

Detroitology with Aaron Foley

Ologies Podcast

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Oh hey, it's the guy on your street with the giant dog, and no, he does not put a saddle on it, don't ask him, Alie Ward, back with a little bit of an off-beat episode for you. It's on a topic you probably thought we would never cover: Detroit. "An American industrial city? Alie, why isn't this an episode about prairie dogs, or something?" Because this is *Ologies*, we can cover whatever we want, as long as it's an ology.

So, this week is March 13th, or 3-13, which is the area code for Detroit, and thus, it is the officially celebrated 313 Day in Detroit. I've been to Detroit countless times. I shoot the TV shows *Innovation Nation* and *Did I Mention Invention?* at the Henry Ford Museum of American Innovation, that's in Dearborn. And our family grew up listening to my mom's Motown records from the jukebox. I have thrown the first pitch at a Tigers' baseball game and I did a very bad job; I practiced for weeks and I absolutely embarrassed everyone who's ever met me. But I've seen Detroit in all seasons over so many decades and the history and its present fascinates me, but I have never lived there.

So, this episode is a standalone episode but it's also kind of like a context bomb for an episode that's coming up in two weeks, I'm not going to tell you what, no spoilers. But in the 2018 Mythology episode, we talked about this guest.

[flashback to Mythology episode:]

John: Alie, I take telling stories super serious.

Alie: I know, I love it!

John: I do. And I think it's a big responsibility, I feel like it's a calling. I feel like Detroit in the fall of last year, just appointed, first city in the US, appointed a Chief Storyteller.

Alie: Whaaat?

John: And it's this guy in Detroit, an African American guy that's a brilliant journalist, and writer, and storyteller, and he has taken on the task of trying to change the narrative about Detroit.

Alie: Ohhh my god! I love this so much.

Aside: Side note, my sister lived in Detroit for a decade, so I've always had a soft spot for Detroit history and the city's Chief Storyteller is Aaron Foley, he's an author in his 30s and he hates the word 'gritty' like your sister-in-law hates 'moist'. He says, "By forever branding Detroiters as 'gritty', we're put in the position of being pitied over. Bleeding hearts all over the place suddenly feel the plight of Detroiters." Which is a good point.

Aaron Foley wrote a book called, *How to Live in Detroit Without Being a Jackass*, which, let's be honest, was written for chicks like me because I'm, like, a jackass and I have dreams of living in an old Detroit Victorian. So, point taken. Also, this book bears this gold and green cover script that it takes you like half a second before you realize it's an homage to Vernors soda. This book is very much on my reading list now, so thank you, Aaron. If there is an ology about Detroit, please can we talk about it? *[Flashback ends]*

And that was five years ago. So, pandemic started, time went by, and I finally caught up with this storyteller who is now a senior editor at PBS NewsHour and a John S Knight journalism fellow, also a novelist of the excellent book, *Boys Come First*, which is somehow hilarious and heartbreaking, and so human, and so good. And if you're not into fiction, you can enjoy this guest's other books such as, *The Detroit Neighborhood Guidebook*, and again, *How to Live in Detroit Without Being a Jackass*. He also knows how not to live in Detroit without being a jackass and we'll get to his recent relocation in the episode.

But first, thank you patrons at [Patreon.com/Ologies](https://patreon.com/Ologies) for supporting the show and sending in great questions for this. Thank you to everyone who passes episodes along to others and everyone subscribed and rating, and all the people who leave reviews. I read them all, including this week, one from MSPassell who wrote that they appreciate the show's enthusiasm for all this cool stuff, and how we interview experts and truly real and fascinating people and not random celebrities. Thank you very much, from this random not-celebrity.

And real quick, is 'Detroitology' a real word? It is. So, *détroit*, first off, it's a French word for 'strait,' as in the strait of Lake Eerie; kind of boring etymology there. But one town historian by the name of Anna Kohn, who runs a justice-oriented nonprofit in the city, coined the term while getting her degree in Detroit sociology years back. So, the word exists and Detroitologists exist.

So, get ready for my long-term *Ologies* dreams to come true as this charming, and affable, and celebrated public figure teaches us so much about Midwestern invention, urban transportation systems, giant slides, Coney dogs, gentrification, abandoned houses, rebranded neighborhoods, square pizza, house prices, the font of the D, the Belle of the Isles, the historical Motown, and the new crop of rappers, and of course, the giant slide, with journalist, novelist, Detroit's first-ever official storyteller, and thus, Detroitologist, Aaron Foley.

Aaron: Aaron Foley, pronouns he/him.

Alie: I have known about you for years. [*Aaron laughs*] I think I DMed you like two or three years ago.

Aaron: Yes.

Alie: I think it was before the pandemic because you've been on my list for so long to talk to and I always thought I would catch up with you in Detroit... We're not in Detroit.

Aaron: We're in Brooklyn, we are in Bed-Stuy. Bed-Stuy, do or die.

Alie: How long have you lived here?

Aaron: Just a little over two years.

Alie: Will you forever be Detroit's storyteller or was that a gig that was, like... it ended at a certain time?

Aaron: So, the job title was Detroit Storyteller, I held that for two and half years, but I will always be a Detroit storyteller. I can live on Mars [*Alie laughs*] and will talk to the Martians about Detroit.

Alie: Was the pandemic part of the reason why you moved?

Aaron: Partly yeah. I had a job opportunity here and it became clear a lot of things would be remote, and so I had a very narrow window where, like, my family was doing well, and things kind of lined up for me personally to be like, "Mm, let me see what life is like outside of Detroit."

Alie: Is this the first time you've lived outside of Michigan?

Aaron: Unless you count like an internship in college, yes.

Alie: Really?!

Aaron: Yeah.

Alie: How has it been the last two years?

Aaron: It's been weird just because I know Detroit like the back of my hand, I don't need maps or anything, I know my favorite restaurants and things like that. Here in New York, it takes a while to get into the groove and then there's so much to discover. And I do kind of feel, like, not at home sometimes because I don't know everything.

Aside: So, there's no place like home and by home, I mean Detroit.

Alie: How does someone become a city storyteller?

Aaron: I, to this day, still don't even know how I ended up with that job. It was definitely something that was needed because Detroit has always struggled with outside perception, and it really needed a hometown advocate. Fortunately, there are several now, I'm not the only one. But it needs that hometown voice to convey to the outsiders, "Hey, this is what we're about, this is what we have to offer."

