

LANDSCAPE OF LOSS

A COMMUNITY SENSITIVE APPROACH TO DEMOLITION IN DETROIT

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Abstract

Detroit, Michigan is the American archetype for a post-industrial city, with its extreme population loss, high unemployment rate, and pervasive vacancy. Efforts have been made to combat these ills for decades, but they are so deeply rooted in the city's history that much more has to be done. A current initiative led by the Detroit Land Bank Authority (DLBA) and the Detroit Blight Removal Task Force aims to demolish thousands of homes in targeted neighborhoods over the next five years to eliminate blight, reduce crime, and stabilize the neighborhood fabric, which will improve living conditions for many Detroit residents. Demolition, when employed broadly across the city, will have also negatively impact social, mental, and physical wellbeing, however. Much is lost during the demolition process. In addition to the mass erasure of the city's building stock, neighborhoods across Detroit are at risk of losing their sense of community and cultural memory.

My design approach was evidence-based, using findings from empirical research and case studies to inform the final proposal for mitigating the effects of the demolition experience on the community. My goal was not to design a solution for the impact of demolition at a specific, physical site, but to design a process that can be repeated across the city of Detroit and used as a model elsewhere, with room for local adaptations. This was accomplished through critical analysis of demolition in Detroit, and through synthesis of relevant research from the fields of environmental psychology, communication, and public health. Also known as "translational research," this strategy grounds my design in science, while allowing for a creative outcome. The general model includes a community-sensitive deconstruction and documentation process that includes temporary event-installations to engage neighborhood residents, and an archived history of Detroit's built and social environment to preserve community memory.

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Introduction

Detroit, Michigan is the American archetype for a post-industrial city, with its extreme population loss, high unemployment rate, and pervasive vacancy. Efforts have been made to combat these ills for decades, but they are so deeply rooted in the city's history that much more has to be done. A current initiative led by the Detroit Land Bank Authority (DLBA) and the Detroit Blight Removal Task Force aims to demolish thousands of homes in targeted neighborhoods over the next five years to eliminate blight, reduce crime, and stabilize the neighborhood fabric, which will improve living conditions for many Detroit residents. Demolition, when employed broadly across the city, will, however, negatively impact the social, mental, and physical wellbeing of the Detroit community. Much is lost during the demolition process. In addition to the mass erasure of the city's building stock, neighborhoods across Detroit are at risk of losing their sense of community and cultural memory.

This practicum proposes a community-sensitive approach to the experience of demolition. It does so through a critical analysis of demolition in Detroit, and through the application of research from the fields of environmental psychology, communication, and public health, as well as case studies of relevant precedents.

Detroit has been experiencing a decline in population since the mid-1950s. This phenomenon occurred in many cities in the United States during this time, due to factors such as deindustrialization, discrimination in housing, and the emergence of suburbia. After the Second World War, major urban-industrial centers in the northern United States, including Detroit, Cleveland, Baltimore, and others, started losing investments from businesses and the federal government. These investments moved instead to the southern United States, as well as to suburbs in the North. The migration of investments eventually lead to a migration of (primarily white) people out of cities and into less-developed suburban areas (Sugrue 1996).

Deindustrialization, or the "closing, downsizing, and relocation of plants and sometimes whole industries" had a direct impact on the demographic distribution of the metropolitan region (Sugrue 1996: 126). In the years after World War II, automotive industries followed a policy of expansion and decentralization. All twenty-five new plants built by Ford Motor Company, General Motors, and Chrysler between 1947 and 1958 were located in suburban communities. Detroit's industry didn't just move from the inner city to the suburbs, it also began to move south. Federal defense dollars during the Cold War era were focused on southern states, unlike the WWII defense dollars that Detroit and other Northern cities benefited from. Between 1951 and 1960, southern states doubled their share of the defense fund (Sugrue 1996).

When the industry moved out of the city, so did the jobs opportunities, which drew hundreds of thousands of people into the suburbs. To help facilitate such a large movement, highways and freeways were constructed. The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, under Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidency, motivated their construction. The Highway Trust Fund supplied ninety percent of the proposed projects, leaving only ten percent of the cost to the state (Thomas 2013). The same could not be said about funding for public transit. The emphasis on freeway construction resulted in a consistent decline in population for the city of Detroit since 1950. After peaking at 1.8 million people in the

mid-1950s, the city experienced a ten percent drop in population by 1960 (Thomas 2013). The numbers continued to fall for the next fifty years, with the most recent census data for 2010 revealing a population of 713,777, the lowest since 1910 (Wisely and Spangler 2011).

With less than half of Detroit's population remaining, about one-third of the city's building stock is blighted, totaling 78,506 structures. About thirty percent of Detroit's parcels are completely vacant (Gallagher 2014). These blighted structures and vacant properties are often sources of crime and targets for arson, in addition to being unpleasant visual obstructions. Because of their negative effects on the community, they reinforce continued movement out of the city, leaving more blighted and vacant structures behind (Gallagher 2014) [Figure 01].



[Figure 01] Aerial view of downtown Detroit, looking south
Source: Alex S. MacLean for The New York Times, www.nytimes.com

Demolishing these structures has been the solution to stopping this negative cycle, for good reason. Removing blighted properties can immediately improve the lives of neighbors by reducing potential vandalism, drug use, arson and generally increasing a sense of safety, as well as improving the aesthetic qualities of the neighborhood. Unfortunately, the current demolition process isn't a perfect one. Although necessary in today's extreme context, demolition can have harmful effects on the social, mental, and physical wellbeing of many Detroit residents.

The goal of this practicum is to propose a demolition experience that is more sensitive to community needs.

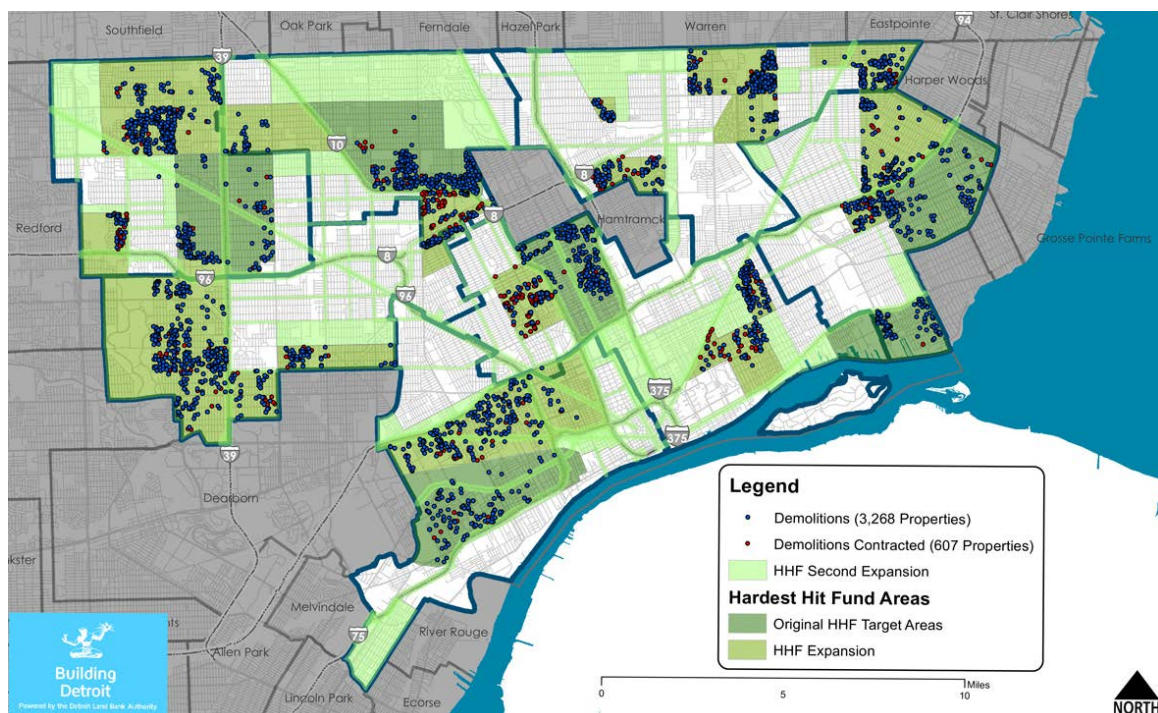
By critically analyzing demolition in Detroit, and through an extensive review of literature in the fields of environmental psychology, communication, and public health, I will synthesize the community effects of demolition. My design approach is evidence-based, using the findings from empirical research and case studies to inform the final proposal. Also known as "translational research," this strategy grounds my design in science, while allowing for a creative outcome. My goal is not to design a specific, physical site, but to design a process that can be repeated across the city of Detroit and used as a model elsewhere, with room for local adaptations.

