“Remember, this is Brightmoor”

Historical Violence, Neighborhood Experiences, and the Hysteresis of Street Life

JUNE 2021 | SHARON CORNELISSEN

JCHS
JOINT CENTER FOR HOUSING STUDIES
OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

"Remember, this is Brightmoor:" Historical Violence, Neighborhood Experiences, and the Hysteresis of Street Life

Sharon Cornelissen, Postdoctoral Fellow at Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies
sharon_cornelissen@harvard.edu

May 27, 2021

Abstract Drawing on three years of fieldwork, this article explains the emergence and persistence of two conflicting styles of street life in Brightmoor, a depopulated, majority Black, poor Detroit neighborhood facing early gentrification. As most longtimers were inured to historical neighborhood violence, they tended to act vigilantly in public, even after recent crime declines. By contrast, White newcomers, most of whom had moved from middle-class neighborhoods, often defied vigilance such as by organizing a farmers' market across from an open-air drug market. They mobilized aspirational public life as a means for changing the neighborhood and end in itself. To explain these conflicting styles, this article theorizes the cultural mechanism of *"the hysteresis of street life."* Styles of street life, shaped by residents' unequal historical neighborhood experiences, tend to linger under conditions of gradual neighborhood change. It also shows how the hysteresis of street life may contribute to the reproduction of inequalities.

Keywords

Detroit, Gentrification, the Hysteresis Effect, Neighborhood Violence, Street Life

This article was first published as:
Sharon Cornelissen, "'Remember, This Is Brightmoor': Historical Violence, Neighborhood Experiences, and the Hysteresis of Street Life," *Urban Affairs Review* (May 2021), 1-29. DOI: 10.1177/10780874211016925.

Introduction

Scholars of street life have shown how neighborhood conditions, such as the built environment, (Jacobs 1992; Newman 1972), class, gender, and race inequalities (Anderson 2011; Duneier and Molotch 1999; Gardner 1995; Lofland 1973; Merry 1981), and locally emergent interaction orders (Anderson 1990; Duck 2015; Stuart 2016a), shape urban interactions. While these rich studies demonstrated how individual and neighborhood inequalities shape street life, few have examined how historical neighborhood inequalities may impact contemporary street life. By contrast, sociologists of culture have found that habits, orientations, and perceptions shaped by historical experiences tend to linger, even after social environments change (Bourdieu 1977, 78; Small 2002; Strand and Lizardo 2017). As urban residents navigate streetscapes, they draw on past experiences acquired in and through unequal biographies and neighborhoods (Sharkey 2013): experiences that, I show, may linger after neighborhoods change. However, this insight from the sociology of culture remains underdeveloped in the urban literature.

This article helps us understand how residents' lingering orientations based in historical experiences may shape street life. Based on three years of ethnographic fieldwork while I lived in Brightmoor and 25 in-depth interviews, I found that Black and White longtimers and White newcomers in Brightmoor tended to navigate public life in the neighborhood in surprisingly conflicting ways – differences that I explain based on the lingering of orientations shaped by residents' disparate historical experiences. Brightmoor was an extremely depopulated, poor, majority Black neighborhood in northwest Detroit, which had seen early gentrification by White newcomers who bought tax foreclosed houses from $500 and planted gardens and farms on vacated lots. While historically Brightmoor had seen periods of high neighborhood violence, since 2009 reported crime had declined: with a 45% decline in violent crime and 55% decline in property

crime (DPD 2017; SimplyAnalytics 2018). Most longtimers had lived through historical neighborhood violence in Brightmoor or other Detroit neighborhoods prior to 2009, and recounted stories of victimization or extreme violence in their personal vicinity such as arson, shootings, and violent home invasions (Bourgois 1995; Duck 2015; Ralph 2014). By contrast, most White newcomers had little to no personal experience with these kinds of neighborhood violence and had moved to Brightmoor from White middle-class neighborhoods.

I explain the broad differences in styles in street life between longtimers and newcomers, by introducing the theoretical notion of *"the hysteresis of street life,"* a mechanism where the "effects of some force persis[t] after the force has been removed" (Cross and Allan 1988, 27–30; Bourdieu 2000; Strand and Lizardo 2017). I argue that street life shaped by historical experiences can linger, even after neighborhood conditions that prompted it have changed, and thus residents' historical experiences besides contemporary conditions need to be invoked to explain street life interactions and orientations (id.). Urbanists are most likely to observe "hysteresis" - the lingering of habits and orientations shaped by unequal historical conditions - during gradual neighborhood change. In Brightmoor, early gentrification and other gradual changes shaped an ambiguous environment, which allowed room for uncertainty and disagreements, notably about neighborhood violence and safety. By contrast, in neighborhoods facing rapid change, residents may adopt new habits and strategies to adjust to their new environment (see Bourdieu 2000, 161; Swidler 2001, 89–107).

I define street life or public life as the everyday practices of residents outdoors, on sidewalks and streets, in parks, vacant lots, playgrounds, parking lots, and publicly visible outdoor spaces such as street-facing gardens and front porches. I focus on *styles* of public life, which I define as sets of habits, orientations, expectations, and experiential attunements. Styles are

analytical categories rather than folk concepts (Wilson and Chaddha 2009). While residents sometimes practiced more than one style and variation existed within, such as shaped by residents' race, age, gender, and their intersections, styles were nonrandomly distributed across residents.

First, I illustrate how most longtime residents practiced *vigilant street life*, a set of practices oriented towards perceptions of danger. While many longtimers observed that crime had leveled off in recent years – consistent with reported crime trends - most were hesitant to change their street life. Habituated to historical violence, they were careful to ease their vigilance, wishing to avoid dangerous situations.

Second, I describe the style of public life dominant among White newcomers, what I call *aspirational street life*, a set of practices oriented towards White, middle-class ideals of place, along with a conviction of their makeable nature within Brightmoor. The aspirational style stood in direct conflict with the vigilant style, as it defied vigilance. On the one hand, these street life practices were *ends in themselves,* as White newcomers attempted to continue practices that they had enjoyed in the White middle-class neighborhoods most had moved from. On the other hand, White newcomers sometimes mobilized aspirational public life as a *means* with hopes of changing the neighborhood.

This article explains the emergence and persistence of two conflicting styles of street life in a changing Detroit neighborhood through the cultural mechanism of the hysteresis of street life. Doing so, it introduces the Bourdieusian "hysteresis effect" to urbanists and offers a new vocabulary to analyze cultural continuity, cultural lag, and cultural change in the context of neighborhood change. My theoretical intervention helps scholars develop a more dynamic, historically rooted, cultural analysis of street life; one that can explain cultural heterogeneity, (apparent) local contradictions and incoherencies, and the different temporalities of cultural and

neighborhood change. Finally, the hysteresis of street life is yet another mechanism that contributes to how place-based inequalities become durable (Sampson 2012, 362–67), as it reveals how unequal historical neighborhood experiences can shape contemporary variations in urban life, which may linger even after neighborhoods change.

Interactional Street Life

Previous scholars have described street life as rife with inequalities. Researchers have shown for instance how urbanites politely disengage strangers (Goffman 1963a; Simmel 1969), how women develop strategies to negotiate fear of strangers in public (Gardner 1995; Jacobs 1992; Lofland 1973; Merry 1981), and the interactional challenges unique to cosmopolitan publics (Anderson 2011; Duneier and Molotch 1999). This important work has emphasized how resident and neighborhood characteristics shape variation in public life. However, many of these theories present relatively a-historical frameworks. They presume almost-immediate, universal links between neighborhood changes and changes in residents' behavior. For Jane Jacobs, as the number of "eyes on the street" increase (1992, 35), such as when shopkeepers, residents, and the general public use mixed-use streets, we expect all residents to instantaneously feel safer and to adjust their behavior. For Oscar Newman, architectural adjustments to create "defensible space," by subdividing and allocating sections of public space to the stewardship of individuals and private groups (1996, 2), should help reduce crime and make all residents feel safer. By emphasizing direct ecological determinants of behavioral and perceptual changes, these theories leave aside questions on the various modalities and temporalities of cultural change. For instance, cultural change may be mediated through social networks (Harding 2011; Small 2006) or small-group dynamics (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003; Fine 1979). Temporalities and degrees of cultural change, in turn,

may be shaped by degrees of institutional change (Bourdieu 2000; Swidler 2001), the role of (lingering) environmental scaffolding (DiMaggio 1997; Martin 2010), and the availability of (new) cultural schemas. Various groups may also take up cultural change at different speeds (Bourdieu 2000; Strand and Lizardo 2017).

