via solar panels and a windmill.

Figure 5.8: Power House, Campau/Banglatown, 2021. Photo by Cordula Ditz.

[115] Power House Productions was founded in 2009 as a 501(c) 3 non-profit organization focusing on neighborhood stabilization through art and culture (goodgood, 2017, p. 34).

[116] I first became acquainted with the husband-and-wife team of architect Gina Reichert and artist Mitch Cope in 2007 at their Design 99 location on Caniff Street in Hamtramck. It was a colorfully designed retail store selling art and design items by friends and local artists and offering design consultation for only $99. The couple offered "over-the-counter" design consultations about how to reconfigure and renovate simple homes and market them. Although it only lasted a few years, Design 99 was informed by its combination of business operation and artistic practice – in this case, displaying new modes of contemporary art and offering design and architectural advice as a service while connecting them with the everyday needs of the neighborhood, such as giving inexpensive renovation advice (goodgood, 2017).

Figure 5.8 shows the vacant lot next to Power House that holds art sculptures and art materials used by the artist-couple for installations, as well as materials and tools for working in the garden. Aside from its colorful design and unconventional use of everyday materials and energy saving techniques, the house serves as a workshop rather than an actual living space. It did not inspire other neighbors, artists, or any other residents to equip their homes with solar energy either. It did however become a symbol for what Carducci calls an aesthetic community, one that inspires reconsiderations of what kind of space the home could potentially become (Carducci, 2014). Nevertheless, it became the point of departure for what Power House Productions describes as a network of project houses, art installations, and dynamic programs, integrating contemporary art and artistic practices into the daily life of their diverse Detroit neighborhood (Power House Productions, 2019).

Initially, Power House Productions consisted of a project organization, occupied homes, and lots that it did not buy or auction. It acted more like a facilitator through playful but artistic security measures that made the houses fire or squatting proof or by participating in block clubs organizing snow or garbage removal. In this way, the couple established informal relationships with their neighbors, tackling everyday concerns in the neighborhood (Kavanaugh, 2010). Then they allowed public-private performances and activities on vacant lots to make them appear occupied and cared for. One project involved six artists sent by the Californian art magazine Juxtapoz working on four vacant homes, which the magazine then bought and later granted to Power House Productions.

Collaborative projects like this brought more attention to and led to further redevelopment in the neighborhood (Wasacz, 2014) as other artists became attracted to the area. In addition, Gina Reichert and Mitch Cope have helped find houses for other artists and interested parties in the neighborhood. Without their help, The Hinterlands, Chido Johnson, myself, and others would not have been able to buy our homes. Reichert and Cope knew exactly when a property was up for auction, the conditions of the vacant houses, and how much money and time it would cost to make them livable.

At the same time, with the rising interest of private foundations and public-private partnerships in investing in the redevelopment of neighborhoods through community engagement and art in Detroit, Power House Productions has been able to secure several major local and national grants, from the Kresge and Knight Foundation to the National Endowments of the Arts. This has enabled them to purchase more empty houses and lots and turn them into what they describe as public spaces for the exchange of ideas, opinions, and experiences (Power House Productions, 2019). With this financial support, they have been able to invite other artists, architects, and designers (often ones from the neighborhood) to reimagine and build new functional forms for single-family houses (Power House Productions, 2019).

Squash House (Figure 5.9), for example, a former single-family home with three empty side lots, intended to operate as a "sports arena and greenhouse" (Power House Productions, 2019), was designed by artist Graem Whyte (Popps Packing) and architect Charlie O'Geene. Jar House (Figure 5.10), another single-family home project venue, now serves as a residency space hosting guests to the neighborhood as well as an office and project library:

Figure 5.9: Exterior of Squash House, Klinger Street, Campau/Banglatown, 2018. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

Figure 5.10: Exterior of Jar House, Klinger Street, Campau/Banglatown, 2019. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

The images of Jar House and Squash House show how Power House Productions uses bright colors and colorful ornaments for the exterior of the homes that they have converted into workspaces, just as other neighbors use colors to decorate the exteriors of their houses (see Chapter 4.3.1.).

> Visitors to Jar House are invited to read, research and explore work in, by, and about the neighborhood as well as contemporary art practices revolving around social practice and community-engaged artwork. (Power House Productions, 2019)

In their description of the Jar House, Power House Productions explains that their art practices combine social-practice and community-engaged artwork. The organizations' practice is often contextualized as art of the common to "bring new, more human forms of community into being" (Carducci, 2014, p. 148). In terms of neighborhood stabilization, they have had an impact on the neighborhood through participation via artistic production and strategic partnerships with other residents (Common Field, n.d.), artists, and institutions, while using vacant single-family homes. Their goal has not been to occupy every house with a residential family, but with other forms of occupancy, giving the houses different meanings in terms of their use and function (Kavanaugh, 2010). Reichert and Cope have reimagined the neighborhood by transforming the architecture of vacant homes and activating them through actions and visuals.

Popps Packing, an artist-run nonprofit, is similar but different. It supports the local and international arts community through residencies, an exhibition space, and an art workshop in Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown. The second floor of the former meatpacking plant partly serves as the private living quarters for the founding artists, Faina Lerman and Graem Whyte, and their two children Isadora and Jojo. On the first floor is Popps Gallery and lounge, as well as a workshop space, bathroom, and kitchen for Popps Studio artist residency. Residents live in a studio on the second floor. The garden next to the building serves private and public functions, and is used for gatherings, openings, and exhibitions.

> The reason we started the space… Because there was no… We didn't think there was anything, anywhere to show, any art. Anyways, all the galleries were closing at that time, it was just before the, like, the housing crash and the foreclosure crisis and bankruptcy. All that starting to happen. (F. Lerman, personal communication, March 14, 2018)

At first, their engagement in the neighborhood was more about providing a space for community to happen, for exchanges, network management and growth. However, over the years, Popps Packing has expanded its territory in the neighborhood. In 2011 and 2012, Popps Packing acquired an empty, single-family home, a house with a storefront, and several empty lots across the street from the meatpacking building. Like Power House Productions, with the help of its neighbors and the local arts community and the support of public grants, they have turned the empty homes into the Mom and Popp Residency, an arts residency with living and working spaces for artists with

children, and Popps Emporium, an arts residency with a living and working space on the second floor and a community gallery and tool-lending library in the first-floor storefront space (Popps Packing, 2022a). Moreover, they started collaborating with local artists, including puppeteers, performers, and visual artists, to host Camp Carpenter, an outdoor adventure summer camp for children ages 7 to 14 offering free enrollment for children from the Campau/Banglatown and other neighborhoods. Artists teach participants how to use basic tools and work to build and create as part of community engagement in Detroit and Hamtramck (Popps Packing, 2022b). Even though the transformation of vacant single-family homes on their block was not their first priority, they have started to use the community they have established, or with whom they have worked, to help stabilize single-family homes around the neighborhood.