Context

Detroit is in the midst of two concurrent demolition initiatives that will remove thousands of blighted properties over the next five years. The first initiative, led by the Detroit Land Bank Authority, aims to demolish up to 4,000 publicly owned structures over the course of fifteen months. The Michigan State Housing Development Authority provided funding for this initiative, which began in 2010. Originally sourced from the \$100 million given to the state by the U.S. Treasury's Hardest Hit Fund, the Authority has received \$52.3 million to meet their goal. The initiative is coming to a close at the end of April 2015, with 3,268 properties already torn down and 607 still to be demolished (Detroit Land Bank 2015).

In addition to the Detroit Land Bank Authority's demolition plan, the city itself has its own initiative, led by emergency manager Kevyn Orr and the Detroit Blight Removal Task Force. In Kevyn Orr's proposal, the city would spend \$520.3 million, appropriated from bankruptcy savings, through 2019. That equates to about \$100 million per fiscal year, to demolish an average of 400 to 450 homes per week, a drastic increase from the standard 114 per week (Gallagher 2014). On March 29 of this year, it was reported that the bankruptcy dollars are no longer available for demolition, so the city will have to find the money elsewhere, but Mayor Mike Duggan is committed to the initiative and convinced they can find the funding (Spangler 2015). Until then, city-led demolitions continue to occur at their standard pace of 114 per week.

For both programs, there is a strategy for locating demolitions. The distribution of targeted homes is uneven. The Detroit Blight Removal Task Force has chosen to target homes that neighbor schools and those within areas defined by the Detroit Works Project and the Detroit Future City project, areas of the city showing the longest history of community involvement and most likely to benefit from neighborhood revitalization. (Gallagher 2014). For the Detroit Land Bank Authority's program, demolitions are located within the "Hardest Hit Fund Areas," shown in Figure 02.



[Figure 02] Hardest Hit Fund Areas and Demolition Progress
Source: Building Detroit, www.buildingdetroit.org

This map discloses the progress being made on the initiative, by distinguishing between “Demolitions,” homes already torn down, and “Demolitions Contracted,” those scheduled to be torn down by the end of April 2015. What is more important to notice is the distribution of demolitions. A quick glance at the map reveals that conscious decisions have been made on where or where not to demolish homes. Zones outlined in the various shades of green have been deemed “worthy” for demolition while almost half of the city remains unconsidered.

Deciding exactly where these boundaries lie is a controversial task that has taken years of analysis and community engagement, as seen with the Detroit Works Project and the Detroit Future Cities project. It begs us to ask, “What do we value?” What do we choose to preserve and what do we allow to fade away? In the case of demolition, the words “preserve” and “fade away” become complicated. The process of demolition in Detroit is used to preserve the neighborhood around the homes, not the homes themselves. Without demolition, not only do the homes continue to decay and fade away, the neighborhood continues to fade away around it.

The complication doesn’t end there. As mentioned previously, the effects of demolition on the surrounding neighborhood aren’t exclusively positive. Through examination of research in the fields of environmental psychology, communication, and public health, we are able to understand demolition’s complex relationship with the neighborhood. With this information, we can better answer the question, “What do we value?” and potentially make changes to the experience of demolition that more sensitively support the community through the process.

Effects of Demolition

[+] Clearing Blight

As established in the introduction to this paper, demolition is a necessary treatment in a city with such pervasive vacancy and blight. Clearing blighted properties is seen in the eyes of many Detroit residents and government officials as a beneficial move for the city. In a press release from Detroit's Emergency Financial Manager Kevyn Orr, he detailed his demolition and blight clearance initiative, which is included in the city's filing for bankruptcy. Orr writes in the filing "Reduction of urban blight is among the city's highest reinvestment priorities." In defense of his plan, he describes the benefits of demolition, including "stabilizing property values and property tax base, allowing for more efficient city service delivery, improving residents' health and safety, increasing new land development inside the city, and dramatically improving national perception [of the city]" (Gallagher 2014).

Personal accounts from community members in the city support Orr's claim. In a Detroit Free Press report on the demolition initiative, John Gallagher interviewed residents and figureheads in a few different neighborhoods across the city. Frank Nemecek lives in the Warrendale neighborhood on the west side of Detroit. He says, of the 60 homes on his block, "19 are what I'd call an eyesore." Describing the condition of one of the homes in further detail, he adds, "Everything metal inside of it has been stripped out. The living room is now a giant trash pile. We've called so many times about each of the houses that we've given up calling again." For Frank, demolition would remove the visual decay that disturbs him on a daily basis, improving his quality of life (Gallagher 2014).

Daryl Ervin, age 13, lives on the west side of Detroit as well. Referring to the blighted homes near where he lives, he says, "When we play, we never go by these houses. We're scared. We never know what's going to come out." Still, clearing blighted homes to the degree that is planned doesn't come without an emotional toll. Daryl added, "It's going to be like all of Detroit is gone" (Gallagher 2014). [Figure 03]



[Figure 03] Aerial view of a neighborhood in Detroit experiencing pervasive vacancy
Source: Google, www.google.com

[-] Social and Mental Wellbeing

Daryl's feelings of loss are supported by recent literature analyzing the social and mental effects of demolition. Just last year, a review publication from the Urban Lab at University College London (UCL) summarizes research findings related to urban renewal, demolition, and housing improvement. Discussion topics include policy-making, economics, energy, waste, and wellbeing. The wellbeing section provides an overview of the issues surrounding the mental health of residents experiencing demolition. Many negative effects are documented, including a reduced sense of place, which resulted in decreased morale and the loss of support for local businesses (Power 2010).

The physical deterioration of buildings during demolition can also be detrimental to social relations (Mason and Kearns 2012). Specifically, neighbors experience reduced social contact, they lose trust in each other, and their perception of safety is reduced. In terms of mental wellbeing, demolition can reduce feelings of vitality and increase levels of stress, anxiety, and depression (Mason and Kearns 2012) (Crawford et al. 2014).

To expand on the specifics of the research cited in this review publication, as well as to gain insight into their methods, I looked to the specific 2010 study by Power and the Mason and Kearns research from 2012. The Power article was a survey that combined the results of three major studies to write on the extensive environmental, social, and economic effects of demolition. The sources they site are the Environmental Change Institute at Oxford University, the Sustainable Development Commission in London, and the German Federal Housing, Urban and Transport Ministry. A pertinent finding from this article was that:

The problems of demolition blight can be made worse by the loss of essential social infrastructure and social capital, which can take decades to build up again. Facilities and meeting places are costly to reinstate once that have been lost, and young people can become very disoriented as demolition is planned and carried out.

This finding elaborates the statement made in the UCL publication (cited above), which rephrases the findings as a reduction in residents' sense of place, decreased morale and the loss of support for local businesses.

As part of the GoWell research initiative in Glasgow, Mason and Kearns analyzed the social and mental health effects of demolitions in select neighborhoods over the period of 2006 (before demolition) and 2008 (after demolition). One way the team sought to assess the social effects of demolition was by asking residents who remained in their neighborhoods after large-scale demolition programs "how frequently they spoke to their neighbors and met relatives and friends." They found that contact with relatives and friends declined, suggesting a reduction in "neighborliness" in post-demolition neighborhoods.

Researches also asked residents a series of questions relating to the trust they had in their neighbors. The first of the questions related to safety. They asked, "How safe the respondent felt walking at night-time in the local area (from 'very unsafe' or would never walk alone at night' to 'very safe')." Other questions they asked related to how much residents felt like they could rely on neighbors to intervene to impose some type of social

control (to break up a fight, for example) and how much they could rely on their neighbors to be honest (to return a lost purse or wallet, for example) with responses ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.” For all three questions, a majority of residents (56-59%) reported worse ratings after demolition.

The research team also set out to assess the mental effects of demolition. They surveyed the remaining residents by asking, “Have you felt calm and peaceful?” and “Have you felt downhearted and depressed?” The results showed an increase in self-reported stress, anxiety, and depression at a rate of about 10% (Mason and Kearns 2012).

The above research begins to illuminate the complex relationship demolition has with the neighborhood. Although demolition is enacted with good intentions in terms of clearing blight, it can also have unintended consequences on social and mental wellbeing. The complexity doesn't end there, however. Physical wellbeing must also be considered.

[-] Physical Wellbeing

Baltimore, Maryland is a city experiencing a similar urban condition to Detroit. Like Detroit, it has suffered from deindustrialization and decentralization, resulting in pervasive vacancy and blight. A group of researchers from Johns Hopkins University and the US Department of Housing and Urban Development sought to measure the physical health impacts of demolition in Baltimore, especially in terms of airborne lead (Pb) pollution. The City of Baltimore and Johns Hopkins University had a large role in the research and awareness around lead exposure in children, and this study is one in a series examining the issue.