While urbanists have long been in dialogue with sociologists of culture, with contributions flowing both ways, the latter still have much to offer. First, their insights could help explain *sources of cultural continuity and change* in urban settings, which do not immediately follow from structural or ecological determinants. For instance, Mario Small explained the different community participation of two cohorts in a Puerto Rican housing project in Boston through their divergent relationships to local history, and invoked the notion of "cultural frames" to explain residents' distinct perceptions and participation (Small 2002). Cultural change, then, was mediated by cohort effects – who had different relationships to the neighborhood's history – rather than prompted by direct environmental change.

Second, insights from the sociology of culture can help urbanists better recognize and theorize *sources of local cultural heterogeneity*, such as shaped by neighborhood histories or network effects. One could criticize Jane Jacobs' (1992) "urban village" and "sidewalk ballet," now-iconic ideals within walkable urbanism, as based on a very historically specific, White space in Greenwich Village (Laurence 2016). This critique only makes sense with an understanding of how structural racism and local historical contexts shape racially exclusive 'exemplars' of urbanism (Anderson 2015; Hunter et al. 2016), and how local cultures impinge on urban life (e.g. Fine 1979; Pattillo-McCoy 1998). We find such an appreciation for local cultural heterogeneity in Elijah Anderson's rich work on "codes" of street life in various Black neighborhoods (1990), cosmopolitan spaces (2011), and "White spaces" (2015). He defined codes as sets of orientations,

routines, perceptions, skilled ways of acting, prioritizing, and evaluating others on the street (Anderson 1999, 36, 326). In *Code of the Street* (1999) Anderson described the uneasy co-existence of the "code of the street" based on a performance of toughness and readiness to violence, and the "code of civility" based on mutual respect, in a poor Black Philadelphia neighborhood – where these two codes brought forth a tapestry of interactional possibilities and uncertainties (Anderson 1990).

Third, insights from the contemporary sociology of culture can help urbanists to explain *sources of (seemingly) contradictory behavior,* such as conflicting practices that co-exist within the same space, or practices that seem to conflict with neighborhood conditions. In *No Way Out* (2015), Waverly Duck explained everyday life in an extremely disadvantaged Black neighborhood in a small American city through the notion of the "interaction order," which emphasized how: "the locally situated character of the social order that composes daily life[,] frames the choices and resources available to people" (Duck 2015, 46). While this interaction order offered survival strategies to cope with extreme neighborhood disadvantage, it also spun a net that few residents could escape from (Duck 2015, 7).

This article builds on this scholarly tradition by foregrounding questions of cultural change and continuity in the study or urban life. While constructs such as codes, frames, or interaction orders help us understand sources of cultural heterogeneity, by themselves they are less equipped to address questions of cultural change. What kinds of neighborhood conditions foster cultural continuity? What kinds of neighborhood change are most likely to prompt local cultural change? Under what conditions do residents' cultural practices linger, even after neighborhoods change? To help answer these questions, I introduce the cultural mechanism of "the hysteresis of street life."

The Hysteresis of Street Life

Hysteresis is the process where "effects of some force persis[t] after the force has been removed," and thus, "history, rather than state variables alone" need to be invoked to explain the phenomenon (Cross and Allan 1988: 27-30). Hysteresis is a mechanism of deferred causality and in ancient Greek means "to be behind" or "come late" ("Hysteresis, n." n.d.). Applications have been found in physics, material science, and economics (Cross and Allan 1988).

Bourdieu developed and used the "hysteresis effect" in over four decades of his work (Bourdieu 1988; 2000; Go 2013; Strand and Lizardo 2017). Drawing on fieldwork in decolonizing Algeria and observations of rapid institutional changes within French academia, Bourdieu theorized the hysteresis effect as a radical mismatch between people's previously developed orientations and practical beliefs, and their current institutional and socio-economic environment. His theory of action is premised on an "encounter of two histories" (Bourdieu 2000, 150) – one history embodied in individuals as habits, orientations, and expectations, and the other encountered as institutional and socio-economic context. In his work, the hysteresis effect occurs when environments rapidly change and people become out of sync – as their habits, orientations, and expectations remain adjusted to a previous time (Bourdieu 1977, 78). As Lizardo and Strand summarized: "Mismatch is […] due to a critical break or chronic ill-fit between two temporal periods: a *conditioning* period in which practical belief is acquired and a *deployment* period in which practical belief becomes the engaged basis of action" (2017, 23). Facing circumstances of extraordinary change, people either stick to old habits (Bourdieu 1988, 157) or may have to run counter to their own customs and improvise (Bourdieu 2000, 163). Following Bourdieu, scholars have used the hysteresis effect to analyze the experiences of migrants (Domaneschi 2018), the socially mobile (Friedman 2016), and workers facing stark social and organizational changes (Kerr

and Robinson 2009), as well as to research the impact of health changes and public health interventions (Barrett 2018; Hanckel, Milton, and Green 2020).

This article demonstrates how hysteresis can emerge under conditions of neighborhood change. I describe a case of gradual neighborhood change, which made the hysteresis of street life observable, yet, introduced enough uncertainty to allow conflicting styles of street life – shaped by residents' distinct historical experiences - to continue. I define the *hysteresis of street life* as the tendency of street life habits, expectations, attunements, and orientations (i.e. "styles"), shaped by residents' historical neighborhood experiences, to persist, even in the face of neighborhood change.

The tendency of practices shaped by past experiences to persist is a sociological condition of all urban life – residents do not apprehend streetscapes anew in each encounter, instead their senses and expectations are attuned by past experiences and uses (Cornelissen 2016; Schütz and Luckmann 1973). Nonetheless, the lingering of this "embodied past" (Bourdieu 1977) becomes significant when people face gradual or radical environmental change. Hysteresis becomes observable during two main urban scenarios. One, when neighborhoods change, and current neighborhood conditions and cultural practices ("embodied history") no longer fully align. Residents can then either choose to adjust or hold onto practices shaped by historical experiences (Strand and Lizardo 2017). Two, when newcomers move in, such as due to gentrification or different "cohorts" coming of age within the neighborhood (Small 2002), and conflicting sets of practices based on groups' distinct historical experiences become enacted within the same space. The presence of different groups brings disagreements and possibly ambiguity about practices as well as place perceptions. In this article, I use Brightmoor as a gradually changing neighborhood as a strategic case study to analyze the hysteresis of street life.

Data and Methods

Research Site

Brightmoor was founded as a working-class suburban subdivision of Detroit in 1922. Its developer only sold its mass-produced, wood-slatted bungalows to "100% white American people" (*Detroit Free Press* 1924) and many early Brightmoor residents were White Appalachian families (Loeb 2001). The neighborhood remained 98.9% White as of 1970.

Table I. Neighborhood Change in Brightmoor by Selected Demographic and Economic Characteristics, 1970-2017

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
Total population	26,040	21,897	20,789	18,026	11,187	9,372
% White	98.9%	90.2%	51.7%	22.4%	15.7%	12.9%
% Black	0.8%	7.6%	46.2%	73.3%	80%	83.3%
% Poverty (individuals)	7.0%	12.5%	35.5%	32.4%	53.7%	39.0%
% Vacant housing	2.5%	4.9%	7.2%	12.0%	29.3%	32.5%
Total occupied units	8527	8435	7728	6304	4408	3997

Source. Census 1970-2010, American Community Survey 2006-2010 & 2013-2017 (Social Explorer 2019)

By 2017 Brightmoor had become 83.3% Black and 12.9% White, and 39% of residents lived below the poverty line (Social Explorer 2019). Since 1970 the neighborhood's population had declined from 26,040 to 9,372 inhabitants, a staggering 64% population loss (Social Explorer 2019). Brightmoor experienced its steepest depopulation between 2000 and 2010, when it lost every third resident. That decade, the racialized mortgage foreclosure crisis obliterated home values across

Detroit and forced many Detroiters to walk away from their homes (Rugh, Albright, and Massey 2015). A decade later, due to the city's property tax overassessments and the county's and State's steep fines on back-owed taxes, Brightmoor and Detroit faced a tax foreclosure epidemic (Atuahene and Berry 2019; Dewar, Seymour, and Druță 2015). Tax foreclosures accelerated property dispossession and the spread of vacancy (Seymour and Akers 2021). By 2016 the city of Detroit owned almost a quarter of all residential property, most of it vacant, though residents often maintained or appropriated publicly owned properties (Herbert 2018; Herscher 2012; Kinder 2014). Formal lenders and realtors had become extremely rare in Brightmoor. Almost all properties were sold through the city or county, with land contracts, or cash sales. Home values ranged from around $500 to $15,000.

