palgrave pivot

SHRINKING CITIES AND FIRST SUBURBS

The Case of Detroit and Warren, Michigan

Anirban Adhya

Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs

Anirban Adhya

Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs

The Case of Detroit and Warren, Michigan

palgrave
macmillan

Anirban Adhya
Architecture and Design
Lawrence Technological University
Southfield, Michigan, USA

ISBN 978-3-319-51708-7 ISBN 978-3-319-51709-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51709-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017930204

Cover illustration: Pattern adapted from an Indian cotton print produced in the 19th century

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

To Vani and Agnish

Preface

This book is about first suburbs. I have undertaken an empirical study of Warren and Detroit as a case study of shrinking first suburbs of American metropolis. The case study of this type of shrinking at the urban periphery investigates multiple challenges shrinking communities are facing and different ways in which these communities are trying to survive, sustain, and even develop. Contemporary theories and practices of urban design often posit a notion of suburbs as a site and context of perpetual growth that is conceived as an undifferentiated and a universally growing space. In contrast to such universal understanding of suburban sprawl, the current book examines the relationship between Detroit, a prominent shrinking city, and Warren, largest suburb of Detroit at its northern periphery.

The book in many ways is a reflection of my personal and professional experiences of living, teaching, and working in Metro Detroit. Some of them are worth mentioning here. After moving into Metro Detroit region, nine years back, I was struck by the city-suburb divide in academic discussions, policy framework, and most significantly in people's everyday perceptions. Though the entire region was facing serious but common challenges, any attempt of coordination and collaborative efforts was critiqued and crushed through racial and political segregation. While questioning and understanding some of the historic socio-political divide, in fall of 2013, I had an opportunity to participate in an RSVP event, "From Crisis to Projects," hosted by the City of Warren in collaboration with Macomb County and Michigan State Housing Authority. The event brought together local universities like Lawrence Tech with international architectural and urban thinkers from Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAI), Abitare,

and the *Volume Magazine*. This international experience, here, instigated the thought of examining the Detroit-Warren relationship as a possible case study of central city-first suburb dynamic. Following the RSVP event, I have taught several undergraduate and graduate urban design studios studying Warren and Detroit and speculating possible scenarios to address issues of decline and shrinkage. The student works in documenting and analyzing the built form and green infrastructure in the region and possible solutions have inspired me to work on this project to tell the story of Detroit, Warren, and this Midwestern metropolitan region.

The book provides three specific narratives. First, the book presents a narrative of suburbs as a critical site of crisis at the urban periphery. It considers first ring suburb as a site of shrinkage of population and infrastructure. Second, the monograph addresses problem of metropolitan shrinkage. It considers the question of how we can attempt to address depopulation, vacancy, and foreclosures in a first-ring suburb. Broadly, this is a fundamental question of shrinkage (as opposed to growth) as a paradigm of urban design and planning. Third, within the context of shrinkage and decline, the book presents first suburbs as possible new urban models. The case study of Warren in the context of Detroit illustrates projective role of incremental development and creative partnerships in making first suburbs new models for adaptive reuse, smart growth, economic entrepreneurship, and social diversity.

The emphasis is on Warren, as a shrinking community in the urban periphery of Detroit (a well-studied large shrinking city). Emphasis on the suburb brings reference to some important literature. One is Mary Corbin Sies's article "North American Suburb, 1880–1950," published in the *Journal of Urban History* (2001). Sies argues for re-examination of the term "suburb" with consideration of geography and economic circumstances as a base with additional numerous factors. Mary Corbin Sies's article is an effective anthology of suburban development in North America. Using economic and geographic data, Sies argues that the urban-suburban divide is less clear and actually more blurred, when seen in terms of social demographics, land development, and gendered patterns. This specific literature is confined to suburban development up to the 1950s. Building on Sies's understanding of suburbs and extending her urban-suburban relationship, my book focuses on evolution of Warren after it was established as a major peripheral urban development in the 1970s and then its dynamic evolution until present. Literature such as "Suburbs in transition: new approaches to suburban history"

by Ruth McManus and Philip J. Ethington (2007) in *Journal of Urban History* is also relevant. Considering my project to be more about shrinking cities and implication of the phenomenon on a first-ring suburb, literature on shrinking cities (Hollander, Palagst, Oswalt, Luescher and Shetty) is also reviewed and used.

The purpose of this book is to showcase first suburbs—strategically located between the urban core and the suburban periphery—as new models for adaptive reuse, smart growth, economic entrepreneurship, and social diversity in the face of urban shrinkage typically characterized with large central cities. My work focuses on shrinking suburbs because these towns represent a distinct suburban condition, with their older housing stock, increasing diversity, restructuring market, and challenges of metropolitan coordination. Most of the work on shrinking cities is focused on medium and large central cities (like Detroit, Youngstown, Manchester-Liverpool, and Berlin). This project on Warren provides an alternate model to understand shrinkage in suburban communities, which is timely and long-needed. It also adds rich diversity to the academic scholarship on shrinking cities as well as on-the-ground efforts and discussions on addressing problems of shrinkage in fringe communities.

There is a continued and growing interest in the "shrinking city" phenomena and literature. However, most of the works on shrinking cities are limited to the urban core and inner-city neighborhoods. This book on Warren adds diversity and richness into the discussion of shrinkage; it focuses on a first-ring suburb depicting challenges of shrinking and possible ways to respond in the urban fringes, ignored in current dominant literature an urban studies. So, students, teachers, and practitioners of architecture, urban design, and urban planning as well as community development will be interested in the project. In addition, municipal leaders and economic development groups in first-ring suburban communities will find specific solutions and approaches to address serious challenges facing their communities in this book.

Acknowledgment

I would like to express my special gratitude to City of Warren Mayor's office, office of the Warren Downtown Development Authority (DDA), and the Tax Incentive Financial Administration (TIFA), for giving me the opportunity to study Warren in relation to Detroit. Specifically, I would like to mention Tori Moceri (Macomb County); Gina Cavallier; Bonnie McInerney; Nancy Bourgeois; Martha Potere (all from City of Warren), who have provided invaluable time and help in terms of documents and discussions.

I acknowledge that "From Crisis to Projects," the 2009 RSVP #13 event organized by the City of Warren in collaboration with the Macomb County, Lawrence Tech, and Volume magazine, was the original inspiration and instigation for the book on Warren. A note of thanks to my colleagues at the College of Architecture and Design, Lawrence Technological University, who provided useful feedback and encouragement. My Chair, Jim Stevens, needs special mention for encouraging me to write the book. A shout out also to Philip Plowright, a colleague and friend, for being an inspiration and for being kind with his time for many conversations.

Palgrave Pivots presented itself as an appropriate and timely platform. I wish to thank Rachel Krause Daniel of Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature for the interest and forbearance that created this book. Thanks go to Elaine Fan and Kyra Saniewski, who helped with editing of the drafts, to Jayanthi Senthil, who coordinated the production, and to the production team at Springer Nature, who expertly saw this book into press.

It is acknowledged that several undergraduate students in the Lawrence Tech College of Architecture and Design, whose studio work benefited the book in terms of documenting and analyzing first suburb and Mary Cay Lancaster, a Graduate Research Assistant, also helped the author with initial data collection and photographs.

Finally, this book would not have been complete without my wife, Vani, and my son, Agnish, who always kept me going with their unconditional love for me and tolerance of my grumpy face, when writing was tough.

Contents

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CDC	Community Development Corporation
DDA	Downtown Development Authority
Detroit SMSA	Detroit Statistical Metropolitan Statistical Area
FCA	Fiat Chrysler Automobiles
GM	General Motors
HERA	Housing and Economic Recovery Act
ICRJ	Interfaith Center for Racial Justice
IONA	Islamic Organization of North America
MCPED	Macomb County Planning and Economic Development
MSHDA	Michigan State Housing Development Authority
Metro Detroit	Three-county region around Detroit
NSP	Neighborhood Stabilization Program
SEMCOG	Southeast Michigan Council of Governance
Southeast Michigan	Seven county conglomerate region around Detroit
TIFA	Tax Incentive Financial Assistance
V8 initiative	Van Dyke-8 Mile corridor business group initiative

List of Figures

List of Tables

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: The Shrinking City Phenomenon

Abstract Global urban development is currently characterized by varied combination of metropolitan growth and urban core shrinkage. Simultaneously with metropolitan expansion, shrinking cities have emerged in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries as a crisis. From the 1960s, cities around the globe have faced shrinkage in population due to various factors like deindustrialization, suburbanization, and post-socialism. While much of the shrinkage is concentrated in central cities, edge cities and suburbs are now facing the same problem. This book explores whether Warren, a first suburb of Detroit, can offer valuable lessons to address this crisis in the urban periphery. Specific opportunities can be imagined at the shrinking edge of large central cities in terms of strategic location, diverse housing choices, and large spaces for green infrastructure.

Keywords Growth model · Deindustrialization · Depopulation · Shrinking paradigm · Peripheral shrinkage

Growth and Urban Development

Urban development typically embodies a premise of growth. In other words, cities are planned, designed, and developed to accommodate increasing number of human population. Historically, cities have been built as more and more people wanted to be in one place for various

A. Adhya, *Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51709-4_1

reasons—protection from enemies, closeness to marketplace and jobs, access to information, and opportunities for social interaction. Density and concentration—of population, land, capital, labor—are commonly associated with urbanization. The twenty-first century has seen extreme growth of urbanization and increase in metropolitan population and density around the globe.

More than half of humanity (54%) now lives in cities and their associated urbanized regions. Within the next two decades, by 2050, about 66% of the world's population will be urban dwellers (UN-Habitat 2013). The phenomenon of global urban growth, though considered universal, is characterized by a powerful contradiction. The urban contradiction reveals that the growth is not uniform in many urban situations. Though there is huge metropolitan growth, there is simultaneous displacement, deterioration, and devaluation of other urban areas. In the situation of shrinking cities, the growth is occurring only in the certain pockets of the metropolis, while communities in urban cores, inner-city areas, and even first ring suburbs are not growing, but declining in population. Such a metropolitan context presents a scenario of shrinking cities with specific challenges and opportunities.

In the USA, local governance at the municipal level is the key driver of urban policies and development. As a result, urban planning often concentrates on either managing urban growth or tackling redevelopment in a fragmented (not a regional) way within individual municipality boundaries—despite the fact that similar urban issues, including shrinkage, foreclosures, and social and ecological challenges, occur throughout an entire metropolitan region. The current discourse in urban and regional planning in the USA still displays a high affinity for economic development based on growth models. Despite the recent popularity of revitalization and adaptive reuse in discussions and debates of sustainability, usually focused on city centers, there is no active discussion of shrinking cities and planning or policymaking for shrinking population (Pallagst and Wiechmann 2005). According to Robert Beauregard, one of the very few planners investigating shrinking cities in the USA, a focus on urban population losses and their consequences would provide a counterpart to the abundant and predominant literature on urban growth-based development models. He refers to consideration of shrinking populations and facing challenges of losing population as a "stigma" or a taboo not conforming into the development ideal of local governments, that is, political and fiscal decision makers (Beauregard 2003, 673; 2002). In other words, shrinking cities, though real, are set up to fail in the current urban planning models.

Shrinking Cities: Definition and Formulation of a Phenomenon

Cities and towns facing sustained population loss are termed as "shrinking cities." These are cities with declining population. Across the globe, these cities embody a metropolitan condition with a hollow center and pockets of development around it. Some prominent examples of shrinking cities are Detroit (USA), Ivanovo (Russia), Manchester-Liverpool (UK), and Halle-Leipzig (Germany) (Shrinking Cities 2006). Shrunken cities contradict the image, familiar since the Industrial Revolution, of the "boomtown," a big city characterized by constant economic and demographic growth. Shrunken cities spur a reconsideration not only of traditional ideas of the European city or modern skyline of the American metropolis, but also of the future development of urban worlds. The drastic changes in cities caused by shrinking thus present not only economic, social, and cultural challenges, but also design and planning challenges. Urban shrinking can hardly be affected by city planning, and it brings numerous problems. New types of cities arise; we do not yet have ways of thinking or of using their specific character (Oswalt 2005a).

Shrinking cities embody a post-urban reality. The shrinking city phenomenon is a multidimensional process, comprising cities, parts of cities, or entire metropolitan areas that have experienced dramatic decline in their economic and social bases. Urban decline, loss of employment opportunities, decreasing property value and tax base, and deterioration of investment and infrastructure are closely linked in a downward spiral, leading to an outmigration of population. Urban decline of the post-industrial landscape is dotted with vacancy and remnants of industrial landscapes. Thus, urban shrinkage is often a challenge on the wide scale of metropolitan regions and requires policymakers to redefine traditional paths of regional governance.

Challenges of Shrinking Cities

Shrinking cities face immense challenge of planning and design in the face of declining population. Population decline is a result of people leaving cities and metropolitan areas. In addition to losing population, these places are also shrinking as they are unable to attract new population. Job opportunities and growth are one of the most important factors for

urban growth and expansion. Shrinking cities are characterized by lack of job opportunities, especially after loss of the twentieth-century manufacturing base to a twenty-first-century service-oriented restructuring.

In the USA, a large number of shrinking cities are found in the Midwest, the nation's heartland with diminishing manufacturing industry. Old industrial cities like Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo in Northeast and Midwestern USA have weak job market combined with low-income level leading to low economic opportunities in these cities. With the restructuring of the industrial economy in the turn of the century, the Midwestern cities have faced high unemployment rate and concentrated poverty. Accompanied with people leaving due to lack of employment and economic opportunities, these cities are challenged by concentrated poverty and a declining tax base. This has serious implications toward lack of investment and deteriorating quality of services for communities in these cities. Many of these cities are also comprised of historic neighborhoods with old building stock that need periodic maintenance and upgrade for sustenance of the urban experiences. Confluence of these factors is a perfect storm for the Midwestern shrinking cities in the USA, resulting in a continuing downward spiral.

Global Forces, Regional Dynamics, and Local Questions

In Detroit, the problems of shrinking cities have further been accentuated by the global economic crisis beginning in 2008. Collapsing real estate and financial market, followed by decline of the auto industry and rising unemployment, has produced a crisis of extreme proportion resulting in surging foreclosures (Ernsten and Moceri 2009). With the City of Detroit and its inner-ring suburbs facing one of the highest foreclosure rates in the USA (ranging from 7.8% in overall Macomb County to 16% in the City of Detroit), these suburban communities are left with a diminishing tax base and deteriorating environment. To tackle the foreclosure problem, several suburban communities including those in the Macomb County have recommended traditional economic development model of rebuilding and repairing foreclosed homes through individual projects. But it has had little impact because of the dispersed nature of these properties and distinct context of the communities they are located in. Taking a different approach to this real estate problem, I posit that foreclosure and abandonment is not a local community problem. Rather, it is a regional problem with local implications on quality of life, investment, and physical

environment. This real estate challenge needs new and bold models to transform the struggling shrinking cities into sustainable places. Using the Macomb County as a case study for my university's community outreach studio, the goal of the chapter is to develop a sustainable urban model addressing the foreclosure crisis in the shrinking first-ring suburbs of Detroit, which are struggling to survive amidst the global economic meltdown.

The current economic crisis has compounded the problem of a shrinking city with restructuring of the auto companies, loss of manufacturing sector jobs, and real estate foreclosures. The result has been a lack of effective cooperation and partnership at the regional level: the regional governance and political structure is weak, regional economic investment is misplaced, regional infrastructure development is poorly planned, and even a concern with regional problems is missing. When the metropolis faces enormous challenges of economic crisis, a regional approach is critical considering the valuable resources that the communities across the region share and can potentially harness.

Facing such complex problems, Warren, one of the oldest and the largest suburbs of Detroit, poses some critical questions in this direction: Where and when do we invest within the city and the region? How do we define a new urban ecosystem based on the multidimensional relationship between the city and society, economy, polity, and technology? How do we imagine a sustainable community within the context of a shrinking population? The present economic crisis provides an opportunity to address these questions.

Relevance of Shrinking Cities

Shrinking communities across the world are planning for their futures in very different policy environments. For a long time, shrinking cities have not been recognized as context of urban development and growth models have been the traditional model of urban planning. The planning and policy have recently focused on this challenge as it has become widespread globally. Originally, artists and architects began documentation and analysis of the shrinking cities phenomenon, where Detroit has perhaps been the most widely studied shrinking city. In terms of policy response, there are some broad patterns—in countries of the European Union as well as in Japan, there are examples of federal support for efforts to understand and address the challenges of sustained population loss

and economic decline and recognition of the need to consider policy responses at the regional scale (Hospers et al. 2006). European Union countries, in general, have been proactive. For example, the support for sustainable cities in general, including work on shrinking cities, is supported across national borders as well with programs like URBACT, jointly financed by the European Regional Development Fund of the European Union and member states.

In contrast, American responses have largely, though not exclusively, been at the local level. In some cities like Detroit and Youngstown, the leadership for large-scale planning and urban design efforts has come from mayors and local political level. At the same time, non-profit groups and collaborative are working on these issues at the neighborhood level in the absence of larger formal framework to address the complex phenomenon of shrinking. Overall, though, governments at various levels, civic leaders, design and planning professionals, and community organizations in a wide range of cities across the world are acknowledging and planning for a future with far fewer residents, and in doing so, contributing to a shift away from an entrenched growth-oriented planning paradigm (Mallach 2012).

