

T H E H U M A N I Z A T I O N O F D E T R O I T

A European Perspective

Public Address, Presented March 11, 1969

McGregor Hall, WSU

**Karl Otto Schmid
Senior Fellow
Center for Urban Studies
Wayne State University**

THE HUMANIZATION OF DETROIT

- A. A city has many characters, but one face**
- B. Societal value shifts**
- C. Problems out of hand at the macro-scale**
- D. At the micro-scale, an imperiled trunk means trouble for the whole tree**
- E. The role of the university**

A great City, if it is working properly as a social organism, is the most exciting and dynamic environment in which to live.

(excerpt from "Plan for New York City," City Planning Commission, 1968)

What is the social character suited to twentieth-century capitalism? It needs men who cooperate smoothly in large groups; who want to consume more and more, and whose tastes are standardized and can be easily influenced and anticipated.

(Erich Fromm, in The Sane Society.)

Poverty is much more than a lack of cash. It is a way of life, all pervading, crushing, immobilizing, and destructive. It is self-perpetuating and infectious, spreading through regions like an illness. And it is cruel, enervating and dehumanizing.

(New York Times, February 20, 1969, article on "poverty.")

We have learnt that intelligence is not fixed at birth, but is largely formed by the environmental influences of the early formative years. So crucial is the matter of early growth that we must make a national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life.

(President Nixon, Message on Poverty, February 19, 1969)

An environmental image may be analyzed into three components: identity, structure, meaning. In reality, they always appear together.

(Kevin Lynch, in The Image of The City.)

A. A CITY HAS MANY CHARACTERS, BUT
ONE FACE

The first impression one records of a person's character is usually his face. Cities have their faces as well, and there is no way for a city to hide its face. Of course, there will be contradictory or supplementary traits beneath the surface as one becomes familiar with the myriad of less visible characteristics. Only a lifetime resident may be fully familiar with his environment, but anyone can relatively quickly discover its face. When someone suggests that one place is more livable than another, or that a city is duller or more cosmopolitan than some other, he is not talking about a multitude of contradictory evidence, his reference is abstract, an expression of a comprehensive image, which sums up the most salient characteristics. This summary expression may be called the face of the city. Detroit is, "A Desert of Broken Concrete", (as the Detroit Free Press called it, a week ago.) That is its physical face. Its social face is that of a bargain hunting city.

It is a basic premise of this presentation that the values of an urban environment are primarily determined by the kind of life-style which the total environment permits. By life-style, I imply interaction among people and interaction of people with their environment. And thus, I imply that a city consists of people and environment. A human city is a livable one. By humanization I suggest an emphasis on increased livability, above all in the collective spheres of life. Livability reflects a state of mind.

The environment, particularly the urban environment, is increasingly man-made and therefore definitely mirrors the collective state of mind of the people. It also reflects the ambitions of a society just as it reflects the failures of societal values.

The past two months of exposure to the city and the people of Detroit have impressed on me that it is urgent to reconsider some of the societal values which have imprinted their stamp on past urban development. (Forgive me if two months have been insufficient to produce a balanced judgment.)

Detroit, according to statistics, ranks first as a metropolis in personal home-ownership compared to rental accomodation, even outranking Los Angeles. It also shows a respectable median income. However, averages mislead and hide the extremes. The lower extremes are shocking indeed in Detroit. Yet, I take statistics to show conclusively that a high level of economical wealth is available to a high percentage of the population, and that a high proportion of that wealth goes into individual real estate investments. The city shows its wealth in individual homes. It is a characteristic of Detroit, however, that it shows little manifest wealth of a collective nature, in its cultural facilities and public institutions. The center of the city is singularly provincial in proportion to the metropolitan population. It is a typically European expectation, of course, to seek the face of a city epitomized in its downtown. If it contains the highest level of functions in a regional hierarchy, one might expect a far greater diversity of activities and experiences in "downtown Detroit", during day or night time, week-days or week-ends, particularly in view of the fact that, unlike Los Angeles, the freeway network seems to accentuate the centrality of Detroit's original lay-out.