Both nonprofit organizations – Popps Packing and Power House Productions – have helped stabilize the neighborhood by occupying single-family homes and giving them different functions – workspace, tool library, studio space – than their original residential uses as well as engaging with neighbors and working collaboratively with artists and others. Their artistic practices are informed by mutual exchange, the materiality of the immediate environment, and their high level of community engagement with neighbors and creative partners with whom they have built relationships over time through the places they have made (Kadar et al, 2018). Within their artistic practices in transforming empty lots and single-family homes into destinations for engagement, work, and exchange, both have become developers shaping the urban re-development process in both areas of their blocks in Campau/Banglatown and in Hamtramck[117].

5.3.4. Real Estate Development

In this section, I show how through investment in real estate, establishing neighborly infrastructures and networks as well as engaging in and with the community, artist-led organizations are part of a developing force in the neighborhood.

As owners of more than ten single-family properties in the neighborhood, Reichert and Cope have become what Akers & Seymor (2018, p. 127) identify as “bulk buyers”. They do not privately own most of the project houses (these include Play House, Sound House, and Squash House). They are part of a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, Power House Productions. Popps Packing founders Faina Lerman and Graem Whyte have acquired several vacant lots as well as single-family homes across from their own living and studio space, which they transformed into workspaces as part of their residency and neighborhood organization Popps Packing, which is also a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, meaning they are eligible to apply for public grants and

[117] Popps Packing project houses are located at the border of Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck.

funding as well as receive tax benefits and that those who donate money to them are eligible to receive a tax-deduction as well.

As described in the previous section, Popps Packing and Power House Productions have started to create relationships with their neighbors by doing art and architecture projects with the houses they own. Because they have engaged in everyday DIY tactics to help prevent theft or crime in the neighborhood and contribute with cultural programming to the activation of homes and lots, they have gained social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in the neighborhood. At the same time, they have kept stringent tabs on available real estate in the area (Kavanaugh, 2010). In addition they became contact persons about real estate issues (empty houses, back taxes, how to auction a house) and contributed to the fact that other artists as well as Bangladeshi American immigrants or long-time neighbors could buy, auction, or stay in their homes. In an interview, Cope and Reichert claim that they have no top-down planning agenda, but make decisions based on what is available, explaining that the neighborhood benefits by the diversity of the housing stock in terms of use and function (Kavanaugh, 2010).

Figure 5.11: Ride It Sculpture Park on Davison Highway and Klinger Street, 2018. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

But Cope and Reichert have not only established and occupied single-family homes. In 2012, in collaboration with local and national skaters, they completed the first phase of Ride It Sculpture Park (Figure 5.11), a neighborhood skatepark alongside Davison Freeway on what were once empty lots covered with the neighborhood's garbage. They developed the land for and with the

neighborhood, enlisting locals and artist friends to pour concrete, collect garbage, and shuffle soil. The location of the skatepark – next to the highway and in close proximity to Interstate 75, and bordering Highland Park, a pre-dominantly African American neighborhood and city, and on the border of Campau/Banglatown – added new meaning to the neighborhood by making it a destination for skaters from nearby Detroit neighborhoods and suburbs as well as a communal meeting point for neighborhood kids to test their bike and roller blading skills. The skate park is a perfect example of a bottom-up but still public-private placemaking project conducted by artists with a themed development agenda in mind, "combining elements of skateboarding with public art and greenspace into a unique neighborhood landmark" (Power House Productions, 2019). It has become a public space for different communities but is owned and maintained by Power House Productions.

Play House is another home converted into a project house that Power House Productions developed into a public-private theater and performance workspace together with the performance couple The Hinterlands. They gutted the inside of a single-family home, converted it to a one-floor building serving as a theater, and left the exterior untouched. In addition, they started to use its side lot[118] as a public-private space for presenting events such as free concerts by the Bangla School of Music, thereby making community activities through a concert visible to the neighborhood as well as other interested parties. Figure 5.12 shows the concert space on the vacant lot between Play House and FILTER Detroit, connecting a communal or public activity to private living spaces. Both Ride It Sculpture Park and Play House are low-threshold gathering spaces that serve the neighborhood as landmarks or destinations. They are planned spaces reimagined by an artist-architect couple and their network of relations, fulfilling their purposes as planned social spaces for community engaged art projects. Still, they are not planned together with neighbors or common spaces, their programming and use is controlled by the founders, or, in the case of Play House, curated by The Hinterlands. They are nevertheless an example of real estate development in the neighborhood through making art with homes as well as community engagement with neighbors and people from their professional community.

[118] Since the inception of the Detroit Land Bank, it homeowners can legally buy tax foreclosed empty lots adjacent to their property cheaply. The Detroit Land Bank allows homeowners to buy adjacent, empty side lots for between $150 and $400, encouraging many homeowners to expand their properties.

Figure 5.12: Multi-functional lot between Play House (left) and FILTER Detroit (right) on Moran Street used as a concert space for the Bangla School of Music, 2018. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

When I asked Popps Packing's Faina Lerman about their intentions in buying single-family homes next to their own home, she explained that, as a nonprofit, they wanted to secure green space while also considering the history of the street and thinking about planning mixed-use houses for living and working with shops or other commercial venues in the front (F. Lerman, personal communication, March 14, 2018):

> We were even considering getting rid of half of our lot land here on this side and putting, like, two or three little store fronts onto Carpenter with a small, real small little two-story first floor business, second floor apartment kind of thing with a communal yard here that we share with them. Just like micro development. That's where my head is into development. (F. Lerman, personal communication, March 14, 2018).

As a neighborhood artist, instigating micro-development confirms that artists as homeowners in Detroit have advanced placemaking with homes to another level, that of real estate developers. The role of Popps Packing as an arts initiative in the neighborhood has changed over time from a platform for cultural exchange and community members to a local "micro" developer and investor that engages neighbors in the process of development. They have planned small spaces for business, craft, and trade.

However, as Lerman explains, they are aware that owning lots and residential properties gives them the power to transform and change (F. Lerman, personal communication, March 14, 2018):

> Conversations with our neighbors around the rehabilitation of Popps Emporium inspired us to look at the building beyond a space for artists, but as a place for neighbors to gather, share information and resources, so that we can collaboratively begin to build the neighborhood we envision moving forward. (Popps Packing, 2022a)

Figure 5.13: Popps Emporium in Winter. Courtesy of Popps Packing.