In this study, 96 samples were taken at three different sites (neighborhood blocks) where demolition was taking place. Dust was collected in plastic containers containing water, which were elevated 1.5m above the ground, located 10m away from the demolished home. Samples were also collected during debris removal. At all three sites, increases in lead in dust fall were detected during demolition as well as during debris removal, although to a lesser degree than demolition. The increase in lead dust fall was 40-fold the baseline level during demolition, and a 6-fold increase during debris removal. The levels of lead dust during demolition exceeded the US EPA's residential floor dust standard by 81 times and by 60 times for the lead dust during debris removal. This standard is used as a comparison because there aren't standards for atmospheric lead dust and it is an important one considering that lead dust is easily tracked indoors by human and pet foot traffic (Farfel, et al. 2003). [Figure 04]



[Figure 04] Lead dust during demolition
Source: The Elkhart Truth



[Figure 05] Lead dust mitigation through water hosing
Source: Associated Press

The research team also documents the exact demolition process that causes this level of lead dust fall. A track-mounted excavator with either a “claw” or material handler was used while water was being sprayed on the house using a 1” or 3” hose. In some cases, the debris removal process also included sprayed water. Water is used to reduce the amount of lead dust escaping into the air around the demolition, which often finds its way into neighboring homes and into the lungs of nearby residents. Still, the data suggests the water isn’t enough of a safety precaution (Farfel, et al. 2003).

During the demolitions, the team observed the behavior of the neighboring residents. Children and adults walked through the demolition site and the debris pile during and after the work. Windows of nearby homes were left open and laundry and pets were left outside, being exposed to airborne lead dust (Farfel, et al. 2003)

The researchers suggest “improved work practices to minimize the dispersion of lead during demolition and debris removal” as a potential solution [Figure 05], as well as limiting access to the site. They also note that it is important to educate and notify neighbors of the potential health effects of demolition (Farfel, et al. 2003).

In a 2005 follow-up study to the 2003 publication on airborne lead dust resulting from demolition, the same research team measured ground-level lead dust. The samples were taken at three sites, similar to the first study, but were collected through a cyclone vacuum system. They also wanted to measure levels at a distance further than the last study, this time extending 100m from demolitions instead of just 10m. Samples were taken prior to demolition, immediately after, and one month later, which is an attempt to see how long the lead dust persists in the neighborhood. Samples were taken on the street, sidewalk, and adjacent alleyway at the three locations. The demolitions were conducted in the same manner as the ones in the previous study, using an excavator while spraying water on the house, and then removing the debris, which only sometimes used water as well (Farfel, et al. 2005).

Lead dust loadings were higher in all three locations (street, sidewalk, and alley) at all three sites, but the increase was higher in the street samples. The measured lead dust load ranged between 6.5 to 135 times the US EPA’s floor dust standard. The levels one month after demolition were still above baseline, but had reduced to an intermediate level (Farfel, et al. 2005).

The conclusions from the study are similar to the previous one. The research team suggests a revision of demolition protocols to reduce lead dust, but doesn’t elaborate on exactly which part of the process to change or what type of intervention is necessary. They also suggest more education and awareness, this time including policy-makers, developers, and contractors (Farfel, et al. 2005).

In a report released by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, titled “Responsible Demolition: A Baltimore Case Study with National Implications,” the research and community engagement surrounding demolition in Baltimore, as well as the new approach to demolition that resulted from those efforts, is discussed. The East Baltimore Development Inc. (EBDI), a local non-profit, engaged with residents and local advocates to gather support for implementing improved demolition standards in their city. The effort came about just after the above 2003 and 2005 studies were published. Residents

were worried about their health after the findings were published, and about the lack of regulations regarding the demolition process.

The EBDI and the researchers at Johns Hopkins University recommended that neighbors should be informed of coming demolitions (including highly visible signage of the soon-to-be demolished house), that water hoses should be used extensively during demolition to reduce the spread of lead dust, that the demolition site should be fenced off, and that the streets and sidewalks should be cleaned after the demolition was completed and the debris was removed (Annie E. Casey Foundation 2011).

This report also cites a 2008 study that compared standard demolitions that were completed in Baltimore in 1999 to the 2007 demolitions completed with the EBDI protocols in place. The demolitions in 1999 had a 40-fold increase in lead dust accumulation while the 2007 demolitions only had a 33-fold increase (Annie E. Casey Foundation 2011). The protocols were helping to reduce lead accumulation and exposure, but demolition is still a polluting practice that is dangerous to the health of neighbors.

The case study concludes by acknowledging that more must be done to reduce the harmful effects of demolition and that community-specific approaches are key. Engagement with residents will not only help with communicating the potential health risks of demolition, but it will help garner support for redevelopment efforts (Annie E. Casey Foundation 2011).

After addressing the positive effects of clearing blight and analyzing the unintended negative consequences of demolition on the social, mental, and physical wellbeing of the neighborhood, the complexity of the current situation in Detroit becomes somewhat clearer. The issues aren't simplified, but they are illuminated, which allows us to make decisions and design choices that address them. What do we value? If we value the social, mental, and physical wellbeing of the neighborhood, then a community sensitive approach to the experience of demolition is necessary to move forward.

Design Goals: Translational Research

To review, the community effects of demolition are as follows:

Positive:

- Improved safety
- Prevention of further decline
- Improved perception of the city

Negative:

- Lack of trust and sense of place (Social wellbeing)
- Increased levels of stress, anxiety, and depression (Mental wellbeing)
- Presence of lead dust contamination in air and soil (Physical wellbeing)

Treatments for the negative effects, as well as ways to support the positive effects, must also be researched. The following case studies, analyses of relevant precedents, and review of literature attempts to find an evidence base to inform a design to address the aforementioned ills. Based on these researched solutions, an intervention approach in Detroit can be proposed, taking in to account city-specific conditions and allowing for a creative expression of the findings. The end result will be a community sensitive approach to demolition. I will use Detroit for example where appropriate.



[Figure 06] Vacant and blighted house in Detroit
Source: J.D. Pooley/Getty Images

Evidence Base for Design

Cleveland, Ohio is a city similar to Detroit, one that has experienced extreme decline through deindustrialization and decentralization. Like Detroit, there continues to be a dedicated community that works to combat the ills of Post-Industrial America and improve the lives of their neighbors.

One dedicated actor in the city of Cleveland is the Cleveland Urban Design Collaborative (CUDC). An extension of Kent State University located in the heart of downtown, the collaborative “strives to create livable, sustainable communities, enhance the public realm, protect natural and cultural resources, and stimulate economic prosperity” (CUDC 2014). One of their many ways of contributing to the discussion around today’s urban environment is through their Urban Infill series. This body of work offers creative solutions to the problems brought forth in cities of decline, with each volume taking on a theme. Scholars, designers, and activists in Cleveland and abroad offer their insights through researched essays and examples of relevant projects.

The second volume in the series, “Pop Up City,” edited by Terry Schwarz and Steve Rugare and published in 2009, explores the opportunities in temporary urban interventions, from alternative land uses, such as urban agriculture, to installations and one-time events. The first article in the book, “Patterns in the Unplanned,” by Philipp Oswalt, Klaus Overmeyer, and Philipp Misselwitz, tries to explain the origins, importance, and structures of temporary and unplanned interventions. This trio of scholars works in Germany as a part of the group Urban Catalyst, which has done research over the course of a decade on the strategies for temporary use in residual urban areas. What are some of the common themes across all unplanned urban actors and actions? Where do they usually occur? Why? This article tries to answer some of those questions.

“Patterns in the Unplanned” gives some perspective on how temporary interventions can be organized and utilized to address issues of decline. One of the first points the authors make is that vacancy should be seen as a resource. “The constant process of change and redevelopment in cities leads to a kind of urban three-field crop rotation system.” With such constant change in the built environment, especially during aggressive demolition programs like the ones in Detroit, there is inherent opportunity to make positive changes, building on the current momentum. Temporary interventions are an easy and fast way to catch this wave of change. People who engage with change through temporary interventions often have a small amount of financial capital, but have a large amount of social and cultural capital. What they do is usually affordable and impactful. These events and installations usually occur in clusters, which generate specific identities and often generate their own momentum through synergistic offshoots that branch out to work together in a form of collaboration (Schwarz et al., 2009).

Temporary uses usually act in opposition to standard and formal operating conditions, but there are valuable benefits to their alternative approach, so some cities and governments are using them as part of their urban development strategy. Temporary uses are attractive to these policymakers because they can often happen on a tight budget, they can create new images for entire neighborhoods, and they can encourage future development and build potential. They can even be a part of a targeted public relations campaign because of its strong social message. They often “remedy the social

and cultural deficits of particular neighborhoods and open up possibilities that are positively viewed by the majority of the residents.” They can “stimulate the development of the location in question” by bringing awareness, visibility, energy, and action to a usually underused or forgotten space. They can change the image of a place and attract new residents to move nearby (Schwarz et al., 2009).