Accessibility to the core is seemingly excellent. Yet, ability to orient oneself is made exceptionally difficult in Detroit's core due to the labyrinthic maze in the street lay-out. What reads very clearly as a semi-circular layout in the plan of the early settlement, is in reality a frustrating experience in determining location and direction. No wonder that activities of regional significance, which address a clientele unfamiliar with the detailed structure of downtown are all clustered around Woodward Avenue. This supports a subconscious need for the ability to easily locate and orient oneself. I have observed, however, that conscious detectibility of a point of destination is made difficult both at the pedestrian pace of movement and particularly, also, with the fast contemporary means of reaching downtown. Nowhere in the freeway-network around CBD do you find any mention of either Woodward Avenue or Woodward Avenue parking. Only people who are fully accustomed to finding their way around, due to frequent or even daily routine, eventually develop a sense for at least one pattern through the maze. The old radial avenues no longer support the centrality-image of their original conception. Their function as regional highways has been substituted by the freeway system.

There is a peculiar lack of scale to the strip commercial development along the original arteries. (Woodward Avenue, Grand River, Gratiot, Michigan Avenue, and East Jefferson) To identify locations, one refers to 6 or 8 mile positions rather than an articulate place. Traveling on these is a "Detroitish" experience of blurred physical monotony.

Detroit falls short in providing attractive focal points of activities, and on week-ends, an atmosphere of desertion prevails. Understandably, the focus of activities shifts on week-ends. But why is the University unequipped to retain some attractiveness over the week-end? Why is the civic center so sterile in its activity-mix, and completely separated from the cultural center? Why is Detroit's zoo inaccessible for inner-city residents and unavailable during the winter altogether? Why don't we find leisure and recreational facilities built right into the core? Are the endless strip-commercial developments throughout the metropolitan area a substitute and thus an explanation for the lack of activities in the core? Have too many sub-centers depleted the main center, or kept it from growing? Was there ever a main center? Is this all because Detroit is a city of cars rather than people? Has the value of the dollar dictated the underlying concepts to such a degree that economical affluency has taken precedence over cultural values?

I have yet to meet a person who expresses pride in the city of Detroit without reservations of a severe kind. It is human nature to believe that one might have done better, individually or collectively, or that one will do better in the future. But to ask for so much improvement is begging for a dramatic overhaul of existing conditions to take place. The uncommon degree of reservations which many people have expressed in talking about their stakes in the future suggests that there is a consensus about the inevitability of reorientating trends and attitudes. People want a city with another face, and face lifting alone won't do. Every city attempts in differing degrees to overcome the imprints of age through incremental-piece-by-piece renewal. American cities are somehow unique in practising such large-scale renewal that it amounts to the transplanting of whole organs. To no one's surprise, such transplants will result in rejection of the strange bodies (like the familiar experiences with human transplants), unless there is a perfect matching of hitherto unknown substances. I suggest that we investigate the unknown substances, the hidden values of Detroit, which permit successful large-scale surgery to take place. And,

I suggest that we investigate the impact of these values on the further development of the whole metropolitan area so as to gain an understanding of what Detroit is today, and what it might be tomorrow. The future of this city as a livable place is at stake. What type of face would we want it to have and what kind of action can be taken to assure its livability?

B. SOCIETAL VALUE SHIFTS

We will have to analyze some of the contemporary shifts in societal values. Perhaps what is interpreted in American Society as a consequence of income differentials is at least in part just a simple reflection of different life-styles, not alone by compulsion but by choice. It is mistakenly taken for granted that suburban life-style is a fulfillment of higher aspirations and that inner-city life is a reflection of constraints. The polarization of the inner-city groups on a low affluency level should very definitely be understood, not alone in comparative terms of what these groups lack, but potentially also in comparative terms of assets in their life-styles which they would never sacrifice even if given the chance to "suburbanize." In my judgment, group cohesiveness, though rationally overcome by post-industrial man, will be rediscovered one day as an ingredient of human existence, inseparable from truly human nature. It also serves as a vehicle to overcome the destructive aspects of anonymity.

I have been struck by the contradictory evidence of reasonable income-level on the one hand, and the forbiddingly low level of aspiration connected with such an income on the other hand. I mean such simply understandable aspirations of the individual as maintenance of existing assets on private property, or evidence of interest in collective concerns, such as the retention of quality in the local educational systems. What is particularly disturbing to me is the evident persistence of a pull-out mentality whenever the situation becomes slightly critical. (I have visited neighborhoods of high quality by all standards of livability. It is shocking to be informed that nobody would consider buying a home there, because home values are sliding down.) Why? Under the impact of "pull-out mentality", the resale-value of a piece of property is about the worst of all value judgments about environmental quality, and I strongly suggest corrective measures in this primitive way of viewing what has become a totally inorganic cyclical event. Moving occurs so frequently, it cannot be explained by raised expectations alone.