The development of Popps Emporium (Figure 5.13) as a building that is not just a space for artists means extending the buildings' function as a work and living space for artists into a commercial or communal space that serves the social and cultural needs of the neighborhood. Popps Emporium is embedded between single-family homes of neighbors who are not artists. The storefront and design of the side wall makes it visually stand out alongside the residential buildings, yet with its salvaged materials and subtly designed facade, it does not look like an art installation. Aside from including immediate neighbors in the process of rebuilding, salvaging architecture, and clearing trash and weeds in empty lots, the couple has been cautious not to change the neighborhood's vision and architecture, respecting its historical roots and sticking with what is already there and what is needed on a day-to-day basis.

Popps Packing, Burnside Farm, The Hinterlands, and Power House Productions are examples of community engaged arts initiatives in Campau/Banglatown that actively participate in both placemaking and homemaking processes and whose founders are homeowners themselves in the neighborhoods. Everyone contributes to the neighborhood, community and social spaces in

different ways, however. Through the ways in which they make, they have controlled, secured, and planned the transformation of vacant single-family homes and lots in their neighborhoods. By not only using their artistic practices to create living spaces, but public spaces, community centers, and business spaces as well, they have expanded the neighborhood's living, working, and communal environment. At times, houses and side lots have become nodal points (Easthope, 2004) connecting neighbors and supporting their daily but diverse lifestyles through multi-functional uses.

According to the City of Detroit, which uses homes operated by artists as references describing positive neighborhood transformation, artists have helped "catalyze new forms of community" (City of Detroit, 2019, p. 50) for art and community hubs in single-family homes. In conjunction with other artists and creative actors in the neighborhood, as homeowners, these artists actively form a network of creative professionals that, through collaborations and network relations, build their own communities. They not only build their communities through creative placemaking in the sense of building and stabilizing communities (Flood & Redaelli, 2016), but by homemaking with art, providing working and living spaces as well as possibilities for commercial revenue. Therefore, community engagement is essential for homemaking with art. While it is informed by creative placemaking, homemaking with art differs in the way artists live and work in and relate to their neighborhood. The actions of arts organizations as well as individual artists have also garnered cultural capital and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) among the neighborhood's non-artist residents contributing to social space (Bourdieu, 1985), s sense of belonging (Forrest & Kearns, 2001) and public familarity (Blokland & Nast, 2014).

Furthermore, these artists are engaged in local real estate development through their active participation either with their own properties or communal spaces. Real estate prices have risen and, today, there are almost no vacant lots or houses left in the northern area of Campau/Banglatown, as shown in Chapter Four. As a result, the demand for homes for residential real estate is increasing and affecting prices. The extent to which this will affect how artists and Bangladeshi Americans use them on a market with an increased demand for housing needs further monitoring.

As demonstrated above, in Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck, as homeowners, artists have developed artistic practices that transform placemaking with homes into homemaking with art through individual practices, community engagement and networking with non-artists by changing the functions of single-family homes from merely residential living to workspaces, communal spaces, and commercial venues. In my final chapter, I discuss how artists in this neighborhood have created structures and practices to place-keep spaces and

everyday infrastructures and nodal points that are important to newly arrived as well as longtime residents in a neighborhood that is more than a century old.

6.0. Placekeeping with Single-Family Homes

This chapter discusses the findings of my research, which has demonstrated that individual practices in and with single-family homes are an extension of the social space in which residents live, work, and engage in the community of Campau/Banglatown. It critically discusses how the shaping of social space through placemaking and the creation of housing, work, and cultural infrastructures by artists and newly arrived immigrants are individual strategies related to single-family homes. Placemaking and homemaking can lead to placekeeping and the stabilization of a neighborhood and its cultural heritage through what and who are already there. These homeownership-related strategies can create a sense of belonging in a diverse community, but also contribute to cultural displacement in neighborhoods.

6.1. From Placemaking to Homemaking to Displacement

During my research period of 2009 until 2019, the value of residential real estate from the market perspective increased as shown in Chapter 4.2. Not by a multiplication of the price, as in the explosive price structure for commercial real estate or lofts in Downtown Detroit, but moderately. The rising sales prices as well as the neighborhood's population growth bring investment through public-private partnerships. Such as being selected as a strategic neighborhood or through grant money, handed out to non-profit organizations or in this case artists for community engagement. Strategically supporting placemaking by different communities, such as the arts or immigrant communities, led to homemaking. Homemaking can be seen as an individual strategy in regards to homeownership and single-family homes, which could involve living through urban gardening or building up one's own professional and personal network infrastructures in the home and neighborhood. But these individual practices acted on the expansion of social space and thus again became part of a communal production of space and place.

I argue that placemaking and homemaking are constant processes of forming and negotiating social spaces, which also means that not all the needs of the individuals in the neighborhood can be met, but often only those of the dominant and actively practicing community of residents. The question remains: who benefits and who is hindered by processes of urban transformation?

6.1.1. From Unreal Estate to Real Estate

What has happened in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood over the course of a decade, where houses once sold for under $1,000? What Herscher (2012) refers to as "unreal estate" – real estate such as single-family homes that became useless as speculative objects or for those that profited from them such as investors or landlords – have been turned into valuable commodities

in this neighborhood. Because they were useless to the dominant regime of value, vacant lots and homes have become available for value systems than those of the market, mostly to the people living next to them (Herscher, 2012, p. 9). I concur with Herscher (2012) that "unreal estate" in Campau/Banglatown not only became valuable again through everyday practices of the people living and working in the single-family homes, but became a valuable asset for the prevailing real estate value regime, because demand for residential real estate increased again. Why?

In my research, I correlate value-in-use factors as well as non-economic values in relation to everyday use of single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown (see Chapter Four and Five). Looking from the perspective of the real estate market and urban development as well as of residential homeowners, I find that "unreal estate" (Herscher, 2012) in Campau/Banglatown has become valuable as a form of common use-value (Carducci, 2014). Furthermore, I find that artists and newly arrived migrants have established these common use-values within their own communities through growing and practicing on a day-to-day level social, cultural, and symbolic values in social space. Long-term residents and new homeowners have not only taken care of their homes and the vacant lots in the neighborhood visually, but by actively occupying them in their daily practices, such as urban gardening, establishing community centers, or building their own workspaces or networks. Individually taking care, occupying and using homes and lots has led to a sense of community (Blokland & Nast, 2014) for newly arrived migrants as well as artists. The pre-existing location factors, which are part of the value-in-use (Lorenz et al., 2018) category, such as job availability, inexpensive housing, and safety have led to further developments via network relations, family, and even the city of Detroit itself, which has reinvested and shown its support through grants and other measures in this neighborhood.