Alie: What part of Detroit are you from?

Aaron: I grew up on the west side, that's what I claim. I spent some time on the east side as a kid near Lafayette Park, but I matriculated and came of age in Russell Woods; that's Dexter and Davison for people who are looking at a map. I was living in Rivertown, Gold Coast, the area along East Jefferson near Belle Isle.

Aside: So, Belle Isle, side note, is a 982-acre park on an island in the Detroit River. And it's not always been called Belle Isle, it was also once called Hog Island because it was overrun with hogs. But now it's beautiful and it's been a gathering place for locals for years, from picnics to car clubs and cruising, they've had concerts, they've had love-ins there, military training, and also the start of a brutal race riot in 1943 that killed over 30 people. So, Detroit's history is a very American one, for good and bad.

Alie: And as a Detroit storyteller, what were those first meetings like? What was the job interview? Did you see a posting you were like... *[laughs]*

Aaron: No, I have to credit now former chief of staff, Alexis Wiley, who went off to start her own strategy agency, but we literally had drinks at Queens Bar. We had beers, she and the director of communications at the time got me drunk *[both laugh]* and said, "We want you to help tell stories about the city." And I was very skeptical, as a lot of people were, because I was just like, I don't want to do PR for the city, I don't want to do PR for the mayor's office. There's a machine, a tank that does PR for the mayor and they were like, "No, no, no, no, no. You'd be working in media services," which is the division that controls the public access channels and making flyers and things like that for the city.

Aside: So, there was some money allocated for education programs and Detroit wanted to invest that into video and digital content, even live events, gatherings, and essentially outreach that didn't feel like a pamphlet that Sheryl from HR made but represented the authentic voice of Detroit. Aaron's role was dual.

Aaron: We kind of do two things, we explain some of the goings on at city government in a way that people could relate to it. I think sometimes any city, they send out the press release and it can be gobbledygook sometimes and it just kind of gets lost. But if you put a face on it, per se, that helps

people relate to it more. But also, just filling in the gap that... That gap is starting to be filled in, I'd like to take credit for that. *[laugh]*

At the time there wasn't a lot of granular neighborhood coverage of the young entrepreneurs, especially the young entrepreneurs of color, opening businesses and things like that, a lot of spotlights on some of the minority communities that weren't- Detroit is majority Black but there is also a strong Bangladeshi population, Latinx, Queer populations, I wanted to talk about queer people outside of Pride Month in June. And you know, you had to go to those community papers to find that coverage, but I was like, "I feel like it should be a little bit more mainstream and get a little bit of a larger platform."

So, we did a lot of that, I sent the camera crew to a gay bar that burned down last year, unfortunately, late at night, off hours, and they filmed the voguing competition. And we aired that voguing competition on city cable and there had been nothing like that on city cable. [*Voguing has really evolved, and I mean really evolved in the sense of the influence that it now holds and really being recognized as a true art form.*] City cable is all like, "Here's what's going on at the rec center today," *[laughs]* and then 3:00 comes and it's just like boom-boom-boom-boomboom-boom-boom-boom. And that's what we were going for, just trying to, again, just do something that a city government public access outlet had not done but also kind of look for some of these gaps that were in Detroit media coverage.

Alie: And it sounds like, as you mentioned, the public perception versus the local perception of someone who actually lives there, what gulf did you need to bridge?

Aaron: So, I started that job in 2017 and still, there were people kind of coming to Detroit like, you know, "Where are the drugs?" They were looking for one thing, they were looking for Eminem, they were looking for the drugs, they were looking for the ruin porn, and still kind of looking for that exploitative of people of color living in poverty and things like that. This is not to deny that poverty does exist in Detroit, for many reasons, it's systemic. But 2017 and the years around that were still kind of touch and go in terms of, "look at all these impoverished people of color and look at all the young white entrepreneurs on a mission to save them." And all the while, there's a new generation of, again, young entrepreneurs of color.

Aside: Aaron notes the career of CEO Melissa Butler who is the founder of the cosmetics company, The Lip Bar. And to be fair, on TheLipBar.com her role is defined as a CEO and bawse, and her story is another Detroit triumph.

Aaron: She was on *Shark Tank* and famously got turned down from *Shark Tank*, and then got a deal with Target; she just got a whole round of like 7 million dollars or something like that from some investors. Around that time, 2017, is when people like her and so many others were on the come-up and people just weren't talking about them.

One of my favorite stories was Kenzie Clark [phonetic], she wrote a story about a gay couple that moved to Detroit from the suburbs, and they moved to Rosedale Park. And she got a letter, not a letter, but you know, an email... *[laughs]* romanticize it a little bit. But she got an email from a lesbian couple who said, "We read this story on the city's website about this new queer community slowly coming together here, and because of that story, we decided to buy a house in Detroit." And that's one of my favorite "success stories," was that, again, kind of showing some of these people who aren't famous... It would either be those entrepreneurs on the come-up, or these kind of ordinary people doing great things and inspiring people to invest in the city to move to the city. I'm still proud of that.

Aside: And Aaron's excellent novel, *Boys Come First*, is a window into what it's like to live in Detroit and to see the city change kind of block by block, and the three main characters are all queer Black men. One is a real estate agent, another is a teacher at a charter school, and then the third has just moved back in with his mom in Detroit after living in New York. So, definitely add it to your reading list; we linked it in the show notes if you want to buy it.

And if you absolutely do not read, that's okay, Aaron just announced that he's optioned the rights for his book for development into a series at Prime Video with *WandaVision* writer Chuck Hayward attached as a showrunner. And Aaron tweeted, "Thanks to everyone for believing in this very Black, very gay, very Detroit story. Let's make history." So, getting back to that very Detroit story.

Alie: You mentioned the term 'ruin porn', which I haven't heard of, but I remember there being a Tumblr of crumbling Victorian houses, right?

Aaron: Yeah, there were probably several. *[laughs]*

Alie: Yeah.

Aaron: There were several Tumblrs, and blogs, and Flickr's, and all that sort of thing. Ruin porn is literally like, you take gorgeous... now we have portrait on the iPhone. But imagine 10 years ago before portrait mode, just taking that style of photo of a crumbling house, a crumbling building, an empty lot, a vacant auto plant or something like that, and just literally putting it up there for people to gawk at and be like, "Oh my gosh, the city looks like a meteor hit it." That was very pervasive. It sort of came in line with the rise of, like, *Humans of New York* and stuff like that, kind of like these ordinary amateur photographers going around. And all of that came around and Detroit really did get that reputation of being the ruin porn capital of the world.