Shrinkage at the Periphery: A New Crisis

Even as we focus on shrinking cities, it seems, urban sprawl at the metropolitan level continues unabated. Yet there is no predictable shrinking core-growing suburbs pattern at this scale. Sprawl, out-migration, large-scale economic change and disinvestment, among other factors, have resulted in very uneven patterns of growth and shrinkage in metropolitan areas. For example, many inner-ring or first suburbs are experiencing sustained population loss. This book focuses on one such case, the Detroit suburb of Warren, shedding light on this relatively understudied type of shrinking city, and examines the challenges and responses to population loss at the local and regional scales. The Warren case study also highlights that the pattern of growth and shrinkage can be uneven within a city as well—even as a city grows and shrinks over time, certain neighborhoods shrink much faster and face dire future.

Facing such complex challenges, in the absence of a formal framework and with the failure of traditional economic development models, there is need for new models of urban life to transform shrinking regions of Detroit. The challenges and the potential solution in shrinking city and

its first suburbs can inform a new urban direction. A new direction toward revitalization and revival depends on identifying opportunities at the periphery. The urban edge condition—with its strategic location between central city and its first suburb, with its development opportunities in vacant lands and industrial areas, and with its diverse housing stock—is a test case to develop scenarios of mobility (access to jobs and transportation), diversity (housing choices for mixed-income population), and green infrastructure (storm water management). A large shrinking city like Detroit and its shrinking first suburb, Warren, is case study to examine these opportunities.

Evolution of Urban Edges and First Suburbs

Though there is less agreement on how urban edge conditions and first suburbs are defined, the inner-ring suburbs and pericentral spaces of large cities have changed dramatically in recent times. In many large cities like Paris, Amsterdam, and New York metro regions, after a period of decline, pericentral spaces are regaining population and employment. In the context of globalization, they have become places of interest for private investment. This transformation takes different forms within pericentral spaces due to various local contexts and local policies. In Europe, the peri-urban development along the outer edges of Paris (known as Isle de France) are sites of large projects (like stadiums and convention centers) along large infrastructure (like highways and rivers).

The first suburban ring was shaped by industrialization. After World War II, the first suburbs became a territory characterized by industrial activity and working-class population. These same characteristics define "red belt" of Paris, "outer borough" of New York, as well as many communities across borders of Detroit (Fig. 1.1). The post-fordist restructuring led to the decline of manufacturing industry in large metropolitan regions across globe. It is during the same time the majority of territories in the pericentral areas lost population during this period. These first suburbs and edge cities used to be industrial to a large extent, but usually not with large heavy industry. Now, they are going through a change of specialization and restructuring of labor and economy. Their population has historically been uniform but as increasingly become mixed and diverse. In some cases, a gentrification process has been seen, where the first suburbs has benefited from central city stability and regional investments.

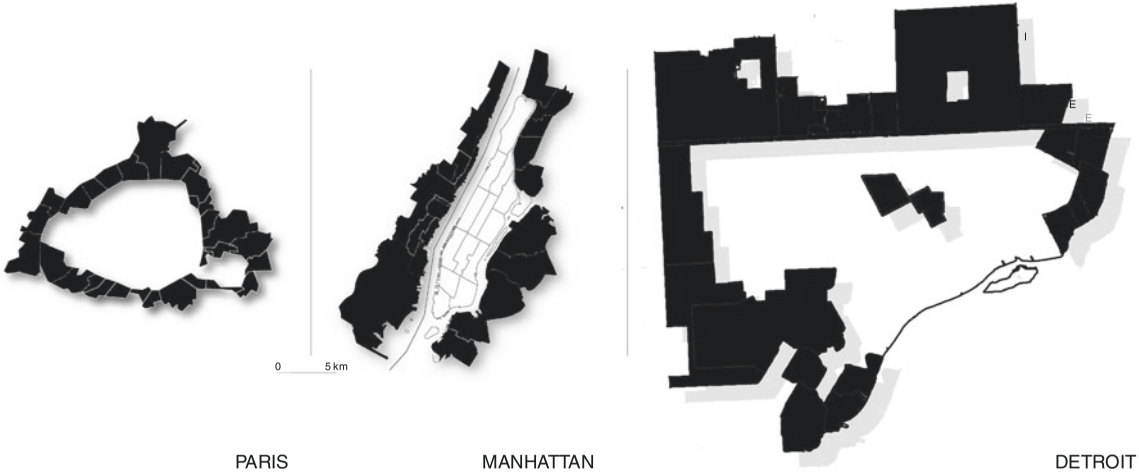

Fig. 1.1 Comparison of the first suburbs outlining Paris, Manhattan, and Detroit (Paris and Manhattan adapted from Albecker 2011)

The expansion of the center has benefited most of the bordering spaces in many urban regions. However, in some declining and shrinking large cities like Detroit (MI) and Cleveland (OH), condition first suburbs have suffered from similar decline and deterioration of built form, open space, and services. Accentuation of these territorial imbalances and non-uniform patterns of development needs to be studied. We are seeing dual movement: recycling of the best-located sites and devaluing of less attractive spaces. Gentrification and social exclusion coexist in the same territories. These processes highlight and question the role of local policies.

Once and some of them still shrinking cities, pericentral spaces can now play a unique role in the evolution of Global Cities. As parts of a global city region, they represent a potential for economic redevelopment. At the same time, their social evolution is uneven with a risk of growing socio-spatial fragmentation at a regional and local scale. Local contexts and local policies play important roles. In a context of growing competition between municipalities, we can reimagine the role of new forms of governance.

After a deep economic crisis, the first suburbs can become attractive in terms of closeness to central cities, public investments, and good transportation infrastructures. Designed properly, these communities can more and more be integrated to the economic center. Inhabitants remain mainly low-skilled workers. Larger share of housing needs to address immigrants with very low income and high inequality. Juxtaposition of economic success and social problems is a socio-spatial fragmentation.

First suburbs have choice for their future. They can stay residential areas with no specific economic specialization. Different dynamics of demographic evolution contribute to this new future. Distance and connection to the central business districts or downtowns and transportation networks become critical elements for policy, design, and development. Inequality and social diversity are issues in the forefront in addition to relationship between older less diverse population and new younger migrant population.

Former working-class suburbs like Warren have experienced a strong deindustrialization. Good transportation connection and proximity to downtowns of large central cities is a possible regional planning issue. Voluntarist path to welcome high-tech enterprises and advanced services is part of traditional economic development strategies. First suburbs can also be leaders in office building and population growth since the 1980s and 1990s.

Spatial planning and policy development exercises in regions with shrinking cities and shrinking suburbs need to consider issues and challenges of aging housing stock, increasing diversity, increasing segregation and gentrification, and changing market structure. Global rise of more polycentric organization provides inspiration to first suburbs though Detroit politically and culturally suffers from lack of regional planning and thinking.

CHAPTER 2

Detroit Metropolitan Area and Warren

Abstract Metro Detroit is an illustration of dynamic urban condition. While Southeast Michigan has experienced steady growth in population during the last century, Detroit and communities surrounding the city has lost more than half of their population in the last six decades. Warren has been portrayed as one of the top 10 most miserable cities in the USA in the last decade. Residents in Warren have faced tremendous struggle to sustain quality of everyday life. The struggle is compounded by a strong geopolitical divide between the north and south side of the city, failure of traditional economic development model, and failure to address evolving social demographics. Warren is not just an isolated case. Warren embodies the challenges of many shrinking first suburbs.

Keywords Metro Detroit · Warren · South Warren · Foreclosure · Concentrated poverty

Everyday Life in Warren

In a recent Detroit News article (Terry 2016), a story of Shaquila Roach got lot of attention narrating the deteriorating conditions of south Warren and "the forgotten neighborhoods." In 2005, Ms. Roach moved from Detroit to south Warren with a dream of higher quality of life attracted by safe neighborhoods and better housing. Today, 11 years later, she struggles to provide good shelter for her three kids, moving from apartments to

A. Adhya, *Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51709-4_2

rental houses and suffering from molds to bed bugs, from water shut off to foreclosure. She has no choice but to move out and look for another place to live in. Ms. Roach's is not just one story, but is an embodiment of the struggles and challenges of many families living in Warren, and specifically south Warren—the southernmost neighborhoods bordering the central city of Detroit. Warren in general, but more specifically its southern part, is marked by foreclosed houses, unmaintained lawns, abandoned commercial properties, closure of public services, and deteriorating public amenities as well as loiterers and unsafe environments. Ms. Roach calls this a "terrible experience" and her feeling that "the area is going down."

Dynamic Urban Condition

The Detroit metropolitan area, or Metro Detroit, is the primary Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area in the Southeast Michigan region. The region is constituted by seven counties in the southeast part of the lower peninsula of Michigan (Livingston, Macomb, Monroe, Oakland, St. Clair, Washtenaw, and Wayne) with a population of around 4.704 million (U.S. Census 2010, SEMCOG 2010). Within this seven-county region, three counties (Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb) together form Metro Detroit, which has a population of 3.987 million. This population of the Metro Detroit is concentrated in the City of Detroit, currently home to 713,777 people (Fig. 2.1). The change in population in the City of Detroit, the metropolitan area, and the surrounding counties of the Southeast Michigan are illustrated below.

The Detroit metropolitan region is an illustration of dynamic urban condition shaped by prominent forces of housing market dynamics, new suburban demographic, labor-market restructuring, and metropolitan fragmentation, as discussed above. While Southeast Michigan has experienced steady growth in population during the last century, the City of Detroit and the communities surrounding the city has lost more than half of their population in the last six decades (EPA 2007) (Fig. 2.2 and Table 2.1). This urban condition has created an imbalance between a continuously sprawling periphery consisting of some of the wealthiest suburbs and a deteriorating urban core consisting of the City of Detroit and the first suburbs. This regional imbalance of shrinking city—in the context of Detroit—has evolved with combination of historic racial dynamics in housing and employment within Detroit and political differences between the city, the counties, and the suburban communities (Sugrue 1996).

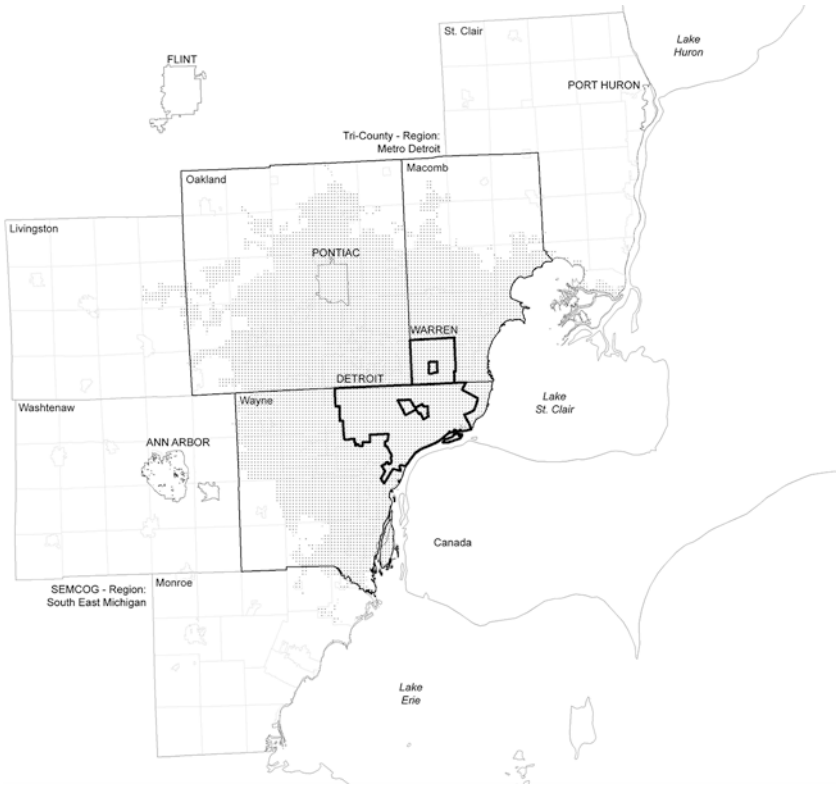

Fig. 2.1 Political geography of Detroit metropolitan area

In spite of the dynamic and non-uniform nature of the urban development in Metro Detroit, approach of large-scale thinking in the region has been difficult. Difficulty of a regional planning model is due to historic socio-political dynamic between the central city and surrounding suburban communities. Difference in racial demographics and income distribution in the metro area makes it hard for regional thinking and planning to be discussed in a region between what is a predominantly poor black central city and largely wealthy white suburbs. Warren, however, makes a critical point of difference. It is still a largely white suburb of Detroit, but is sharing many of the same challenges facing Detroit: depopulation, foreclosures, lack of services, and deteriorating resources. Though these

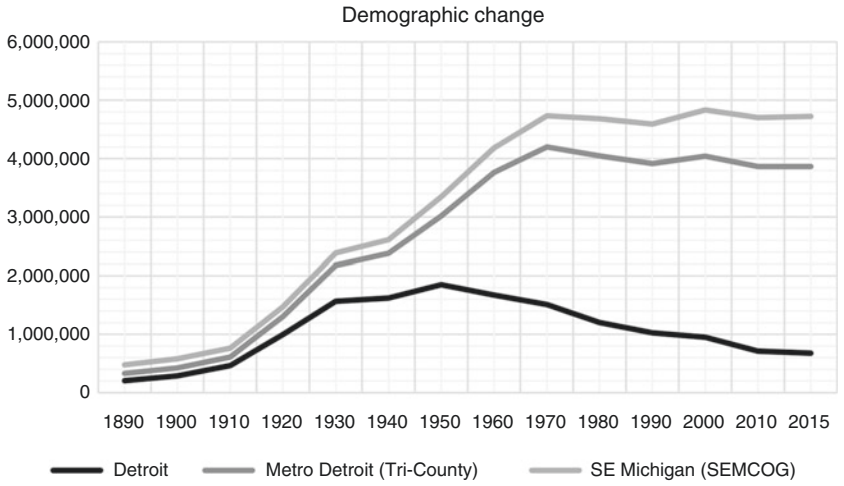

Fig. 2.2 Population change in Detroit and southeast Michigan from 1900 to 2010

Source: Southeast Michigan Council of Governments

challenges cut across municipal boundaries, formal cross-municipal collaboration and partnerships are few and far between. Rare efforts to large-scale thinking are quickly dismissed and doubted based on long-held misguided perceptions based on race, primarily in decision-making processes of housing, jobs, and transportation.

Within this context of first suburbs, Warren—one of the oldest and the largest first suburbs of Detroit—poses some critical questions: How can we address foreclosure problems in old declining neighborhoods of first suburbs? How do we negotiate diverse cultural values in communities with new suburban demographics? How and where do we invest in the context of a shrinking population and restructured economy? How do we locally address a complex problem like foreclosure in the absence of effective regional cooperation? What are the roles of existing agencies, institutions, and organizations to address the challenges of shrinking city for positive impacts? The present economic crisis provides an opportunity to address these questions in the context of a first suburb, Warren, in Metro Detroit. For decades within the confines of American urban development history, city-suburban relationship like Detroit and Warren has typically been a

Table 2.1 Population change in Southeast Michigan, Detroit, and Warren 1990, 2000, and 2010

	Census 1990	*Census 2000*	*Census 2010*	*Estimate 2015*	*1990–2000*	*2000–2010*	*2010–2015*
Detroit	1,027,974	951,270	713,777	677,116	–7.46	–24.79	–5.14
Warren	144,864	138,247	134,056	135,358	–4.57	–3.03	0.97
Counties							
Macomb	717,400	788,149	840,978	864,840	9.86	6.70	2.84
Oakland	1,083,592	1,194,156	1,202,362	1,242,304	10.20	0.69	3.32
Wayne	2,111,687	2,061,162	1,820,584	1,759,335	–2.39	–11.67	–3.36
Livingston	115,645	156,951	180,967	187,316	35.72	15.30	3.51
Monroe	133,600	145,945	152,021	149,568	9.24	4.16	–1.61
St. Clair	145,607	164,235	163,040	159,875	12.79	–0.73	–1.94
Washtenaw	282,934	322,770	344,791	358,880	14.08	6.82	4.09
Metro Detroit	3,912,679	4,043,467	3,863,924	3,866,479	3.34	–4.44	.07
Southeast Michigan	4,590,465	4,833,368	4,704,743	4,722,118	5.29	–2.66	0.37

Metro Detroit = Macomb + Oakland + Wayne
Southeast Michigan = Macomb + Oakland + Wayne + Livingston + Monroe + St. Clair + Washtenaw
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census

narrative of division, segregation, and discrimination. In the face of current shared challenges, opportunities exist to imagine a new narrative built on formal and informal collaboration and partnerships.

Behind the Scenes

Behind the challenges of a struggling first suburb and an evolving border relationship, there are multiple geopolitical and socioeconomic factors underlying Warren's current state of deterioration and depletion. First, there is an internal divide within the city. Warren is divided into north and south by Interstate 696, which splits the city in half. The most distressed neighborhoods are between Nine Mile and Eight Mile—the Detroit border. The number of families living in poverty, population of black residents, and number of rental homes are significantly higher in south than rest of the city. For example, in southeast Warren, 2.8% of families live below the poverty level—$30,380 for a family of four—compared to the northeast part of the city, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Also in southeast Warren, 42.3% of the homes are occupied by renters compared with the 13.3% in northeast Warren. It is obvious that south Warren has been neglected.

Second, Warren has struggled to implement traditional economic development models as well as city-driven public amenities in the city and specifically in the struggling part of the city. Warren Mayor Jim Fouts admits the southern neighborhoods have been forgotten. He recently announced plans to build a satellite police station operating 24 hours a day, a city hall office, and a new library near Nine Mile and Van Dyke. Public amenities can make a difference and can bring stability to distressed part of the city. There is also need to support the community with single-family housing and other developments like supermarkets and pharmacy that support the everyday life of the community. This could push the slumlords out of the city and entice more homeowners into the neighborhoods.

Third, Warren faces challenges from evolving social demographics in the region. The southern neighborhoods are home to a large transient population, many of whom—like Ms. Saquila Roach—move there from northern Detroit. With lower median household income and lack of amenities, residents face a long list of socioeconomic challenges, including hunger, low literacy, child abuse and neglect, youth homelessness, and unemployment. South Warren could benefit from a literacy program, free

laundry services, and a community garden. Some of these programs and spaces are offered by Urban Benedictine Ecumenical Community, who has provided support in terms of food, emergency hygiene products, housing and transportation, and help in applying for financial assistance from the state Department of Health and Human Services. Getting resources and volunteers are the biggest challenges in south Warren as well as in the entire city.

CHAPTER 3

The Shrinking Context of Warren

Abstract Warren epitomizes the American dream of post-war suburban expansion. As part of the massive American suburbanization after World War II, Warren's population surged from 42,653 to 179,260 from 1940 to 1970, making Warren one of the fastest growing cities in the nation at that time. Unfortunately, this unprecedented surge was followed by Warren being one of the faster-declining shrinking cities in the next two decades. Development of "better" suburbs with bigger homes allowed people and industry to move further out; leaving Warren with property values plummeting and vacant homes littering the once well-established residential neighborhoods. This phenomenon of shrinkage has been accentuated by collapsing real estate and financial market, followed by restructuring of the auto industry and rising unemployment, producing a crisis of extreme proportion.

Keywords American dream · Suburban boom · Economic crisis · Auto restructuring · Suburban crisis

Changing Phases of Warren

Warren, Michigan, is the largest city in the Macomb County with a population of 134,056 (U.S. Census 2010), the third largest city in Michigan, and the largest and one of the oldest first suburbs in Metro Detroit (Fig. 3.1). Encompassing 34.5 square miles, the city is organized in an auto-dependent

A. Adhya, *Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51709-4_3

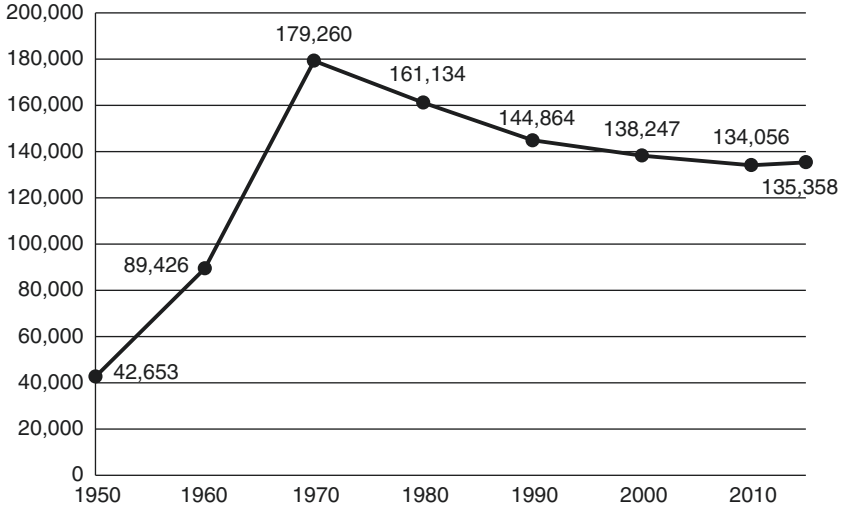

Fig. 3.1 Population change in Warren, MI, from 1950 to 2015

Source: U.S. Census

gridded arterial system of Mile Roads. Just north of Detroit, Warren could be seen as the typical suburb with single-family homes, commercial retail strips, and manufacturing-related industries spanning from the famed Eight Mile Road to Fourteen Mile Road. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, the racial makeup of the city is 78.4% white, 13.5% African-American, 4.6% Asian, 0.4% Native American, and 2.1% Hispanic or Latino. Warren, with 99.5% white population in 1970, has evolved into an increasing diverse population center for people of Polish, Lebanese, Ukrainian, Scots-Irish, Filipino, Maltese, and Assyrian/Chaldean descent. Warren's population is currently one of the oldest among large cities in the USA with 17.3% of Warren's population being 65 or older. Residents of Warren on average have lived in that community for 35.5 years compared to the national average of 8 years for communities with population more than 100,000.

Origins of Warren as a Small Settlement Town

In the early 1800s, the entire southeastern Michigan territory, including the Detroit and the area that later became Warren, was full of wetlands, creeks, and forests. Before it was established as a township, Warren or the place

historic Warren is located currently was known as Beebe's Corner. It was a small settlement serving as a way station for folks traveling northward from Detroit. Beebe's Corner was essentially a road tollgate that grew to include a tavern, distillery, mill, and trading post. In 1835, as more and more people started to settle in the area, the land was subdivided and organized into a township of farms. The township's name was originally Hickory Township, which was later changed to Warren in 1839 after the first hero of the Revolutionary War, General Joseph Warren.

The first half of the twentieth century saw expansion and growth of Detroit as the primary central city in the Southeast Michigan. As Detroit grew and developed as the Motor City, so did Warren as a burgeoning community contributing to making the Motor City. With industrialization, entrepreneurial business models, and innovation in manufacturing process (like Ford's assembly line), the automobile industry became one of the most pervasive and powerful forces influencing the urbanization of Detroit and its outlying areas. Railroad and later streetcars reaching outward from Detroit provided the impetus of regional growth. Around late 1930s, in the north, Warren's farm and wetlands began to cede to urban and suburban development.

With World War II in full swing, industrial prowess and manufacturing skill base in the area attracted the development of world-class military and automotive facilities. During this time, Detroit became famous as the "Arsenal of Democracy" for the role its manufacturing industry played in the wartime production. Metro Detroit's conversion into the maker of war machines, in the mid- to late 1940s propelled the expansion of the military complex into the cheaper and vast space north of Detroit toward Warren. A prominent facility was the Detroit Arsenal Tank Plant designed by architect Albert Kahn. In the next decade, in open space accessible to the rail line, General Motors began developing their Technical Center in Warren. Designed by the architects Eliel and Eero Saarinen, the renowned campus was ceremonially opened and dedicated to nation by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1956. Warren, once a small road settlement, was fast becoming a center of progress within an increasingly industrial and growing region.

City of Progress

In 1957, the City of Warren was incorporated and it grew as a typical suburban development on the northern edge of Detroit. As part of the massive American suburbanization of the post–World War II era, fueled by

financial incentives for single-family housing, construction of new highways, and efficient building construction technology, Warren's population surged from 42,653 to 179,260 from 1940 to 1970 (Fig. 3.1). During this time, Warren was one of the fastest growing cities in the USA.

The federal government programs and policies played a central role in the rapid growth and industrialization of suburban areas through highway construction and mortgage subsidies supporting the ownership of new single-family suburban homes. Within a relatively short time period, Metro Detroit experienced a massive reordering and reorganization of people and density. A large number of people and money left the central city en masse and relocated to the suburbs. In Metro Detroit, socio-political problems—especially actions, policies, and perceptions driven by racism—in housing and jobs were closely linked and influential in shaping the future of the region for a long time to come. Warren remained over 90% white for decades while Detroit grew increasingly black. Positioning itself in stark contrast to Detroit and politicking to take advantage of Detroit's struggles following the 1967 riots, Warren was able to draw businesses, people, and their money out of the central city to fuel its own growth.

While Warren was the "City of Progress" and was succeeding, Detroit seemed to fail. The central city was reeling with racial conflicts, declining population, diminishing tax base, disinvestment in retail and schools, increasing unemployment, and concentrated poverty among increasing black population. Warren, the city of working- and middle-class families, had become America's future, a shining example of the American dream's viability for those who are diligent, practical, and forward thinking. It became a perfect illustration of American values and the willpower to pursue them through hard work and homeownership. The suburban lifestyle was the material reward to America's middle class, the workers that endured and provided the labor to fuel Detroit's industrial might. The Eight Mile Road, border between Warren and Detroit, became site and symbol of separation and segregation. The discriminatory process is crystallized by many urban renewal and housing projects close to the Detroit-Warren border. Poor black neighborhoods have been bulldozed for new highways and in several housing project developments, with the help of federally insured home loans, walls were built to create a concrete separation between new white development and nearby black communities, portrayed as "slums." Conflicts like these reinforced the city-suburb divide in the region. Detroit-Warren relationship or lack thereof is rooted in such

historic boundaries built on racial politics and economics. Some of these boundaries, real and imaginary, are still intact throughout the Detroit region.

From Boomtown to a Shrinking Suburb

Unfortunately, Warren's status as a destination city did not last. By 1970, the city's population had grown to its height of 179,260. Question was if this was sustainable for the city and for the region. After mid-1970s, Warren has been consistently one of the fastest declining cities in the USA (Fig. 3.1). People seemed to move through Warren on their way to bigger homes and "better" suburbs, while the city's manufacturing industry dwindled. This resulted in debasement of working-class neighborhoods and problems with old empty housing stock, especially in the southern part of Warren, bordering Detroit. Economic development models of continued expansion of the tax base were the fundamental driver of development in Warren. With this planning philosophy, the city attempted to stop the decline by investing more and attempting to attract private development to fill any remaining open space with detached condominiums, single-story office buildings, and the like. This strategy was not successful with evolving market and restructuring of the manufacturing industry as well as economic uncertainty in the country. Over the years, the city's economic vitality paralleled the ups and downs of the auto industry. The city had done little to move beyond its manufacturing industry, homeownership, and auto-dependent values even as it celebrated its 50th anniversary. Currently, Warren has the status of one of the most rapidly aging cities in the USA as the city struggles to attract the young families that are central to the suburban lifestyle.

The start of twenty-first century demonstrated that the standard suburban model of Warren is unsustainable for the city and Warren could no longer continue with business as usual. The economic and real estate crisis followed by the related financial stimulus of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act and imminent restructuring of the American auto industry has created an urgent need in cities like Warren for radical transformation. Some have argued that the death of suburbia is to be expected and would even be liberating (D'Hooghe 2009; Florida 2009; Tozzi 2009). Though this is a simplification and a complete erasure of suburbia is very unlikely in the near term, it is evident that suburbs and especially first suburbs are facing serious challenges of growth and resource

management in an increasing competitive environment marked by demographic change and industrial restructuring. The 2000 and 2010 U.S. Census confirmed that suburbs continue to dominate the USA demographically, economically, and politically. These places are a powerful shaper of American policies that have global implications. Yet, there is an immediate need for a more dynamic approach. With diverse population and sociodemographic changes, there is increasing demand for more choices and equity in housing types, mixed land use, pedestrian-friendly environment, mixed density, green corridors, healthy lifestyle, and public transit. Typical suburban developments like Warren were not well placed to address these demands, unless and until they transform their development pattern. Places like Warren are at the heart of the battle over the future of the American dream. And, therefore, they should lead the way in defining how a different narrative and type of civic attitude can shape the twenty-first century.

Rethinking Current Efforts in Warren

Warren and many suburban communities, along with the central city of Detroit, realize that change is eminent and necessary. Warren is transforming and simultaneously innovating. With limited resources and expanding problems, there is increased collaboration and consolidation with urban areas (cities, suburbs, municipalities) beyond its boundaries. Resources are limited, but there is energy for renewal. A fundamental rethinking of the city's values and its relationship to the Detroit metropolitan area is of eminent importance. People, old and new, continue to build their lives in Warren, investing energy, time, and money. Optimistic visionaries predict that suburbia after the crisis will be at the center of a cultural shift, a lifestyle change that necessitates economic restructuring and the reorganization of community and space (D'Hooghe 2009; Dunham-Jones & Williamson 2009). The demise of suburbia is not at stake. Instead, they argue for a new type of urban monumentality and suburban landscape through a strategic reorganization of infrastructure and public buildings that have lasting historic significance.

Still, doubts and questions remain whether the 2008 economic crisis and the current slow economic growth will be a true catalyst for suburbia to go beyond the realization of the American dream as we traditionally know it. Mere attempts to restore, stabilize, or reconstruct the nostalgia of suburbia, what once allowed American suburbs to thrive won't be enough

to keep up with the rapid pace and negative effects of shrinkage, foreclosures, outsourcing, and deindustrialization. Neither would it be sufficient to attract the changing population groups of the region, whether it is the existing aging population in the community or it is the young migrant families from outside. Powerful visions, bold steps, and new models are needed theory and practice. As one-time visitor of Warren, Dutch architectural historian Arjen Oosterman (2009), remarked "the situation is grim but American optimism has beaten ghost and giants."

Future as City of Projects

The American pioneering spirit, entrepreneurial diligence, and legacy of urban design and planning provides a better future of city, suburbia, and the American metropolis. In shaping that future, three Cs are often considered critical: community, collaboration, and creativity (Ernsten & Moceri 2009). Initiatives to accelerate suburbia out of the current downturn need to be based on the appreciation of the old values in new ways at both regional and local levels. It must have neighborhoods and people on ground; it must develop spaces and platforms for formal and information partnerships; it must allow creative thinking and strategic innovation.

The changing demographic realities of Warren offer hope and timely opportunity: Warren's population is more diverse than ever before. It's Polish, German, Irish, Italian, English, and Ukrainian families have been increasingly joined by African-American, Hmong, Chaldean, and Muslim groups. There are conflicts and separation between the current older communities and moving younger families. Nevertheless, old and new groups could exchange and share community values as well as strategic techniques and projects to work through the crisis. *Gran Torino*, filmmaker Clint Eastwood's motion picture of Detroit metropolitan life, shows the difficulties as well as the virtues of changing communities and contrasting culture in places. National and international migration has been and continues to be central to the region's vivacity and competitiveness. History shows that culturally diverse and open communities are essential to job growth, entrepreneurship, innovation, and the culture of our cities.

New partnerships have the potential of creating new opportunities to reposition Warren in the region and counter the city's over-reliance on the automotive industry. New collaborations can fuel diversification of

industrial startups and market economy. Energetic groups of unlikely partners—local homeowners, businesses, politicians from within and without Warren along with local and international institutions and professionals—now have the chance to rethink the ways in the city organizes itself and the ways the region can move forward, specifically with regard to the ecological network of housing, work, transportation, and leisure. As such, the City of Detroit, Warren, and Metro Detroit needs a regional master plan, which enables regional collaboration, catalyzes innovation, sets priorities, invests resources, and facilitates alternative forms of ownership, administration, and production. Think Local – Act Regional could be the new mantra. Projects that are simultaneously community based and networked through emerging social media technologies with like-minded efforts can implement that to locally produce everything from energy to food to furniture and any variety of niche goods. These initiatives illustrate the importance of leveraging shared assets and experiences to enhance economic viability and quality of life. Instead of restoring old values and nostalgia, projects based on neighborhood self-organization, innovative entrepreneurship, and creative partnerships will determine Warren's future.

Into the Twenty-First Century and Beyond

Once a gateway out of the central city, Warren could become a model for how the suburb, gone through ups and downs, can redirect the region's focus toward reinvigorating the American dream in previously unimagined ways. The ingenuity, creativity, and entrepreneurial spirit of Metro Detroit was a fundamental force in the shaping of the twentieth century, which literally moved the world. Through strategic planning and setting priorities, we have to examine where the region again moves us next.

Warren epitomizes the American dream of post-war suburban expansion and growth. As part of the massive American suburbanization after World War II—with the help of federal investment in highway infrastructure, mortgage incentives, and tax policies toward suburban expansion—Warren's population surged from 42,653 to 179,260 from 1940 to 1970, making Warren one of the fastest growing cities in the nation at that time. Unfortunately, this unprecedented surge was followed by Warren being one of the faster-declining shrinking cities in the next two decades. The same federal policies that had fueled post-World War II suburban development resulted in the development of "better" suburbs with bigger

homes allowing people and industry to move further out; leaving Warren with property values plummeting and vacant homes littering the once well-established residential neighborhoods. This phenomenon of shrinkage has been further accentuated by collapsing real estate and financial market, followed by restructuring of the auto industry and rising unemployment, producing a crisis of extreme proportion (Ernsten & Moceri 2009).

Struggling real estate and financial markets, surging foreclosures, rising unemployment, the looming fallout from the failure of the auto industry all come together to produce a perfect crisis of extreme proportion in the Detroit metropolitan area. Once the fastest growing city in the USA, Detroit's largest suburb, Warren, staked its future on the continued might of its manufacturing industry and appeal of its single-family homes. Seeking answers to the current crisis and responses to envision how the metropolitan suburb can turn around and redevelop utilizing the current crisis as inspiration, there is a critical opportunity to imagine how suburban cities, and especially first suburbs throughout America, could evolve in the coming decades. It is here at the edges of a shrinking city, amid the tremendous challenges of this now humbled suburban landscape and a suffering metropolitan region, that we can find motivation for action and vision.

CHAPTER 4

Warren as a Case Study

Abstract This is an empirical study of Warren as a case of Midwestern first suburb. The research questions—addressing physical, cultural, economic, and political challenges of a shrinking first suburb—form the basis of research design. The salient features are (1) examining problems of shrinkage in the City of Warren, (2) focusing on the existing assets in Warren, (3) understanding current efforts of existing institutions in Warren to address shrinkage, and (4) applying multiple data collection tactics (literature review, interviews, and mapping) focusing on different stakeholders. The findings are then analyzed and discussed specifically for Warren and generalized in the context of shrinking first suburbs. Specifically, the research design uses data from multiple resources at multiple levels of Warren, Macomb County, and SEMCOG.

Keywords Warren, MI · Case study · Empirical research · Downtown development authority · Macomb county · Detroit non-motorized plan

Case Study as a Research Design

The research questions in Warren, a first suburb, in order to address foreclosures, declining neighborhoods, cultural diversity, possible investments, resource allocation, and future projects, establish a research design framed by the relationships with Detroit, a shrinking central city. The relationship is embedded in physical attachment (boundary condition),

A. Adhya, *Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51709-4_4

historic-cultural values (racial and social differences), and on-ground actions (formal policies and informal partnerships). Questions pertaining to spatial attributes of the boundary condition are examined through the lens of spatial configuration and mapping. Questions of meanings of historic cultural values are reviewed through urban-suburban relationship in Metro Detroit and regional urban literature. Questions of formal and informal activities are addressed through observation and analysis of policy documents and local media reports. This research framework connected to the relevant background information and literature forms the basis of an empirical multi-tactic case study research design.

The case study is defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon or setting" (Groat & Wang 2002, 346). The authors describe five salient features of the case study research design: (1) focus on cases in their contexts, (2) patterns of relationships, (3) theory development, (4) use of multiple sources of evidence, and (5) the potential generalization to theory. From the perspective of these characteristics, a case study research design in the shrinking context of Detroit and Warren can be employed to (1) examine the everyday context of the central city—first suburb relationship; (2) focus on the relationships between multiple facets of both formal and information actors in the urban environment; (3) develop theoretical constructs of shrinking first suburbs; (4) apply multiple data collection tactics from different sources focusing on people, their activities, and specific urban settings; and (5) empirically evaluate the general theories of shrinking city.

This research focuses on shrinking first suburbs as newly recognized and enhanced settings for examining shrinkage. Specifically, Warren and its relationship with Detroit—physical, policy-based, and socio-cultural—is the subject of study. Shrinking cities are natural settings associated with weak public culture, diminishing public activities, and poor-quality public places. The research design uses data from multiple resources including (1) historic documents and archival studies, providing an in-depth and nuanced description of the cities; (2) the physical setting of shrinking urban environments is analyzed using mapping to explore the urban pattern and to trace the morphological evolution; (3) people are interviewed using open-ended questions to identify various formal efforts in Warren as well as informal partnerships incurred by businesses in the communities and people in the neighborhoods; and (4) observation of human activities and behaviors in certain sites undertaken to identify how the shrinking context affect everyday human life.

Warren as an Example of a First Suburb

Warren, Michigan, was named as the 10th most miserable city in America by the Forbes magazine in 2012 (Badenhausen 2012) and the 7th most in 2013 (Badenhausen 2013). Detroit came as the second and the first most miserable city in the same two years. The Forbes ranking was based on 10 factors, including average unemployment rate between 2009 and 2011, the change in median home prices between 2008 and 2011, property tax rates based on median real estate taxes paid and median home values in 2010, and foreclosure rates in 2011. The city rightfully objected to this ranking citing Forbes' methodology of using metropolitan statistical area (Warren MSA that includes Troy and Farmington Hills, two newer suburban communities with high foreclosure problems) and concluding the results solely to Warren. Forbes also failed to consider the challenges Warren faces as a first suburb. Still, Warren, the oldest inner-ring suburb of Detroit, finds itself in a precarious position with a collapsing housing market in the Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills metro division. The real estate crisis in Warren is characterized by one of the fastest shrinking population in the country (1970: 179,260; 1990: 144,864 [–23.7%]; 2000: 138,247 [–4.8%]; 2010: 134,056 [–3.0%]), a 50% decline in median home price, and an alarming foreclosure rate (9.6%).

Warren is not an isolated case. Many post-1945 "first" suburbs are facing serious challenges due to spike in subprime mortgage foreclosures. Unfortunately, first suburbs have attracted less attention from federal and state investment policies, and have been less studied, compared to traditional central cities (Hudnut 2003, 51). For example, over the last 50 years, 270 cities across the globe, which have shrunk by at least 10% population, are central cities with populations over 100,000 (Oswalt & Rieniets 2007; Oswalt 2005a, 2005b). In the same vein, in an initial documentation of shrinking cities, Hollander et al. (2009) contend that large regions of the USA (Detroit, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis), the UK (Liverpool and Manchester), Europe (Leipzig, Halle, and Ivanovo), and Japan (Hokkaido island) are projected to have population decline in double digits in the coming decades.

Warren owes much of its history as a city with tremendous growth after the Word War II and as a shrinking suburban community to its very location at the northern end of Detroit with its border marked by the iconic Eight Mile (Fig. 4.1). That relationship with Detroit, both positive and negative, is not just of superficial adjacency. It goes deeper.

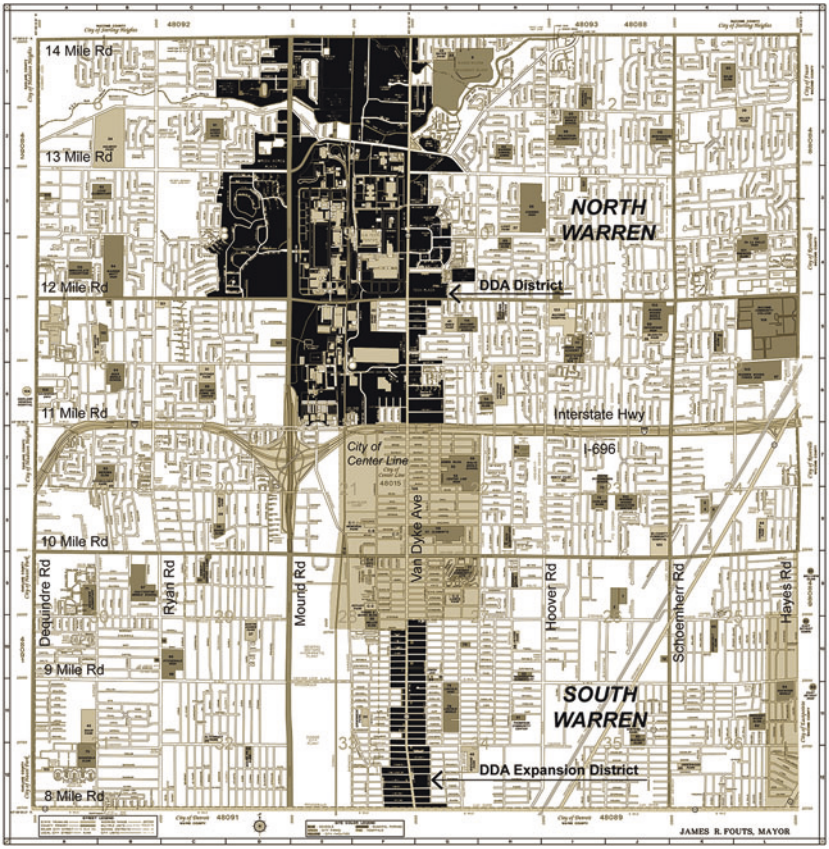

Fig. 4.1 Map of Warren

Source: City of Warren, MI; Public Domain

An Empirical Approach

Research captured in this book is focused on an empirical study of Warren as a case of Midwestern first suburb facing shrinkage and foreclosure. In this case study of Warren, Michigan, the research questions—of addressing physical, cultural, economic, and political challenges of a shrinking first suburb—form the basis of a multi-tactic research design. The salient

features of the Warren case study can be described as (1) examining problems of shrinkage and challenges due to foreclosures in the City of Warren, (2) focusing on the existing assets and resources in Warren, (3) understanding current efforts of existing agencies and institutions in Warren to address the challenges of shrinkage and foreclosures, and (4) applying multiple data collection tactics (such as literature review, interviews, and mapping) focusing on different stakeholders (county and city government, community members, business organizations) and their activities in specific urban settings. The findings are then analyzed and discussed specifically for Warren and generalized in the context of first suburbs and shrinking cities.

Multiple Data Sources

Specifically, the research design uses data from multiple resources at multiple levels of the city (Warren), the county (Macomb County), and the region (Detroit Metropolitan Area and Southeast Michigan). First, Warren Special Report (2006), a primary documentation of history, current problems, existing resources, and future opportunities of Warren, is reviewed to develop an empirical framework to study the city. Second, interviews of government officials in conjunction to study of maps and documents from the Downtown Development Authority (DDA) and the Tax Incentive Financial Authority (TIFA) in the City of Warren as well as Macomb County Planning and Economic Development (MCPED) are conducted to evaluate existing assets and resources in the city and the region. The interviews are used also to understand the current efforts of various agencies, institutions, and organizations addressing the problems of shrinkage and foreclosures. Third, mapping and documentation of specific urban settings are undertaken to illustrate and analyze specific initiatives such as physical improvements (buildings, community facilities, and open spaces), economic incentives (federal funding policy, state tax increment initiatives), and socio-cultural endeavors (ethnic community efforts, education enterprises). Application of these multi-level tactics allows an in-depth investigation of the existing conditions in Warren and current efforts in addressing challenges of shrinkage and foreclosure crisis.

City of Warren DDA Development Plan and TIF Plan

The 2005, DDA plan was developed to prevent and improve property value deterioration of business districts, promote economic growth and

revitalization, encourage historic preservation, authorize the acquisition and disposal of interest in real and personal property, authorize the creation of the DDA, and to authorize the levy and collection of taxes, the issuance of bonds, and the use of tax incentive financing in the accomplishment of specific downtown development activities described in locally adopted development plans for the downtown development district of the community (Fig. 4.2). The DDA plan is a good source to understand community priorities to drive necessary legal, fiscal, and administrative tools to attack problems of urban decline and stagnation, and to find key steps to revitalize downtown district. Study of the plan also highlights funding for public initiated projects as well as collaborative projects with private developers. The DDA plan identifies its boundaries as well as undeveloped and deteriorating properties within those boundaries for development of the downtown for the community. The Warren DDA focused on the northern part of the city reinforcing development around

Fig. 4.2 Warren City Hall as a key project within the Downtown Development Authority (DDA) plan for a Downtown Development District

Photo: Author

the GM Tech Center and the historic core of the city. To address development issues in South Warren, the DDA created another DDA expansion district along Van Dyke Ave. Van Dyke corridor in South Warren is also the focus for Tax Incentive Financing (TIF) plan, which invested public tax money of the city into acquisition of parcels in the area and construction and financing of public facilities. City of Warren's recent focus has been on public investment into building a satellite public library, city services center and police station in South Warren, along with revitalization of an old community center, to provide much needed municipal and social services in deprived areas of South Warren bordering Detroit.

Macomb County Planning and Economic Development

The MCPED supports an environment where businesses prosper and people thrive. Its activities and programs are focused on stimulating the local economy through business retention, expansion, and attraction while improving the overall quality of life for residents. The department specializes in providing services to businesses at all stages of development with a concentration on the high-growth industries of aerospace, alternative energy, advanced manufacturing, and defense and homeland security. Through various programs, it coordinates and supports projects in various focus areas in the county. MCPED collaborates with the City of Warren to identify development areas and properties, where investment can improve business corridors and adjoining neighborhoods. MCPED plans and programs are thus important sources to understand county-city relationships and efforts to alleviate problems in communities of Warren.

Detroit Non-Motorized Transportation

The Detroit non-motorized plan has been funded by the Michigan Department of Transportation as an attempt to improve biking and walking facilities based on public input and various data sources (county, city, community) in the region. Like many typical non-motorized plans, Detroit's plan calls for modifying existing road right-of-ways to better and more safely accommodate bicyclists and pedestrians. It also considers non-motorized trails needs as well as related amenities, such as bike racks, bike repair shops, safety patrols, and rest stops. Overall, the plan envisions nearly 400 miles of bike lanes and corridors to improve pedestrian environment and biking experience in the city. The Detroit non-motorized

plan also makes recommendations on how to change city policies in order to make the planning vision a reality.

Bike lanes and greenway corridors need to be designed and implemented as a network, and its success depends on this approach as a system. A system-based thinking allows the non-motorized plan to develop greenway corridors (for walking and biking) as viable transportation corridors to help people move efficiently between residential areas to their jobs or to the grocery stores and parks. With distributed geography of job centers, like GM Tech Center in Warren and Midtown Education and Healthcare campuses in Detroit, greenways and non-motorized transportation network could be imagined and implemented as shared assets in the regional between cities and suburbs. First suburb like Warren is uniquely and strategically positioned to take advantage of the Detroit non-motorized plan and become an active partner in its development connecting to Warren's greenway corridor (along Van Dyke Ave), building important trailheads (like Milbank Trailhead for the Conner Creek Greenway). Detroit non-motorized plan thus is an important source of information to study recent investments and analyze opportunities for collaborative connections and partnerships between a central city and its oldest and largest first suburb.

The multiple data sources from Warren, Macomb County, and Detroit play an important role to understand central city-first suburb relationship, evaluate serious challenges the region is facing, and identify opportunities to address these challenges through strategic investment and creative partnerships.

CHAPTER 5

First Suburbs and Challenges of Shrinkage in Warren

Abstract First suburbs are characterized by older neighborhoods, strategic location, and well-structured infrastructure networks. First suburbs are prominent cases of shrinking with less population growth than outer suburbs between 1980 and 2010. Two-thirds of the suburbs in crisis are first suburbs and the Midwest has one of the highest proportions of first suburbs in crisis. Warren contains some of the oldest post-1950s neighborhoods; it has encountered high increase in low-income minority population and is learning to address diversity and cultural heterogeneity in a fast changing suburban population; Warren has suffered from greater income decline and higher increase in extreme suburban poverty due to restructuring of manufacturing industries; Warren is also highly fragmented in terms of metropolitan governance and regional planning in Metro Detroit.

Keywords First suburbs · Housing stock · Demographics · Market restructuring · Metropolitan fragmentation

Understanding First Suburbs

Within the next two decades, nearly 60% of the world's population will be urban dwellers (UN-Habitat 2013). In the USA, more than 80% of U.S. residents live in metropolitan areas, continuing the steady, long-term shift in population from rural areas to urban and suburban communities

A. Adhya, *Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51709-4_5

(Mather et al. 2011, 14). However, the phenomenon of global urban growth, though prevalent in many regions, is not uniform in many urban situations. In the context of shrinking cities, the geography of growth is varied and growth is only occurring in certain areas of the metropolis. In some cases, though there is significant metropolitan growth, there is simultaneous displacement, deterioration, and devaluation in other urban pockets—urban cores, inner-city neighborhoods, and first suburbs.

First Suburbs

First suburbs lack clear and common definition due to their ever increasing complexity and heterogeneity. Hanlon and Vicino (2007) identifies "first suburbs" as consolidated cities, census designated places, or incorporated places that (1) share a boundary with a central city and that with another suburban place and (2) have more than 50% of the housing stock built before 1969 (p. 33). In their documentation of Midwestern first suburbs, Puentes and Orfield (2002) define first suburbs as inner-ring communities just outside central cities (pp. 2, 5). These definitions underline distinct characteristics of first suburbs in terms of location, adjacency, boundary, population size, and housing. In this chapter, first suburbs are defined as current counties that were 1950 standard metropolitan areas (using census designated place methodology; Hanlon & Vicino 2007) containing or adjacent to one of the top 100 cities in 1950 and with a minimum population of 120,000 (excluding the central city population using methodology used by Puentes & Warren 2006). Based on this definition, 64 first suburban counties are identified in the USA (Fig. 5.1).

Specific Challenges in Warren, a Midwest First Suburb

First suburbs are unique due to certain characteristics. First suburbs are characterized by many older (some with well-designed) neighborhoods, strategically located between central city downtowns and suburban job centers, and well-structured infrastructure networks. At the same time, first suburbs are prominent cases of shrinking cities with less population growth than outer suburbs between 1980 and 2010.

Fig. 5.1 Metro Detroit area in the context of America's 64 first suburban counties

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census and adapted from Puentes and Warren 2006

Two-thirds of the suburbs in crisis are first suburbs and the Midwest has one of the highest proportions of first suburbs in crisis. In their long-term account of first suburbs, *Valuing American First Suburbs: A Policy Agenda for Older Suburbs in the Midwest*, Robert Puentes and Myron Orfield (2002) have outlined the history, growth, social-economic-demographic trends, opportunities, challenges, and future scenarios of these inner-ring communities. The Midwestern first suburbs are characterized by older housing stock, aging infrastructure, and, at times, struggling neighborhoods and commercial areas. Puentes and Orfield attribute first suburbs with a "distinct set of market and demographic conditions" and "fiscal, governance, and infrastructure challenges" that set them apart both from the central cities as well as newer suburbs and exurbs (p. 2, 7). Many first suburbs in the Midwest are beginning to experience challenges associated with the age of their neighborhoods, infrastructure, and housing, and the needs of a changing demographics (p. 9). Warren, in the context of surrounding first suburbs of Detroit, is a specific and critical case to examine such challenging patterns and dynamic phenomena particular to the shrinking cities in the Midwest (Fig. 5.2).

In her national study of inner ring suburbs in the USA, Hanlon (2012) outlines several major challenges for these communities in the USA, but more specifically in the U.S. Midwest:

- First suburbs contain some of the oldest post-1950s neighborhoods with poor housing stock and deteriorating infrastructure.
- First suburbs have encountered high increase in low-income minority population leading to predominant low tax base and are learning to address diversity and cultural heterogeneity in a fast changing suburban population.
- First suburbs have suffered from greater income decline and higher increase in extreme suburban poverty due to restructuring of manufacturing industries.
- First suburbs are also highly fragmented in terms of metropolitan governance and regional planning.

Declining Housing and Infrastructure

The decline in the first suburbs is defined by housing market dynamics with older housing stock lacking size and amenities to attract new and high-income population. This has resulted in high concentration of low-income population

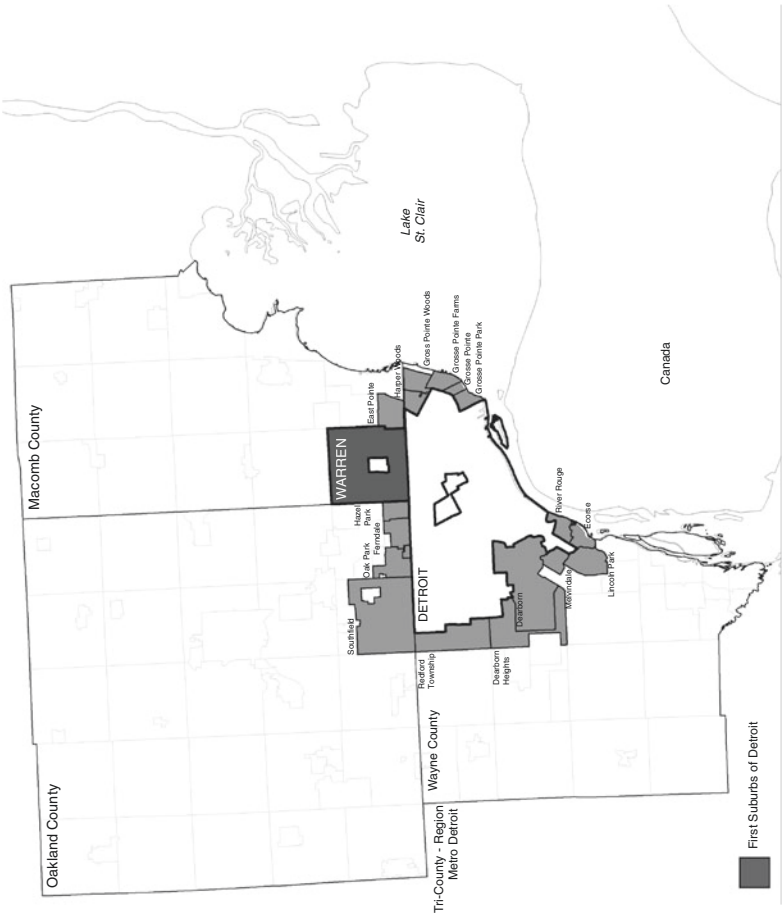

Fig. 5.2 Warren in the context of first suburbs of Detroit in Southeast Michigan

in major Midwestern first suburbs with outdated housing stock (Madden 2003). To address the declining housing infrastructure, first suburbs need significant resources and investment in revitalization and remodeling of the 1950s housing stock and demolition of even older housing. Unfortunately, Midwestern first suburbs have failed to garner significant resources in an impoverished environment, to attract considerable investments in an economically depressed region, and to sustain quality housing infrastructure in the face of competition from outer suburbs, edge cities, and central city developments (Hanlon 2012; Lucy & Phillips 2000; Smith 1996).

Warren was incorporated as a city in 1957. This urban beginning coincided with completion of the General Motors Technical Center, the auto giant's design and engineering campus. Initial mass housing stocks in Warren dates back from the 1940s and 1950s. Many of these, especially in the southern part of the city, are old quickly built slap-stick houses on small 30–40 foot lots (Fig. 5.3). More houses and road, drainage, and sewage infrastructure were built during the 1960s to support the industrial growth and increase in new

Fig. 5.3 Old housing stock in South Warren under foreclosure

Photo: Author

population attracted to new jobs and services. This growth reached its peak during the 1970s, when Warren grew as the fastest growing suburban community in the nation. The immense pace of growth was fueled by Warren's attraction as a site to fulfill suburban lifestyle for the predominantly white hardworking middle-class Americans as well as a contrast to the urban failures of Detroit, which was becoming largely a black city during the same time. Large proportions of housing stock date back to this time, which was built in the middle and northern part of the city. The northern part of the city has seen further newer housing development toward attracting younger families in competition with other outer suburbs in the 1990s and 2000s. Some of the same large single-family properties faced large number of foreclosures during the 2008 financial crisis and real estate downturn (Fig. 5.4). Warren currently struggles to sustain itself as a suburban destination. Traditional economic development models to build newer housing and improve infrastructure have failed to garner interest and investment. The South Warren especially suffers from dilapidated housing, crumbling infrastructure, and lack of

Fig. 5.4 Newer and larger houses in North Warren, also facing foreclosure

Photo: Author

municipal services. This has resulted in large parts of Warren shrinking with more rental properties and concentration of low-income migrant communities. Such real estate and demographic change has posed large-scale questions for Warren to address housing, infrastructure, and services through challenges of new-found diversity and evolving social demographics.

New Suburban Demographics

The poor housing infrastructure and increasing poverty in the first suburbs are connected to new suburban demographics in the metropolitan regions. These already vulnerable communities are homes to a growing number of minority groups and immigrants (33.4% in 2000 compared to 16.4% in 1980 from Puentes & Warren 2006, 7) because of affordability of these places, availability of rental properties, and gentrification prevalent in exurbs and central downtowns. The demographic change is also marked by sharp increase in elderly population in these first suburbs. These two phenomena have resulted in strong cultural conflict between long-standing white elderly property owners and recent immigrant and minority young renters sharing resources and spaces. These conflicts do not nurture a positive environment to attract population to move in and investment to occur in the first suburbs. Culturally based initiatives are needed to provide shared public spaces and leverage the evolving diversity and heterogeneity.

Warren is struggling with complex dynamic. Neighborhoods with older white population, long-timer city residents and property owners are not seeing traditional white younger families attracted to their communities. Instead, in the face of deteriorating housing condition and infrastructure, Warren finds itself as a transient community with large number of homeowners leaving for outer suburbs and central cities and some influx of younger migrant population. Its Polish, German, Irish, Italian, English, and Ukrainian families have been increasingly joined by African-American, Hmong, Chaldean, and Muslim groups. Though diversity brings opportunities of job growth and positive environment, there are serious challenges in terms of perceptions and on-ground everyday relationships between the older long-time residents and newcomer migrant families in terms of values, priorities, and cultural practices. Socio-cultural issues are at the front for Warren to tackle in the way it has never had to address. Warren's approach to these issues would determine if Warren can make use of this dynamic change in diversity to augment jobs and market restructuring in the current economic condition.

Labor-Market Restructuring

The Midwestern first suburbs have further suffered from the twenty-first-century debasement of traditional manufacturing-based industries and shift to service-based industrial sector (Sassen 1991). This shift has resulted in high unemployment and has created negative impact on devaluation of local economies. Communities in the Metro Detroit area have failed to diversify their economic base and are still dependent on automotive industry as the primary economic engine. So, the recent economic crisis of 2008, combined with collapse of real estate market, high rates of foreclosures, and restructuring of the automobile industry, has had severe impact on Midwestern first suburbs' outside cities like Detroit and Chicago (Ernsten & Moceri 2009). The decline is particularly evident in shrinkage of population and tax base, deterioration of physical infrastructure, and increasing abandonment of residential and commercial properties.

Current job market and employers in Warren illustrate restructuring of labor and markets (Table 5.1). Two of the three big auto companies in Detroit, General Motors (GM) and Fiat Chrysler Automobiles (FCA), are the two most prominent employers in Warren with historic presence and workforce. The traditional social demographics primarily employed by these two corporations in Warren are of older white men. Recent restructuring of the auto industries has seen employment cuts as well as more diverse workforce (e.g., Asian) employed by GM and FCA as

Table 5.1 Prominent employers in Warren, MI

No.	*Employer*	*No. of employees*
1	General Motors	17,000
2	U.S. Army TACOM	6,500
3	Fiat Chrysler Automobiles	4,200
4	St. John Macomb Hospital	1,320
5	Warren Consolidated Schools	1,221
6	Henry Ford Macomb Hospital	1,200
7	Art Van	1,190
8	Camblell-Ewald	900
9	Asset Acceptance	802
10	Noble Metal Processing	700

Source: Comprehensive Annual Financial Report, City of Warren, 2010

manufacturing is now more automated and there is need for more middle-level and high-skill jobs. However, this diverse workforce generally does not reside in Warren. Within this context, service-based industries like local hospitals and schools have become a critical driver of job growth and agency. In addition, U.S. Army has played a major role in employment and stability in the region as well as in Warren. Warren's historic Detroit Arsenal Tank Plant is famous for making the Sherman Tank (World War II) and the M1 Abrams Tank (till 1996). After decrease in need for manufacturing, the U.S. Army has successfully adapted its manufacturing plant into the TACOM lifestyle management command, where military and civilian employees work to find technological and logistic solutions for army readiness and soldier mobility, lethality, and survivability (Fig. 5.5). This is a great example of evolution and adaptation of a manufacturing industry into service-based industry. Defense and homeland security could play an important role in developing the new economy and market structure in Warren and the Metro

Fig. 5.5 U.S. Army TACOM Center, second largest employer in Warren after General Motors

Photo: Author

Detroit. The labor-market restructuring in Warren can develop key industrial partnerships and technological collaboration among these unique stakeholders present in the city. Using skills and knowledge base of auto companies with defense and homeland security can usher new direction in terms of funding, building, and attracting diverse workforce across the region. It can also reinforce opportunities for new regional planning and connections.

Metropolitan Fragmentation

Though many of first suburbs' problems are common to other suburbs and cities in the region, the Midwestern metropolitan regions are known for metropolitan fragmentation defined by lack of effective regional governance, planning policies, and coordinated investments. Metropolitan fragmentation prevents U.S. metropolitan areas, in general, and the first suburbs, in specific, to address these regional problems effectively. The politically fractured metropolitan landscape forces first suburbs to compete with other suburbs and the central city to attract affluent people or high tax base, private investments, as well as state and federal incentives (Hanlon 2012). This leads to non-collaboration and non-cooperation among communities, when shared resources and partnerships are necessary to strategically tackle the regional problems of housing and unemployment. This failed economic development model in the US metropolitan system also generates fiscal inequity (Hanlon 2012). The first suburbs—often poor and struggling—are put under pressure to offer high-quality services in spite of declining tax base and shrining population, leading to further poverty and bankruptcy.

Metro Detroit is a sad example of lack of regional planning and absence of large-scale metropolitan development. The metropolitan dynamic is specifically complex and conflicted for the following reasons: historic city-suburb problems, deep-rooted racial and social perceptions, systemic racism in housing and employment, lack of shared values and interests. As a result, there have been no investment and development of regional transportation and transit, metropolitan green infrastructure, large-scale storm water and sewage infrastructure, or planning in terms of density, resource, and land use distribution. This has created an environment in Detroit that is not conducive to municipal cooperation and relationships in spite of most of the economic, environmental, and social challenges in the region cutting across municipal boundaries. Warren, due to its lack of resources and funding, has

been instrumental in developing a good example of resourceful and efficient cross-municipal collaborations. This ranges from consolidated schools, services like garbage collection and police patrols, unique suburb-suburb alliances with its neighbors, as well as informal partnerships with stakeholders in the City of Detroit. Challenge of metropolitan fragmentation is not just in formal domains of planning and governance, but it is more damaging in inculcating a negative perception and thinking fueled by isolation and segregation on the basis of race, class, and income. Nurturing a positive environment in the region based on collaboration and partnerships is a challenge, and formal municipal governance has a lot to learn from some of the strange informal partnerships forged by non-traditional groups like that between business associations and neighborhood groups or between artists and migrant communities.

From Crisis to Projects

Facing such challenges, the first suburbs find it difficult to sustain communities and provide necessary services. With declining housing infrastructure, complex demographic issues, declining investment, and lack of effective coordination among multiple local jurisdictions, these places are crippled in addressing regional challenges cutting across political boundaries. These concerns, coupled with inadequate fiscal capacity and economic downturn, limit first suburbs' ability to remain, or become, communities of choice for residents and businesses (Puentes & Orfield 2002, 3). Furthermore, first suburbs are also caught in a policy vacuum. There is no national policy for these suburbs and neither there are effective management policies for growth or decline (Hanlon 2012, 152). While federal and state policies are geared toward building core density and new infrastructure, first suburbs need funding for maintaining, preserving, and renovating what they already have.

In relation to these challenges common to first suburbs, Warren, Michigan, is examined as a case study of Midwestern first suburbs. Warren's challenge is rooted in search for tax base, public and private funding, and competing for resources in a struggling region. However, opportunities lie ahead not in unhealthy competition and conflict but in formal and informal partnerships and collaborations at various levels. Formal suburban alliance and coordination with Detroit can be instrumental in addressing issues of housing stock and infrastructure. Foreclosure is a regional problem and it can be helpful to develop

coordinated strategies like land banks, sharing urban management services, increase in responsible home ownership, and improvement of property values. Coordinated application to federal funding like Neighborhood Stabilization Program and state agencies like Michigan State Housing Development Authority (MSHDA) can actually strengthen the quality and richness of the application and can be helpful for a wider population base. This would, of course, need coordination among different counties (such as Macomb, Oakland, and Warren) within Southeast Michigan. Such formal coordination would ultimately affect and lead to better culture and on-ground and everyday people-people relationship, critical in the context of dynamic population change and in addressing questions of increasing diversity in these communities. Such cultural changes are often instrumental in developing formal projects as well as informal collaborations to improve conditions for all in the region. Regional thinking, in imagination and in reality, is a fundamental shift in envisioning the future of a shrinking suburb like Warren in conjunction to its relationship with other suburbs as well as its key partnership with the central city of Detroit.

Current efforts in Warren attempt to build on these possibilities. Shared boundaries with Detroit provide a unique opportunity to address neighborhood foreclosures on both sides of the border, North Detroit and South Warren, both of which suffer from serious problems of deteriorating housing stock. These efforts in improving the built environment and urban services are necessary to support the low-income migrant population in these neighborhoods with stable, safe, and healthy environment. Improved quality of basic services is crucial in attracting new families to become homeowners and contribute to the tax base in the community. Increasing tax base will help Warren to take next steps to develop projects to make these neighborhoods sustainable through public health, quality of place, and accessibility.

CHAPTER 6

Current Efforts in Warren

Abstract Examining the spatial geography, complex challenges, and development priorities in Warren, it is evident that the Warren and the Metro Detroit area are suffering and highly challenged. In the absence of a formal approach to address these challenges, several loosely structured efforts have been initiated by public agencies and private organizations. Unlikely partners—local homeowners, businesses, politicians, local and international institutes, and professions—have used the current crisis in the region as an opportunity to envision projects built on regional collaboration, innovation, and sustainable future. This includes use of Neighborhood Stabilization Fund, support of cultural diversification, development of incubator business spaces, and collaborative projects involving international architecture and planning organizations, local schools and business groups, and investing in varied forms of green infrastructure as public spaces.

Keywords NSP · Cultural initiatives · Urban development projects · Informal collaboration · Creative partnerships

Small Steps with Limited Resources

Examining the spatial geography, complex challenges, and development priorities in Warren, it is evident that the Warren and the Metro Detroit area suffers from the four distinct problems found in first suburbs,

A. Adhya, *Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51709-4_6

particularly in the Midwestern USA: declining housing market and infrastructure, new suburban demographics, labor-market restructuring, and metropolitan fragmentation. In the absence of a formal systematic approach to address these challenges across the region, several loosely structured efforts have been initiated by public agencies and private organizations to address these problems in the community. Energetic groups of unlikely partners—local homeowners, businesses, politicians, local and international institutes, and professions—have used the current crisis in the region as an opportunity to envision projects built on regional collaboration, innovation, and sustainable future. The following section discusses some of these formal and informal initiatives in Warren based on discussions and meetings with Tony Moceri (Macomb County Commissioner), Bonnie McInerney, Nancy Bourjeois, and Martha Potere (all City of Warren officials).

The urban initiatives undertaken by the City of Warren to address foreclosures and abandonment are primarily simple small steps using very limited resources. The complexity of the crisis and the limitation of resources have forced the city to primarily work toward maintaining the status quo ensuring that conditions of abandoned houses and properties can be sustained at an optimum level. This has included maintenance of open spaces (such as mowing grass and weeding), basic improvement of physical condition (such as façade improvement), and revitalization of some abandoned homes and a few new constructions of public services (like improvement of a recreation center and development of a municipal park) using federal and state grant programs as well as limited tax dollars. Some of these efforts are documented below with reference to the four distinct challenges of first cities, particularly in the U.S. Midwest.

Neighborhood Stabilization Program

The Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP) was established by the U.S. federal government for the purpose of stabilizing communities that have suffered from foreclosures and abandonment. The goal of the program is being realized specifically through the purchase and redevelopment of foreclosed and abandoned homes and residential properties (U.S. HUD 2012). NSP-1 references the NSP funds authorized under Division B, Title III of the Housing and Economic Recovery Act (HERA) of 2008, providing grants to all states and selected local

Fig. 6.1 Neighborhood park built using NSP funding grant behind the Owen Jax Recreation Center

Photo: Author

governments on a formula basis. NSP-3 refers to the NSP funds authorized under the Dodd–Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2010, providing a third round of neighborhood stabilization grants to all states and select governments on a formula basis. The City of Warren has received two NSP Grants, one each in 2008 and 2010. The first, NSP-1, for almost $5.8 million, is largely complete, in the form of emergency support for low-/moderate-/middle-income households or for new or improved public facilities like parks in appropriate communities (Fig. 6.1). Using this program funding, the city has also received around $229,685 as program income through sale of abandoned properties and vacant lands. NSP-1 has resulted in

- Direct assistance to 20 eligible homeowners for their down payment and rehabilitation.
- Acquisition of 20 foreclosed homes for rehabilitation and resale, out of which 19 homes have been rehabilitated. One of the 20 homes has been demolished for new construction.
- Rehabilitation of 41 single-family homes.

- Homebuyer education for 54 people through the Michigan State University, a prominent state university, extension programs.
- Repair and improvement of Owen Jax Recreation Center, an important community center for youth and elderly in South Warren, one of the oldest and poorest areas of the city. This has been reinforced with acquisition and demolition of a blighted industrial building adjacent to the Center. The site has been used to construct a new neighborhood park and attached parking lot serving the park and the center.

The second, NSP-3, for just over $1.7 million, will support the following in NSP-3 target areas (Fig. 6.2):

- Acquisition of three demolished or vacant properties for new construction by City or a developer such as the Macomb County Habitat for Humanity.

Acquisition, rehabilitation, and resale of 11 abandoned or foreclosed homes; and demolition of 25 blighted residential structures.

Cultural Initiatives

The current political leadership in Warren has struggled to address the new realities of the new suburban demographics of low-income minorities and immigrants. Warren's population is more diverse than ever before. It's Polish, German, Irish, Italian, English, and Ukrainian families have been increasingly joined by African-American, Hmong, Chaldean, and Muslim groups. History shows that culturally diverse and open communities are essential to job growth, entrepreneurship, innovation, and the dynamism of our cities (Baycan-Levent et al. 2006; Florida 2002). Warren is keen on projecting the city as an attractive place for different ethnic groups.

One of the potential opportunities for cultural initiative is the Mayor's initiatives to work with the Islamic Organization of North America (IONA), a Muslim organization headquartered in Warren. The collaboration has been instrumental in creating some awareness about Islamic values through educational programs, lectures, and community projects (Cortez 2007). In a recent event, the City of Warren, IONA, and the Interfaith Center for Racial Justice (ICRJ), commemorated the 10th anniversary of the September 11, 2001, events, along with several local police and fire department officials. Such initiatives with different religious

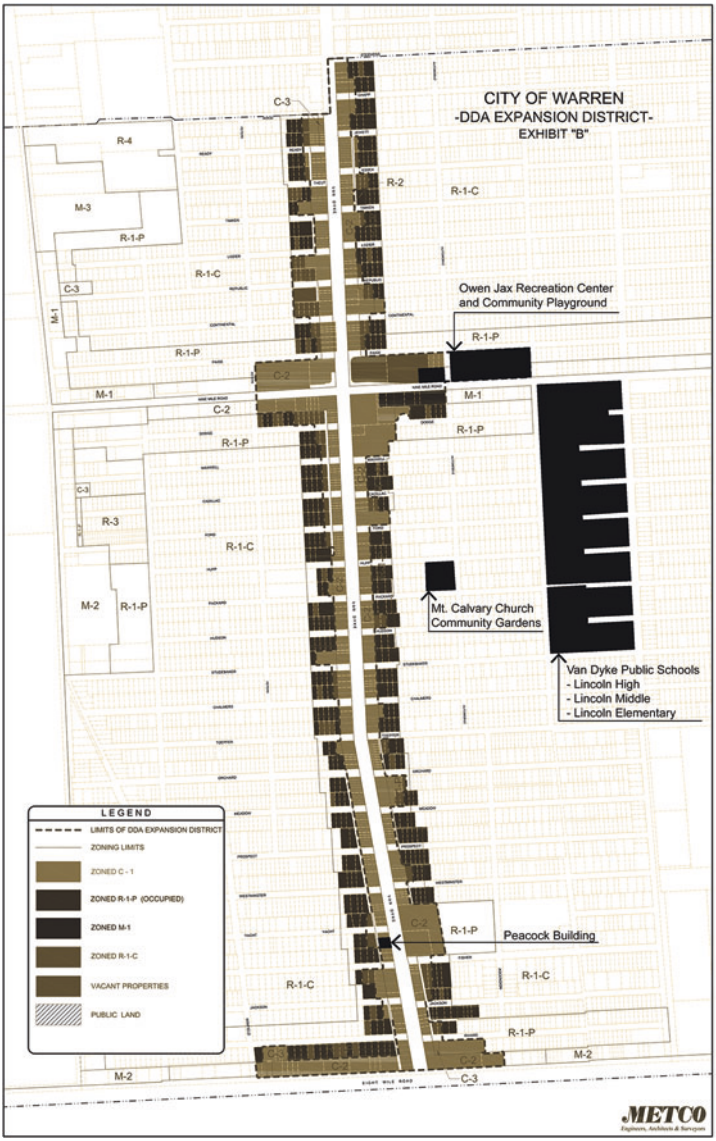

Fig. 6.2 Warren TIFA district boundary and location of various current efforts in and around the district

Source: City of Warren 2012; Public domain

and ethnic groups in future can help Warren sustain respect and tolerance among its diverse population. Such initiatives could also foster cooperation among individuals from different ethnic backgrounds in the form of information and awareness, do-it-yourself projects, and emotional help against foreclosure and economic hardships.

Project-Based Initiatives

TIFA was created in 1980 to help eligible cities to stop the decline of property value in a specific area. Under this State of Michigan Act, City of Warren has established the Warren TIFA in 1986. The Warren TIFA covers the portion of Warren along Van Dyke Avenue, from Eight Mile Road north to Stephens Road in South Warren (Fig. 6.2). Warren has strategically used tax dollars to acquire, maintain, and renovate properties and spaces in this corridor. In Warren, TIFA districts explore opportunities to increase the property tax valuation (by developing new projects and infrastructure for new business and non-profits like buildings and green space), to eliminate the causes of decline in property values (by land use control and neighborhood development to address crime and safety), and monitor violation of TIFA ordinances (by appointing a TIFA district coordinator).

The renovation of the Peacock Building, located at 21045 Van Dyke Avenue (Figs. 6.2 and 6.3), is a hopeful example of Warren's effort in using TIFA-owned properties toward strategic incremental project-based revitalization. It was built in 1947 as the original home of the Peacock Bar Supply for 50 years. During the period 1997–2005, it was a mini-police station for the City of Warren and also housed two non-profits: The Police Athletic League and the Good Fellows Organization. It has been vacant since 2005, but has undergone extensive renovations since. Rehabilitating the building began in 2009, after a market study was conducted on the site. Work included power washing, tuck pointing, exterior painting, façade improvements, new windows and doors, exterior lighting, a new roof and general upgrades (flowers and landscaping) to the outside. It is important to note that in spite of several commercial companies (such as Taco Bell) approaching the City to lease the property and use for their establishment, the city is entertaining proposals only from non-profit organizations (such as No Bikes Left Behind) and/or community-based organizations. This is critical in using tax money and community space for something inspiring and strategic that could become an exemplary project

Fig. 6.3 Peacock Building on Van Dyke Avenue in the TIFA district. The photo depicts the façade improvement in the city-owned property as a pilot project for South Warren

Source: Author

for community revitalization and empowerment. Though it is easy to take desperate measures during desperate times and allow indiscriminate development in available city-owned properties, Warren's tactic of selective development illustrates a possibility for strategic intervention and support for grassroots initiative in the community.

Informal Collaborations and Creative Partnerships

The City of Warren is a strong supporter of local and regional collaborations and has engaged in innovative partnerships bringing together homeowners, business leaders, professional experts, and political agencies through projects across the county boundaries. The following are some examples of Warren's collaborative efforts with neighboring cities, local institutions, and international organizations:

1. RSVP#13: After the crisis event in Warren, MI, 2009

The City of Warren in conjunction with the Macomb County Planning and Economic Development hosted an RSVP event in Warren, MI, in February 2009, in collaboration with three international architectural firms—Archis (The Netherlands), Abitare (Italy), and the Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAI)—along with the Lawrence Technological University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The MSHDA sponsored the event focusing on finding pragmatic answers to how we can move from crisis to projects within the current real estate crisis. The RSVP event, attended by different regional and municipal agencies and local communities, concentrated on the neighborhoods in the City of Warren, which have the highest rates of foreclosure. Participants explored approaches to residential housing in an attempt to move beyond merely stabilizing our neighborhoods and toward envisioning the next generation of sustainable suburban development. More concretely, by making an inventory of the effects of the foreclosure crisis the event sought to develop a series of intervention proposals, based on the reality of Warren.

The RSVP event and its outcomes highlight several approaches to address the foreclosure problem. First, the participants recognized the value of regional institutions and collaboration to discuss such issues cutting across municipal boundaries. Second, the call for formal regional framework was supported by entrepreneurial incremental projects contributing to everyday urban environment in specific locations selected strategically based on existing assets and infrastructure. Third, participants were optimistic about using Warren's existing infrastructure (Mile Road grid, transportation network, industrial heritage, skilled workforce, open spaces) in reimagining a sustainable future based on transformation of infrastructure (e.g., for public transit and carbon-free individual transportation), retooling of the local economy (from automotive to military to non-conventional energy production), and reframing of design agency and community participation (from local art projects to installations to urban farms). The focus was also on building network of small informal partnerships in the absence of large formal top-down investments.

2. Van Dyke–Eight Mile (V8) Gateway Corridor Initiative

V8 is a multi-party initiative to maintain an attractive corridor along Van Dyke Avenue, a major commercial road running through the cities

of Detroit, Centerline, and Warren. This is a partnership cutting across formal municipal boundaries (City of Warren TIFA, City of Center Line, City of Detroit Department of Planning and Development), regional agenda (United Way of Southeastern Michigan, Michigan Roundtable for Diversity and Inclusion and Michigan Suburbs Alliance), local development interest (Community Development Corporation of Warren, Eight Mile Boulevard Association, and Van Dyke-Seven Mile Business Association), and institutional capacities (Michigan State University Extension–Macomb and St. John Health–Conner Creek). Each of the assembled partners evaluated their independent assets (resources, programs, and activities) and determined how they could add value to the single mission of improving the community. The strategy was to leverage the presence of a central commercial corridor that has the potential to become a vibrant and successful business district using specific projects for

- Physical revitalization—The V8 initiative has developed and implemented a Façade Improvement Grant Program for building owners and undertaken aesthetic improvements to the streetscape of Van Dyke Avenue using Department of Transportation funding. These projects have attracted customers, new businesses, and residents to the corridor.
- Strengthen businesses—V8 believes that businesses are at the core of a community's strength. V8, with the help of corporate sponsors, has been effective in conducting entrepreneurial training about business plans, financing, marketing, advertising, and other critical components for success.
- Enhance quality of life—V8 has worked to help sustain affordable and decent housing in safe and clean neighborhoods enhancing the desirability of a residential area. V8 in collaboration with residents has conducted workshop on homeownership, financial literacy, supplemental education and programs addressing issues related to race and culture.
- Increase recreational opportunities—Access to clean and safe places for recreational activities for all ages improves the health of residents and the community. V8 hopes to provide a critical link in the overall planned network of non-motorized trails throughout southeast Michigan.

3. Green Infrastructure

In the absence of economic investment and inefficient economic development planning strategies, Warren has used strategic collaboration with community organizations, religious institutions, and local businesses to promote shared green infrastructure within the city as well as linking with urban green infrastructure systems. Collaborations with neighboring City of Detroit have been instrumental in reimagining commercial corridors as green corridors and in linking with existing green networks like bike paths and nature trails.

Mt. Calvary Lutheran Church in South Warren has established patches of community gardens in adjacent vacant properties with the help of individual neighbors and local businesses (Fig. 6.4). Corporations like Lowes have provided materials to make raised beds for plants. Community organizations, schools, and individuals have worked together with the

Fig. 6.4 Community garden in vacant lots adjacent to the Mt. Calvary Lutheran Church

Photo: Author

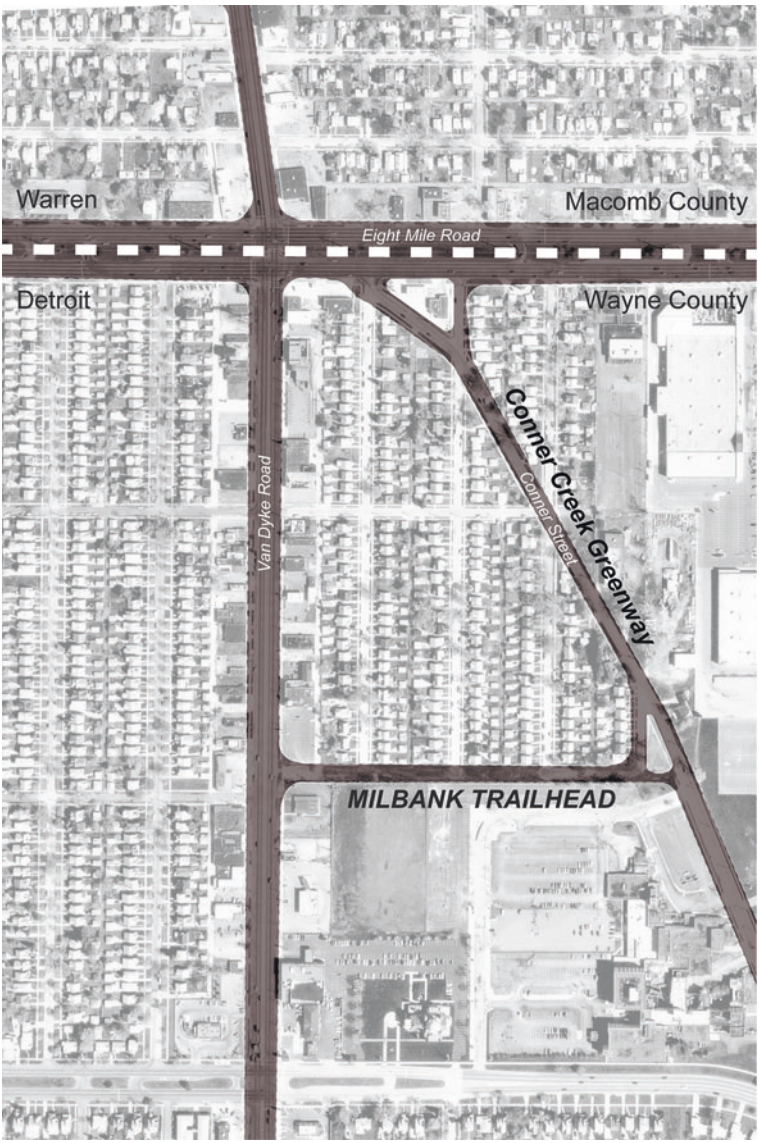

Fig. 6.5 Detroit non-motorized plan showing potential connection of Conner Creek greenway with the Van Dyke corridor in Warren

Source: Base aerial from Wayne State University; public domain

Fig. 6.6 The Milbank trailhead in Detroit, just south of Warren across the Eight Mile Road—a Detroit-Warren collaborative initiative as a connector to larger greenway corridor connecting northern neighborhoods to the Detroit riverfront

Source: Author

church in creating a community garden producing fruits and vegetables in these patches. Such urban agriculture initiatives have created opportunities for community development around ideas of education and awareness of fresh food and healthy lifestyle.

The City of Warren has initiated a traffic study of the Van Dyke corridor within its TIFA district. The goal of the study is to improve the pedestrian and non-motorized transportation experience without compromising the efficiency of vehicular traffic movement in the corridor. The traffic study will explore specific opportunities of implementing traffic calming strategies such as building boulevards and medians with trees, street parking, and greening of the sidewalks. Greening of streets and sidewalks, apart from beautifying the streetscape, has the potential to improve the quality of infrastructure in adjoining neighborhoods to reduce crime and augment safety. The study will also investigate

possibilities of developing a green corridor with bike paths with possible connection to the Conner Creek Greenway, an urban greenway in Detroit, through the Milbank trailhead just south of Warren across the Eight Mile Road (Figs. 6.5 and 6.6). This greenways initiative, in coalition with Detroit, thus reinforces the philosophy of creative partnerships across municipal boundaries for developing a shared public amenity in the region.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion: Lessons from Warren

Abstract The Warren model illustrates the need for combining specific tactics in the face of high shrinkage, new cultural complexity, lack of investment, and failed formal planning. It is a narrative of (1) maintaining status quo while increasing flexibility in policies (to maintain stability in old shrinking neighborhoods amidst foreclosure problems), (2) fostering cultural initiatives (to support the new suburban demographics), (3) promoting economic diversity based on new technology (to address changing labor market restructuring), and (4) strategic collaborations for shared resources and services (to address problems cutting across municipal boundaries). The questions raised and the findings in Warren allow us to better understand the shrinking process, the institutions working to address the problem, and the role of multiple-scale projects in the metropolitan USA.

Keywords Warren model · Strategic regionalism · Everyday urbanism · Resilience · Local partnerships

Challenges and Opportunities

The first suburbs like Warren were built or mostly built, near central cities before 1960. In the Midwest, suburban development began around 1900 and progressed slowly until halted by the Great Depression and World War II. In the 25 years following the war, suburbs growth accelerated

A. Adhya, *Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51709-4_7

dramatically, fueled by urban policy prioritizing suburban sprawl, economic policy facilitating single-family housing, and investment in decentralization through highway infrastructure network. Technological advents like balloon framing and land use policy like exclusionary zoning, combined with central city problems of racial riots, unemployment, and lack of socio-cultural opportunities, helped huge demographic surge in the first suburbs. Those "first" suburbs now are 45 to 100+ years old, and with age, many have begun to experience that which had been exclusively central city challenges such as population diversity, lack of investment, deteriorating housing stock, and competition from outer suburbs. First suburbs could offer advantages such as proximity to their central cities and access to affordable housing and established quality-of-life amenities such as pedestrian-oriented town centers or downtown. These communities also have opportunities to offer older distinctive housing in traditional neighborhoods complete with features like bicycle routes, sidewalks, and neighborhood parks. However, this requires consistent attention in these communities in terms of design and infrastructure development.

The twenty-first century is believed to be the century of metropolitan expansion in the USA (Frey 2012). Within metropolitan areas, though we find population rebounding in central cities (33% of U.S. residents in 2010 compared to 30% in 2000), suburban communities still enjoy political majority with 51% U.S. residents living in suburbs. Within this metropolitan context, it is apparent that first suburbs have serious issues to tackle in order to survive and sustain. Like many of the first suburbs, Warren is old, declining, and stagnating like its central city, Detroit. The housing stock is deteriorating along with an aging population. New suburban demographics of poor ethnic minorities add new complexity to the decline. Market labor relationships in the context of restructured manufacturing industry have had severe economic impact on these communities. Metropolitan fragmentation hinders any coordinated efforts in addressing these regional challenges. William Lucy and David Phillips (2000) refer to this context of the first suburbs as "the next urban crisis."

Intended Implications

Table 7.1 summarizes how the City of Warren has attempted to address these challenges through different types of formal efforts and informal initiatives at various levels, from local community level to metropolitan level.

Table 7.1 Summary of current challenges in Warren, corresponding current efforts, their strategic focus, and implications in the city

Current challenges in Warren	*Current efforts*	*Strategic focus*	*Intended implications*
Housing dynamics and infrastructure: • Aging housing stock, small–World War II bungalow homes • Deteriorating road and transportation networks • Lack of quality green space	Strategic investment in existing assets: • Use of NSP funding in buying vacant properties • Traffic study to improve quality of business corridor and implement pedestrian-oriented design • Greening of streets and connection to major urban greenway • Establish district services coordinator to coordinate business development and monitor the area for violation of ordinances	Renovation, demolition and redevelopment, open space maintenance, public services	Homeowner assistant, improvement of homes and open spaces, new public amenities in the city
New demographics: • Aging of existing predominantly white population • Increasing number of low-income transitory population	Diversity and community: • Shared programs and spaces for educative interaction between old and new generation	Maintain basic services and quality of environment, encourage non-profits and community organizations	Community empowerment and participation, no random and indiscriminate commercial development

(*continued*)

Table 7.1 (continued)

Current challenges in Warren	*Current efforts*	*Strategic focus*	*Intended implications*
• High percentage of rental properties and blight • Lack of attraction for younger population	• Mayor's cultural advisors including leaders of different religious institutions and inter-faith organizations • Religious-based and education-facilitated community space such as community garden and recreation center		exemplar projects, heritage conservation and adaptive reuse
Labor market restructuring: • Lack of economic diversity • Overdependence on automotive industry	Economic diversity: • Use existing industrial heritage and resources to expand using new approaches toward defense-oriented economy • Capitalize on new economy initiation through defense and homeland security fund	Retooling for economy, reorganization of infrastructure, reimagination of public services, role of design agency and informal creative partnerships	Strategic regional thinking, investment, and policies, specific local projects

	• Increase in collaboration and knowledge sharing between automotive companies in specific projects		
Regional framework: • Absence of regional thinking • Lack of regional collaboration • Isolation and competition	Strategic regionalism and regional policies: • Creative partnerships with Detroit and surrounding suburban communities like Sterling Heights and Eastpointe • Sharing assets and resources for coordinated management of services and consolidation of some governmental departments	Façade improvement, Streetscape beautification, entrepreneurial training, public awareness Green corridor connection	Creative partnerships and regional-local collaborations, people-people networks, bottom-up approach in community Improvement of public health and neighborhood aesthetics

A diverse body of knowledge on suburbs as shrinking cities is emerging. Different strategies have been discussed to address this crisis of shrinkage in shrinking cities literature (Pallagst et al. 2009). First, there are calls for planning specifically for shrinkage like that in Youngstown, Ohio, where the focus has been rightsizing neighborhoods and resources to sustain efficient provision of services (Pallagst 2009; Hassett 2008). Second, there are approaches of developing new identities leveraging creativity, culture, and cutting-edge technology like that in Glasgow, UK, and San Jose, California (Aber 2009). Third, there are many case studies asserting the need for a paradigm shift in planning such as focus on regional planning in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (Pallagst 2009). Dresden, Germany, demonstrates a fourth strategy of policy flexibility as the population number fluctuates and the growth pattern remains a patchwork of simultaneous growth and shrinkage (Wiechmann 2009).

Lessons from Warren do not fall clearly under one of the abovementioned strategies. However, the Warren model illustrates the need for combining many of these specific tactics in the face of high shrinkage, new cultural complexity, lack of investment, and lack of formal planning framework (Table 7.1). The Warren model is a narrative of (1) maintaining the status quo while increasing flexibility in policies and planning (to maintain stability in old shrinking neighborhoods amidst foreclosure problems), (2) fostering cultural initiatives (to support the new suburban demographics), (3) promoting economic diversity based on new technology (to address changing labor market restructuring), and (4) strategic collaborations and creative partnerships for shared resources and services (to address problems cutting across municipal boundaries). The questions raised here and the findings in Warren allow continued examination to better understand the processes of shrinking city, the agencies and institutions working to address the problem, and role of multiple-scale projects in sustenance of first suburbs and their vitality in the metropolitan USA. Is Warren the shining example of addressing challenges of shrinking city in a first suburb? We don't know yet. The current efforts in Warren have laid out goals and strategies to (1) control the decline in neighborhoods and maintain quality infrastructure using federal grants, (2) nurture a diverse environment leveraging local religious institutions, (3) encourage entrepreneurship using strategic design projects for incubator space, and (4) develop shared public infrastructure and service utilizing creative partnerships and strategic collaboration in the region.

It is possible that some of these approaches in Warren do not have the intended impacts in addressing shrinkage and create a positive change. It would be useful in the future to document specific impacts of different initiatives and understand the processes of their implementation. Perhaps not all the strategies initiated in Warren are appropriate for certain types of first suburbs. Thus future studies could determine systematically what are the strengths and limitations of these initiatives and how can they be improved in future.

The Warren study illustrates the role of local government agencies and their collaboration with community groups, religious and cultural organizations, and educational institutions in addressing the challenges of shrinkage and foreclosure. In the absence of a strong formal metropolitan governance system, future research could trace activities and interactions of these organizations and institutions. Problems of shrinkage and deteriorating infrastructure in first suburbs (along with central cities) will be a critical influence in determining the future of American metropolis (Fishman 2000). Without denying limitations and uniqueness of Warren and first suburbs, this investigation takes an important step to study first suburbs as critical shrinking communities in the U.S. Midwest. The lessons drawn highlight potential for improved housing, cultural diversity, strategic investment, and creative regional collaboration through shared imagination and on-ground projects in sustenance of these first suburbs.

A Two-Way Approach

In the absence of a strong regional political framework and with the failure of traditional economic development model, a new model of urban life is needed to transform the Metro Detroit region. The new urban direction envisions harmony among social, economic, and environmental aspects of the region. A community like Warren engages in stronger relationships with other suburban communities and with the City of Detroit. The project-oriented collaborative environment will create a regional framework for creative partnerships and people connections. The development of such informal networks in turn will inspire and shape formal regional systems, governance, and power-sharing structures. This project-based regional framework can be characterized by strategic regionalism coupled with everyday urbanism—a blend of top-down and bottom-up approach.

Strategic Regionalism

Reconstituting the public realm of a region requires changes in the way it is imagined (Shibley et al. 2003). The idea of a region can be effective when it is thought beyond mere economic partnership and political collaboration between the city and the surrounding suburbs. Detroit, Warren, and the surrounding suburbs should work to capture the imagination of the regional population, to motivate a collective action in the region, and to materialize the resulting policies into the spatial planning and policy development for the region. In the context of a shrinking city and suburb, these implications will affect the physical environment through adaptive reuse and strategic infill of density and built volume, construction and maintenance of public open spaces and performative green infrastructure, and development of an efficient, equitable, and accessible transportation system for the twenty-first century. The following five examples illustrate the possibility and prospects of critical implications achieved through a strategic regional development:

- Shared natural resource and ecosystem, imagining a mega-region on the Great Lakes with accessibility to world's largest fresh water resource.
- Shared infrastructure of transportation and information network in an international location, providing multiple modes of movement and access throughout this global region to existing resources, jobs, and valuable assets.
- Shared enterprise in arts and culture, celebrating the region's rich cultural heritage in music, arts, sport, and entertainment.
- Shared industrial wealth and economic opportunities, honoring the immense industrial heritage and imagining new technological evolution building on alternate energy and innovation.
- Shared public amenities and pool of human resource, capitalizing on the region's existing universities and research centers and building a new public education and training network for job creation and economic development.

Vision of such a shared Metro Detroit acknowledges the diverse communities, their commonalities and differences, their identities, their needs, and their stories. The human construction of such a regional public realm needs to be grounded in the daily life of this region's population.

Establishing this regional framework thus also demands concentrated efforts of "envisioning, planning, promoting, and creating" at the local grassroots level across the metropolis.

Everyday Urbanism

Complementing the top-down regional framework, everyday urbanism emphasizes the bottom-up approach of creating sustainable places through local projects. The focus is on selecting and investing on projects that address relevant everyday needs of the community. Everyday urbanism is "an approach to urbanism that finds its meanings in everyday life" and its experiences (Mehrotra 2004). Inspired by the writings of French philosophers Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau, everyday urbanists find rich meanings and extraordinary actions in otherwise ordinary and often mundane routines of everyday life. Based on this idea, everyday functional spaces in Warren can promote a zone of possibility and potential transformation through defining pragmatic community projects. The process of project selection and investment decision, in everyday urbanism, is unique. It is not according to typical political interests, not based on standard business model, and not conceived by outside design consultants. Instead, everyday urbanism empowers the existing community to participate in active citizenship, form a design agency, and create projects through spontaneous actions of everyday inhabitation, appropriation, and adaptation in the changing context of the community.

Everyday urban projects could be instrumental in addressing the recurring issues and challenges that shrinking cities face. Spontaneous urban efforts in the community along with strategically designed projects have potential to address challenges of old housing and infrastructure, changing demographics, restructuring of labor and market, and metropolitan fragmentation. Examples of current efforts in Warren demonstrate how informal on-ground actions based on creative partnerships and collaborations can be efficient and productive in approaching issues and developing solutions, where formal structured responses have failed. The primary reason for informal and spontaneous everyday urban efforts is to be successful in their capacity to transcend the municipal boundaries. Individual human action and people-people relationship is not bounded by traditional local administrative restrictions. The other fascinating aspect of such endeavors lies in their strength and resilience even in the absence

of a growth scenario, an academic requirement of many standard urban development models.

Toward a Harmonious and Humanizing City-Region

The new Detroit-Warren model of sustainable placemaking hopes for multi-level partnerships promoting an environment, within which social positions (citizenships, family and community values, and stewardships), economic restructuring (strategic investments and job creation), infrastructural developments (transportation, movement, and accessibility), political frameworks (governance and policies), resource allocation (social equity and justice), technology innovation (education and training), and performance evaluation (objective measurement of sustainability) can be debated, discussed, designed, and deployed. The two-way approach of strategic regionalism-everyday urbanism focuses on the people, the assets, and their value existing within the community.

For Detroit as well as for Warren, this would necessitate shared and collective decision-making in reinforcing strategic investment of money and resources in places that are relevant to everyday life of the community. In the face of drastic economic changes, these everyday places will drive future direction of investment, growth, and consolidation of the community. This new model empowers Warren to curve an important role in the region, illustrating the rebuilding process from crisis to projects through collective imagination, citizen stewardship, technological innovation, design agency, and communicative action. This vision can take diverse forms in the future. Coordinated initiatives can reinforce long-awaited recent efforts on regional collaboration and investment in a Regional Transit Authority (RTA), which will manage and run regional transit systems using rail system, bus rapid transit, and street rail. In addition to transit, such regional thinking can be instrumental in coordinating efforts in land management, land use reorganization, zoning policy development, open space protection, pollution control and brownfield remediation, and greenway corridor design. Such efforts can further begin a discussion to organize a regional governance structure among central cities, suburbs, and counties. In summary, the region can potentially fulfill a long-standing need for an effective formal regional governance framework addressing the regional issues of shrinkage, which so far has been addressed on an ad hoc basis in communities like Warren. In anticipation, the region should plan and prepare for implications of such regional thinking addressing

issues like shrinkage toward development through spatial planning and policy development.

Implications for Spatial Planning

The trends in regional settlement development in Metro Detroit elicited in this book have important consequences for spatial planning. Two aspects are to be reinforced: the first aspect is that small-scale project-based differentiated developments should be considered with greater understanding in planning in terms of incentives and regulation. This highlights the growing importance of the region as a universe of action instead of looking into individual municipalities. This will allow demographic decline having a greater impact than before in comprehensive planning approaches. The second aspect is urban-suburban and suburban-suburban regional cooperation among municipalities and local governments.

In urban and planning practices in Metro Detroit, neither municipal development planning has been well prepared to deal with demographic decline and shrinkage. In addition, regional and state planning has been predominantly absent or weak. Municipal master planning has realized the issue of shrinking and its spatial implication only relatively recently, not least of all through the urban redevelopment programs for local cities like Detroit and Flint (both in Michigan) and Youngstown (Ohio). However, standard economic development models have often focused primarily on housing market development. Moreover, demographic decline has been only sporadically discussed in the local political arena, and when the issue is broached, it is only to debate about reversing the process, that is, going back to achieving growth of past decades, which is nostalgic and unrealistic. In Metro Detroit, archival regional plans often date back from a period when population decline or downsizing had scarcely been considered publicly as a serious issue at the regional let alone the local level. Regional development concepts also fail to address the subject systematically. The same holds at the state level, although some state governments in the Midwest and the Great Lakes mega-region have tackled the issue more actively than in the 1990s, though generally outside the context of state development planning.

In view of the contiguity of demographic growth, stagnation, and decline in municipalities and regions, fundamental rethinking is required. Spatial planning has, in many cases, been dominated by frameworks

defined predominantly in terms of growth, that is, to designate new land for development, allocate new land use, develop new built forms, provide new public open spaces for recreation and transport purposes, to plan new housing projects, to develop new industrial estates, and to protect open spaces against contra-productive urban sprawl using various tools of regulations (enforcement orders, prohibitions, restrictions) as well as incentives (incentive-based zoning, tax credits, easements, transfer of development rights, encouraging certain types of developments). In future, this will not be enough.

Growth-oriented approaches must be paralleled by a decline paradigm. The focus is on redeveloping cities and regions, cost-efficient stock development, revitalization, and qualitative development. It is less a question of what infrastructure should be provided than how and under what conditions infrastructure systems can be maintained or have to be redesigned. The methodology should be prioritizing areas for consolidation and development through adaptive reuse as well as strategic infill, if needed. Areas also need to be identified to be deconstructed, given back to nature, or to be left fallow. These are difficult but necessary steps with significant spatial implications for neighborhoods, city, and region. Implications of these steps on Warren are discussed below (Table 7.2) in relation to traditional growth-oriented planning as well as necessary decline-oriented planning frameworks.

Implications for Policy Formulation

The Warren-Detroit study demonstrates that community groups, business owners, and religious organizations along with local governments are key players in the development of community-driven social capital and the success of neighborhood improvement initiatives. Though limited in financial support, local governments provide critical moral support to neighborhood-based organizations, as well as active and passive support through the use of materials, supplies, or staff and coordination efforts with the county and state. In return, neighborhood-based organizations assist local governments, albeit informally, in building community character and image by neighborhood improvement projects and programs. In addition, the study also illustrated how outside but regional institutions play influential roles in the social capital-community development process within first suburban communities. Problems, such as residential foreclosures and blight, tended to require knowledge, skills, and resources beyond those available within the local communities for neighborhood revitalization to occur. To address these types of issues,

Table 7.2 Characteristics of growth and decline-oriented planning (Müller & Siedentop 2016) and implications for Warren

Growth-oriented planning	*Decline-oriented planning*	*Implications for Warren*
The focus is on growth, spatial planning as distribution and management of quantitative increases (of density, public spaces, traffic land use, population, and jobs).	The focus is on redevelopment, cost-efficient stock development, stabilization, revitalization, qualitative development (of habitat, ecology, space, and infrastructure).	Stabilize neighborhood properties through NSP funding. Think about human and non-human habitats.
Building-law and regional-planning tools directed mainly toward new land use and new construction; infrastructure development as public concession and incentive for private investment.	Importance of derelict land, recycling of land and buildings, differentiated reconversion, adaptation of infrastructure to changed needs.	Landscape urbanism and green infrastructure strategies. Productive landscapes such as urban agriculture and community gardens. Performative green infrastructure for stormwater management and pollution remediation.
Growth-oriented control (land use and constructional development).	Initiation and organization of reconversion, rehabilitation, and development with scarce financial resources.	Start-up spaces like Peacock Building. Capacity building and resilience development. Focus on entrepreneurships.
Planning as the basis for distributing growth, separation of spatial functions (home, place of work, etc.).	Planning as management of shrinkage processes, small-scale functional mix. Project-based planning methods.	Creative land use mix and application of non-traditional uses. Projects from cultural initiatives and changing demographics. Event-based planning.
Order-oriented control of land use and constructional development, designation of settlement land, protection of open areas.	Strategic planning and integrated concepts, consequence assessment, taking account of life cycle of facilities and demographic changes, model projects, use options, activation, contractual arrangements, efficiency.	Using flexibility and multiple needs to provide strategic resource allocation and space distribution varying with need, extremities, time, and season.
Inter-municipal competition (business,	Inter-municipal cooperation, equalization	Formal consolidation of services (like schools, public

(*continued*)

Table 7.2 (continued)

Growth-oriented planning	*Decline-oriented planning*	*Implications for Warren*
industry, residents), sectoral incentives, inter-sectoral framework control.	arrangements, multi-level cooperation, inter-sectoral coordination and consolidation.	safety, and garbage collection) among municipalities. Creative partnerships and informal collaborations among people and business groups across municipal boundaries.

local government administrators should continue to act as initiators in the residential redevelopment of their communities, soliciting and engaging non-profit housing developers in neighborhood improvement partnerships in the first suburbs. Local government policies can also regulate in order to encourage quality development proposals avoiding any kind of low-quality-built form that tend to be allowed in the name of development in difficult times.

The neighborhood-local government partnerships or Community Development Corporation (CDC)-city partnerships have proven beneficial in several respects. First, the establishment of partnerships allows elected officials and local governments to understand community practices and encourages buy-in from the community stakeholders. Second, establishing a partnership in the earliest stages of planning allows for open dialogue and communication between the CDCs, the communities, elected officials, and local government. The CDCs thereby understood what the community expected, and the community was aware of the types of housing products and programs that the CDC could offer. Third, the partnerships encourage the sharing of public and private resources to complete housing or commercial development or consolidation projects. For instance, in each of the cases, the first suburbs were willing to utilize their NSP funding to assist the CDCs in acquiring or rehabbing properties, while the CDCs or collaborative business groups (like Van Dyke-8 Mile Business Owners Association) were willing to use their existing lines of credit, as well as their expertise and their other resources. Fourth, forming partnerships encouraged a targeted neighborhood improvement model instead of the CDCs' customary isolated method, bringing together complementary strengths. Finally, collaboration with non-profit organizations and cultural institutions enables multiple points of help and

organization, which individually lack capacity, to make a significant impact on the areas they target.

This study helps to set the stage for local government officials and community development practitioners to direct policies that encourage more partnerships between central city and suburbs as well as between suburban communities themselves. By developing public policies that inspire collaborative partnerships between non-profit organizations, community, business groups, and local government and focusing on targeted neighborhood improvement (like South Warren), local governments can expand not only their capacity, but also the capacity of the CDC, as well as the overall impacts of redevelopment efforts. For instance, community revitalization efforts benefit from strengthened partnerships between the public and the non-profit sector. If a CDC is actively addressing vacant properties in a neighborhood that has been identified as a target area for redevelopment by the local authorities, closer collaboration between the two sectors can increase overall project capacity and quality. The transformation of foreclosed single-family housing into new homeownership units can complement community redevelopment goals by stabilizing and increasing local property values. Moreover, local governments should promote policies that encourage non-profit housing as well as subsidized housing and CDCs to aim for a geographic concentration in housing redevelopment. When identifying foreclosed properties for acquisition and rehabilitation, choosing properties that are in close proximity to housing that is already in CDC ownership is beneficial to both the community and CDCs because properties clustered in a tight geographic area increase the possibility of reaching economies of scale, both financially and physically. Neighborhood stabilization efforts can potentially be improved by closer partnerships among CDCs and through financial arrangements and general sharing of experience and know-how.

Looking to narratives of the past to rethink urban sustainability in the present, the Detroit-Warren model challenges conventional paradigms for understanding the city-suburb relationship in relation to non-uniform metropolitan development patterns of regional growth and inner-urban and peri-urban shrinkage. Using this study, it can be theorized that, in the USA, the concept of suburbs developed from a socio-political view of decentralization and separation into an extended issue of urbanity. Rather than stand for its polar opposite, as is often assumed, first suburbs actually link to the construct of the city in post-manufacturing industrial economy. A first suburb like Warren is not, in fact, about segregation from

the city but a projection of shared values centered on housing problems, demographic changes, market restructuring, and challenges to metropolitan collaboration. The study thus deconstructs the American planning paradigm of city planning and urban development that continue to expand the paradigm of growth, such as dense housing, mixed-use zoning, and public transit. The study explains that, in the twenty-first century, shrinkage needs to be a critical planning and design factor underlining need for strategic thinking, qualitative development, and creative partnerships. The resulting paradox is that cities' and suburbs' call for more public funding and private investment that rejuvenate the communities, instead of being competitive, should reinforce collaborative application for shared services and management toward improvement of the entire region. Shrinking cities and first suburbs are thus an essential construction that requires comprehensive planning and that confronts harsh reality of urban sustainability in a long-struggling and now-evolving metropolis.

Bibliography

Aber, J. (2009). The creative imperative in a postindustrial economy to foster a more sustainable development in shrinking cities. In K. Pallagst, J. Aber, I. Audriac, E. Cunningham-Sabot, S. Fol, C. Martinez-Fernandez, S. Moraes, H. Mulligan, J. Vargas-Hernandez, T. Wiechmann, & T. Wu (Eds.), *The future of shrinking cities: Problems, patterns and strategies of urban transformation in a global context*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Urban and Regional Development.

Albecker, M. (2011, 16–17 February). The restructuring of pericentral spaces in global cities (Paris, New York). Paper presented at the conference on *Shrinkage in Europe, causes, effects and policy strategies*. Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

Badenhausen, K. (2012, 2 February). America's most miserable cities. *Forbes*. http://www.forbes.com/sites/kurtbadenhausen/2012/02/02/americas-most-miserable-cities/. Accessed 23 March 2012.

Badenhausen, K. (2013, 21 February). America's most miserable cities. *Forbes*. http://www.forbes.com/sites/kurtbadenhausen/2013/02/21/detroit-tops-2013-list-of-americas-most-miserable-cities/#7e69d74923cc. Accessed 1 April 2013.

Baycan-Levent, T., Gulumser, A., Kundak, S., Nijkamp, P., & Sahin, M. (2006). Diversity and ethnic entrepreneurship. Position paper of research Task 4.4, *Diversity and ethnic entrepreneurship: Dialogue through exchanges in the economic arena*, SUS.DIV (Sustainable Development in a Diverse World). http://www.susdiv.org/uploadfiles/RT4_4_PP_Tuzin.pdf. Accessed 15 July 2012.

Beauregard, R. A. (2002). *Voices of decline: The postwar fate of US cities*. New York: Routledge.

Beauregard, R. A. (2003). Aberrant cities: Urban population loss in the United States, 1820–1930. *Urban Geography*, *24*(8), 672–690.

City of Detroit. (2006). Non-motorized Transportation Plan.

A. Adhya, *Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51709-4

City of Warren. (2010). *Comprehensive annual financial report*. Warren, MI: City of Warren.

City of Warren. (2012). TIFA document.

Cortez, D. (2007). Mosque doors open to all: Warren facility aims to educate (excerpt from the Detroit Free Press, 26 May 2007). *IONA in the News*. http://www.ionamasjid.org/iona-in-the-news. Accessed 28 February 2017.

D'Hooghe, A. (2006). Monument or Armageddon. *Volume*, *9*, 42–49.

D'Hooghe, A. (2009). W 3.0.: Warren, 2015. *Warren Special Report: Supplement to Volume*, 20, 10–11.

Dunham-Jones, E., & Williamson, J. (2009). *Retrofitting suburbia: Urban design solutions for re-designing suburbs*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Environment Protection Agency (EPA). (2007). *Detroit river-western lake Erie Basin indicator project, INDICATOR: Human population growth and distribution in Southeast Michigan*. http://www.epa.gov/med/grosseile_site/indicators/population.html. Accessed 20 May 2009.

Ernsten, C., & Moceri, T. (2009). City of projects—21st century warren. Warren Special Report: Supplement to *Volume*, *20*, 2–5.

Fanning-Madden, J. (2003). Has the concentration of income and poverty among suburbs of large US metropolitan areas changed over time? *Papers Regional Science*, *82*, 249–275.

Fishman, R. (2000). The American metropolis at century's end: Past and future influences. *Housing Policy Debate*, *11*(1), 199–213.

Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class; And how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Florida, R. (2009). How the crash will reshape America. *The Atlantic*. http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200903/meltdown-geography. Accessed 22 December 2015.

Frey, W.H. (2012). Population growth in metro America since 1980: Putting the volatile 2000s in perspective. In *Metropolitan Policy Program Papers*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute.

Groat, L. N., & Wang, D. (2002). *Architectural research methods*. New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Hanlon, B. (2012). *Once the American dream: Inner-ring suburbs of the metropolitan United States*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Hanlon, B., & Vicino, T. J. (2007). The fate of inner suburbs: Evidence from metropolitan Baltimore. *Urban Geography*, *28*(3), 249–275.

Hassett, W. (2008). The "shrinking" strategy of Youngstown, Ohio. In D. Watson & J. Morris (Eds.), *Building the local economy: Cases in economic development*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Carl Vinson Institute of Government.

Hollander, J., Pallagst, K., Schwarz, T., & Popper, F. (2009). Planning shrinking cities. *Progress in Planning* (special Issue: Emerging Research Areas), *72*(4), 223–232.

Hospers, G. J., Grosfeld, T., & Brinkman, L. (2006). Slimme streken: op zoek naar de determinanten van regionale innovatiekracht. *Kwartaalschrift Economie*, *2*(1), 105–120.

Hudnut, W. (2003). *Halfway to everywhere: A portrait of America's first-tier suburbs*. Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute.

Leadbeater, D. (2010). Single-industry resource communities, "Shrinking," and the new crisis of hinterland economic development. In K. Pallagst, J. Aber, I. Audriac, E. Cunningham-Sabot, S. Fol, C. Martinez-Fernandez, S. Moraes, H. Mulligan, J. Vargas-Hernandez, T. Wiechmann, & T. Wu (Eds.), *The future of shrinking cities: Problems, patterns and strategies of urban transformation in a global context*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Urban and Regional Development.

Lucy, W., & Phillips, D. L. (2000). Suburban decline: The next urban crisis. *Issues in Science and Technology*, *17*(1), 1–12.

Macomb County Planning and Economic Development. (2009). *Neighborhood stabilization program*. http://www.macombcountymi.gov/MCPED/Project_Programs/CD/NSP%20Program.html. Accessed 3 September 2009.

Mallach, A. (2012). Rebuilding America's legacy cities: New directions for the industrial heartland. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Mather, M., Pollard, K., & Jacobsen, L. A. (2011). *PRB reports on America: First results from the 2010 Census*. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau.

Mehrotra, R. (Ed.). (2004). *Everyday urbanism: Margaret Crawford vs. Michael Speaks*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Debates on Urbanism I.

Mitchell-Brown, J. (2013). Revitalizing the first-suburbs: The importance of the social capital-community development link in suburban neighborhood revitalization—A case study. *Journal of Community Engagement and Scholarship, 6*, 2. http://jces.ua.edu/revitalizing-the-first-suburbs-the-importance-of-the-social-capital-community-development-link-in-suburban-neighborhood-revitalization-a-case-study/. Accessed 7 July 2016.

Müller, B., & Siedentop, S. (2016). *Growth and shrinkage in Germany—Trends, perspectives and challenges for spatial planning and development*. Berlin: Deutsches Institut fur Urbanistik. https://difu.de/publikationen/growth-and-shrinkage-in-germany-trends-perspectives-and.html. Accessed 29 August 2016.

Oosterman, A. (2009). Heart of the matter (Blog). *Metromode*. Detroit.

Oswalt, P. (Ed.). (2005a). *Shrinking cities volume 1: International research*. Osfildern-Ruit, Germany: Hatje Cantz Verlag.

Oswalt, P. (Ed.). (2005b). *Shrinking cities volume 2: Interventions*. Osfildern-Ruit, Germany: Hatje Cantz Verlag.

Oswalt, P., & Rieniets, T. (2007). *Global context. Shrinking cities*. http://www.shrinkingcities.com/globaler_kontext.0.html?&L=1. Accessed 15 April 2012.

Pallagst, K. (2009). Shrinking cities in the United States of America: Three cases, three planning stories. In K. Pallagst, J. Aber, I. Audriac, E. Cunningham-Sabot, S. Fol, C. Martinez-Fernandez, S. Moraes, H. Mulligan, J. Vargas-Hernandez, T. Wiechmann, & T. Wu (Eds.), *The future of shrinking cities: Problems, patterns and strategies of urban transformation in a global context*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Urban and Regional Development.

Pallagst, K., & Wiechmann, T. (2005). Shrinking smart? Städtische Schrumpfungsprozesse in den USA. In N. Gestring et al. (Eds.), *Jahrbuch StadtRegion 2004/2005 Schwerpunkt Schrumpfende Städte* (pp. 105–127). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Puentes, R., & Orfield, M. (2002). *Valuing America's first suburbs: A policy agenda for older suburbs in the Midwest*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy.

Puentes, R., & Warren, D. (2006). *One-fifth of America: A comprehensive guide to America's first suburbs*. Discussion paper prepared for the Brookings institution metropolitan policy program. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Sassen, S. (1991). *The global city*. New York, London, Tokyo, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Shibley, R. G., Schneekloth, L. H., & Hovey, B. (2003). Constituting the public realm of a region: Placemaking in the bi-national Niagaras. *Journal of Architectural Education, 17*(1), 28–42.

Smith, N. (1996). *The new urban frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*. London: Routledge.

South East Michigan Council of Governance (SEMCOG). (2010). *Population and households in Southeast Michigan 2000–2010*. Detroit: SEMCOG. http://semcog.org/publications. Accessed 13 September 2010.

Sugrue, T. (1996). *The origins of the urban crisis: Race and inequality in postwar Detroit*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Terry, N. (2016, April). South warren: The "forgotten" neighborhoods. *The Detroit News, 14*.

Tozzi, L. (2009). Delenda suburbia? In V. Ciuffi (Ed.), *Life and death of suburbia*. *Abitare*. http://www.abitare.it/it/architettura/2009/04/28/vita-e-morte-dei-suburbia/. Accessed 25 October 2016.

United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat). (2013). *State of the world cities 2012/2013: Prosperity of cities*. New York: Routledge.

United States Census Bureau (U.S. Census). (2010). *U.S. population data and projections*. http://www.census.gov/population/www/projections/index.html. Accessed 1 May 2012.

United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (U.S. HUD). (2012). *Neighborhood stabilization program grants*. http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/comm_planning/communitydevelopment/programs/neighborhoodspg. Accessed 14 July 2012.

Wiechmann, T. (2009). Conversion strategies under uncertainty in post-socialist shrinking cities: The example of Dresden in Eastern Germany. In K. Pallagst, J. Aber, I. Audriac, E. Cunningham-Sabot, S. Fol, C. Martinez-Fernandez, S. Moraes, H. Mulligan, J. Vargas-Hernandez, T. Wiechmann, & T. Wu (Eds.), *The future of shrinking cities—problems, patterns and strategies of urban transformation in a global context*. UC Berkeley: Center for Global Metropolitan Studies.

Index

A. Adhya, *Shrinking Cities and First Suburbs*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51709-4