In this local context, the actors, namely artists and newly arrived immigrants, marketed their neighborhood or the acquisition and sale of homes and vacant lots in more informal ways such as personal networks or word to mouth. Meanwhile, realtors, urban planners and public-private investors began to market the neighborhood and it's diversity of immigrant and artist culture and community engagement as an asset in public campaigns, community meetings, politics, and as a sales strategy, when the rise and establishment of social and cultural spaces gave way to increased sales value and population growth. At the same time, the residents have appropriated and marketed the neighborhood through particular distinction practices (Bourdieu, 1984), i.e., by buying food at exotic food markets, attending cultural events of a different culture than their own, and growing their own food.

My analysis shows that the increase in social, cultural, and image value in the neighborhood belongs to multi-sensory (Birdsall et. al., 2021) practices that relate to the residents' (daily) experience in urban space and with their real estate. The daily experience is part of homeowners'

and users' everyday urbanism (Chase et. al., 1999), according to their needs to produce values and places (Bourdieu, 2005; Easthope, 2004). I have reflected value from a social systemic perspective. With my findings of social, cultural, and symbolic value attributed to single-family homes, I show that these factors on the one hand make a place, through active placemaking through art projects or public-private investment. Artists have not only become creative placemakers in the sense of community-based engaged practices (Flood & Redaelli, 2016), but have at the same time established individual practices of homemaking as homeowners, building up not only their personal networks as individuals or families, but establishing a working community and support system to sustain themselves in the neighborhood more permanently than just for the duration of a grant or matching fund. To conclude, homeownership, as Bourdieu (2005) points out, is a value laden practice which produces cultural as well as social values in space through the formation of social space by everyday activities, creating an interdependency to the economic value of real estate (Lorenz et al., 2018).

The following advertisement from 2014 of the Detroit Land Bank Authority (Figure 6.0.) shows that cultural values – cultural tradition and lifestyles and the image – and social values – well-being, health and safety – are already part of the market value system for residential real estate in Campau/Bangaltown according to the needs of residents and in context of this specific neighborhood:

13201 Gallagher, Detroit, MI 48212
District: 3
Area: 885Sq. Ft
Year Built:
Water Line Cut: No
0 Beds
0 Baths

Neighborhood:
Campau/Banglatown

Built in 1918, this charming Bungalow-style home offers buyers 900-square-feet of living space and a range of historic details. Located on an attractive block in Detroit's Campau neighborhood, this home features:

- Front porch
- Bay window
- High ceilings
- Wood floors
- Arched entryways
- Original wood trim
- Large backyard
- Kitchen with big windows and a pantry
- Family room off of kitchen
- 2 bedrooms & 1 full bathroom
- Walk-in attic

This home is also well situated within the diverse Campau neighborhood. Also known as Banglatown and NorHam, Campau's amenities include:

- Bangladeshi restaurants on Conant
- Shopping and dining options in nearby Hamtramck
- Power House Productions creative community-based projects throughout the neighborhood, including the Power House, Jar House, Yellow House, and Play House
- Urban agriculture, including Burnside Farms

The property will require a number of repairs and renovations, and bidders should review the attached pre-sale inspection report for more information. Please also note that the purchaser is responsible for the current year (2014); property taxes at the time of closing.

Figure 6.0:13201 Gallagher, 2014, Auction Property Details. Courtesy of the Detroit Land Bank Authority.

In the first part, the advertisement promotes the architectural and design features of the house such as "original wood trim", "high ceiling", and "wood floor". According to the city of Detroit,

Campau/Banglatown is not a designated historic district, i.e., an area or specific buildings that are of historic, cultural, or architectural significance. The advertisement plays with the historic interior design features of single-family homes, as if these were historical elements to be cherished. The visible historic elements in and outside the house are sold as cultural values. Moreover, the Land Bank Authority markets the diversity of the area where the home is located as an asset. In this case, diversity not only refers to the area's distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) through its diverse food culture, but by creative practices such as community engagement by artists and urban gardening. This aligns with what Alexa Bush (personal conversation, March 15, 2019) describes as the neighborhood's cultural assets, which have also been confirmed by Global Detroit (2022a), which identifies diversity as a stimulator of economic growth in the area. This factor later (after the ad was placed) became part of the City of Detroit's Strategic Neighborhood Plan (Chapter 4.2.4), which goal, in turn, has been "inclusive growth" by revitalizing main streets, parks, streetscapes, single-family housing and commercial corridors (City of Detroit, 2019a).

One the one hand, all of these factors represent cultural and social values. On the other hand, they represent economic factors for the government, which views them as assets, and for investors and public-private funders, which appreciate them for their growth potential. For this reason, the attribution of value for properties in the neighborhood includes social and cultural value factors in the economic market value. As a result, "unreal estate" again turns into real estate. But only if these cultural and social values are recognized as growth factors within the dominant value regime, which in this instance is the Detroit Land Bank Authority, do they become recognized values. Furthermore, as my analysis of artists-as-homeowners shows, this advertisement testifies to the fact that under the conditions in the neighborhood (homeownership, network infrastructures, work possibilities, community engagement), as the owners of several homes, artists can be identified as neighborhood developers.

6.1.2. Cultural Displacement

Community-engaged placemaking projects of artists with single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown are not the only cause behind the rise in market prices of residential real estate. There are certainly other factors that have contributed to this rise, such as professional support for the purchase and financing of real estate by newly arrived immigrants in the neighborhood, a positive job market, and investments in the city of Detroit in general. All these factors show how the stabilizing of neighborhoods affects economic values and residential real estate. The contributing of social, cultural and image values does too (Lorenz et. al., 2018). In terms of urban growth (Logan & Molotch, 1987), art and community engagement have become motors behind real estate development in these urban districts (Zukin, 1988; Herscher, 2012; Smith 1986). This is a top-down perspective that uses art, diversity, and community engagement as assets to spur

economic development in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, many of the artist and migrant-led, community-engaged initiatives around homes and vacant lots in Campau/Banglatown have often been bottom up or self-provisionary.

The residents involved, such as the artists-as-homeowners and others, have profited from funding and financial support from private and public institutions, which has allowed them to further develop and sustain themselves in the neighborhood as residents and professional artists.

But, the residents who have resided in the neighborhood for a long time and bought their single-family home before the foreclosure crisis when the homes were higher in value than they now are, have not necessarily benefited from this upwards trend. It is rare for placemaking, homemaking and the expansion of social space to lead to the satisfaction of many people in a neighborhood. Furthermore, with the influx of artists and young immigrant families, the population's age pyramid has altered. Today there is a high percentage of younger people under eighteen and fewer people over 65 compared to the rest of the city of Detroit (United States Census Bureau, 2019). At the same time, community meeting sites for Polish Americans such as the Polish National Alliance Hall, have disappeared and been replaced by a Muslim Community Center, decreasing the possibility of elderly residents from the Polish American community to meet and connect with each other. Furthermore, the neighborhood's transformation is not only visible in the written signage along the major shopping streets of Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown (Conant Street, Caniff Street, Joseph Campau Avenue), where Polish American stores still exist or traces of them can be found but which have now mostly been replaced by Halal meat markets catering to the needs of the immigrant Bengali American community.