Most Whites who remained were middle-aged to elderly poor homeowners, who had stayed throughout White flight or had left Brightmoor but returned after facing personal hardships. Black residents were both renters and homeowners, who included more families with kids. Renters found it hard to beat Brightmoor rents, especially as landlords were often willing to overlook previous evictions and poor credit (Desmond and Wilmers 2019) or used illicit contracts such as by renting out properties they did not own. Most homeowners lacked home equity to move elsewhere.

Around 2006 Brightmoor became a destination for newcomers, almost all of whom were White. I also call these newcomers "urban farmers," whom I define as residents who had bought houses and land in Brightmoor in the last decade and shared a broad lifestyle: a new way of relating to Brightmoor, and of consuming its houses, green spaces, and public spaces.[1] Most newcomers grew vegetables and fruits on vacant lots and some illegally kept livestock such as chickens, goats, and bees. They ranged in age from their early 20s to their 70s. Most had college degrees and had grown up in middle-class families and neighborhoods. Almost none were pursuing professional

careers: many worked in part-time, precarious, or minimum wage jobs. Benefiting from Brightmoor's devastated housing market after nearly five decades of racialized depopulation and disinvestments (Hackworth 2019) – including two decades of mortgage and tax foreclosures - few could have afforded to own property elsewhere. A group of around 35 households in 2016, 19 urban farmer households lived in a 21-block area, where they formed around 10% of its population (SimplyAnalytics 2018).

Brightmoor had seen periods of high neighborhood violence since the 1980s, as I found based on 25 oral history interviews with longtime and former residents and reviewing over 250 historical newspaper articles on Brightmoor 1920-2000. Longtime White and Black residents also reported on Brightmoor's historically violent reputation and recalled much drugs-related violence and arson in the 1980s and 1990s especially. Mary, a poor Black resident who bought a house in Brightmoor in 1993, after living closer to Detroit's core, recalled:

> Everybody was moving out here thinking, you know, better out here, but the same thing *out here* was down that way. So, yeah, I wasn't looking for nothing better. Just somewhere to live. I ain't know nothing about no Brightmoor, till I got out here. And then I found out everybody was talking about "Brightmoor, Brightmoor." *What is Brightmoor?* "That's the name of the community out there. Oh *it's bad* out in Brightmoor, this and that."

Brightmoor's violent reputation endured into the 2010s. Some west-side Detroiters called Brightmoor *"the East side on the West side,"* referencing Detroit's symbolic divide into east and west and the violent reputation of parts of its east side. Several local gangs carried Brightmoor in their names, an association that helped confer notoriety on them, while feeding back into the neighborhood's violent reputation. Jevonne, a 32-year-old Black small-time drug dealer, who had *"BMG"* (short for Brightmoor Gang) tattooed on his hand, contrasted Brightmoor against working-class suburb Redford: "Who gonna put Redford on they damn hands? Redford proud. Ain't nobody running around with no Redford tattoo on them. Brightmoor? Yeah that's where I'm

from, I represent my hood." Jevonne's identity was tied up with Brightmoor's violent reputation. In Jevonne's words, "I came hard, I came from the worst of the worst."

The neighborhood's streets were usually empty, with little of the bustling street life that urban ethnographers have documented elsewhere. While Brightmoor was located within city limits, its built environment resembled an emptied-out suburb (Dewar and Linn 2015; Ryan 2012). Many residents did not own cars and walked to local stores and bus stops, though few walked more than was necessary. Concerns about the dangers of life in Brightmoor and of being in public, especially after dark, were recurring conversation topics. Historical and recent violence were also inscribed in the material landscape such as in burnt-out remains of houses, "Scrappers will be shot" spray-painted signs, and informal memorial to shooting victims.

Nevertheless, reported violent and property crime rates in the neighborhood had precipitously declined between 2009 and 2016 **(Figure 1)**.[2]

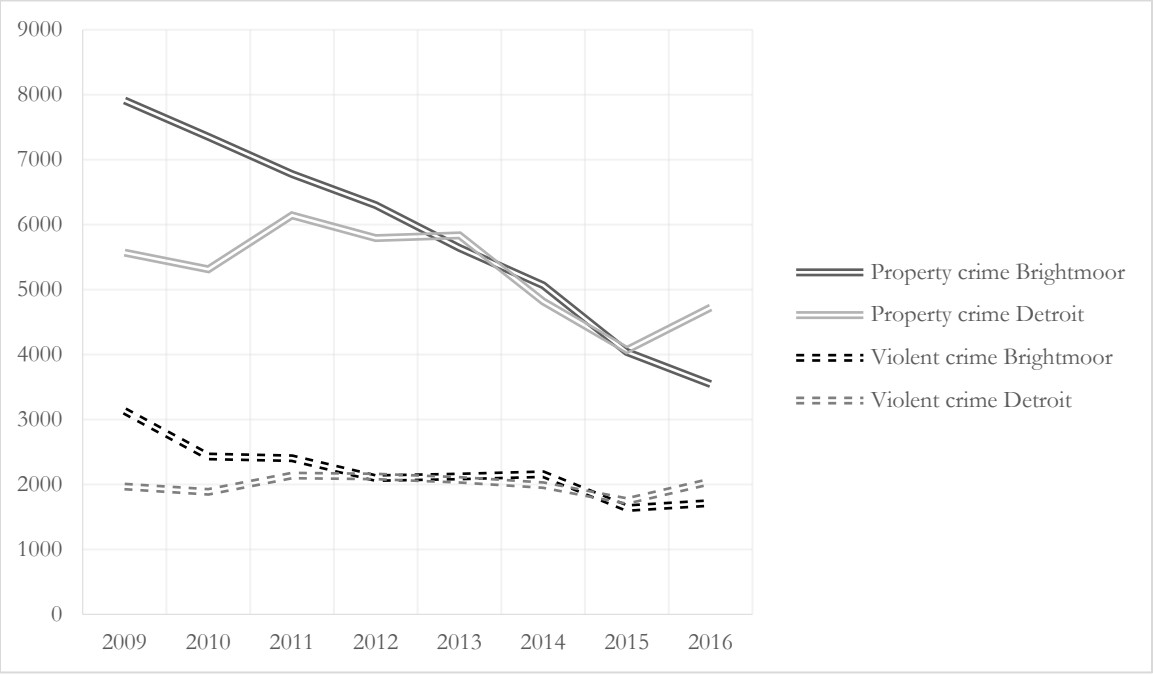

Figure 1: Reported Crime Incidents per 100,000 Inhabitants in Brightmoor and Detroit

Reported property crime decreased ($p < 0.001$), from 7912 incidents per 100,000 people in 2009 to 3545 incidents per 100,000 in 2016: a decline of 55%. Reported violent crime decreased ($p<0.001$) from 3131 incidents per 100,000 inhabitants in 2009 to 1713 incidents per 100,000 in 2016: a decline of 45%. Both trends were more steep than declining reported crime rates in Detroit overall (FBI 2019).