Where is the spirit of ingenuity which attempts to reverse what seems to be adverse conditions? Where is that sense of maturity in judgment which sees clearly that it takes energy, time and more time to solve the collective issues? The sole attitude of "Let's get it over with" has never produced a livable environment. The impatience implied in that proverbial statement is only occasionally acceptable if directed toward minor problems of a short-range nature. I take the "Pull-out syndrome" to be a more destructive determinant for segregation than most of the usually-cited attributes of post-industrial man. The pull-out syndrome (particularly as expressed by the affluent) is an abuse of the freedom of mobility.

When raised expectations meet with either a solid front of denial, a typical situation with low-income groups--or when they meet with a vacuum of meaning attached to their fulfillment, a characteristic of the affluent--resentment and frustration will result. Let me acknowledge quite openly that there is little a city planner can do in such conflicts.

However, although he will not feel directly responsible, there is a type of social responsibility which we all share:

C.G. Jung, the German philosopher, classified criminal action into four distinct groups, and came up with the inevitability of guilt for each group. He sees moral indifference as the most subtle, but no less significant, form of involvement. Jung attributes moral guilt to tolerance of criminal action in which the individual concerned had no direct part--but also did virtually nothing to prevent it from happening, despite the fact that in one way or another he might have interfered, spoken up, expressed his dissociation.

This example overemphasizes what I feel, nevertheless, should be a preoccupation of all members of a society in a state of turmoil. Abstention is bad enough in many urban development issues upon which an individual has some potential influence; to pull-out is downright cowardly and an abuse of personal freedom. (Although the individual can save his skin, figuratively speaking, the society as a whole cannot escape from the collective consequences.)

We all boast freedom of the individual to be a determinant of Western civilization. We tend to forget that by one definition "freedom is the right to self-discipline, so as not to be disciplined by others." The

implicit responsibility of the individual for the collective well being is essential in order to gain freedom: from fear,--fear in the streets, fear from depreciation of property, fear from the generation gap, fear from over-exertion by "The Establishment," fear from the omnipotent computers and from punch-card existences, fear from a huge intelligence apparatus penetrating the last remnants of privacy--fear even from freedom itself. All these elements of fear have been pointedly mentioned in conversations during recent weeks.

How can the most progressive of all civilizations run into such a deadlock--with the abundance of scientific know-how and resources? I suggest that the planners seriously reconsider the avenues of approach to introducing some order in urban development: despite all the recent attention to processes, both in the development of the urban environment and of the decision-making mechanisms, the urban planner still assumes rigid conceptual systems. He assumes excessive conformity, standardization, and predictability. I admit that it is exceedingly difficult to anticipate or even specify adaptive norms. Societal values shift, partly by choice, partly by imposition. It is taken for granted too often that new circumstances will evidence the planned performance when in reality there was only an adaptive behavioural process, inorganically related, however, to the true nature of the "adapted." I suspect suburban life to increasingly reveal such inorganic adaptation. It takes generations to overcome ensuing tensions, and this society is utterly unwilling to think in terms of generations for inhibiting further alienation. Inevitably, there are always changes which must be made. There are, by the same token, captive forces upon groups or individuals requiring substantial adaptation. All I am suggesting here is that there is a serious imbalance in societal values between adaptive constraints and the abrupt changes brought about by social evolution and modern technology. This is not peculiar to the United States, but it tends to explain why precisely the technologically most progressive nation, the one where most people are unwittingly parts of a rapid evolution in life-style, would be the most tormented.

In certain inner-city districts physical environmental conditions are so desolate that they are thoroughly destructive, not only for the mental climate of the present occupants, nor only for the welfare of those who live there now, but particularly also for those young who

receive their original environmental imprints with no chance to ever shake them off again. It is a well-known fact that the next generation can collectively out-grow constraints, and shed any behavioural norms only if given a fair chance at experiencing motivation in favorable environmental conditions at an early age. We can no longer afford to overlook the power of the subconscious in grown-up people, as conditioned by early childhood. I should not hesitate to invest billions in the improvement of physical environmental conditions for this reason alone.