Sociologist Tuttle (2022, p. 517) refers to this as "cultural displacement", a concern residents have of being alienated from a place as experienced through a declining sense of ownership, control, or belonging. For Tuttle, local businesses have a symbolic significance because they are points of identification with one's neighborhood in an ethnic enclave. He also connects processes of commercial displacement to gentrification, arguing that commercial gentrification tends to be followed by residential gentrification (ibid.). Stock (2013) agrees and claims that gentrification is the consequence of socio-economic transformation in close interaction with the expression of symbolic economy and aesthetic consumption practices. Like Tuttle, sociologist Elliot (2012) argues that gentrification in Detroit is experienced through cultural displacement by those residents who feel they no longer have a voice in the development and shaping of their neighborhoods, while also suggesting that people feel that the community and the community's future is less their own. As Zukin (1995) explains, it is not only artists who drive the gentrification process, but, as Stock (2013) adds in the context of immigrant neighborhoods, it is also the taste for a particular design or a particular migrant-run restaurant or grocery store that becomes

popular among both immigrants and non-immigrants. Consequently, she explains, gentrification has not only a residential component but also a commercial one.

Looking at the urban, social and cultural developments in a neighborhood where one community of residents might be more influential than others, one can see that there is an ambivalence between gentrification and displacement, the two run parallel or one ignites or fuels the other. To better understand causes and effects which one neighborhood might not perceive as gentrification or displacement while another would, it is necessary to discuss these parallel strands in depth. Detroit is a very complex city due to its parallel and specific economic, social, cultural and urban developments from neighborhood to neighborhood. In the case of my neighborhood research, focusing on only one neighborhood and only two community groups out of so many in the area, my material has not provided direct evidence that some residents in Campau/Banglatown feel affected by cultural displacement while others do not. But the materials do reveal that these two communities have salvaged vacant homes and brought life into the neighborhood by developing individual strategies that fit their needs.

From the perspective of the Polish American community in Campau/Banglatown, the visual changes around the neighborhood and the growth of the Muslim community could make them feel that they no longer belong. However, Karen Majewski (personal communication, October 4, 2018) claims that Polish Americans remain a strong community in Campau/Banglatown. Hamtramck resident and historian Greg Kowalski (personal communication, March 9, 2018) explains that some Polish Americans had already chosen to move away in the 1970s and 1980s, explaining it as upward social mobility or by amenities the city of Hamtramck and the surrounding area could not provide, such as new houses, garages, and driveways. He draws the same conclusion about Chaldean and Albanian immigrants who moved into the neighborhood at one point before moving on. Real estate agent Nazmul Islam is also a good example of a Bangladeshi American who moved further north because of social mobility, yet keeps his community ties in Campau/Banglatown because of his business. Greg Kowalski concludes:

> Because – and again, the migration pattern, some are here to live, some stick to Hamtramck and some have enough money to move to the suburbs. (G. Kowalski, personal communication, March 9, 2018)

While I agree that in Campau/Banglatown commercial and aesthetic consumption practices play a central role in the everyday lives of artists as well as recently arrived immigrants, I would argue that the urban transformation in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood has not been led by processes of gentrification caused by artists (Rich, 2019) or by cultural displacement (Tuttle, 2022). Nor, as is often the case in gentrified neighborhoods, are fortunes made through renting or selling real estate, as Smith (1986) describes the speculative processes of bulk investors

that drive gentrification in inner city areas. Certainly, artists and creatives have helped drive the growth of property values of former vacant single-family homes in Campau/Banglatown by turning the houses into work and communal spaces instead of mere living spaces, or by implementing projects like a skate park or a theater space. But the majority of the artists who have invested are homeowners themselves. They have not physically displaced older residents who can no longer could afford to live there. They have occupied vacant lots and homes the same way the newly arrived immigrant community of Bangladeshi American has, as Greg Kowalski confirms (personal communication, March 9, 2018). As is typical for gentrification processes, higher income groups displace lower income groups. But in this neighborhood, low-income residents have not been displaced by a higher income class. Most newly arrived migrants still have unskilled labor jobs for suppliers to the automotive industry and only a few of the artists earn what could be considered a middle-class income. According the Neighborhood Opportunity Fund (City of Detroit, 2022c), the residents in this neighborhood are still classified as low-income in comparison to other Detroit neighborhoods. This development of artists as real estate developers and entrepreneurs must be viewed critically in the context of gentrification, spatial segregation, and the continued cultivation of the narrative of a creative city that is actually devoted to private entrepreneurship. It simultaneously trivializes the city´s austerity policies and its neoliberal organized governance structure.

Today, commercial and residential gentrification in the context of Detroit is largely taking place in Downtown, Midtown, and neighborhoods like Corktown. There, private investors and real estate developers (see Chapter Three) have invested in abandoned or inexpensive real estate over the last ten years, creating and building new retail and office spaces, lofts, hotels, and luxury residential homes, or the city has improved its traffic infrastructures through street improvement projects, by installing bike lanes and a street car in Downtown and Midtown, and providing tax incentives for investors to purchase properties. These investors often use cultural strategies and art to promote, decorate, or justify their investment while auctioning or buying inexpensive buildings and selling them for profit. In Campau/Banglatown neither the city of Detroit nor public-private investors have invested in building new residential or commercial spaces, but, in the case of the Conant Streetscape Project, they have contributed to public infrastructures, including the improvement of roads, landscaping, lighting, and reducing traffic (City of Detroit, 2022d). Nevertheless, I do agree that cultural and social transformation in commercial and community spaces in the neighborhood can lead to feelings of disconnection for those who do no longer feel at home or part of a community to which they can relate or belong.[119]

[119] This could be the case for the minority of African Americans who live in Campau/Banglatown and Hamtramck. They are hardly represented in commercial spaces in the area and a large number of churches or community centers catering to African American culture do not exist in the neighborhood. The development of the African American community in urban spaces in Detroit is different than the history of the German American or Polish American communities, see also Chapter 3.3.

The danger of cultural displacement is to alienate individual residents from the social spaces of their own neighborhoods or homes. Further strategic neighborhood development projects and the funding strategies of public and private funds have to consider these aspects and plan or protect spaces that maintain places for all community groups. Yet, as Tuttle (2022) elaborates, other longtime residents may profit from the urban transformation and beautification of residential areas. In the case of Campau/Banglatown, the general feeling of safety has improved and, thanks to community-engaged initiatives, there exist more amenities (shops with daily supplies, schools) and improved infrastructures (street light, repaired sidewalks) than about a decade ago.