While this police data suggests a downward trend, many residents also felt unsafe as they believed emergency responders would not show or arrive too late. On average in Detroit, the Detroit Police Department reported to arrive after 50 minutes to Priority 1 calls involving guns in 2013, which – partly after it changed Priority 1 classification - had decreased to 15 minutes by 2016 (Wilkinson 2017). Throughout my fieldwork, Brightmoor residents continued to report that the police did not show to some 911 calls.[3]

Research Design

This article draws on three years of ethnographic fieldwork while I lived in Brightmoor from July 2015 to August 2018. I observed neighborhood life by walking, biking, and driving through Brightmoor, using local businesses, eating at the Soup Kitchen, and attending Sunday services at various churches. I attended many neighborhood meetings and events. During summers, I hang out at the weekly farmers' markets and volunteered at house board-ups, vacant lot clean-ups, and youth programs. I spent a lot of time hanging out with neighbors, visiting people, giving rides, exchanging favors, chatting on the street, and hosting people at my home. I documented conversations and interactions with over 130 Brightmoor residents with whom I became acquainted and wrote over 1200 pages of field notes on neighborhood life.

My positionality as a White European woman shaped my entry into the neighborhood,

fieldwork relationships, and analytical focus. Unlike many immigrants of color, as a White "expat" most of my privileges were transferable to the United States. Metro Detroiters also marked me as *White* and thus implicitly American rather than an immigrant – my accent was sometimes such a breach of expectations in fleeting interactions that I had to repeat the first thing I said (Goffman 1963b, 73). My obvious accent was usually an asset, as residents rarely saw me as an agent of the state (e.g. as a social worker or city worker), it was a great conversation starter, and made me memorable. My outsider's point of view also rendered local forms of xenophobia and anti-Black racism very visible (Cornelissen 2020). Though even as "White American" was a foreign identity, I started to inhabit many of its inequalities.

During my housing search one year into my fieldwork in Brightmoor, befriended White urban farmers offered their house for sale to me for $7,000: they found me a desirable buyer as a familiar, would-be homeowner *with cash.* The sellers had tried and failed to find a local non-investor buyer with cash.[4] Decades of White flight, depopulation, public and private disinvestments, institutional racism, and mortgage and tax foreclosures had conspired to create a bargain that I, as outsider, was better positioned to capitalize on than most Detroiters (Kirshner 2019; Philp 2017). While I did not want to financially profit from Brightmoor's devastation, I decided to buy the house and invest in upkeep and repairs for a few years, with the plan to pass on this house to a Detroiter. At the end of my fieldwork, despite my best efforts and help of my sizable Detroit network, I tried and failed to sell the house to one of my low-income Black neighbors, a single woman in her early sixties who qualified for VA benefits and worked long, irregular hours at a local McDonalds – I even prolonged my search for months after I had moved out, as we fruitlessly waited for a VA mortgage, other mortgage, or small loan to come through. She gave up before I did. I ended up selling the house to a young biracial couple associated with the urban

farmer group, who could pay in cash. This story is telling of how White privilege operates even (especially) in the most depressed markets and how legacies of systemic racism haunt Detroit's housing market (see also Taylor 2019).

Safety concerns that shaped other residents' lives also limited my fieldwork. I lived in the area of Brightmoor where most White newcomers lived. I rarely walked more than six blocks and at night would not walk more than one or two blocks from my house – blocks where I knew many neighbors. I did bike more broadly through the neighborhood during the day. My other ethnographic activities – attending meetings and events, visiting interviewees, doing door-to-door tax foreclosure outreach, late-night safety patrols, and clean- and board-ups with other residents – also brought me all over the neighborhood at different times. While I faced more safety restrictions than most ethnographers, which presented challenges to studying street life, I believe that my other fieldwork activities remedied this limitation. Moreover, as residents around me navigated similar concerns, my experiences around safety and vigilance were intrinsic to the participant-observation of neighborhood life.

During my fieldwork, I witnessed several houses burn down, including the arson of the house of befriended longtimers, the attempted arson of the house of a White newcomer, and the suspected arson of a vacant house on my block. Half a dozen residents I knew had their houses broken into. Most cases of assault and aggravated assault I learned about were within the domestic sphere. I heard gunshots about once a week to once every few weeks, a frequency that declined during my last year of fieldwork. Residents connected most gun violence to the drugs trade, and I learned of few bystanders getting injured, perhaps because of Brightmoor's low density and subdued street life. Some gun violence was connected to family disputes.

I also conducted 25 in-depth interviews with residents that addressed safety and street life:

7 with urban farmers, 10 with Black longtimers, and 8 with White longtimers **(Table 2).**

Table 2. Demographic Characteristics of Interview Sample (N = 25)

#	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	in Brightmoor since	From where?
Urban Farmers					
1	Tess	Female	25	2013	Detroit suburb
2	Lucy	Female	28	2015	Pennsylvania
3	Jordan	Male	30	2015	Michigan
4	Aaron	Male	29	2015	Washington
5	Alex	Male	33	2015	Detroit suburb
6	Emmanuel	Male	40	2014	Florida
7	Lindsey	Female	55	2015	Colorado
Black Longtimers					
8	Mae	Female	27	2010	Detroit
9	Jevonne	Male	32	1984	Brightmoor
10	Lakeisha	Female	36	1995	Pennsylvania
11	Theodore	Male	45	1981	Detroit
12	Sylvia	Female	46	1982	Detroit
13	Daniel	Male	47	2004	Chicago
14	Christina	Female	55	1994	Detroit
15	Mary	Female	60	1993	Detroit
16	Miss Donna	Female	64	1985	Detroit
17	Kimberly	Female	64	1992	Detroit

White Longtimers					
18	Dirk	Male	36	1980	Brightmoor
19	Neil	Male	49	1967	Brightmoor
20	Tiffany	Female	51	1964	Brightmoor
21	Janette	Female	53	1962	Brightmoor
22	Bob	Male	66	1953	Brightmoor
23	Dave	Male	67	1985	Pennsylvania
24	Keith	Male	67	1951	Detroit
25	Jackie	Female	80	1960	Detroit

This sample was drawn from the over 130 Brightmoor residents I got to know during my participant-observation fieldwork. I oversampled urban farmers and White longtimers in my interviews and fieldwork relative to their overall representation in the neighborhood, as my broader study I was focused on all three groups and their relationships (e.g. Cornelissen 2020). I conducted most interviews after I had conceptualized the initial idea for this article based on analyzing and coding field notes, and I used interviews to test and refine emergent themes. I asked questions such as how often and where interviewees walked in the neighborhood, which local businesses they used, what they did to feel safe at home and in public, and their experiences with crime victimization. Interviews lasted between one hour and two-and-a-half hours. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

The Hysteresis of Vigilant Public Life

I call the dominant style of public life among longtime residents, *vigilant public life.* While

residents faced real, ongoing dangers and mobilized this style of public life to protect themselves, I argue that doing so, they also acted on historical experiences. Their orientations, attunements, and practices demonstrate the hysteresis of street life, as street life shaped by historical neighborhood conditions and experiences lingered, despite recent crime declines.

Everyday Vigilance

While most residents said they did not fear crime, they anticipated crime as a condition of living in Brightmoor. They expressed this anticipation by being hyper-alert to their surroundings, as the following field note illustrates:

> I went to see a "move-in-ready" vacant house offered for sale on Craigslist for $9,000. I brought Tess, a White newcomer, who was fixing up a Brightmoor house herself. We walked the seven blocks there. When we arrived, Tess smoked a cigarette while we waited on the sidewalk. Interrupting our conversation, she said amusedly, "look over there," nodding at a house across the street. Within two minutes of our arrival, two elderly White women had opened their front door and were eying us from behind the iron frame storm door. I joked that they must find us suspicious. We were young White women wearing jeans, sweaters, and rundown converse sneakers. The seller, Joe, a large-set Hispanic construction worker in his late thirties who lived next door and a longtime Brightmoor resident, pulled up soon after. He asked if I owned a red car. Smiling, he said he saw me drive by last night. I laughed, "oh wow, keeping an eye out!"