Environmental images consist not only of physical components, but they do constitute a most significant portion of the total environment, that portion which unmistakably mirrors all the other forces of a social nature. These forces are, in turn, reflected in the behavioural expressions of individuals as well as of groups. Among the many group expressions, it will be extremely important to retain or regain the spirit and the atmosphere of group-cohesiveness. It is a protection against alienation due to changes in life-style and a resource against frustration when raised expectations find no meaningful material fulfillment. If asked whether we need physical or mental renewal, I shall not argue that either the planning of the physical environment or education, in its most comprehensive terms, should receive priority over the other. Through the common medium of man, they are inextricably interwoven and must be simultaneously resolved. I shall not hesitate to call also for billions to be invested in an improved educational system for the inner-city. This by itself might be a sufficient inducement for a substantial middle-class segment to live in or near the inner-city as a counter-action to the suburbanization. Thus, the corrosion of social and physical cohesiveness of the city could be stopped on one major front. If incentives were cleverly instilled, many direct interference programs would become unnecessary or other programs become more effective.

I am very unhappy when I imagine the decline of the presently new, shining, urban renewal projects after 30-50 years of exposure to man and nature. If there is no significant change in the motivation of all people, not just the deprived of today, are we then going to launch urban renewal schemes to renew present urban renewal after another generation? We cannot be satisfied by our ability to amortize the present investments if we have not solved the underlying social conditions.

C. PROBLEMS OUT OF HAND AT THE MACRO - SCALE

Let us examine some of the problems in the Detroit area in terms of forces which emanate from small incremental changes and affect the whole city fabric, and in terms of major, large-scale structuring elements as they affect the micro-climate. I shall discuss the former under the heading of "problems out of hand at the macro-scale due to ignorance at the micro-scale;" the second group of considerations will be presented under the heading, "an imperiled stem means trouble for the whole tree."

Many societal forces, just as natural forces, work upon the environment by a cumulative impact over time, through innumerable increments of actions or occurrences. Ensuing changes are usually not recorded in headlines before the cumulative results are clearly manifest. Underlying the changes one can often detect something like an environmental development "gene," with similiar inconspicuousness as a chromosome, but with an overpoweringly potent impact.

Already 30 years ago it would have been possible, for instance, to anticipate the long-range consequences of such factors as quality differentials in the educational systems between the center-city and the suburbs, or the differences in the tax rates. Only with unforgivable delay do we discover the implications of forces we chose to ignore. Ignorance and neglect abound and the price is terrific. The prophets are raising their voices in an urban desert.

I am an ecologist, by inclination rather than by profession. This is the reason why I suggest that we learn to perceive the incremental changes, particularly destructive ones, and that we evaluate their ramifications over time.

The most significant single element in developmental considerations is probably time, related to the cumulative impact of many forces which we tend to qualify as minor vectors. Unfortunately, man is notoriously slow in perceiving minor changes over time. The destruction of the Great Lakes is a symptomatic example for this lack of foresight. If we

accept the findings of biologists, we can only become alarmed at yet another threshold of cumulative neglect and ignorance. Scientists warn us with extreme seriousness that "Lake Erie presents the first large-scale warning that we are in danger of destroying the habitability of the earth." "To clean up Lake Erie may require the dimensions of the space-program, and in the end it may even be irreversible." A major burden for this development falls on the city of Detroit.

Conditions in the inner-city, measured by both social and physical standards are similarly alarming. Many imbalances will continuously build up unless we develop an inventory of techniques, not only to fight imbalance once it exists, but particularly to discover developmental "genes" as early as possible. To evaluate their "hereditary force" over time, urban planning must proceed cautiously with balanced-policy-packages. Their implementation should occur in a conceptual frame of experimentation with incremental adjustments to change, rather than disruptive wholesale action. With the notion of experiment, I am encouraging recurrent performance tests. These tests may reveal indicators for the correct identification of causes rather than symptoms.