Greg Kowalski (personal communication, March 9, 2018) refers to growth of the Bangladeshi American community in Campau/Banglatown as a transformation that brought life to the community in general. The urban development of the neighborhood is ambivalent: Rising real estate values represent a threat to low income residents risking to be displaced from their community. Moreover, the influx of new people into a community can lead to cultural displacements and a feeling of disbelonging. Further gentrification is imminent.

6.2. From Homemaking to Placekeeping

The physical structures of the single-family homes have served different social and cultural groups and their forms of use since a century. Artist, homeowner, and initiator Faina Lerman (F. Lerman, personal interview, March 14, 2018) who has developed several multi-functional houses, explains her technique of becoming what she refers to as a "micro-developer" in the neighborhood. Her recipe is to stick to the architecture of the homes and "what's already there" to make place while at the same time maintaining, valuing, and respecting what others have created by investing in multi-functional spaces (F. Lerman, personal interview, March 14, 2018).

6.2.1. Extension of Social Space

The examples of Popps Packing and Power House Productions show that artists engaged in the community through community development, revitalization and homeownership have become urban developers through the process of creative placemaking. This also shows that artmaking with homes has extended the social space through which places and buildings are preserved and stabilized in the neighborhood by everyday practices (Bourdieu, 1985; Blokland & Nast, 2014), creating spatial dependence in relation to people and places (Löw, 2016) as well as nodal points contributing to social cohesion (Easthope, 2014). Patricia Moore Saffer[120] of the National

[120] Deputy Director of Research & Analysis at the National Endowments for the Arts.

Endowments for the Arts [121] confirms that a change in the field of creative placemaking has taken place over the past decade (Jackson, 2021). Change both in how funding institutions support and structure creative placemaking projects and how creative placemaking is understood, namely as linking arts with community development and revitalization, which differs from one local context to the next and their needs.

The National Endowments for the Arts has recognized the informal ways residents engage in the arts in their community. It understands the potential for community-engaged development processes and how to strengthen communities through art (National Endowments for the Arts, 2022b). Therefore, the organization has shifted its funding strategies away from specific art forms or collaborations between the arts and urban planning with a set outcome in mind towards fostering engagement with a wide range of arts and cultural projects as well as other, often bottom-up disciplines to improve livability in communities (Flood & Redaelli, 2016, pp. 257-259) with an open outcome. These kinds of cross-sector partnerships have been allocated system-changing power over local practices (National Endowments for the Arts, 2022b). For example, with the establishment of the National Endowments for the Arts project-based grant program "Our Town". This program integrates "arts, culture, and design activities into efforts that strengthen communities by advancing local economic, physical, and/or social outcomes" (National Endowments for the Arts, 2022b). In 2014, for example, Power House Productions in Campau /Banglatown received a $100,000 grant for "Carpenter Exchange", a local festival featuring performances, creative economic ventures, and storytelling programs (Galbraith, 2014).

Moreover, the role of the artist has changed through the process of creative placemaking, from a project to a community, and often as a strategic player in neighborhood and city politics through artistic citizenship (Kaddar et al., 2020). I emphasize that homemaking, the personal attachment to a place as part of the placemaking process, expands artists' skills while advancing their economic professionalization in placemaking to the point of creating a sustainable work environment in close proximity to their living spaces. For example, artists have sometimes been hired by the municipal government or have implemented strategies in such a way, as in case of Popp's Packing, that "a new way of doing business" (Jackson, 2021, p. 498) was established after grants and funding opportunities run out.

But Faina Lermans' recipe or local contextual approach to preserving houses in her neighborhood reveals that placemaking is literally about maintaining a social space that people can relate to in everyday life (Blokland & Nast, 2014). Even though the function of a building, such as a vacant

[121] The National Endowment for the Arts is an independent federal agency founded in 1965 offering funding to art projects in communities nationwide through competitive grants (Flood & Redaelli, 2016; National Endwoments for the Arts, 2022a)

single-family home, might have changed, the expansion of its functionality as a space might still relate to and serve the community depending on their needs and everyday practices.

Detroit community activist, artist, and former co-executive director of Allied Media Conference[122] in Detroit, Jeanette "Jenny" Lee coined the term "placekeeping" (Lewan, 2014) in terms of preserving social spaces out of respect for the traditions of people who already live in Detroit´s neighborhoods for a long time. Flood & Radaelli (2016) specify that placekeeping is a form of creative placekeeping that respects the cultural memory of local people. Cultural Affairs Manager Bedoya (2013) suggests it is necessary to first understand "cultural and civic belonging" in a place before an engaged practice of placemaking and care is possible among, for and with the different actors.

> The main idea is the importance of keeping a place through remembering, listening, collaborating, as well as stewardship and collective action, rather than making a place through primarily the tools of urban planners. (Bedoya, 2013)

Bedoya understands "Cultural Placekeeping" as an everyday practice, a form of caretaking that engages with physical place as a community to steward and maintain. For him, caretaking for a place focuses on the exchange of social capital and social networks within a certain social space (Bedoya, 2013).

Bedoya (2013) and Lee's (Lewan, 2014) descriptions of placekeeping are what Faina Lerman (F. Lerman, personal interview, March 14, 2018) points out when she refers not only to keeping the single-family home as a building but also "what's already there", i.e., the social space around the homes, the everyday practices and ways local residents relate to space, practices that are not visible but relate to feelings and the politics of belonging and cultural familiarity (Blokland & Nast, 2014) and social cohesion (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). I view placekeeping as a practice and extension of caretaking in social space that should be an integral part of any urban development project, because it guarantees that the feelings and physical needs of longtime as well as newly arrived residents are taken into account, giving them a chance to engage with each other and have a say about how they want to make use of the extended environment of their living and working spaces. In Campau/Banglatown, placekeeping is practiced through a strong connection with and respect for the cultural traditions of locals through everyday practices and by practices of caretaking, for example of vacant lots or houses, as well as keeping and caring for one's own single-family home instead of building new ones or tearing them down.

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[122] Allied Media Conference is a network of people and projects, rooted in Detroit and connected across the globe to grow and exchange ways of using media, cultivating and liberating media, to create the world we need. https://alliedmedia.org/about

Placemaking, homemaking and placekeeping with art in and with single-family homes often depend on community engagement. Engagement, however, always requires engaged citizens to participate in or contribute to projects for the benefit of the community. In my research, the engaged citizens where mostly young professionals or families with children attending schools nearby. What if the young people and families, as they grow up or get older, want to leave the neighborhood and are therefore have less interest in it?