It was funny to us Detroiters because we were like, "Some of these buildings, like the Michigan Central Depot, the big train station, that's been empty all our lives." It was kind of that flippant, "You guys are just not noticing it?" But also, the frustration because there are full neighborhoods, there are vibrant neighborhoods that never stopped existing even during the hardest times. There were always Black entrepreneurs, Brown entrepreneurs, Latino, South Asian, so on and so forth. Even going back to someone like the Polish, and Irish, and German, great-great grandchildren of the immigrants that first came to Detroit that never left the city, keeping the seats warm.

Aside: So, at its peak in the 1950s, Detroit had over a million residents. But that began to decline steadily as a lot of automotive jobs moved to plants overseas and in Mexico. And the 2008 financial crisis hit, and then Detroit-based General Motors filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy, and though there was a \$51 billion government bailout and that saved 1.2 million jobs, Detroit's population has never really recovered.

And right now, there are about 630,000 residents, and many neighborhoods and businesses are thriving, but the instant association of Detroit is of plywood windows on these crumbling homes, and vacant factories, and the Michigan Central Station, which waved goodbye to its final train in 1988 and then sat vacant for 30 years and was highly photographed in its decaying and flooded state. But it was bought by Ford in 2018, they have plans to reopen it later this year. But Detroit is often thought of in the past tense, as a victim, while its present and its future get less attention.

Aaron: It would always get overlooked in favor of pictures of the train station or the Packard Plant, or something like that, and that became the image of Detroit. And people were just like, *[hushed tone]* "Do people actually live in Detroit or is it just a ghost town?" And it's like, you've got hundreds of thousands of people being like, "Yeah, you know, I go to work and send my kids to school," all that type of stuff.

Alie: Yeah, yeah. And when it comes to the history of Detroit, the arc of it, if someone isn't familiar with Detroit, I know that it's got such a long and rich history, and there are so many great books, and even novels, and so many resources out there, but when you describe a little bit of Detroit's history, where do you start?

Aaron: I like to start in two different places. You can start with 1701, I believe, when the French settlers first came, and they were fur trapping and things like that, and started the ribbon farms, and displaced several of the Indigenous population that we don't talk about that as much. And also, some of those early French settlers enslaved both Indigenous people and Black people; that gets lost in the conversation a lot. You could start there. Fur trapping is what the city was kind of built on and to this day, we Detroiters love to wear furs, you know, Dittrich Furs.

Aside: So yes, before Detroit became a hub of innovation and industry in the 1920s, it was a French settlement. And I'm just going to read the sentence straight from the mouth of Wikipedia because it's just wow. "The first recorded mention of the site was in the 1670s when French missionaries found a stone idol venerated by the Native Americans there and destroyed it with an ax." So yes, the French may have named [*pronounced with French accent*] Detroit after the strait of the lake, but they did not discover the region. So, the Indigenous nations, including the Potawatomi, the Huron, Ottawa, and the Haudenosaunee, which are erroneously called the Iroquois by the French, they'd all inhabited what's now the Detroit Metro Area.

But before them, up to 11,000 years ago were other humans, some known as Mound Builders who constructed these giant, conical, pyramidal mounds to bury their dead and defend the living. And the largest of these mounds was a Great Mound off of the River Rouge, which, according to a historical society site was 200 feet long and 20 feet tall, and when it was inevitably destroyed to make streets and lots, all sorts of chipped stone weaponry, and axes, and pottery, and human bones were discovered.

So, that area is now the Delray neighborhood of Detroit, and I went down a hole and I cross-checked with some historical maps and Google Street View, and it appears that on site of the Great Mound, there's now a carpentry studio that builds theater sets. And I don't know if the real estate agent was like, "Heads up, this site is an Indigenous burial ground that was tragically desiccated by colonists. But on the upside, plenty of parking." But that's one history of Detroit.

Aaron: You could start there. I like to kind of start with the Great Migration. Detroit has a long, intertwined history with Black history in America period, whether it's that early enslavement of Black people that doesn't get often talked about because Michigan is in the north. Detroit, especially being part of the Underground Railroad and being the last stop before you go over to Canada, or unless you wanted to settle in Detroit, but the Great Migration of Black southern Americans coming up south to places in the Midwest like St. Louis, and Chicago, and Cleveland, and places like those, and Detroit literally bringing at least a million Black people out of Alabama, Mississippi... primarily Alabama, that's where my people are from.

I like to start there because you can trace so much stuff, like the creation of Motown, Joe Louis, all of, you know, post-emancipation Black history and a lot of Black United States history.

Aside: Joe Louis, side note, was born in Alabama to sharecropper parents and relocated to Detroit in 1912. And he was also the world heavyweight boxing champion for over a decade in the 1930s and 1940s. And then he just bounced and served in the Army's Special Services division in World War II. And according to the Detroit Historical Society, Joe Louis:

... forced America to re-examine its segregationist policies and attitudes. His fists destroyed the myth of white supremacy, and his quiet dignity and exemplary patriotism opened the door for the wave of Black athletes who followed.

So, his legacy was lasting, but he shares a history of relocation north with so many Americans. And for more on this, you can see the Genealogy episode about histories of many Black families and the guest on that is *1619 – Twenty Africans* author, Stephen Hanks, who is, yes, distantly related to Tom Hanks. Now, on the topic of heading north.

Aaron: Motown especially has its roots in the Great Migration, so I like to remind people that I think Detroit is sometimes overlooked as a mecca of Black culture. We're sitting here in Bed-Stuy, which is certainly like, you know, Biggie and Jay-Z, and so on and so forth, and then you go uptown to Harlem, and then we talk about Atlanta and DC, Chocolate City, and things like that.

Somehow recently, in the last couple years, Detroit gets lost in that conversation and I'm like, "Uhh Motown?" *[both laugh]* Quiet Storm Radio, *["Slow and sexy, it's the Quiet Storm on JLB."]* Anita Baker. *[screaming crowds "This is how we do this at home. It's Rivertown."]*

Even the current new crop of rappers like BabyTron and Babyface Ray, and Peezy, and Sada Baby, Tee Grizzley. All of the rappers around the country are looking at the scene here in Michigan, and Detroit, and Flint as the next thing, beyond your run of the mill, Eminem and Big Sean (all credit to them as well). But there's just so much innovation in Detroit that comes out of Black intelligence, let's say.

Aside: Just on the topic of intelligence, I want to confess here that I was way too old before it clicked that Motown came from Motor City. But I mean, I was also the kid that thought that U-Haul was a Hawaiian brand pronounced Ua-huel, so...

Alie: And do you feel like Detroit's lasting impact on America is indelible from everything from Motown, to art, to car culture, to everything? What is some of the history there and the infrastructure that had to be put in place to keep such a big, huge industrial city running that was also so vibrant artistically, and is?

Aaron: The freeways and the big roads and whatnot are kind of a blessing and a curse. On one hand, the freeways opened up new opportunities for the working class and whatnot to go buy their American Dream house in the suburbs, or even just get from point A to point B across the city, and house all of these people, whether they were the Black people coming up from the south or the many immigrants that have come from Albania, and Ukraine, Mexico, so on and so forth, Lebanon of course. *[laughs]* Cannot forget Lebanon, the entire city of Dearborn will be... *[both laugh]*

Aside: Dearborn, side note, is just outside of Detroit and it's one of the largest Arab American communities in the whole country with some recent surveys clocking in at about half the population is of Arab descent due to this large influx of automobile workers in the 1920s. However, in all that time, never had an Arab mayor... Well, until now.

So, in 2021 the Dearborn born and raised son of Lebanese immigrants, Abdullah Hammoud, was elected the first Arab or Muslim mayor of Dearborn. And after his victory he gave a really inspirational address and said, "Never shy away from who you are. Be proud of your name, be comfortable in your identity because it'll take you places if you work hard, you're passionate, and you inspire people." Which he is already doing. One, also, does not need to be an ologist to know that Dearborn has some absolutely excellent falafel.

Aaron: But at the same time, freeways opened up an addiction to sprawl, suburban sprawl of course. We're having the conversation now about urban renewal and how I-375 in particular destroyed a

Black business district, Paradise Valley, which, had Paradise Valley not been destroyed in the '40s, and '50s, and '60s, it would be on par with, let's say, Bourbon Street in New Orleans in terms of, it was at its time called "The million-dollar Black district."

All of this vast infrastructure did kind of expand, expand, expand like a balloon, the bigger it gets, the more tense it gets. Now we're seeing the aftereffects in terms of, that balloon has certainly burst. Detroit is 138-plus square miles, originally housing 2 million people and now it's housing roughly around 650,000. And so, now we're dealing with a lot of these problems like, "What are we going to do with all these abandoned houses, these vacant lots, and things like that?"

There are people steadily moving to Detroit. You might have seen Mayor Duggan challenging the census and saying this census was an undercount, but we have all these receipts that say otherwise. We're going to wait and see what happens with that. But not enough to fill in all of the vacant space. So, I don't know if there's any smarter urbanist out there that can figure out what the next step is.

Aside: Okay, I'm not going to spoil the surprise of the follow-up episode to this but let's just say, I ask a guy about stuff that he's found in abandoned houses.

Aaron: While there are certainly some things to celebrate about Detroit, there's still a long way to go before we can call it a comeback. [*"He's been here for years."*]

Alie: Yeah, I want to get back to that too about housing. But I'm wondering, how much did automotive culture and industry... did that fuck up the subway system? I live in LA so I'm like, I live in a place where most people in LA are not as aware of as public transportation as in San Francisco or here.

Aaron: You know, living in New York, I gotta say, I gotta say, [*laughs*] I love the subways! I love the A train, getting up to Harlem in 40 minutes. And yeah, there's definitely a strong argument to be made that the residency's dependence on the automobile forced upon the city because the automotive industry was the biggest employers, so you make what you eat or whatever. Or you eat what you make, sorry. [*laughs*]

I was literally just thinking about this about why do I... I own a car here in New York and that goes back to my mentality of, when I was a teenager, it was embarrassing to catch the bus. You caught the bus up to a certain point, like once you turned 15 or 16 and you didn't have a car, that status symbol, that conspicuous consumption, I think that's ingrained in a lot of Detroiters. It's just like, we build these cars, we have to have the nicest thing out, or at least get our AXZ Plan, that's Ford lingo, [*both laugh*] to get a discount on something. And yeah, it's very materialistic but it did kind of create this mentality of 'public transportation is inferior' and I think that's why there hasn't been a lot of investments made into it.

They're trying to service this very large city with the bare minimum of new equipment and stuff like that. Add on top of that that Metro Detroit has, what, three different public transit systems not working in sync as they could. So, if you live in the city, you would have to catch the DDOT up to a certain point, that's Detroit Department of Transportation, to the SMART bus, the Suburban Mobility something-something rapid transit that only runs in the suburbs. So, a 30-minute trip from, let's say, downtown Detroit to, I don't know, Royal Oak or something like that, would be an hour on the bus. Whereas you know, in New York, you have all of these systems working together in a way that the systems in Metro Detroit don't. And every time it comes up to a vote to kind of integrate all these systems, that old 8 Mile divide between, for those who don't know, the movie *8 Mile*, yes, [*both laugh*] but the city-suburban divide, the city of Detroit lies below 8 Mile Road and then the suburbs, which have historically been mostly white, are north, and there's a lot of racism embedded in that.

So, when it comes to integrating the transit systems, there's a fear, there's always been this persistent fear that the Black people in Detroit are going to cheapen our surroundings here in Royal Oak, and Madison Heights, and all these types of places, so we're going to make it as difficult as possible for you to come here, even with cars. It's no secret that Black motorists are pulled over at a much higher rate in the suburbs than they are in the city. I'm thinking specifically, all my Detroiters are going to get this one: 94 and Telegraph, that underpass there. There's always somebody waiting there. *[laughs]* Everybody hates it, or going down 94 and Allen Park, there's always that one officer waiting on the exchange there, like you know, I could go on all day about that.

Alie: Yeah, just how people get around and how they get to their jobs and make their livelihood, that impacts everyday life, so I can only imagine how frustrating that is. I know, as someone who lives in a giant sprawl that was shaped by automobiles, it really does change the architecture of the city.

But you were mentioning houses, and population, and stuff, and I'm so curious how Detroit, how it's looked at in terms of housing markets? If there's bidding wars in so many cities and it's so hard to find a place, it's so hard for... I mean, first-time home buyers, Millennials and Gen Z have been absolutely just fucked over so hard. Is there any kind of bittersweet mentality about any kind of revitalization that would also seem like just mass gentrification of the place?

Aaron: I would say... Now, I'm not actively in the housing market, preemptive right there. But I follow a guy, Otis, who has tweets all the time about wanting to buy a house in the neighborhood he grew up in, which is a common story in Detroit, or just trying to buy a house in somewhere like the name neighborhoods, like Rosedale Park or a Grandmont, or something like that, and they always end up in a bidding war. They always end up in a bidding war. I've seen houses in neighborhoods in Detroit, including the one I grew up in, that pricing these houses at like... I'm like, "Are you serious? \$300,000 to live off Dexter?" *[both laugh]* Are you serious?"

Aside: See, for example, 2639 Monterey Street in Detroit, it's between Dexter and Linwood. Listing price? \$280,000, 6-bedroom, 4 bath, new appliances, new everything. And if you're like, "Aaron, Alie, that's a ridiculous deal for a 6-bedroom house," just please consider that it previously sold in August of 2020 for \$1,000. A 2,200-square foot home, \$1,000. How does this happen? Well, stay tuned for a future episode on that...

I'm just going to tell you. It's called Domicology, it's going to be out March 21st, it's about abandoned properties.

Anyway, according to Realtor.com, as of 2023, the median listing price for a home in Detroit... You ready for this? \$80,000. How about Atlanta? Atlanta is five times that, \$400,000. New York, median price for real estate there? \$745,000. LA is more than that, which shocked me, \$1.1 million is the median listing price for LA. But in my dear birthplace of San Francisco, \$1.3 million. And to be fair, the Dexter-Linwood neighborhood of Detroit did have some listings that were less than a used car. For example, the 10-bedroom... 10-bedroom! 3.5 bath brick mansion, located at 2470 West Buena Vista Street, 3,900-square feet, think about that. Guess how much it cost? 3,900-square feet, 10 bedrooms. Guess a number... Okay, it's lower than that... It's lower... It's \$5,000. \$5,000.

Aaron: I am seeing some houses in some neighborhoods where it's just like, I personally do not put down the neighborhood but to be real, I'm just like... there's nothing, it's not a walkable neighborhood, you're kind of banking off of the potential that something's going to happen here, which does lead to gentrification. Because some people are going to see that expensive price and be like, "Oh, something must be happening here." And you get one person to buy into it and then you get their

friends or their peers to buy into it, and then boom, you've got something like what's going on in West Village right now.

Aside: So, West Village is so-called because it's just west of this historically ritzy area named Indian Village. And West Village has homes in the style of Queen Anne, and Tudor, and Georgian, and Mediterranean, and Colonial Revival, and this area has been called "quaint" and "Daytrip worthy" and, "A little retail and residential oasis for young professionals." I've never been there but I feel like it would be easy to spend \$7 on an iced matcha.

Aaron: I was staying in an Airbnb in West Village last time I stayed in Detroit and part of me is just like, "I can see why someone would pay the premium to live here." But at the same time, I remember West Village like, 20 years ago, 30 years ago, when some of these townhouses were boarded up, and stuff like that, and you know, it didn't have that prestige as Indian Village had, there weren't all these nice new restaurants. But it was still a really affordable place to live; it was safe, people looked out for each other. Same with Islandview, the neighborhood to the west of West Village, that's a neighborhood with a lot of pristine older Victorian types. I'm probably getting the architecture name wrong.

Aside: Nope, he's right. Beautiful turn-of-the-century turrets, and arches, and bay windows, and porches.

Aaron: But having gone to school over there for elementary school, I knew some kids that lived over there. Now, that spot is turning into what we're seeing here in Bed-Stuy where it's just like, "Hmm, where is that from? [laughs] I haven't seen you here, I haven't seen your kind here before." [laughs] ["Are you rich?"] And now you're starting to see houses go for, like, in the high six figures in those neighborhoods. I remember nothing hit six figures. I see more houses going for a million, or being listed at a million, when even just five years ago it was unheard of to list anything in Detroit for a million, now there are multiple showing up on like Christie's and Sotheby's, I'm like, "What?!"

Alie: Do you think that's good for Detroit or is it like [squirring, gagging sounds] for Detroit?

Aaron: I am not an economist in terms of like, "Will this tide lift all the boats?" I just look at the practicality. If I'm paying a million dollars to live in Indian Village, I'm only going to be walking to other houses in Indian Village. I'm like, "What is the bang for your buck here?" I remember there was... I tweeted about this, there was something for an absurd amount of money in Midtown, which is the hotspot for all of these conversations around gentrification and whatnot, and in the real estate listing it was like, "In close proximity to Rock's Bar." And I was like, "Rock's Bar? The Wayne State college dive is why I'm going to pay six figures to live here? [laughs] So I can get Bloody Marys every weekend? [Alie laughs] That's the call here?"

Aside: Just PS, Midtown is a place that was once called Cass Corridor and it was known for being a pretty rough part of town. But it's less rough and it's more expensive now and it's changed its name to Midtown. But locals are like, "Yeah, it's Cass Corridor." And I learned that from Aaron's book which is called *Boys Come First*, and it's linked for purchase in the show notes, and it will teach you a lot about Detroit.

Alie: I wonder if also in the pandemic, if working from home has changed where people are moving. If they're, say, from Michigan, and their parents are still there, grandparents and childcare it's like, "Well, if I can work from an extra bedroom that I couldn't afford in San Francisco then, why not move to Detroit?"

Aaron: I've seen that happen where... So, my grandparents, speaking of Indian Village, my grandparents lived there. They sold their house a couple of years ago and... huge house, it's got this pedigree, it

belonged to Edsel Ford's sister-in-law and there were only three residents before they bought it. And the person who bought their house was this startup guy from San Francisco.

Now, my grandparents had this house decorated, it was a home full of furniture and stuff like that. This guy and his now ex-wife or ex-fiancé, moved from a studio in San Francisco but they had all this startup money, and moved into what was my grandfather's house, and only had a studio apartment's worth of furniture and it was all in the living room. *[Alie laughs]* So, I visited the house, my grandparents left the dining room table because it's one of those big, long ones that you can't take out, but the house was empty. And I was just like, my entire life I'd never seen this house empty. And he was like, "Yeah, this house is fucking huge." *[Alie laughs]* I was like, "Yeah, I bet it is." And so, I do kind of wonder about that. The houses in Detroit are kind of large and then it gets cold, and you have to pay more to heat it. Is there really a tradeoff from working from home? Yeah.

Alie: That's a good question. I remember my sister lived in Dearborn for a while, she lived in Inkster and then Dearborn, and I remember just coming out from California being like, "Wait, there's a whole floor underneath this floor? A basement floor? And there's an attic?? In California, we don't have those."

Aaron: The older I get the less I need a basement. I'm definitely in the, I don't know if there's a trend for it yet, but the minimalist millennial. *[Alie laughs]* The older I get I'm like, "I don't need this I want to throw everything away!"

Alie: I know, less storage space means less stuff to accumulate; it's like Marie Kondo everything. Before we go, could I ask you a couple of questions from listeners?

Aaron: Oh yeah, of course.

Alie: Oh my gosh, okay cool. I asked people, I told people I was talking to you. A little excited.

Aside: But before we lob questions at our guest, we're going to toss some money at a good cause. And I asked Aaron and he said, "I like to donate to Detroit Justice Center whenever I can," it's a nonprofit that he really trusts. They're a nonprofit law firm working alongside communities, and you can find out more about them at DetroitJustice.org. Thanks to sponsors of the show for making that donation possible.

[Ad Break]

Okay, let's get to 'em, your Detroit questions.

Alie: Okay, oh my gosh. Lizzy Carr wants to know: What's the weirdest or most unhinged fun fact you know about Detroit?

Aaron: The weirdest or most unhinged fun fact... There's a historic neighborhood called Black Bottom. It is so named because the soil, it was a historically Black neighborhood, yes, but it's not called that because Black people lived there, it's because the soil was so rich and dark it was called Black Bottom. But you cannot type "Black Bottom" on a government-owned computer in Detroit because it thinks you're looking for porn. *[laughs]* So, as Detroit's chief storyteller, there would be times where I had to describe the history of Lafayette Park and talk about Paradise Valley, and talk about Black Bottom. And I would want to Google it just to make sure I was getting certain details right and I always get this angry, all red caps, "YOU CAN'T LOOK AT THIS." And at first, I was like, "Why can't I look at it?" Then I was like, "Ohh, ohhh... *[laughs]* Black Bottom." *[laughs]*

Aside: And for more on googling Black Bottom, you can see the novel, *Boys Come First*, which is linked in the show notes. Oh, speaking of...

Alie: Sarah Acree had a great question: What's your favorite representation of Detroit and its story in the media?

Aaron: Mmm... I like how every Black fictional thing has, like, a character from Detroit. So, I was watching *A Different World* reruns and Ron Johnson [*"And what's wrong with him?" "I don't know, this is a first. Ron Johnson is speechless." "Keep up the good work, Kim." followed by laugh track*] is from Detroit and then like, randomly, one of the side characters had on an Old English D hat. And I think about *School Daze* and Big Brother Almighty. He has a famous-to-me line where he's like, [*clip from show overlayed on Aaron's voice*] "I am Detroit, Motown. So you can watusi—" [*record scratch*] [*laughs*] and it's just like, he's kind of one of the worst characters in the movie but he just has this like, his attitude is very— and Giancarlo Esposito plays the hell out of that role.

And *Martin*, of course. A tweet went viral, the outside of Garden Court, which is the real name of the apartments, but they showed the exterior of garden court apartments over on Jefferson and Mount Elliot on every episode of *Martin*, and so that is recognizable to an entire population. There are real people that live there. My best friend's mom, shout out to Brandon and his mom Gayle, she lives in that building. So, I texted him the tweet and the tweet asked, "If you know who lives here, you get a gold star," or something like that. And I was like, do you know who lives here Brandon? [*both laugh*] Not Martin and Gina, your mom. So yeah, I mean, a lot of Black things have Detroit representation somehow.

Alie: Mm-hm. And people who are from Detroit, do they say [*emphasis on first syllable*] Detroit, or do they say [*emphasis on second syllable*] Detroit?

Aaron: I am a *Detroit* like a...

Alie: Second syllable?

Aaron: Yeah. The older I get, *Detroit*, I let it slide but I'm a *Detroit*... [*laughs*]

Alie: Good to know! I lived in Los Feliz for a long time and [*ph*] Los Filas versus Los Feliz was like, a very common... [*both laugh*] I was born in San Francisco, and someone recently called it Frisco to my face and I let it slide but I was like, "Don't let it happen again."

Aaron: I made the fatal New York error of calling it *Hewston* and not *Howston*.

Alie: [*both laugh*] Oh no!

Aaron: When I first got here. I think they were going to throw me in the Hudson River. [*both still laughing*]

Alie: Oh my god.

Aside: If you've always wondered this, it's because Houston, [*Hewston*] Texas is named after one dude, a general, while Houston [*Howston*] Street in New York is named after some southern founding father, William Houston, who seemed kind of like a jerk and a creep. But Houston [*Hewston*] Street is also a person, a professional baseball player who is not from Houston [*Hewston*] or New York, but from Austin. But all of this comes down to the fact that in New York, south of Houston [*Howston*] should really be pronounced SowHow. So, correct anyone you want at any time.

But another fun Detroit fact is that the international airport is technically in the city of Romulus, so when you're there, you're a Remulon. [*"It's pronounced Romulan."*]

Alie: Okay, Popita and Valeria Jaruzel wanted to know something about salt mines under Detroit?

Aaron: I have never been to the salt mines under Detroit, but they do exist. It's either the world's largest or the country's largest, I am not sure.

Aside: Okay, so the world's largest salt mine, if you must know, is in Ontario, Canada. But the Detroit salt mines, nothing to sneeze at: 1,000 feet deep into the center of the Earth. As deep as the Chrysler building is tall. And they cover 1,400 acres, 100 miles of underground roads and tunnels. What do they do with all that salt? They throw it on the roads when they get icy. But they used to eat a lot of it too.

Aaron: There was a very expansive network of salt mines underneath the city in the southwest side and they are salt mines, people just go and... I mean, you can't go and get salt *[laughs]* but there are workers that maintain and do this sort of thing. It's one of those things that is always on Detroit trivia or something like that, "Did you know..." I know very few people, if anyone, who has actually done that.

Alie: I didn't even know about it until right now. Sydonie S, Sonjabird, Popita, Ethan Bottone wanted to know a little bit about Belle Isle. Sonjabird specifically wanted to know: What's up with the incredibly fast and dangerous slide at Belle Isle?

Aaron: Oh my gosh.

Alie: I heard it's closing! Is it true?

Aaron: No, it's not, it should *not* be closing.

Alie: It shouldn't. Okay, so Belle Isle is a historic island park, it is sacred ground to all Detroiters. A fun fact, this is going deep, deep in my trivia knowledge, but Diana Ross acknowledged in her autobiography how important Belle Isle was to her as a child growing up. And much later when she did that famous concert in Central Park – which by the way, Central Park in New York and Belle Isle in Detroit have the same landscape architect. *[Alie exclaims]* So, Diana Ross did that famous concert, and they named a section of Central Park after Diana Ross and she noted, she specifically wanted that to connect Central Park with Belle Isle because she was like, "This outdoor space is so important to us."

Belle Isle is an outdoor space, it has an arboretum, or... what is that? Observatory, observatory! It used to have a zoo, it does have an aquarium, trails, hiking, a beach, and yes, the casino where everybody does church picnics and graduations and stuff like that, and the fountains. And back in the day, still kind of to this day, you would cruise around the Isle in tricked-out classic cars and stuff like that. There's so many videos and every rapper that came out in the '90s and 2000s would shout out Belle Isle. But yes, infamous, giant slide. *[Alie laughs]*

So, first of all, there are giant slides in many places around the country. They are typically a slide with multiple humps, it raises, not sure how many stories, but not that high. *[clip from news report: "We begin with the attraction that has turned into a viral sensation, Belle Isle's giant slide reopens amid, somehow, worldwide attention."]*

Aside: 40-feet, it's 40-feet high. That's a slide as tall as a four-story building.

Aaron: And it is steel kind of covered with a molded plastic. So, you get on a burlap, back in the day... And there was a big debate about this, back in the day the giant slide on Belle Isle used to be yellow, and as we found out recently, it was painted with this special paint to reduce the friction and keep people from going all... and they had to wax it a certain way and all that. So, what you do is you pay your little 50-cent fare or whatever, at least that's what it used to be, get on a burlap sack, sit on a burlap sack, and just ride down the slide, you go up and down, and up and down. It's a really low-

stakes roller coaster and it's very much a childhood rite of passage. I don't even remember the first time I went on Belle Isle; I just know I've been on it several times because it's just what we do. Very recently... So, first of all, a couple of years ago the slide went from yellow to like, a tan, and now it's pure silver and it looks like just metal, right? Apparently, they over-waxed it [*Alie laughs*] and, you know, put like, coats of turtle wax on it and they reopened it. All of a sudden, people are just like speeding down the slide and going airborne and whatnot. [*crowd gasps and reacts to large thumps*] And all of us like, anyone who has ridden the original giant slide, up until this year, knows that's not how it's supposed to be.

Alie: Oh man!

Aaron: So, all these engineers had to figure out what was going on, "Why were people doing this?" It was literally the most hilarious thing I had ever seen, but at the same time I'm just like, people are gawking at Detroit again. People are like, "Why are people going on this death slide?" And I'm like, "It's not a death slide, it's not supposed to be like that!" [*laughs*] So, they had to, like, take a couple of coats of wax off or whatever. [*laughs*] And then they even did a demonstration of how to do it. It's just like, you don't demonstrate how to do it, you just do it.

Alie: You slide down.

Aaron: Yeah. [*"Aye Yo Nino, that camera rolling?"*]

[clip from news report:]

Anchor 1: It is the moment you've all been waiting for. In just a few hours, the giant Belle Isle slide is going to be reopening.

Anchor 2: Of course, the reopening comes after last week's reopening got attention from the entire world of the viral video of everyone bouncing around. It was not a smooth start.

[beat drops, Gmac Cash raps:]

On the giant slide. Come on man. Y'all ready?

You could break your back (on the giant slide),

You could even break your neck (on the giant slide),

You can even bump your head (on the giant slide),

Watch your hands and your legs (on the giant slide),

It's like jumping off a roof, (on the giant slide),

Man, you could lose a tooth, (on the giant slide).

Alie: I'm going to Detroit in a couple weeks and I'm like, "I don't want them to fix it, I want to go down it." I want to sustain some kind of, you know, bruising.

Em, Chris Curious, Nathalie Jones, Jeffrey Nix all want to know: Why is the pizza rectangular?

Aaron: It goes back to the pans that were... So, the square pizza, rectangular pizza is cooked in a rectangular pan. Buddy's Pizza and Shield's and some of those other pizzerias of the time, everything is connected to the auto industry in Detroit, so many things are connected. So, the pans were used to originally like, shuffle the parts around for the cars. And so, the plants, the auto plants would discard these pans so the pizza makers would be like, "Here's some good metal so let's repurpose this." Good example of upcycling, right? So, they would take these square pans that were originally used to haul car parts, and widgets, and gizmos, and things like that, clean them

up, grease them and line the pans with the dough and it would get crispy around the edges and bake in the middle and that's why.

Another famous thing that's tied to the auto industry, just real quick, the Coney Dog.

Alie: I was going to ask, why is it a Coney Dog? Why do they have Coney Islands when it's not Coney Island?

Aaron: You know, here in New York, it's two different conversations. Coney Island is a place, and I'm like, "But Coney Island in Detroit is also a place but there are multiple Coney Islands." So, Coney, on the surface, it looks like a chili dog, right? Except that Albanian immigrants were using the cheapest parts of the cow, like the hearts and some of the other discarded meats, [*"I don't want any."*] chopping them up, making them into a fine sauce, and putting them in a bun on top of a hot dog, and they would sell them to autoworkers on their breaks. Back when auto workers were not getting paid a whole lot and before we came up with the \$5 a day, and unions, and stuff like that, you'd pay \$0.10 or however much because again, the meat was cheap, so you didn't have to charge a whole lot for it. So, it became popular with the auto workers and that's how it started. So, in maintaining those recipes over the years and keeping it cheap, is how we have the Coney Dog.

Alie: Huh! I never knew that.

Aaron: Yes.

Alie: Last two questions I always ask: What's the hardest thing about being a Detroit storyteller or a champion of Detroit? What's something that is the toughest for you about Detroit and then I'll ask you your favorite, of course.

Aaron: Let's start with the toughest thing for me about Detroit is, I see the conversation growing around, like, people feeling like they have to leave Detroit to kind of pursue, especially the artists and creatives and whatnot. I feel like in recent years, there's been a little bit of a struggle to support creatives, so you do have people who go to Sweden, or New York, or all these different places to create their art and feel more and more distant from their hometown. They still represent Detroit everywhere they go, but there's that wishing and needing to create where they come from as opposed to, you know, you can be a homegrown artist in San Francisco or whatever, or here in New York.

So, that's probably the toughest thing, especially for me as a writer. I have longed for a literary scene in the city. I think it's just now starting to coalesce, but I've seen a lot of false starts over the years. And here in New York, I can throw a rock outside of my brownstone and hit... there's a National Book Award winner on this block. So that's one of the toughest parts.

I think one of the harder parts about being a chief storyteller is always sounding like you are PR. I find myself kind of... that, push and pull in terms of like, I inherently know and everyone from Detroit inherently knows that there is good in the city. But you cannot ignore what we perceive to be negative, which is poverty, which is that the schools have a long way to go, crime is still very much a persistent issue right now, the big issue right now is how do we solve crime? Do we install all this surveyance or not? Do people want surveyance, do people not want surveyance?

Every time I tell somebody, "The DIA is one of the world's greatest museums and you can go right down to Chartreuse and get a great meal, and then maybe walk or take an Uber over to Kiesling and go dance the night away at UFO Factory," which is what I did last time I was there, shoutout to Blueprint for that amazing party, shoutout to all those folks. But then someone's always going to be like, "But what about the crime? Can I walk around this street late at night?" You can't. So, that's always going to be the hard part. I always tell people to take the good with the bad, but more and

more, the longer I live out here in New York, the more I feel like, oh man, there's always going to be that but.

Alie: And what about the thing that is just in your heart forever about Detroit? What do you love so much about the city?

Aaron: I love that the city forges hustlers. And I don't want to say gritty, I don't want to say, never say die, or anything like that. But I think there's that combination of, like I was talking about earlier, that Black intelligence and Black innovation and it's not just limited to Black people. The immigrant determination in Detroit, in Albanians creating this Coney empire off the backs of automotive workers; the city forces you to kind of make a way. I think it's because we are kind of the butt of everyone's jokes, the odds are consistently against us, but we still know who we are. It doesn't matter how hard times get, we'll put the fur on, we'll put the Buffs on (Buffs are Cartier sunglasses), [*both laugh*] we will drive the nicest cars. We had to find a way to get those first, we have to find a way to get the Buffs, right?

I love that the city has instilled a sense of determination and a fearlessness, and an audacity, unlimited audacity, for me to go conquer a place like New York, for other folks, you know, for Berry Gordy to conquer the music industry, for Diana Ross to— I love Diana Ross, I am a gay man. [*laughs*] But for Diana Ross to be the diva of her time and literally start from nothing, start at the Brewster Projects and now she is the one, she is what Beyoncé aspires to be. So, that is ever present in every Detroiter, everywhere we go. It is why we recognize each other in crowds. If I'm wearing my Old English D hat and somebody recognizes, we immediately ask, "Where'd you go to high school? What corner did you come up on?" [*Alie laughs*] I love that. I love that for us.

Alie: Yay Detroit!

So, ask storytellers the history of their favorite things and then just sit down and listen. Again, come back March 21st for the follow-up episode on Domicology, what happens when a house is abandoned, scientifically and sociologically. But follow Aaron Foley on social media, all linked in the show notes. Also linked, his book, *Boys Come First*, which you can buy and enjoy as I have. So excited for that to be a show also. We also linked Detroit Justice and so many other things on my site at AlieWard.com/Ologies/Detroitology, that's linked in the show notes. Thank you again, Aaron Foley, this was absolutely worth waiting five years for.

I'm @AlieWard on Twitter and Instagram, we're @Ologies on both. We also have short, kid-safe episodes, they're called *Smologies*, they're available in this feed or at AlieWard.com/Smologies. That's linked in the show notes too. Thank you, Zeke Rodrigues Thomas and Mercedes Maitland for working on *Smologies*, Erin Talbert admins the *Ologies* Podcast Facebook group with assists from Boni Dutch and Shannon Feltus. Emily White of The Wordary makes our professional transcripts and those are linked for free on my website and in the show notes. Susan Hale handles merch and so much more. Noel Dilworth does our scheduling, Kelly R. Dwyer handles the website and can make yours. Nick Thorburn wrote and performed the theme music and Jarrett Sleeper, AKA hunk of the month, and the magical Mercedes Maitland edited this show.

And if you stick around until the end, I burden you with a secret of my life and one memory I'm always going to have of Detroit, such a sweet one, it was flying there in the summer of 1999. Anyone who was alive in Detroit at this time remembers this summer. I was with my sister Celeste to visit our sister Janelle who lived in Detroit, and Celeste and I heard the pilot of our plane walk by us in the airport mentioning that we would be traveling through, and I quote, "One hellacious thunderstorm." But we landed safely in Detroit to see trees ripped out like weeds everywhere. The

city was like, “Give me a minute, I have been through something.” And so, there was no power, so we hung out in my sister’s VW van a lot, and outside in parks, where there were fireflies twinkling around. And at one point we went to get a soda at the local liquor store, and as we bought it, the girl working there apologized that it wasn’t cold, saying, [*with a thick Michigan accent*] “I’m sorry we only have hot pop.” And that sentence has replayed in my head so many hundreds of times. And whoever she was, I hope she’s drinking a cold one. Okay Detroit, you stay cool, you’ve always been cool. Berbye.

Transcribed by Aveline Malek at TheWordary.com

Links to things we discussed:

[Aaron Foley’s maps](#)

[Don’t call my city gritty](#)

[313 day!](#)

[Clip of Anita Baker by Jay Towers](#)

[Ron Johnson actor Darryl M. Bell on Red Table Talk](#)

[School Daze -I am from Detroit \(Motown!\)](#)

[Diana Ross in Central Park c. 1983](#)

[Detroit’s salt mines](#)

[Belle Isle’s Giant Slide re-opened in Detroit](#)

[Melissa Butler’s cosmetic company](#)

[Michigan gets funding to overhaul I-375, built over historic Detroit Black neighborhood](#)

[\\$40K house in Dexter](#)

[\\$5k 10 bedroom house](#)

[Neighborhood transformation design: A case study of Islandview Village, Detroit.](#)

[Detroit Is Removing a Freeway That Displaced Two Thriving Black Neighborhoods in the 1950s](#)

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