An urban planner must act as a proponent of all forces in a community, with a balanced attitude of recognizing all the implications of his action. It must be a planner's objective to provide for a synthesis of conflicting interests. Notice that I fundamentally differ from the recent breed of advocacy planners, both short-and middle-range. As a Swiss, I am aware of the importance of the access to proportional political power for all groups. In Switzerland, there is no stigma attached to minority, instead there is constant coalescence of old and new forces to reach new ground of common understanding. And as a built-in consequence of the system there is a very high appreciation of compromise-resolution as the highest accomplishment of political wisdom. Outsiders tend to qualify the Swiss political system as one which has accommodated the inevitable over time. The slightly derogatory note in such judgments overlooks the fact that a multi-national group has quietly overcome diverging forces to the benefit of all: freedom of the individual could be combined with prosperity for all. Infinitesimal unemployment exists in a free-market economy, without significant inflation. Switzerland may not be a model, but my background encourages me to speak up. In the Swiss context the role of the advocacy

planner is taken care of by the institutionalized political process.

I respond similarly to narrow advocacy as I do to utopias. Both are resources of a conceptual nature, with explicit over-emphasis of a possible course of action, or a conceivable result of such action, or just the end product. Implicitly, there is something inherently opposed to the acceptance of the concept. Utopias may be precious conceptual guides wherever corrective measures are "necessary." Their advocacy is equally indispensable in such situations. However, an urban planner has the inevitable task and responsibility of safeguarding developmental evolution against the fallacies built into utopias. As a planner on the operational front, I have learned to recognize the need for the fulfillment of many competing utopias. In defining urban planning policies I would be even more careful. Anything else would result in serious imbalance. Only a balanced approach can prevent such stupendous calamities as the deterioration of Lake Erie.

D. AT THE MICRO - SCALE, AN IMPERILED
TRUNK MEANS TROUBLE FOR THE WHOLE TREE

I have already used terms, borrowed from physiology and geneology, to describe the planner's field of action or interference in a somewhat organic process. In a growing organism, I would want to know most about the inherent determinants-for its future nature, or "genes" as I chose to call them. In an already grown organism I might focus in addition on the main control-mechanisms which determine its continuous ability to function: the nerve centers, the main organs, or to use the image of the tree, the trunk. If one cuts the trunk, the tree is dead. An imperiled trunk means trouble for the whole tree. The tree cannot adapt to deprivation of its nurturing source. Let me translate this over-simplified image into the equivalent in the urban environment:

In my home country, Switzerland, it is obvious, for example, that the public transportation system pre-determines the structure of the whole set of metropolitan areas to a substantial degree. Macro-structural elements of that relevance have the peculiar quality of being overly rigid, particularly when they are assigned to a single function. If such a trunk system is adapted to changing demands, if its compatibility is retained or improved, there is little need to radically alter the city fabric with respect to physical structure and activities' allocation. If a new trunk system, however, e.g. a freeway system, is substituted, the changes required may be enormous since the metropolitan area must be cut off from the old trunk, specifically, i.e., the public transportation, and grafted onto the new one.

Moreover, movement channels act as physical barriers. Detroit has barely overcome the obstacle of the Detroit river, a physical barrier made by nature. Major transportation channels have a tendency similar to that of rivers to divide up the territorial-integrity. Many railroads in this country have outlived their meaning as channels for the transportation of people. Yet the rails are still in; (for the movement of goods) the physical barrier persists. New transportation channels were introduced in

the form of limited access freeways, with only few bridges across this type of man-made barrier. More and more disruptive bands of transportation chop up territory into the "right sides" and the "wrong sides" of the tracks. Notice how that age-old saying denotes the splitting of a community into areas of discrepancy in function or in quality. We continue to carve our terrain up with the same disregard as people in the railroad age, without giving the city-fabric the necessary attention for its adjustment.

Besides, in sheer handling capacity, these trunk lines for the transport of private vehicles show their short-comings drastically at extended peak hours. What happens when those 27% of Detroit's half million households to which no car is available today acquire the means for the purchase of one or several cars? And if all of these cars generate the expectable additional trips per household? I must assume that Detroit has a strategy to cope with these questions, but I also clearly see that the trunk is imperiled and that, therefore, the whole tree is in trouble. Chances are that we will see more and more dividing rivers built, and that no one will care. It matters little to footloose and mobile individuals, but it does hurt the society by hurting the territorial integrity of districts where some functional cohesiveness exists.