One example of such an impactful temporary installation is the “Pink Balls” project in Montreal, Quebec, designed by landscape architecture and urban design firm Claude Cormier and Associates. Consisting of over 170,000 pink plastic balls strung in the air, a mile-long stretch of St. Catherine Street converts into a pedestrian promenade when they are installed during the summer months. Located in the heart of the Gay Village, which has experienced economic decline over the years, as well as an increase in crime and drug activity, the installation brings locals and tourists alike to experience its vibrancy. The neighborhood’s business association commissioned the work as part of their strategy to boost economic activity. Since its first installment in 2011, the City of Montreal has recognized it in official marketing and tourism advertising, which is a testament to its impact on the neighborhood and the city as a whole. [Figures 07-10]



[Figure 07 + 08] “Pink Balls” installation by Claude Cormier + Associés, June 2014
Source: Sam Sikanas



[Figure 09] "Pink Balls" installation by Claude Cormier + Associés, June 2014
Source: Sam Sikanas



sainte catherine, gay village
march 2014

[Figure 10] Concept collage: Rue Sainte Catherine during the off-season
Source: Sam Sikanas

Terry Schwarz, the editor of "Pop Up City" and director of the Cleveland Urban Design Collaborative, also contributed to the volume with her essay titled "Ad Hoc Urbanism," which chronicles the recent temporary projects in Cleveland that were designed by the CUDC in Cleveland. Schwarz posits temporary events as a strong strategy in today's post-industrial cities and the nation's struggling economic climate. To her, they have many benefits that can make an impact a community within these difficult constraints. She also explains how their Pop Up City initiative began. "The Pop Up City initiative was conceived as a way to circumvent the negativity and to shift the discourse about shrinking cities from scarcity and depletion to regeneration." The initiative is used as a way to "test ideas for urban rejuvenation," which can be said about all temporary interventions. They are often used as a way to pilot a project, propose a new land use, or envision change, and then they adapt according to how it was received. Temporary interventions continuously propose alternatives to the norm. They create energy and movement in an otherwise stagnant and permanent urban environment. As Schwarz says, "Futurity is boring." Temporary interventions appear, excite, then disappear and "we start all over again tomorrow" (Schwarz et al., 2009).

Temporary events aren't a new concept; they've existed for a while in the form of "street festivals, garage sales, and mobile communities." But now they are an attractive strategy in cities with high vacancy and the need to activate vacant buildings and lots. The goal is to strike people with an emotional, aesthetic experience with "short-term, high impact" events. Schwarz describes this emotional quality by writing "We're looking for magical, ephemeral moments that attract people's attention and then disappear, changing people's perception about the city in the process (Schwarz et al., 2009).

Another benefit to temporary interventions and events is their power to foreshadow future development. Using the example of Leap Night, a one-night-only event on a vacant lot along the Cuyahoga River, Schwarz describes the event's usefulness in building momentum leading up to a large development on the river. On February 29, 2008, Leap Night transformed the vacant space into an active space and featured snow and ice installations, music, bonfires, and performances. An ice-skating rink, snowboard ramp, outdoor video game competition, and a snowsuit fashion show all helped make the lot come to life. The event intended to create a conversation about the pending development on the property, which included mixed-use housing and commercial buildings (Schwarz et al., 2009). [Figure 11 + 12]

Temporary interventions can be formalized as an official marketing strategy for these future developments. To that end, the Pop Up City initiative promotes a corporate agenda, even though it aims to address social issues. Schwarz explains the seemingly hypocritical stance: "We do this openly and unapologetically because the economic environment in Cleveland is brutal and it is in the public interest to support private sector investment in the city. But every Pop Up event has a subtext—an aesthetic, social or cultural point of view that we attempt to implant in participants." The organizations leading these events or installations can also partner with corporate interests in funding the initiative, as the CUDC did with Leap Night. Developers invested in the project as a sponsor because they saw it as a strong marketing strategy and could potentially draw residents and businesses into their coming project (Schwarz et al., 2009).

As Terry Schwarz mentioned, aesthetics and social good are also employed during these



[Figure 11 + 12] Leap Night event, February 29, 2008
Source: Cleveland Urban Design Collaborative, www.cudc.kent.edu

temporary events, which often have a bigger goal in mind. People who attend genuinely enjoy experiencing the event, even if they are unknowingly participating in economic development or a political statement. One CUDC event that was held last December, the Night Market Preview [Figure 13], was another example of how temporary events can function for multiple purposes. The event was an attempt to provide resources for the neighborhood's homeless population during the winter months, while creating a conversation about access to public space and natural resources. Located in a courtyard along a derelict commercial area road the Lake Erie coast, the event provided food and winter clothing to those in need and activated a space with art and music to bring attention to an underutilized space. On the façade of one of the brick buildings that separates the street and courtyard from Lake Erie, a video projection was playing footage of the lake's waves gently rolling onto shore, which was meant to highlight the lack of access to such a precious resource.

Of course, the video also added entertainment value and atmosphere to the event. The approach is subtle, but the event still made an impact by sparking conversation and



[Figure 13] CUDC's Night Market Preview, December 6, 2014
Source: Sam Sikanas

debate, while helping those in need. Of course, temporary installations and events aren't a perfect solution to all of the issues we encounter. Schwarz ends with a statement on the known limitations to Pop Up City and other temporary interventions. The outcomes are "difficult to quantify and, at times, frustratingly inadequate." The issues that Pop Up City attempts to address are overwhelmingly large and won't be able to be fixed immediately or at all through these types of temporary events. "It is our belief, though, that Cleveland also needs experiments and diversions to reinforce the piece of the city's soul that remains embedded in the physical fabric of this place, and temporary events that ignite a desire for lasting change" (Schwarz et al., 2009).

Reinforcing the embedded soul in a physical space was also the intent of Kara Walker's installation last summer in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, titled "A Subtlety or the Marvelous Sugar Baby." Located inside the Domino Sugar Factory, which was slated to be demolished for a coming high-rise development, the artwork consisted of an 80-foot long "sphinx-turned-mammy" and several smaller "sugar babies." Raising awareness of racial issues surrounding sugar manufacturing, as well as Brooklyn's industrial past and current gentrification, the installation brought thousands of people to a pending demolition site (Schwarz 2014). [Figure 14-16]



[Figure 14 + 15] Kara Walker's "A Subtlety," June 2014
Source: Sam Sikanas



[Figure 16] Kara Walker's "A Subtlety," June 2014
Source: Sam Sikanas

In Detroit, a conversation surrounding demolition was also ignited in the winter of 2005, when the city was rapidly tearing down homes in anticipation of the 2006 Super Bowl, hosted in Detroit. A group of artists painted the façades of abandoned homes bright orange. Their project, entitled “Detroit Demolition Disneyland,” [Figure 17 + 18] invited residents to “look not only at these houses, but all the buildings rooted in decay and corrosion.” As Andrew Herscher, professor at the University of Michigan’s Taubman College of Architecture and Urban Planning, wrote in his book *The Unreal Estate Guide to Detroit*, the “awareness” the group tried to elicit from Detroiters was undefined (Herscher 2012). Even though the project did gather attention through its vivid display in an otherwise bleak urban environment, it lacked substantial impact. How does this installation address any of the issues that are associated with vacancy and demolition, especially the ones highlighted earlier in this paper? This project was not sensitive to the community it existed within.



[Figure 17 + 18] Detroit Demolition Disneyland, 2005-2006
Source: *The Unreal Estate Guide to Detroit*, Andrew Herscher

One way to address the issues surrounding demolition is through communication. "Detroit Demolition Disneyland" was given a platform that held the city's attention, but little was learned from it. The project could have incorporated the dissemination of information regarding some of the threats to social, mental, and physical wellbeing. Demolition is unavoidable in this desperate urban condition, and the process for demolition, even when appropriate safety measures are in place, is still harmful to human health. When communicating risk to the general public, there are lessons we can learn from research in health psychology.

According to a 2005 study led by Paul Slovic and Ellen Peters from the University of Oregon, there are two fundamental ways in which we perceive and act on risk. The first is the "risk as feelings" approach, which is the fast, intuitive response to danger, relying on emotions and affect to guide decision-making. For that reason, this form of risk perception and reaction is called "the affect heuristic." The second is the "risk as analysis" approach, which is a form of management that relies on logic and reason. This paper describes the important role affect has on our response to risk, and argues that it is inescapable, even in cases when logic is applied. It also suggests ways in which affect can be manipulated and used to influence a person's or public's perception of risk and their behavior toward it.

First, the authors define what affect is: the "specific quality of goodness or badness (a) experienced as a feeling state (with or without consciousness) and (b) demarcating a positive or negative quality of a stimulus." They position it as a "faint whisper of emotion," instead of a strong, clear emotion such as fear (Slovic, et al. 2005).