Brightmoor's residential streets mostly carried local traffic. Few pedestrians and cars passed by unnoticed. Unlike in "mixed use" urban streets (Jacobs 1992, p. 152), residents were not watching leisurely as by-product of consuming public space, but carefully to look out for themselves and others. While Brightmoor's streets were sprinkled with fields and vacant houses, the few "eyes on the street" (Jacobs 1992, p. 35) who remained were vigilant.[5]

Moreover, within this vigilant style of public life, residents often dramatically realized (Goffman 1959, p. 30) their vigilance, to signal to strangers that they were being watched. The two elderly women could have watched us from the living room window. Instead, they opened the

front door, while remaining behind the storm door: allowing us to *see them watching us.* Whether walking, biking, driving, or sitting on their couch or front porch, many longtime residents followed cars that drove by with their eyes. They did not always know all their neighbors' names, but they knew their cars. Residents distinguished familiar from unfamiliar and potentially suspicious cars, the latter based on a combination of make and quality, license plates, drivers, and movement. During an evening meeting at Michelle's house, who was a Black Brightmoor community organizer and longtime Detroiter, she interrupted the meeting: *"*Did you hear that guys?" I had also heard a deep truck sound. Michelle described the route she had heard the truck going in detail. She got up to look through the closed window blinds to check, while Chuck, a White longtimer, opened the front door and stepped out to look outside. In both examples, residents were in private spaces, but their vigilance drew them into public engagements.

Residents had not acquired these vigilant practices and habituated ways of navigating the neighborhood over the last few years of the neighborhood's relative calm. Rather, these practices and orientations had coalesced and served "street-wise" (Anderson 1990) longtime residents well over years and sometimes decades of living through changing waves of neighborhood violence.

Safety Habits and Accessories

The hysteresis of vigilant public life also expressed itself through the many safety habits that residents practiced. An example was Miss Donna, a 64-years-old Black resident who had lived in Brightmoor since 1985. When I assisted Miss Donna with her fundraiser fish fry at the farmers' market one Saturday afternoon, she at times put the cash we had collected away in her nearby parked car. She warned me to keep a close eye on the money box at all times, urging me: "Remember, this is Brightmoor. Anything *can* and *will* happen." Whenever I visited Miss Donna's house - even during the day - she would usually make sure to see me get in my car when I left,

giving the same rationale: “this is *Brightmoor*, after all.” Miss Donna invoked Brightmoor as a kind of place to justify her precautions: urging me not to forget that we were in “Brightmoor,” a place that had become so entangled with its historical place reputation as violent that by merely voicing its name she could communicate her concerns. Her practices also indicate the local texture of vigilance. Rather than being afraid of gun violence specifically, most longtime residents felt that Brightmoor was a place where anything could and would happen (see also Bourgois 1995, p. 34). This perceived openness of violent possibilities structured the saturation of habitual vigilance in a wide variety of practices.

Besides practicing safety habits, Brightmoor residents often used dogs or weapons to feel safe. Most felt that they could not count on the police to protect them or arrive on time. Dogs as pit bull mixes and Rottweilers were common. When I asked Janette, who was a 53-year-old White born and raised Brightmoor resident, how she secured her home, she was blunt as usual:

> Janette: I've got a dog, I got a baseball bat, and I got a butcher knife. I've got a mental health record that says I'm capable of committing murder to protect myself.
> Interviewer: So you've had to use it before?
> Janette: *No,* but if I had to, I would, without a second thought. It's kill or be killed and I'm not going to be the one carried out in a body bag.

Mae was a 27-years-old Black longtimer, born and raised in the Detroit Brewster public housing projects, who lived together with her 4-year-old son. She had lived in various rentals in Brightmoor since 2010. She called her block “good,” but still didn’t feel safe to walk anywhere in Brightmoor and moved a .40 caliber handgun between her truck and her house: “If I’m riding by myself and it’s just me and my son, then I’m going to take it. I’m going to take it everywhere I go.”

Longtime residents often explained the necessity of safety habits, self-defense weapons, or guard dogs by referring to historical violent incidents. My 80-year-old White next-door neighbor Jackie sat on my couch two weeks after I had moved into my house, and eyeing my sparsely

furnished living room, asked me incredulously: "Are you going to live here *by yourself?"* She launched into a story about how the sergeant of the 8th Precinct, when it closed in 2005, told everyone: "We can't protect you: get a shotgun and a dog." She continued to heed and repeat his advice over a decade later. White longtimer Bob still carried bullet-fragments of a 1987 home invasion in his chest: "I tried fighting back, what you just do with instinct. That's when they shot me in the back." This traumatic incident continued to inform his vigilant street life orientations and practices, even as he also observed that Brightmoor had become much more "quiet." Miss Donna had faced five break-ins in her Brightmoor home over the last 25 years (which she considered few) and had witnessed enough of a lifetime of arson:

> Most of the people owned their houses, and then, you know, then the 80s the drugs came up in here and just destroyed some of these people, took people's homes, people stopped moving out of here, and that continued on for a long time. Finding bodies in the houses, in the late 80s, yeah, they [drug dealers] came in and just, tore up, burning down houses, people wouldn't let them in, they'd burn their houses up, you know, just got crazy. People were scared, they weren't coming out their houses. People started locking their doors more, [became] very edgy about somebody knocking on their door.

These biographies of trauma and the ongoing uncertainty of violence shaped the style of vigilant street life prevalent among Brightmoor longtimers. Vigilance was not only oriented towards the last season of crime incidents, official crime rates, or other contemporary ecological determinants. Rather, this style of street life was shaped by often-traumatic historical events and neighborhood experiences and lingered, as longtime residents continued to rely on this style to cope with the uncertainty of neighborhood violence during a period of significant crime decline in Brightmoor.

Finally, we do not only find the hysteresis of vigilant street life in residents' practices, but this style also lingering materially. Many protective items, from guns and knives, to window bars, bricked-in-windows, and security cameras, had stayed in the neighborhood partly as remnants of biographies of trauma: they represented historical vigilance materialized and, in some ways,

crystallized, even as crime rates were declining. For instance, my house came with protective metal window grates on all back windows: grates that I decided to keep, while I would not have purchased these myself. The decision to buy a gun, protective baseball bat, window bars, or security system, versus the decision keep these items in place, are not equivalent. These items remained in the neighborhood and were often on display. These items demonstrate the material dimension of the hysteresis of street life: the historical material landscape of the neighborhood also lingered and continued to be inhabited by protective items – materially embodying and carrying neighborhood inequalities of Brightmoor's past into the present.

The Hysteresis of Aspirational Public Life

In the previous section, I analyzed the vigilant style of navigating street life and demonstrated how it was shaped by longtimers' experiences with historical neighborhood violence. In what I call the hysteresis of vigilant street life, I show how these practices and orientations lingered despite recent crime declines, as longtime residents continued to draw on this style to cope with the uncertainty of violence in Brightmoor.

In this second part of my analysis I look at the style of street life that was more specific to White newcomers – the so-called urban farmers - and shaped by their historical neighborhood experiences: what I call the hysteresis of aspirational street life. I define aspirational street life as a set of practices, habits, and attunements oriented towards White, middle-class ideals of place, along with a conviction of their makeable nature within Brightmoor.

Longtime residents varied in their hope or despair about Brightmoor's future. By contrast, *all* White newcomers had moved based on their conviction that Brightmoor was a place full of potential and that their presence could help realize this potential. I interviewed Emmanuel, a 40-

year-old Latino newcomer originally from Florida, as he was driving. As we slowly passed through a deserted Brightmoor street at night, Emmanuel exclaimed:

> Look at all this land and look at all these houses. That's a [vacant] brick home right there! Imagine having all of this land around this house! It's so *beautiful.* I am always amazed, looking at a house like that, why nobody owns it. Why people are not living here. I mean, obviously, there's a history, it's a *very, very* bad history. *Lots* of very negative things happened. You know, one of the first or second clean ups that I did […] one of the neighbors came out and said: "You know, right on this property, where you guys are cleaning up, there used to be a house, and in this house, on the front steps of this house, a man was murdered in front of his kids." So obviously there was a lot of bad blood, I understand it, but it's not *here* anymore.

While urban farmers knew of historical violence in Brightmoor, their relationship to this violence was theoretical: based on oral history rather than biography. They understood neighborhood violence as mostly of the past, of which they lacked lived experiences. Instead, the expectations, orientations, and habits they brought to bear on Brightmoor were shaped by their previous experiences in usually middle-class White neighborhoods.

Aspirational Public Life as an End in Itself

Some White newcomers had folk theories about their aspirational public life as a *means* to neighborhood change, as I will show next. However, for most this continuation of middle-class White street life in Brightmoor represented an *end in itself.* Practices that I call aspirational, included White newcomers planting and maintaining organic gardens in vacant lots by themselves, going for a walk with their kids in the sparsely used Eliza Howell Park that was mostly used by men smoking or relaxing in their car, going for a run, leisurely walking their baby in a stroller through depopulated Brightmoor streets, and buying and selling goods at the farmers' market they organized across from a notorious drug dealing spot.