There are non-physical trunk-lines responsible for cohesiveness. I expect a great surge of discoveries of hidden values in the area of physical functional cohesiveness, despite all the evidence to the contrary. If it seemingly matters little to modern man where he spends the night, as a function of his daily activity cycle, (particularly professionals,) it may mean a world of difference for his children where they live. If he cares where he lives, it may favorably influence the potential of social interaction for his wife as she does the child-rearing and significantly increase environmental values. Forty-percent of Detroit's population has held a steady place of residence for 10 or more years, and therefore must have acquired some affinity with their location. By virtue of such affinity, group-values develop, particularly when more than half of all families own their homes. Even if there is little substantial social interaction within a community, (despite proximity) there is a vital impact of value-projections-based on one's attitudes toward property, onto the values of adjacent properties. This value-projection occurs due to proximity and in this sense everybody is a captive of his physical environment. Thus,

if your neighbor shares your value-judgments, he will typically protect your property-values for the sake of his own. The non-physical trunk-line here is a collective behavioural mode, based on predictable individual performance.

Here, again, an imperiled trunk means trouble for the whole tree because the whole system is endangered when performance of the individual is not predictable. The fallacy of this society may well be found in the presumption that individuality will prevail on a high level of performance although significant segments of the population tend to yield to sub-conscious collectiveness and enjoy being submerged in irrational experience. (See drug addiction, hippie movement, rejection of authority.) The young generation is a clear testimony for this tendency. There is, of course, a sliding gradation between rationality and irrationality. Whenever their mixture becomes harmfully unpredictable, I would urge the public to assume responsibility. I intuitively feel that the vehicle to resolve ensuing tensions must be the provision of amenities at every scale of territorial entity. Such amenities must make allowances for the irrational, e.g. a carnival. (Incidentally, I would add the availability of open-space, (including street and sidewalk) maintenance, as part of the "amenities package.")

There must be more amenity planning on a communal level for leisure, entertainment and recreation, and more protection against the erosion of amenity-factors at the micro-level. The price of mobility must be made as high as to inhibit the notion of abandonment. The least price on the symptomatic tendency to throw away consumer items, from bottles to cars to houses, should be the certain destruction of all waste which has out-lived its use. Accumulated waste, such as littered streets, car-cemeteries and dilapidated buildings is in conflict with my notion of amenity. Every user should bear the cost of the ultimate discarding of such utilities. If houses are viewed as consumer items with a limited built-in life span, some resources should accrue to the community to cover the cost of destruction when the time for destruction is imminent. Obsolescence is a very powerful force, but it must not be allowed to result in accumulated waste for which nobody feels responsible.

Downtown Detroit presents aspects of such accumulated waste in its desolate fringe. This is an example of an earlier multiple proximity-

relationship where the trunk of the relation has been cut to the detriment of the whole tree. Inner-city locations have the potential advantage of reducing travel from residence to place of work, if employment opportunities correspond to the type of skill of the resident population. With commuter-times averaging around $\frac{1}{2}$ hour, due to distance and congestion, one would assume this relationship to materialize at least in part. Lafayette Park is typical for the potential. If, however, the employment-opportunities in the core and the inner-city industry do not correspond to the nearby labor supply, and if, in consideration of the still-significant distances just within the inner-city, transportation is not available to the people, the relationship is seriously hampered. Since the residents of over 60% of the households in the innermost census districts (John R and Cass) own no cars, the almost total functional disruption between core and core-fringe becomes evident. Only public transportation combined with job-training or a change in type of resident can overcome this impasse.

E. THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

Let me finally communicate a physical model which I deem workable under the constraints and problems discussed. Conceivably the newly-created Center for Urban Studies at this university could test its feasibility.

Accepting the desirability for housing low-income groups with a low car/family ratio, very high density corridors with multiple land-use zones should be established, linking up the major employments centers. These corridors must be serviced with public transportation, at a high frequency, in order to both service people without cars and induce people with cars to use this transportation means for those trips which relate to destinations within the corridors. These corridors should allow housing, offices, commercial, institutional and industrial uses to be superimposed. Present industrial zoning should be reduced to the existing industrial locations and to these mixed-use corridors, to force more employment opportunities into the suggested high-density strips. Conceivably, all three major radial avenues, Woodward, Gratiot, and Grand River, are susceptible to being developed in this way. Ultimately, all these corridors would be serviced by subway. A start could be made with Woodward Avenue, rezoning it as such a high-density, multiple-use zone, and servicing it with a bus or trolley system with a high-level of attractiveness in frequency, cost and comfort. Between these corridors, middle and high income groups should be attracted again to an intown and potentially urbane (as opposed to suburban) life style. The vehicle for recapturing the interest of these groups will be: 1. excellent schools; 2. forfeiture of some city taxes; 3. and an increasing level of amenities (for leisure, recreation, cultural, and informal-educational opportunities.)