Next, they describe the evolution of these "two modes of thinking:" the affect heuristic versus the reason heuristic. The authors recognize the importance of analysis in decision-making, but using affect and emotion can be a faster and easier approach, especially in a "complex, uncertain, and sometimes dangerous world," which is what some could say about the urban environment in Detroit. Early humans relied on instinct to assess a situation, but as we developed, logic and reason was held as a higher form of understanding the complexities of our world. Consequently, affect and emotions were seen as inferior. Recently, however, the importance of affect is being recognized again, and even seen as a guiding force in the process of logical analysis, acting as an "orienting mechanism." Citing Damasio (1994), the authors argue, "affect is essential to rational action" (Slovic et al., 2005).

Different people use affect in decision-making to varying degrees, and this largely depends on the experiences each person is pulling from. Memories of these experiences, including images and feelings, are grouped together into an "affect pool." Each person's affect pool contains images that are tagged with affect, both positive and negative, either consciously or unconsciously, and to varying degrees. People often consult their affect pool when they make decisions, especially when the required judgment is complex or difficult to make. Strong affect (both positive and negative) can provide a fast and easy way to make decisions. Using affect as a "shortcut" in decision-making explains its characterization as a heuristic (Slovic et al., 2005).

Affect can influence the level of perceived risk. A study by Alhakami and Slovic in 1994

discovered that people's assessment of risk associated with an activity or technology is based on how they feel about it. If they have favorable feelings about an activity, they are more likely to perceive its risk as low and its benefits high. If they have unfavorable feelings about an activity, the opposite is true: they are more likely to perceive its risk as high and its benefits low. If affect generally guides perceptions of risk, then if you change a person's feelings toward an activity or technology, you can influence a person's perception of risk. For example, if information is provided to a person promoting the high benefits of an activity, that person's feelings of that activity will become favorable, which in turn reduces the perceived risk for that activity (Slovic et al., 2005).

This paper concludes with an example of how the affect heuristic has been leveraged in a public health campaign, citing the use of graphic warning labels on cigarette packaging in Canada. A 2004 study found that anti-smoking efforts from the Canadian government have been effective by eliciting strong emotional reactions to graphic warning labels. These strong emotional reactions have been associated with an increase in the number of attempts to quit or decrease smoking (Slovic et al., 2005).

The research by Slovic and his team proves how an emotional appeal is the most effective strategy when communicating risk. In a community sensitive approach to demolition in Detroit, there should be a consideration of affect, not just logic, when communicating the threats to social, mental, and physical wellbeing. It is important to design an experience that the community can connect with, instead of just look at or move through, as with the "Detroit Demolition Disneyland" project.

Affect-driven communication can be employed through landscape as a medium because of its value in our culture. Emotional connections are readily available within the landscape, often through the form of memories and the associations we attach to them. Ken Taylor, professor at the Australian National University, writes in his article "Landscape and Memory" on landscape's role in creating identity. As he describes, landscape "is not simply what we see, but a way of seeing: we see it with our eye but interpret it with our mind and ascribe values to landscape for intangible—spiritual—reasons. Landscape can therefore be seen as a cultural construct in which our sense of place and memories adhere" (Taylor 2008). But the way we perceive landscapes, and the memories we associate them with, are not always positive. Landscapes can be associated with loss and fragmentation, pain and longing. Taylor refers to Margaret Drabble's 1979 book *A Writer's Britain: Landscape in Literature* and quotes her thoughts on places of loss:

The past lives on in art and memory, but it is not static: it shifts and changes as the present throws its shadow backwards. The landscape also changes, but far more slowly; it is a living link between what we were and what we have become. This is one of the reasons why we feel such a profound and apparently disproportionate anguish when a loved landscape is altered out of recognition; we lost not only a place, but ourselves, a continuity between the shifting phases of our life.

Drabble foreshadowed what the recent research around demolition has shown us. In a landscape experiencing rapid change and loss, as in the case of Detroit, social and mental wellbeing is negatively affected. To provide permanence and to promote social and mental wellbeing, it is important to preserve the memory of a place—the intangible, spiritual values in landscape.

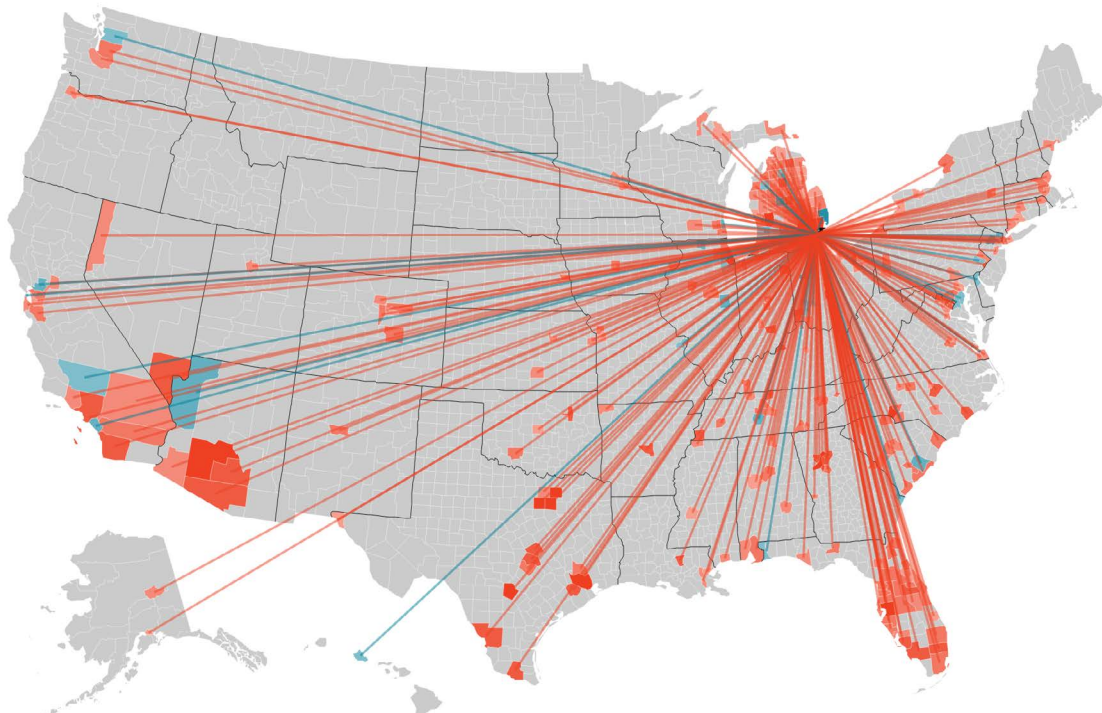
Design Toolkit

Given the researched effects of demolition on social, mental, and physical wellbeing, and learning from the evidence on possible solutions to these effects, we can propose a community sensitive approach to the experience of demolition in Detroit. The following table reviews the negative effects of demolition and the evidence base that informs the design.

TRANSLATIONAL RESEARCH TABLE:

NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF DEMOLITION	EVIDENCE BASE FOR DESIGN
Social wellbeing: lack of trust and sense of place	Sharing information, social gathering
Mental wellbeing: increased stress, anxiety, depression	Providing stability, preserving memory
Physical wellbeing: lead dust	Communicating risk: affect-driven approach

First, it is crucial to note that Detroit's community lives near and far, and no matter the distance, they are affected by the experience of demolition. Many people who grew up in Detroit, black and white alike, left the city to follow jobs or better schools. Some moved just outside the city limits, others moved out of the state. Yet, many think of Detroit as home (Gilchrist 2011). Figure 19 shows the movement of Detroiters between 2005 and 2010. The red lines and counties represent places that Detroiters have relocated to, and the blue lines and counties represent where new Detroiters are coming from. As shown in the graphic, Detroiters live across the country. Even from far away, demolition can negatively impact the Detroit Diaspora by erasing "home."



[Figure 19] Detroit's migration 2005-2010 (2012)
Source: Forbes, data collected from IRS

I propose an archive of the built and social environment of post-industrial Detroit that will provide stability and cohesion during a time of rapid change and loss. The archive would

be represented by past and present family photos and videos, object artifacts, and written or recorded stories and interviews, which will represent the collective memory of the city. The methods of producing the archive can be tailored to where in the Detroit diaspora the “community” is located. There are three main types of archives in my design toolkit.

01_Standardized Survey

The first is a standardized survey adapted from existing reputable models, which is intended for the entire Detroit community—the current and former residents. The survey will collect historical documents through technical drawings of architecture and landscape, as well as through family photographs and archival imagery which will represent the cultural memory of Detroit and its historical community. Present-day conditions are also documented through this survey method (technical drawings and cultural imagery), which would represent Detroit current community. A formal approach to documentation and preservation of memory would help mitigate the negative experience of demolition by providing a thorough archive, providing a sense of stability during a time of rapid change.

A precedent for this type of survey is the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) and Historic American Landscape Survey (HALS), led by the National Parks Service. Both are housed in the Library of Congress and are also available to access online. The HABS archive, founded in 1933, is host to measured drawings, historical reports, and large-format photographs for about 40,000 sites across the country. Its companion, the HALS archive, was founded in 2000, nearly 70 years later, in a joint effort between the National Parks Service and the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA) (National Parks Service 2013).

One of the categories within the HABS/HALS archive is titled “demolition (process),” which includes sixteen historic sites. The images below are from one of those sites, the “Highway Cut-off Demolition Area” in Newburyport, Massachusetts, dating back to 1934. [Figure 20-22]

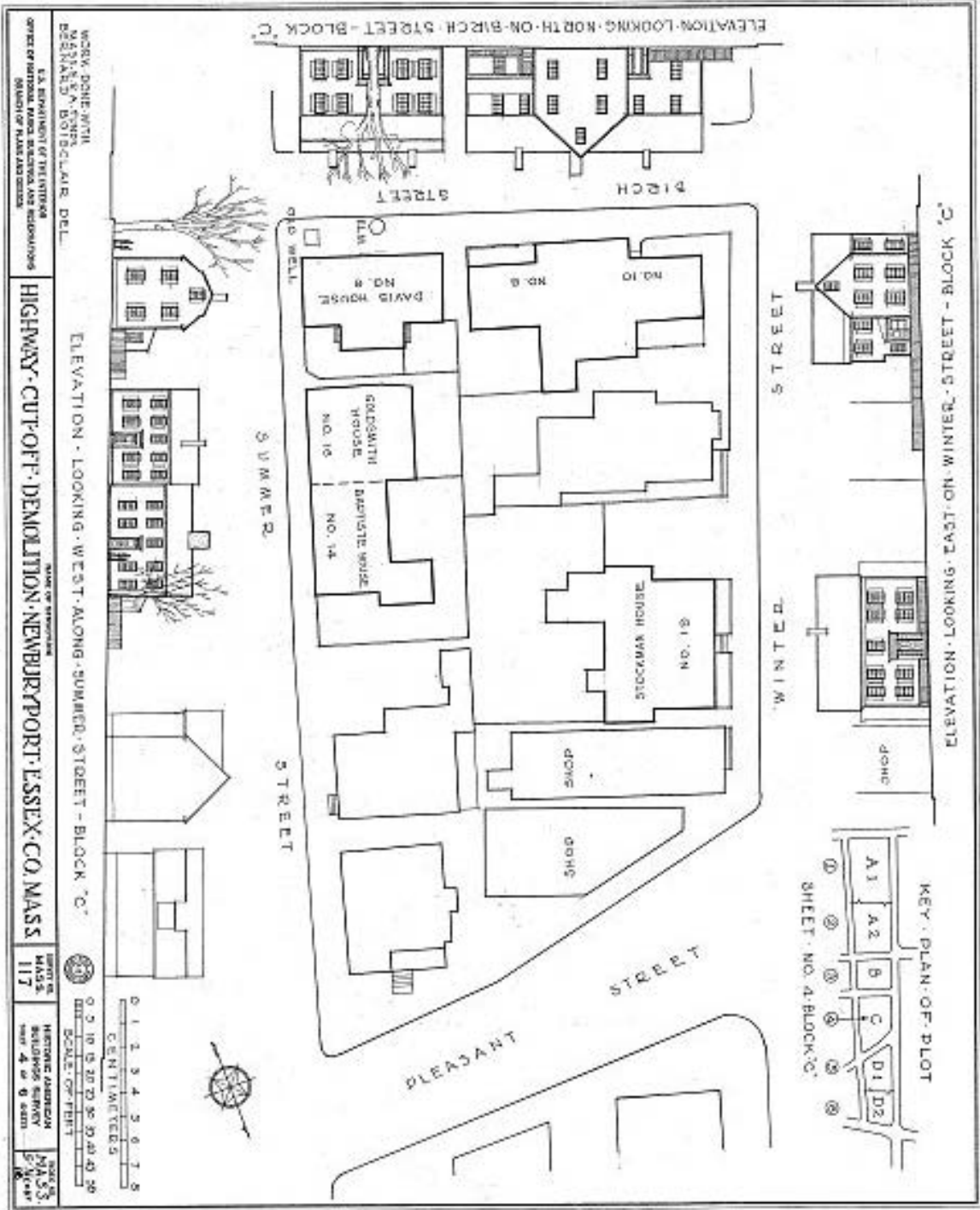
It can be assumed that these buildings, and their process of demolition to make way for a highway, had some type of historic and cultural importance for them to be documented and archived through the HABS/HALS. One could also argue that Detroit’s urban landscape, especially the residential development from the post-war to post-industrial period, and its subsequent vacancy and demolition, is an historical, cultural landscape. Unlike the HABS/HALS archive, however, the archive in Detroit would equally emphasize the technical and cultural history of Detroit’s buildings and landscape.

In 1992, UNESCO added cultural landscapes as eligible for designation as a world heritage listing, and consequently, its preservation. Referring to UNESCO’s addition, Ken Taylor agrees with the change when he writes, “Intimately connected with these landscapes are people’s stories and the things of which memories are made: the cultural richness that promotes a sense of local distinctiveness” (Taylor 2008). Under the guidelines for recognizing a landscape as having outstanding universal value, three categories of cultural landscapes are defined (Taylor 2008):

01. Clearly defined landscapes designed and intentionally created by man, or



[Figure 20+ 21] Photographs from "Highway Cut-off Demolition Area" in Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1934
Source: Library of Congress, www.loc.gov



[Figure 22] Measured drawing from "Highway Cut-off Demolition Area" in Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1934
 Source: Library of Congress, www.loc.gov

02. Organically evolved landscapes in two categories:
 - a. Relic or fossil landscape in which an evolutionary process has come to an end, but where its distinguishing features are still visible
 - b. Continuing landscape which retains an active social role in contemporary society associated with a traditional way of life and in which the evolutionary process is still in process and where it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time, or

03. Associative cultural landscapes: the inclusion of such landscapes is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic, or cultural associations of the natural element rather than the material cultural evidence

Detroit's landscape during this time represented a cultural, economic, and environmental shift that defined America. Detroit continues to act as an archetype for post-industrial cities. Given the cultural importance, I would argue that Detroit's urban fabric could hypothetically be considered a protected cultural landscape under UNESCO's guidelines or considered "historic" by the HABS/HALS survey.

With or without an official recognition from UNESCO or HABS/HALS, part of this method for archival would include a survey of city's built and social environment from the post-war to post-industrial era. Unlike the HABS/HALS survey, however, the documentation materials would not be limited to measured drawings, photographs, and informational diagrams. Equal emphasis would be given to the technical aspects of the Detroit's landscape as the cultural aspects. This strategy follows recommendations outlined in the 1966 book *With Heritage So Rich*, which was written by the nation's Special Commission on Historic Preservation, which contributed to the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of the same year. In the Commission's recommendations, they warned against a preservation strategy that consists only of "saving bricks and mortar" and instead advocated for an approach that gives "a sense of orientation to our society, using structures and objects of the past to establish values of time and place" (Schwarz 2014).

This statement from the commission brings back the question I posed at the beginning of this paper: what do we value? What do we choose to preserve and what do we allow to deteriorate? If we value social and mental wellbeing and wish to preserve it, it is important that this archive preserve the cultural aspects of Detroit's demolition landscape, as well as the technical and architectural aspects. This approach helps address the negative effects demolition has on the community. Recalling Taylor and Drabble, preserving memory creates some permanence in a rapidly changing environment, which can help retain a sense of place and treat the increase of stress, anxiety, and depression.

02_Temporary Installations/Events

The second type of archival method includes a series of temporary events in neighborhoods experiencing demolition as a way to engage and gather the community to create conversation and awareness, as well as to share memories and artifacts, which will formulate the basis of the archive. In addition to the archive, the event itself is part of the solution to demolition's negative effects. Given this interactive and engaging format of communication, the strategy relies on affect, which has been proven

to be most effective (Slovic et al., 2005). The events can be housed either “block-party” or “backyard barbecue” style, located in the middle of a block, or at an established community space. The events would be led by the local neighborhood organization, which already has a relationship with the community and a network of committed citizens to rely on for gathering other residents to the event. An example event could include artistic installations, activities for children, music, food, and giveaways, such as vegetable seeds to start a garden. Other resources, besides information on the physical risks of demolition, can be provided, depending on the needs of the neighborhood. These resources could include foreclosure prevention information, ways to reduce the cost of utility bills, or the contact information of free tax-preparation organizations. The events are meant to be fun and engaging, as well as an opportunity to provide a social good, modeling after the Night Market Preview event organized by the Cleveland Urban Design Collaborative.