6.2.2. Cultural Heritage

In the context of single-family homes, a key element of placekeeping is that it reflects the history of the urban environment of single-family homes and their owners and sees the home as part of that history. In this sense, homeownership is not only a social reproduction process in social space stimulated by a constant process of making and producing (Bourdieu, 2005). Homeownership is also not merely a form of entitlement and rights. Homeownership connects to social, psychological and emotional meanings for individuals and groups (Easthope, 2004) as much as traditions, family and network-related experiences in terms of caring for the house over time. In this context, heritage can be understood as the polyphonic production of meaning from different pasts through different historical objects (Oevermann, 2016). A single-family home's heritage can be differentiated into what Oevermann considers a tangible heritage – its architecture and the way it is integrated in the context of a neighborhood or city – and an intangible heritage – its relation to social space and the way people lived or worked in it due to their cultural traditions. Working out a historical diagnostic of co-existing with land in the context of land justice and displacement, Safransky explains that "Detroit shaped an American Dream that celebrated homeownership" (Safransky, 2018, p. 500), referencing both the feeling of being home and the material possession inherent in homeownership. The housing structures of single-family home neighborhoods that characterize the city's landscape, are the materialization of this dream. Single-family homes reflect the American Dream as part of a heritage. And, as seen in the history of the city of Detroit, the condition and treatment of houses reflects the city's past and present as well as the cultural traditions of homeowners over time.

Cultural scientist Assmann (2007) calls this history of cultural remains that have been spatialized by overbuilding and depositioning, this grown stratification, a "palimpsest". Vince Carducci (personal communication, March 19, 2018) refers to this as a palimpsest of previous occupants, palimpsest in the sense of single-family homes where one can still read traces of the past through architectural features or the way the garden was created. And yet, even though the homes have become part of the daily needs of today and may have lost their functions as living spaces or have been redecorated or renovated, they have not been fully redesigned. To my understanding, the history of the founding of Detroit as a Metropolis of single-family homes along with its industrial

past, are recalled in the shape, function and connections of the single-family homes, and in the way residents have made use of them over time, shaping neighborhoods and communities or distancing themselves from specific social spaces by moving to suburbia. The way Detroit's single-family homes have been used – from abandoned ruins to self-sustained urban gardens with family homes or communal spaces – reflect the memory of the city's industrial past and at the same time its present, post-industrial cityscape. This memory of the homes' urban history is dynamic, it is shaped by those who occupy and care for the homes. This also means that forgetting is part of remembering, it does not take place the same way everywhere and at every time (Assmann, 2016). Thus, a home's cultural heritage is renegotiated again and again (Oevermann, 2016) and could excludes the history of past occupants because today's owners may have a different kind of attachment to the home, using it only as a shelter or investment object and not caring for its connections to the past or present.

Campau/Banglatown is not a historic district[123] and its single-family homes are not designated as historic landmarks. According to the City of Detroit's definition, a historic district is founded to preserve culturally and historically significant areas. Living in a historic district means that the approval of the city commission is required for any external changes to building facades and annexes. Most of the local historic districts are situated around Detroit's city center (City of Detroit, 2022b). None of the residential industrial landscapes in the city, such as Highland Park and Campau/Banglatown or even the area around the famous Packard Automotive Plant,[124] have been deemed historic districts. The purpose of the denomination is not only to preserve the architectural heritage of the buildings, it is also a form of image improvement for a neighborhood sanctioned by the city of Detroit. This form of enhancement can help stabilize or spur real estate sales prices in these neighborhoods. Moreover, homeowners in Detroit's historic districts profit from property tax cuts.

It is easy to imagine what would happen if the city of Detroit decided to designate Campau/Banglatown as a historic district due to its century old homes and the way the houses are arranged densely next to each other. From my point of view, this would cause a wave of cultural and physical displacement as well as gentrification. Residents would not be able to keep up with the costs of repairing and preserving the architectural heritage of the homes, because they would not be allowed to care for the homes with DIY techniques. The residential real estate prices would automatically increase because of the neighborhood's new status, which represents an

123 The Detroit Historic District commission was formed in 1976 and appoints designated areas as historic districts. Some areas are historic neighborhoods, others are considered historic districts. All of them are of historical and architectural significance according to the city of Detroit (City of Detroit, 2022b).

124 The Packard Plant built by architect Albert Kahn in 1903 was considered the most modern automobile manufacturing plant in the world at that time.

image value (Lorenz et al., 2018) and makes it interesting for external investors. And instead of homeowners, investors and people with a higher income would be interested in buying homes in the area, not necessarily to live in them by themselves, but to generate profit through renting and reselling. Most importantly, the creation of social space connected to homes would become a bureaucratic process because community centers or workspaces would not be allowed or would need approval by a board or commission due to historic district zoning rules.

As should be clear, the necessity to maintain a place in a certain condition brings disadvantages which are not related to the reality of residents' everyday lives. Therefore, I am in favor of a form of urban transformation in Detroit's neighborhoods that recognizes placekeeping as a process of care that is actively co-created by residents-as-homeowners and neighborhood users engaged in their neighborhoods. However, there needs to be an awareness that placekeeping is an ongoing process of exclusion and inclusion. The stabilization or preservation of something, such as a neighborhood, is always accompanied by change. It is a temporary matter that residents and users must negotiate again and again.

My analysis shows that placemaking and homemaking with art can contribute to placekeeping, by preserving social spaces that respectt the cultural heritage of places and residents of the neighborhood. However, they can also lead to cultural displacement and a sense of not belonging among those whose cultural traditions are not represented.

Over the past decade, neighborhood transformation in Campau/Bangaltown has been driven by two residential communities. On the one hand, by the artist community with their studio and workspaces and community-engaged projects with, in and around single-family homes as well as by recently arrived immigrants from the Bangladeshi American community who have established everyday infrastructures such as grocery stores, restaurants, community spaces and gardens, in addition to being homeowners. Regardless of their intentions, cultural differences or other factors, this research shows that the newly arrived communities of artists and migrants have formed communities of intentions around and with single-family homes based on the neighborhood's everyday needs. The safeguarding, maintenance, and functional expansion of their single-family homes has often been the reason for their mutual engagement in the community and with each other. Furthermore, as my research documents, this has been perceived as a social, cultural, and image value that is part of the neighborhood's economic value with regards to the local real estate market.

As homeowners, both communities have produced social spaces and created possibilities and access for engaging and participating in the neighborhood's development through and with their single-family homes by taking care of them individually. The homes in Campau/Banglatown do

not only provide spaces for living, they also provide spaces for community, work, recreation, and informal cross-cultural exchanges. Single-family homes have also contributed to a sense of belonging for both communities, independent from religious and ethnic backgrounds and class or cultural traditions, because of their architectural features, flexibility of use, low maintenance costs, and safety as well as their social and communal functions.

I have considered the value of single-family homes from a social, systemic perspective. At the same time, I have shown how social and the cultural value of single-family homes influences the economic value of residential real estate. My research also demonstrates that residents of such homes apply strategies of placemaking while practicing homemaking, but that this does not come without urban transformation of the neighborhood.

In conclusion, placemaking and homemaking can contribute to placekeeping and the maintenance and care of single-family homes and residents' social spaces. At the same time, these practices can also lead to cultural displacement for those who no longer feel they belong to a community or a neighborhood. While placekeeping contributes to a neighborhood's stabilization, it is also a timely process of inclusion and exclusion, dependent upon residents' upward social mobility, such as immigrant communities moving in and out of the neighborhood, the residents' desire and power to organize and negotiate within community dynamics as well as public and private funding structures.

Last but not least, immigration, real estate development and art -whether it is homemaking with art or placemaking with art- have become part of Detroit´s development strategy in the context of austerity, a neoliberal government structure, and a strong base of private investors.

Figure 6.1: “Thank you for visiting”- sign in Campau/Banglatown, 2019. Photo by Kerstin Niemann.

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Appendix A
List of Names of Interviewees from Walking Interviews

**From 2017 to 2018, I conducted fifteen interview walks with the following persons in Campau/Banglatown:

Corine Vermeulen: August 1, 2017
Corine Vermeulen is an artist and photographer. She is a former FILTER Detroit resident and rents a studio space in Klinger Studios in Hamtramck.

Liza Bielby: August 8, 2017
Liza Bielby is a performance artist and programmer at Play House in Campau/Banglatown. She is a former FILTER Detroit resident and current resident and homeowner in Campau/Banglatown.

Luke Niewiadomski: August 8, 2017
Luke Niewiadomsk was a systems engineer of Automated Driving at Ford Motor Company in Dearborn. He is a friend, used to practice as a monk at the Hamtramck Zen Center, and is a former FILTER Detroit resident.

Abdul Motin: March 19, 2018
Abdul Motin is a neighbor who harvests maple syrup in the neighborhood. He is an urban famer and homeowner in Campau/Banglatown.

Chido Johnson: March 16, 2018
Chido Johnson is associate professor of sculpture at the College for Creative Studies in Detroit. He is the founder and director of Zimbabwe Cultural Centre Detroit in Campau/Banglatown and a homeowner.

Faina Lerman: March 14, 2018
Faina Lerman is an artist and co-owner of Popps Packing, an artist residency and community space on the border of Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown.

Walter Wasacz: March 12, 2018
Walter Wasacz was a local journalist for the Hamtramck Review, DJ, and homeowner in Hamtramck.

Saul Levin: March 16, 2018
Saul Levin was an Environmental Studies and Geography graduate at the University of Chicago. He was renting an apartment at Burnside Farm in Campau/Banglatown.

Shoshanna Utschenik: March 17, 2018
Shoshanna Utschenik is the single mother of a son, a puppeteer, and a school teacher. She is a homeowner in Campau/Banglatown.

Vincent Carducci: March 19, 2018
Vincent Carducci is now Dean Emeritus at the College for Creative Studies. He has worked with artists in Campau/Banglatown and wrote his dissertation on artists in Campau/Banglatown.

Anne Elizabeth Moore: August 3, 2018
Anne Elizabeth Moore was a homeowner after winning the Write a House competition while residing in her house in Campau/Banglatown. She is a writer, cartoonist, and novelist. After moving away from Detroit, she wrote a memoir about her brief experience in the city entitled Gentrifier.

Ali Lapetina: August 1, 2018
Ali Lapetina is a photographer and founder of the Woman of Banglatown community arts organization.

Fahama Islam: October 3, 2018
Fahama Islam was an architecture student at Detroit Mercer University. She is was a resident of Hamtramck, where she lived in her parent's house.

Karen Majewski: October 4, 2018
Karen Majewski is the former mayor of Hamtramck and current owner of Tekla Vintage, a second hand boutique on Joseph Campau Avenue in Hamtramck.

Kate Daughdrill: August 7, 2018
Kate Daughdrill is an artist and architect. She is the founder of Burnside Farm in Campau/Banglatown and a homeowner.

Appendix B

Walking Interview Questionnaire

**In the spring, summer, and fall of 2017 and 2018, I conducted fifteen interview walks. I posed the same questions to each interview subject. During the interview, we walked through the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood.

1.What are the aesthetic values of this street / house / neighborhood?

2. What infrastructures do you value the most?

3. Which infrastructure(s) do you miss?

4. How do you move in a radius of one mile?

5. For what reason(s) do you walk?

6. In how far do you think the architecture of this street / community / specific building supports community exchange / your work / exchange?

7. In how far does the architecture of your house influence the social relations that you inhabit?

8. What is your ideal concept of a living space?

Appendix C

List of Names of Interviewees from Semi-Structured Interviews

*From 2017 to 2019, I conducted seven personal, semi-structured interviews with the following residents and actors in the Campau/Banglatown neighborhood:

Alexa Bush: March 15, 2019
Alexa Bush is a landscape architect and urban planner for the City of Detroit who runs the Strategic Neighborhood Plan of Campau/Banglatown.

Vincent Carducci: March 19, 2018
Vincent Carducci is now Dean Emeritus at the College for Creative Studies. He has worked with artists in Campau/Banglatown and wrote his dissertation artists in Campau/Banglatown.

Faina Lerman: March 14, 2018
Faina Lerman is an artist and co-owner of Popps Packing, an artist residency and community space on the border of Hamtramck and Campau/Banglatown.

Nazmul Islam: October 3, 2017
Nazmul Islam is a real estate agent with real estate agency and insurance office in Campau/Banglatown, as well as a former Campau/Banglatown resident who moved to the suburbs.

Greg Kowalski: March 9, 2018
Greg Kowalski is a historian, long-time Hamtramck resident, and co-founder of the Hamtramck Historical Museum.

Karen Majewski: October 4, 2018
Karen Majewski is the former mayor of Hamtramck and owner of Tekla Vintage, a second hand boutique on Joseph Campau Avenue in Hamtramck.

Imam Mika'il Stewart Saadiq: March 14, 2018
Imam Mika'il Stewart Saadiq is Community Liaison in the City of Detroit for Councilmen Scott Benson of District 3. He is also Outreach Director of the Michigan Muslim Community Council. His is a former resident of Campau/Banglatown.

Walter Wasacz: March 12, 2018
Walter Wasacz is a local journalist for the *Hamtramck Review*, DJ, and homeowner in Hamtramck.