These habits, expectations, and orientations were shaped by White newcomers'

neighborhood experiences prior to moving to Brightmoor – almost in all cases White, middle-class neighborhoods. Lucy, a 28-year-old Hispanic-White woman who grew up in rural Pennsylvania, said she enjoyed sunbathing – preferably in a bikini or less: “In Oregon, it’s legal being naked.” She soon realized that Brightmoor was different from Portland, Oregon – where she and her partner Peter had previously lived – and described how she no longer sunbathed in her “yard,” a city-owned vacant lot on which they squatted with a tiny house:

> In the yard, sometimes I just want to sunbathe or wear short shorts and a tank top when it's hot out or wear a sports bra, and I cannot do that. A few times, I have done that. I have my bathing suit top on and I'm in the garden, and people drive back and will sit there and say something to me, and then it's like: "I'm in my yard at a dead-end street. I'm not trying to pick you up. This is where I live."

The *hysteresis,* or lingering, of these middle-class White habitual expectations, orientations, and ideals for inhabiting urban space would have been unremarkable had these White newcomers moved to another White, middle-class neighborhood. However, these practices became aspirational in the context of Brightmoor – representing aspirations for a very particular, classed, and raced public life and urban space (Anderson 2015).

Another example was Heather, a 37-year-old White newcomer, who had moved with her partner from suburban Chicago. In the summer she and her one- and four-year-old kids spent considerable time outside, especially on the vacant lots next to their house, where she was growing organic vegetables and wildflowers. While most longtime homeowners had fenced in their properties, often with tall security or privacy fences, Heather had not fenced these in. She also sometimes took her kids for walks, visiting Eliza Howell Park or other urban farmers in the neighborhood. She found it important that her children spent much time outside, exploring Brightmoor’s nature and playing in the dirt.

Spending much more time in public than most Brightmoor residents and doing so as a

woman with two little kids, she worried little about safety, except for traffic: one summer she and her husband put up a 25mph yard sign. Nevertheless, she second-guessed their choice to celebrate her husband's birthday party in a bar a block from their house – bringing their four-year-old that evening – when someone got shot in the field next to the bar two weeks later: "That was not the best idea ever."

In practicing public life befitting to the neighborhood they *wanted* Brightmoor to be, urban farmers always walked a fine line between believing and pretending to believe in their performances of place (Goffman 1959, p. 70) – adjusting their practices as they went along. Their practices were not merely naïve or ignorant, as these newcomers were aware of how their practices went against longtime residents' vigilant examples and instructions. Nor were their practices contrived, as a type of Detroit stage act, to trick themselves and others into believing what they performed.

Rather, in the context of gradually changing Brightmoor, where neighborhood violence had become more episodic, this "hysteresis of street life," i.e. urban farmers' attempts at continuing White, middle-class practices in the neighborhood, became an aspirational project. White newcomers had bought into Brightmoor based on a vision of the kinds of lives they imagined possible there. Seeing this lifestyle choice, they did not perceive retreating into their homes, building tall privacy fences, or driving everywhere with a handgun, as viable options. Especially as outdoor activities in Brightmoor, such as gardening on vacant lots and enjoying the greenery that had germinated in the wake of racialized disinvestments and depopulation, had attracted them to the neighborhood. The continuation of White, middle-class expectations, outlooks, and practices in Brightmoor's public life - the hysteresis of aspirational public life - became an *end in itself* for many White newcomers and was core to their urban imaginaries of Brightmoor's so-called

potential.

Aspirational Public Life as Means for Changing Brightmoor

At the same time, some White newcomers also saw their public life as a *means* to neighborhood change. These urban farmers had "folk theories" (Bourdieu 1989) – popular theories about how social processes work – on aspirational public life as place-making. They believed that by publicly performing the kind of neighborhood they wanted Brightmoor to be, they could help conjure that place.

I talked to Riet Johnson, a White community organizer in her early sixties, about my idea to write about aspirational public life: such as the farmers' market and her husband biking to work at a Detroit University every day. She explained that they were "trying to change the whole atmosphere of this place," adding incredulously: *"How is that new?"* She gave another example:

> "Did I tell you the story about the Christmas cookies?" She said that when they were living in Rosedale Park [a middle-class Detroit neighborhood] they would always bake trays of cookies and go door-to-door to give them to neighbors on Christmas Eve. When they moved to Brightmoor, she decided to continue to do so: *"this is what the Johnsons do."* The first year they went out in Brightmoor, they made about ten trays of cookies: "we maybe got rid of one tray." Some people only opened the door by an inch to peek outside or looked through the window blinds to see who was there: they did not open the door. "People must have thought we were crazy." They did it again the second year. The third year, they made twenty-five trays, and continued until 10.30PM as everyone invited them in.

Riet documented a shift in how neighbors related to her, her husband, and their six teenage kids, and not only opened the door, but also invited them in. While one could read this as a story of how Riet's family became accepted in Brightmoor, Riet understood this story as illustrating a broader cultural shift. She believed her family had helped change Brightmoor's "atmosphere," by introducing practices that her family had done in their previous middle-class neighborhood.

Aspirational public life as an imagined *means* for neighborhood change sometimes took the form of collective events: most notably the weekly farmers' market, which urban farmers started in July 2015 and coincided with the start of my fieldwork. It was held on the crumbling parking lot of a boarded-up fish fry restaurant, part of a strip mall that also housed the extensively bullet-proofed Ronnie's liquor store. A string of vacant fields waved at the urban farmers from across the four-lane Fenkell Ave and from their stands they smelled the exhaust from lingering cars at Speedy's gas station, which sold gas, snacks and soda, and lottery tickets, and housed a notorious open-air drug market at its pumps. This July 2015 field note illustrates Brightmoor's second-ever farmers' market:

> Today there were two stands of Youth Garden kids selling vegetables they had grown, a water and popcorn stand, Jeramiah playing the keyboard, Heather selling wildflower bouquets, Sarah raw honey, Nora home-made granola and cake, and John and Julie selling kale and bags of salad. A group of youth volunteers from Chicago - most of them also White – performed, singing four songs a-cappella.
>
> They were partly drowned out by the heavy bass of rap music, coming from a dark tinted-glass SUV that had stopped at the gas station across the street. A dark-skinned Black guy in his 30s in a light blue oversized T-shirt walked by on the sidewalk. He looked repeatedly at the choir, like he could not believe his eyes. At the opposite corner, four Black middle-aged men had gathered in front of the vacant building, one sleeping at the side of the building. A light-skinned Black prostitute wearing a black strapless bikini, white sneakers, a red scarf that held up her hair, and big dangling earrings joined them after patronizing Ronnie's liquor store.

While the farmers' market was officially aimed at the local population - especially poor White and Black residents without reliable transportation – it missed this mark during its first three seasons. The main economic transactions on the intersection remained gas, soda, snacks, and anything from Ronnie's Liquor store: offerings now complemented with locally raised eggs, local organic honey, carrots, and home-baked granola. During its first summer, farmers' market sales also remained outpaced by drug sales across the street.

Most White newcomers were undeterred by the market's cool reception: they were self-

aware that the market was at odds with locally normative public life. Instead, they hoped that by continuing it every week, they could make it well-attended. By acting *as if* the farmers' market was a good idea, they believed they would summon this reality: they hoped that aspirational public life could be a means to neighborhood change.

The style of public life common among White newcomers was shaped by a lingering, or *hysteresis,* of habits, expectations, and orientations acquired by living in middle-class, White neighborhoods. This lingering of middle-class White habits despite newcomers' migration to a radically different neighborhood, did not happen unreflexively (Strand and Lizardo 2017). On the one hand, they mobilized these practices as *ends in themselves.* Moving to Brightmoor, they had not been drawn to a depopulated, disinvested, poor Black Detroit neighborhood, but to its potential as *they* saw it. Their ability to continue middle-class, White street life practices was essential to their desire to live in this Black neighborhood. On the other hand, they were aware of how their visions of Brightmoor's potential were "out-of-sync" (Strand and Lizardo 2017) with its racial, classed, and historical reality, and started to see the hysteresis of their middle-class White practices as an instrument for neighborhood change.

Discussion and Conclusion

My findings showed how Black and White longtimers and White newcomers navigated street life in a gradually changing Detroit neighborhood in conflicting ways. I theorized the cultural mechanism of the *hysteresis of street life* to explain these distinct styles of street life, which is the lingering of street life habits, orientations, expectations shaped by historical neighborhood experiences, after neighborhoods change. Even as crime had starkly declined in Brightmoor, most longtime residents continued to navigate public life with a vigilant orientation, a style that helped

them cope with the ongoing uncertainty of neighborhood violence. By contrast, most White newcomers defied this vigilant style. As most had moved to Brightmoor from White, middle-class neighborhoods, they brought expectations, habits, and orientations for street life based on these previous neighborhood experiences. I called their lingering style of street life "aspirational," as it was oriented towards White, middle-class ideals of place. White newcomers mobilized this style of street life both as *end* in itself and as *means* to changing the neighborhood.

During my three years of fieldwork these styles remained mostly bifurcated: longtimers and newcomers continued to each enact their own style of street life and doing so, inhabited different lived neighborhoods (Hwang 2016; Suttles 1968). One important alternative explanation for this continued divergence in street life is longtimers' and White newcomers' unequal vulnerability to neighborhood violence: such as shaped by unequal criminalization and vulnerability to racialized police encounters and marginalization (Rios, Carney, and Kelekay 2017; Stuart 2016b). One may also note that White newcomers were on average much younger than Black and White longtimers. While these considerations are significant, they in themselves do not explain why vigilant public life continued despite Brightmoor's stark decline in reported crime since 2009. Uneven vulnerabilities and age differences also did not neatly map onto the longtimer-newcomer divide, and therefore cannot fully explain the broad split in orientations, habits, and practices.

Instead, I explained this divergence through residents' unequal historical neighborhood experiences. In Brightmoor, longtime residents' vigilance persisted despite declining reported crime rates. Traumatized by historical violence in Brightmoor and sometimes in neighborhoods elsewhere in Detroit, they continued to navigate public life vigilantly to cope with uncertainty. By contrast, most White newcomers had moved from middle-class neighborhoods – all places where

violent crime levels did not even approximate current levels in Brightmoor (Sampson 2012). In the context of the neighborhood's declining crime rates, newcomers could mostly practice their aspirational public life unabatedly and experienced few violent incidents that other residents anticipated.

This article highlighted the broad contrast between the styles of street life prevalent among newcomers and longtimers, as shaped by their disparate historical neighborhood experiences. However, I do not intend to deny the presence of other aspirational spaces and practices in Brightmoor (Herscher 2012; Hunter et al. 2016; Kinder 2016). Traumatic historical neighborhood experiences did not foreclose visions and practices of hope, creativity, and community resilience under extreme duress. Whether by cutting tall grass on vacant lots or helping each other out by small acts of neighborliness, the Brightmoor community hung together by informal social networks and solutions. Nonetheless, even longtimers' most powerful aspirational spaces in Brightmoor remained infused with the style of vigilance. The Grace New Covenant Church promoted a proud pan-African Black identity and supported food security in Brightmoor. Its visitors needed to ring the locked backdoor to enter, though, all windows remained bricked in, and during service parishioners could follow CCTV footage of nine security cameras on a flatscreen TV in the sanctuary. And while longtime residents' practice of cutting tall grass on vacant city-owned fields exuded resilient messages of re-claiming ownership and cultivating urban nature consistent with their future hopes for Brightmoor, it was also infused with the language of safety – such as the desire to maintain clear lines of sight. The hysteresis of vigilance, then, remained a backdrop within which longtimers' other aspirational, civic, religious, political and personal urban practices existed.

Notes

[1] I describe urban farmers' lifestyles in a book in progress.

[2] I analyzed Detroit Police Department crime data for Brightmoor 2009-2016, using ArcGIS geocoding to subset for neighborhood. I adjusted crime rates for estimated yearly population changes in Brightmoor's block groups (DPD 2017; SimplyAnalytics 2018). Reliable crime data prior to 2009 was unavailable at the neighborhood-level.

[3] The police not responding to 911 calls would depress reported crime rates. Based on distrust and observations of police racial bias, some residents would not call the police to begin with (Faber and Kalbfeld 2019; Kirk and Papachristos 2011).

[4] Bank rarely provide "small-dollar mortgages" below $50,000, de facto redlining most of Detroit's depressed housing market (see also Gallagher 2019).

[5] The more abandoned the block, the more watchful residents' "eyes on the street" (Jacobs 1992) often were.

References

Anderson, Elijah. 1990. *Streetwise: Race, Class, and Change in an Urban Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1999. *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

———. 2011. *The Cosmopolitan Canopy: Race and Civility in Everyday Life*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

———. 2015. "'The White Space.'" *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1 (1): 10–21.

Atuahene, Bernadette, and Christopher Berry. 2019. "Taxed out: Illegal Property Tax Assessments and the Epidemic of Tax Foreclosures in Detroit." *UC Irvine Law Review* 9 (4): 847–86.

Barrett, Timothy. 2018. "Bourdieu, Hysteresis, and Shame: Spinal Cord Injury and the Gendered Habitus." *Men and Masculinities* 21 (1): 35–55. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X16652658.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1988. *Homo Academicus*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1989. “Social Space and Symbolic Power.” *Sociological Theory* 7 (1): 14–25.
———. 2000. *Pascalian Meditations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Bourgois, Philippe. 1995. *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cornelissen, Sharon. 2016. “Turning Distaste into Taste: Context-Specific Habitus and the Practical Congruity of Culture.” *Theory and Society* 45 (6): 501–29. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-016-9280-0.
———. 2020. “National Politics, Neighborly Politics: How Trump’s Election Impacted a Black and White Detroit Community.” *Sociological Forum* 35 (2): 419–42.
Cross, Rod, and Andrew Allan. 1988. “On the History of Hysteresis.” In *Unemployment, Hysteresis, and the Natural Rate Hypothesis*, edited by Rod Cross, 26–38. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Desmond, Matthew, and Nathan Wilmers. 2019. “Do the Poor Pay More for Housing? Exploitation, Profit, and Risk in Rental Markets.” *American Journal of Sociology* 124 (4): 1090–1124. https://doi.org/10.1086/701697.
Detroit Free Press. 1924. “Six Great Reasons Why You Should Buy - Now!,” March 30, 1924.
Dewar, Margaret, and Robert Linn. 2015. “Remaking Brightmoor.” In *Mapping Detroit: Land, Community, and Shaping a City*, edited by June Manning Thomas and Henco Bekkering, 143–65. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
Dewar, Margaret, Eric Seymour, and Oana Druță. 2015. “Disinvesting in the City: The Role of Tax Foreclosure in Detroit.” *Urban Affairs Review* 51 (5): 587–615. https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087414551717.
DiMaggio, Paul. 1997. “Culture and Cognition.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (1): 263–87. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.23.1.263.
Domaneschi, Lorenzo. 2018. “Brand New Consumers: A Social Practice Approach to Young Immigrants Coping with Material Culture in Italy.” *Cultural Sociology* 12 (4): 499–517. https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975518768978.
DPD. 2017. “Detroit Police Department Crime Incidents 2009-2017 Dataset.” Detroit Open Data Portal. Accessed March 26, 2019. https://data.detroitmi.gov/.
Duck, Waverly. 2015. *No Way Out: Precarious Living in the Shadow of Poverty and Drug Dealing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Duneier, Mitchell, and Harvey Molotch. 1999. “Talking City Trouble: Interactional Vandalism, Social Inequality, and the ‘Urban Interaction Problem.’” *American Journal of Sociology* 104 (5): 1263–95.
Eliasoph, Nina, and Paul Lichterman. 2003. “Culture in Interaction.” *American Journal of Sociology* 108 (4): 735–94. https://doi.org/10.1086/367920.
Faber, Jacob William, and Jessica Rose Kalbfeld. 2019. “Complaining While Black: Racial Disparities in the Adjudication of Complaints Against the Police.” *City & Community* 18 (3): 1028–67. https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12388.
FBI. 2019. “FBI Uniform Crime Reporting.” Federal Bureau of Investigation. 2019. https://www.fbi.gov/services/cjis/ucr.
Fine, Gary Alan. 1979. “Small Groups and Culture Creation: The Idioculture of Little League Baseball Teams.” *American Sociological Review* 44 (5): 733–45. https://doi.org/10.2307/2094525.
Friedman, Sam. 2016. “Habitus Clivé and the Emotional Imprint of Social Mobility.” *The Sociological Review* 64 (1): 129–47. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12280.

Gallagher, John. 2019. “Few Blacks Get Mortgages for Homes in Detroit, Data Show.” *Detroit Free Press*, December 15, 2019. https://www.freep.com/story/money/business/john-gallagher/2019/03/21/black-mortgages-detroit-real-estate-michigan/3165381002/.
Gardner, Carol Brooks. 1995. *Passing By: Gender and Public Harassment*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Go, Julian. 2013. “Decolonizing Bourdieu: Colonial and Postcolonial Theory in Pierre Bourdieu’s Early Work.” *Sociological Theory* 31 (1): 49–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/0735275113477082.
Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books.
———. 1963a. *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*. New York: The Free Press.
———. 1963b. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
Hackworth, Jason. 2019. *Manufacturing Decline: How Racism and the Conservative Movement Crush the American Rust Belt*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Hanckel, Benjamin, Sarah Milton, and Judith Green. 2020. “Unruly Bodies: Resistance, (in)Action and Hysteresis in a Public Health Intervention.” *Social Theory & Health*, June. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41285-020-00143-z.
Harding, David J. 2011. “Rethinking the Cultural Context of Schooling Decisions in Disadvantaged Neighborhoods: From Deviant Subculture to Cultural Heterogeneity.” *Sociology of Education* 84 (4): 322–39. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040711417008.
Herbert, Claire W. 2018. “Like a Good Neighbor, Squatters Are There: Property and Neighborhood Stability in the Context of Urban Decline.” *City & Community* 17 (1): 236–58.
Herscher, Andrew. 2012. *The Unreal Estate Guide to Detroit*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Hunter, Marcus Anthony, Mary Pattillo, Zandria F. Robinson, and Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor. 2016. “Black Placemaking: Celebration, Play, and Poetry.” *Theory, Culture & Society* 33 (7–8): 31–56.
Hwang, Jackelyn. 2016. “The Social Construction of a Gentrifying Neighborhood: Reifying and Redefining Identity and Boundaries in Inequality.” *Urban Affairs Review* 52 (1): 98–128.
“Hysteresis, n.” n.d. In *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed July 20, 2020. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/90636.
Jacobs, Jane. 1992. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.
Kerr, Ron, and Sarah Robinson. 2009. “The Hysteresis Effect as Creative Adaptation of the Habitus: Dissent and Transition to the ‘Corporate’ in Post-Soviet Ukraine:” *Organization* 16 (6): 829–53. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508409337581.
Kinder, Kimberley. 2014. “Guerrilla-Style Defensive Architecture in Detroit: A Self-Provisioned Security Strategy in a Neoliberal Space of Disinvestment.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38 (5): 1767–84. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12158.
———. 2016. *DIY Detroit: Making Do in a City without Services*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Kirk, David S., and Andrew V. Papachristos. 2011. “Cultural Mechanisms and the Persistence of Neighborhood Violence.” *American Journal of Sociology* 116 (4): 1190–1233.

Kirshner, Jodie Adams. 2019. *Broke: Hardship and Resilience in a City of Broken Promises*. New York: St. Martin's Publishing Group.
Laurence, Peter L. 2016. "How Best to Use, Abuse, and Criticize Jane Jacobs." *The Architect's Newspaper*, May 9, 2016. https://www.archpaper.com/2016/05/best-use-abuse-criticize-jane-jacobs/.
Loeb, Carolyn S. 2001. *Entrepreneurial Vernacular: Developers' Subdivisions in the 1920s*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
Lofland, Lyn H. 1973. *A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space*. New York: Basic Books.
Martin, John Levi. 2010. "Life's a Beach but You're an Ant, and Other Unwelcome News for the Sociology of Culture." *Poetics*, Brain, Mind and Cultural Sociology, 38 (2): 229–44. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2009.11.004.
Merry, Sally Engle. 1981. *Urban Danger: Life in a Neighborhood of Strangers*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Newman, Oscar. 1972. *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design*. New York: Macmillan.
———. 1996. *Creating Defensible Space*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.
Pattillo-McCoy, Mary. 1998. "Church Culture as a Strategy of Action in the Black Community." *American Sociological Review* 63 (6): 767–84. https://doi.org/10.2307/2657500.
Philp, Drew. 2017. *A $500 House in Detroit: Rebuilding an Abandoned Home and an American City*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
Ralph, Laurence. 2014. *Renegade Dreams: Living Through Injury in Gangland Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Rios, Victor M., Nikita Carney, and Jasmine Kelekay. 2017. "Ethnographies of Race, Crime, and Justice: Toward a Sociological Double-Consciousness." *Annual Review of Sociology* 43 (1): 493–513. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-081715-074404.
Rugh, Jacob S., Len Albright, and Douglas S. Massey. 2015. "Race, Space, and Cumulative Disadvantage: A Case Study of the Subprime Lending Collapse." *Social Problems* 62 (2): 186–218. https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spv002.
Ryan, Brent D. 2012. *Design After Decline: How America Rebuilds Shrinking Cities*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Sampson, Robert J. 2012. *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Schütz, Alfred, and Thomas Luckmann. 1973. *The Structures of the Life-World: Volume 1*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
Seymour, Eric, and Joshua Akers. 2021. "Building the Eviction Economy: Speculation, Precarity, and Eviction in Detroit." *Urban Affairs Review* 57 (1): 35–69. https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087419853388.
Sharkey, Patrick. 2013. *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress toward Racial Equality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Simmel, Georg. 1969. "The Metropolis and Mental Life." In *On Individuality and Social Forms*, edited by Donald N. Levine. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
SimplyAnalytics. 2018. SimplyAnalytics. http://simplyanalytics.com/.

Small, Mario Luis. 2006. “Neighborhood Institutions as Resource Brokers: Childcare Centers, Interorganizational Ties, and Resource Access among the Poor.” *Social Problems* 53 (2): 274–92. https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2006.53.2.274.
Small, Mario Luis. 2002. “Culture, Cohorts, and Social Organization Theory: Understanding Local Participation in a Latino Housing Project.” *American Journal of Sociology* 108 (1): 1–54. https://doi.org/10.1086/345649.
“Social Explorer.” 2019. Social Explorer. 2019. https://www.socialexplorer.com/.
Strand, Michael, and Omar Lizardo. 2017. “The Hysteresis Effect: Theorizing Mismatch in Action: Theorizing Mismatch in Action.” *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 47 (2): 164–94.
Stuart, Forrest. 2016a. “Becoming ‘Copwise’: Policing, Culture, and the Collateral Consequences of Street-Level Criminalization.” *Law & Society Review* 50 (2): 279–313. https://doi.org/10.1111/lasr.12201.
———. 2016b. *Down, Out, and Under Arrest: Policing and Everyday Life in Skid Row*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Suttles, Gerald D. 1968. *The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Swidler, Ann. 2001. *Talk of Love: How Culture Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. 2019. *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Wilkinson, Mike. 2017. “Detroit Police Improve Response Times. But Not All Neighborhoods Are Equal.” *Bridge Magazine*, October 3. https://www.bridgemi.com/detroit-journalism-cooperative/detroit-police-improve-response-times-not-all-neighborhoods-are-equal.
Wilson, William Julius, and Anmol Chaddha. 2009. “The Role of Theory in Ethnographic Research.” *Ethnography* 10 (4): 549–64.

Author Biography

Sharon Cornelissen is a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard University’s Joint Center for Housing Studies. Her research examines the connections between urban decline, gentrification, and racial inequality in post-industrial American cities, using immersive ethnographic methods. She is writing a book on gentrification after extreme racialized decline in Brightmoor, Detroit. In a new ethnographic project, she is looking at the challenges of Black first-time homebuyers in Brockton, Massachusetts, a post-industrial city on Boston’s metropolitan edge.