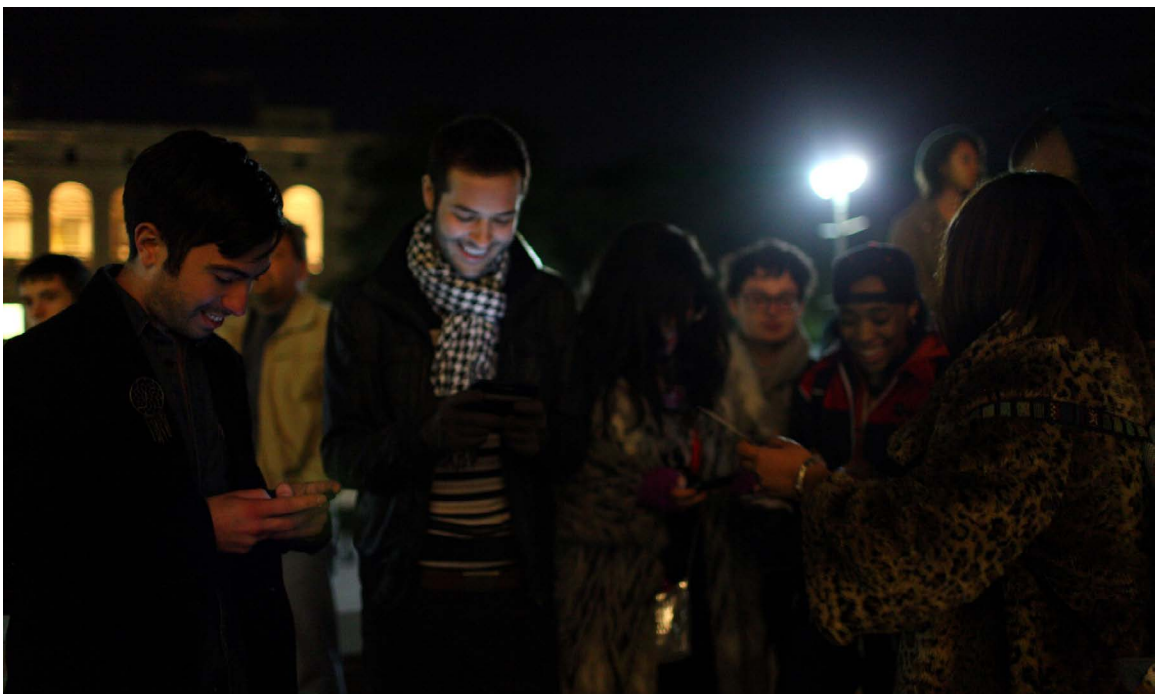
One of the social goods these events provide is the establishment and support of the demolition archive. The events are also opportunities for sharing memories, telling stories, and submitting memorabilia related to the built and social environment of the neighborhood. Memories can be archived in a range of media, including old family photos and videos, object artifacts, written or recorded stories and interviews, as well as photographs and video recordings of the present-day, pre-demolition built and social environment. This method of archival is tailored to the present community in Detroit, as a way to combat the negative effects of demolition, but the past residents are invited to attend as well. The stories of the present community are just as valuable as those of the historic community; the archive functions for them, as a way to build a permanent home for their memories to provide social and mental stability and support wellbeing.

Memory Cloud: Detroit, designed by London-based architecture studio Minimaforms, was an interactive environmental installation located on the steps of the Detroit Institute of Arts in October of 2011. [Figure 23 + 24] “Memories, stories, and personal aspirations for the city of Detroit” were submitted online two weeks prior to the event, and via text during the event. The words were projected onto a man-made “cloud” of vapor for the audience to read. The submitted statements were added to the Voice of Detroit archive (VoiceOfDetroit.com).

The project could act as a precedent for an interactive installation that collects data and memories, employed during the neighborhood events. The project was not as successful as it could have been because of the fact that it only existed in one location and only for one night. Its location limited the voices and memories collected to those from a specific demographic, which doesn’t necessarily represent the city as a whole. A series of installations located in a number of neighborhoods representing a diverse range of communities in Detroit would have had a larger impact.

For example, when demolition is planned in Mexicantown, an event could be held at Clark Park, which is a central location for the neighborhood. Residents would be drawn to the event by the family activities, like a water balloon toss and spring flower giveaway. Community nonprofits, like Southwest Detroit Environmental Vision and Southwest Detroit Business Association, would populate booths to distribute information and resources. A traveling art installation would be on exhibit that could engage the topic of memory and demolition and serve as a resource to pool information to be archived.

The following week or month, the event would move to the next neighborhood where demolitions are planned, possibly nearby, to Springwells. This time, the event is located in the middle of the neighborhood, block-party style with a barbecue instead of a water balloon toss. A street is shut down, and the event takes place with the same installation and nonprofit representatives, since the nonprofits at the Mexicantown event represent this neighborhood as well. Eventually, the locally-tailored events move around the entire city, where demolitions occur, including neighborhoods like Islandview on the Lower East Side of Detroit and Brightmoor on the Northwest Side.

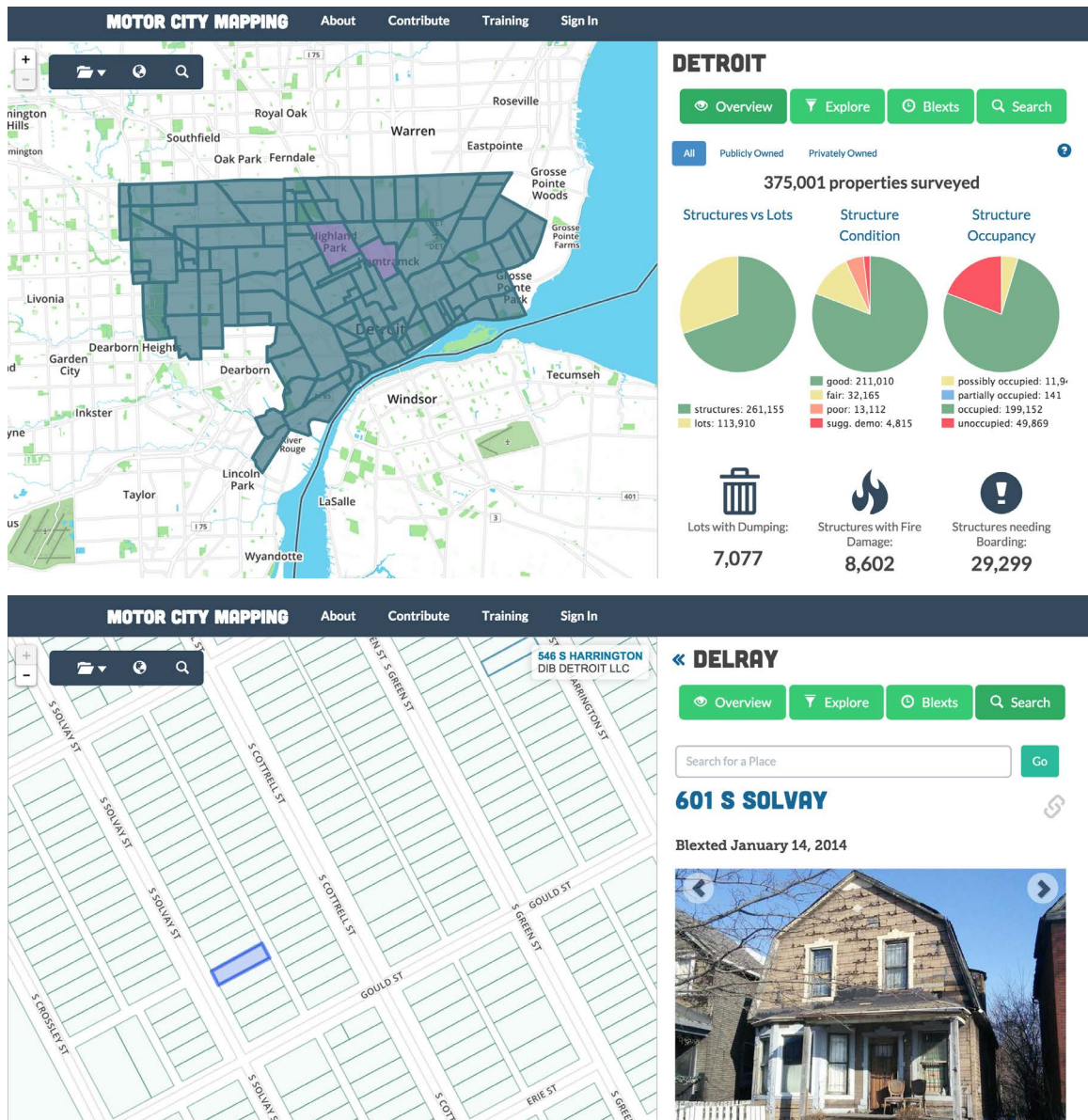


[Figure 23 + 24] "Memory Cloud: Detroit" installation, October 2011
Source: Voice of Detroit, www.voiceofdetroit.com

03_Collective Memory Bank

The third and final method of archiving is a collective memory bank that can be added to and accessed from anywhere in the world through an online platform. The entire Detroit diaspora can contribute to its collective memory over time, through digital submissions that don't necessarily follow any standardized format.

Motor City Mapping, a collaboration between Data Driven Detroit and Loveland Technologies, is an initiative to survey buildings across the entire city and report its physical condition. Using a mobile application, neighborhood residents collect data which is then mapped and combined with existing ownership information, and made available to the public (MotorCityMapping.org). [Figure 25 + 26] This type of crowd-sourced data collection and its interactive, digital format can act as a model for an effective, extensive approach to the collection and public access of memories during and after demolition.



[Figure 25 +26] Pages from the Motor City Mapping website
 Source: Motor City Mapping, www.motorcitymapping.org

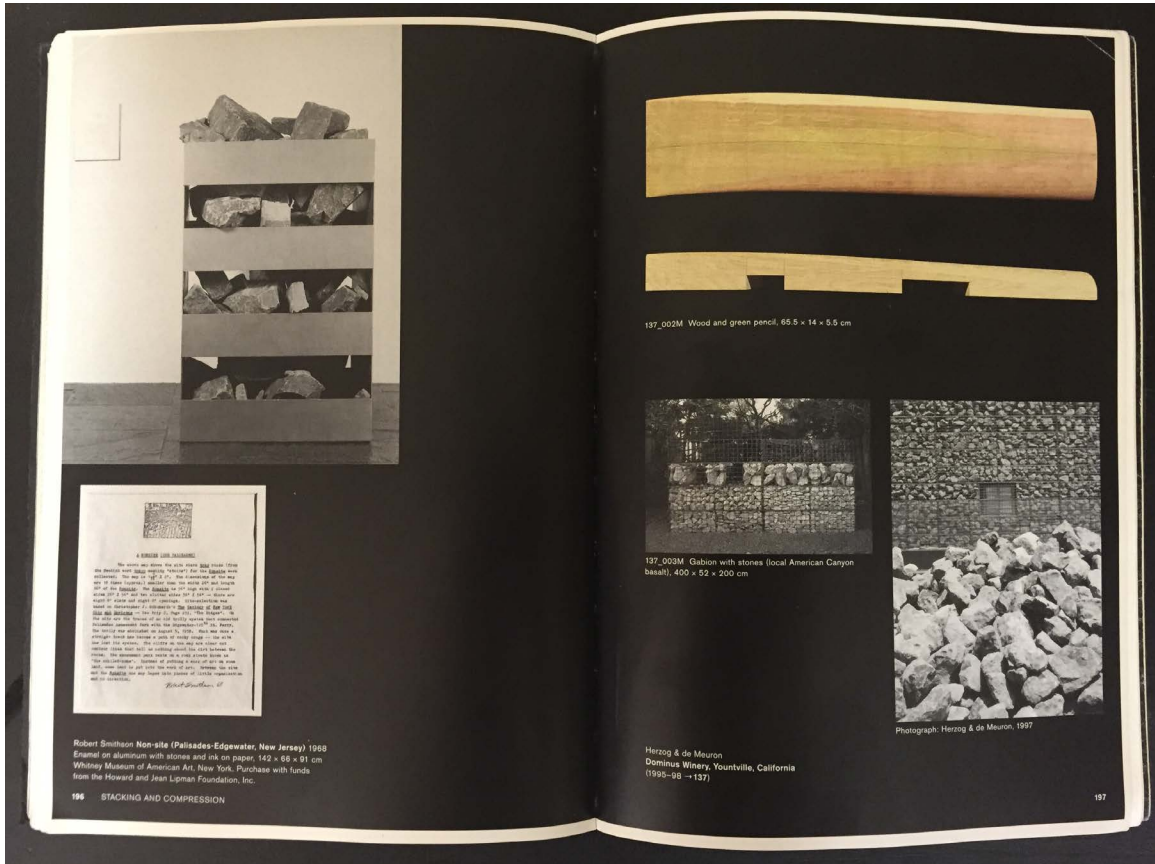
There are existing resources in the city of Detroit that have chronicled cultural memory and landscapes, both past and present. Their archives can be incorporated into this new archive as well, to create a comprehensive representation. *Lost Landscapes of Detroit*, a three-part compilation film series containing archival footage dating back to 1917, chronicles the built and social environment of Detroit. Led by Rick Prelinger, associate professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz, the films are largely comprised of home movies, promotional material, and newsreels (Archive.org, 2010-2012). [Figure 27 + 28] The footage collected through this series could be featured in the archive, and it could set a precedent for further submissions.



[Figure 27 + 28] Stills from *Lost Landscapes of Detroit* by Rick Prelinger
Source: Motor City Mapping, www.motorcitymapping.org

Precedents of archives and exhibits exist within the professional, contemporary realm of architecture and landscape architecture. Architecture firm Herzog and de Meuron and landscape architecture firm Vogt Landscape Architects, both based in Switzerland, engage with designed places in a highly curated fashion. They choose to expose their design and construction processes, the elemental form of materials, and the underlying systems at play with many of their projects.

In *Herzog and de Meuron: Natural History* (2002), the firm shows examples of their professional archive, which has appeared in exhibits at museums around the world.



[Figure 29] Pages from *Herzog and de Meuron: Natural History*
Source: Sam Sikanas

Here, their site elements (pictured to the right) are juxtaposed with artist Robert Smithson’s work titled “Non-site,” (pictured to the left). Smithson is a renowned artist one would expect to see in many contemporary art exhibits, but Herzog and de Meuron, also highly renowned in their profession, position their architectural work as equally deserving of archiving and exhibiting.

Vogt Landscape Architects, in their book *Miniature and Panorama*, display their work through photographic “essays” that are so artfully done that they could also be included in a museum exhibit.

In the photojournalistic series by Olaf Unverzart titled *The Production of Plants* [Figure 30 + 31], which is included in *Miniature and Panorama*, the propagation and distribution of

plant material, as well as the landscape construction process, is revealed.

The firm also showcases its material explorations [Figure 32], an important part of the design process that is commonly overlooked in final representations of projects and that is rarely documented.



[Figure 32] Pages from *Miniature and Panorama* by Vogt Landscape Architects
Source: Sam Sikanas

Like Herzog and de Meuron's work, the body of the demolition archive, formulated through any of the three archival methods, could exist in the form of a museum or an exhibit in a museum, as a book, or as a website, or a combination of each, reaching across platforms. The exact representation of the archive could take many forms. What is most important is the existence of the archive and the methods of obtaining materials.

Conclusion

A community sensitive approach to the experience of demolition in Detroit is necessary because of the known negative effects on social, mental, and physical wellbeing.

Establishing a home for Detroit's collective memory can mitigate the negative effects related to the experience of demolition. As thousands of homes are demolished over the coming years, this new "home" provides permanence and stability during a time of rapid change. The three methods of archiving Detroit's memory, detailed in the Design Toolkit, are informed by the evidence base outlined earlier in this paper. Each method has precedents to draw from as it is implemented in Detroit, and can be tailored to capture the various communities of Detroit's diaspora.

The research and toolkit bring to light the issues that many post-industrial cities in America and around the world are experiencing around demolition. This paper offers a comprehensive analysis of the effects of demolition, from the perspective of multiple disciplines, which can be accessed by researchers in other cities attempting to address the issues in their own community. From this evidence base, a design solution emerged, which offers a community sensitive approach to the experience of demolition. If implemented, this healing process could reinforce Detroit as an innovative city that cares for its citizens, and serve as a model for other cities.

A common critique of this proposal could be that this approach requires funding, which is hard to come by in a city experiencing such an economic hardship. I would suggest that, with hundreds of millions of dollars being devoted to demolition in the coming years, it is reasonable to use a portion of the budget for a community sensitive approach that would benefit the city in the immediate and distant future. This type of "piggybacking" of initiatives for social good is not a new concept to the state of Michigan--for every dollar spent on the Michigan Lottery, 29 cents are given to the state's School Aid Fund, which represents 6.5% of the education budget (WZZM 2015). Although the finances follow a different structure, the concept of allocating a portion of funds to repay the community is similar.

The entire toolkit was developed to help people deal with the experience of demolition. But it could be applied to any situation that causes a physical threat and psychological trauma or the loss of sense of place. These situations happen daily due to natural disasters, the effects of climate change, and gentrification, which all occur worldwide. Hurricanes Katrina and Sandy here in the United States, the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami in Japan, and rapid urban redevelopment in cities throughout China are all recent or current examples. Remembering Margaret Drabble's words, "when a loved landscape is altered out of recognition; we [lose] not only a place, but ourselves, a continuity between the shifting phases of our life." The Design Toolkit is intended to rebuild continuity through the permanence of memory, mitigating the negative effects of the experience of demolition, as well as other Landscapes of Loss.

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