Woodward Avenue has all the potential for quickly becoming a very diversified, multi-node system. It currently ties in with downtown as the major node, with the planned medical center, the cultural center around the art gallery, museum and main library, Wayne State University, the industrial belt along the GTRR tracks, and the General Motors Center. If high density housing were developed along Woodward, between these nodes and all the way north to Palmer Park, and if such housing were compatible to the occupational opportunities within the corridor, and finally, if

job-training programs made it possible for the present low-income groups to partake of the employment opportunities, then chances would be excellent for its functioning. I am aware of the fact that I am describing a rather closed system, but as I explained earlier, the inner-city people cannot, or may choose not to, indulge in the advantages of mobility.

Wayne State University might start immediately with residential towers for students, single personnel and faculty, and the medical center may construct similar facilities for nurses and other staff. I see no reason why the city would not build public housing on top of commercial and office space along Woodward.

Undoubtedly, the University must play an important role in rethinking the issues I discussed. It is destined to perform such a role for several reasons: Universities are on the forefront of man's expanding knowledge; they house a tremendous body of knowledge among all of their intellectual resources; the universities are also committed to objectivity in all their endeavors, thus permitting an ongoing dialogue to settle issues on the basis of merits in the argumentation. And the most important reason for the universities' responsibilities in redefining the avenues of progress lies in the fact that they train the next generation of participants in the processes of change.

I strongly urge that universities not only develop centers for urban studies, but that these centers be complemented by training programs in environmental planning policy formulation. These would warrant the status of a school, drawing on a multitude of disciplines, and their main orientation would be towards a synthesis of all forces of urbanization. I foresee clearly that training programs in environmental planning policy formulation will not be accommodated in two years of graduate studies, but four or conceivably five. The responsibilities assumed by environmental planning policy formulation affect the destiny not only of the next generation, but clearly beyond, just as our present environmental conditions have been determined by several consecutive generations.

I further see a need for universities to reach out to the community's older citizens, conceivably through television and other mass-media in a concerted effort to explain the ongoing changes in the urban environment and the continuous stake in progress, even of those who are willing to delegate responsibility to the next generation. We shall shortly experience the unprecedented inability of one generation to keep pace with several

concurrent revolutionary processes. Whether one is threatened to be "out of touch" at the age of 50, 40, or even 30 is irrelevant at this point; the essential thing is to avoid an incipient generation gap of a far more serious nature than all the diverging forces of today would suggest.

Detroit is famous for the know-how and the skills in two "institutions," the car-manufacturing-industry and labor-unions. The university may well assist these two in developing not only their first line of products, cars and labor contracts, but also a badly-needed supplementary line of products, public transportation and human relations. Somebody has to do the job. I am calling for a synthesis in all realms of the human environment, a synthesis within which the physical environment, the procuring of resources, and human experience are all given equal attention. I am confident in predicting that the result will be a more livable Detroit.

1. EMERGENCE AND GROWTH OF AN URBAN REGION
The developing urban Detroit area
1966
The Detroit Edison Company
2. A PROFILE OF SOUTHEASTERN MICHIGAN
TALUS, August, 1968
South East Michigan Council of Governments
3. PROGRESS REPORT OF THE NEW DETROIT COMMITTEE
April, 1968
Metropolitan Fund Inc., Detroit
4. THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES
Jane Jacobs, 1961
Random House
5. NEW TOWNS INTOWN
Harvey S. Perloff
May, 1966
AIP Journal
6. THE LONELY CROWD
David Riseman, 1961
Yale University Press
7. THE ORGANIZATION MAN
William H. White, Jr., 1956
Simon and Schuster
8. ADAPTIVE BEHAVIOUR
Chris Abel
December, 1968
Architectural Design
9. SOME QUESTIONS FOR PRESIDENTS
Bertram M. Gross, 1966
Basic Books, Inc.
10. THE SANE SOCIETY
Erich Fromm, 1965
Fawcett Publications
11. THE DYING LAKE
Kenneth G. Slocum
February 10, 1969
Wall Street Journal
12. UNEMPLOYMENT IN AN INNER-CORE CITY AREA
Helling, Faber and Isajiw
February, 1969
Institute for Labor and Industrial Relations
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan