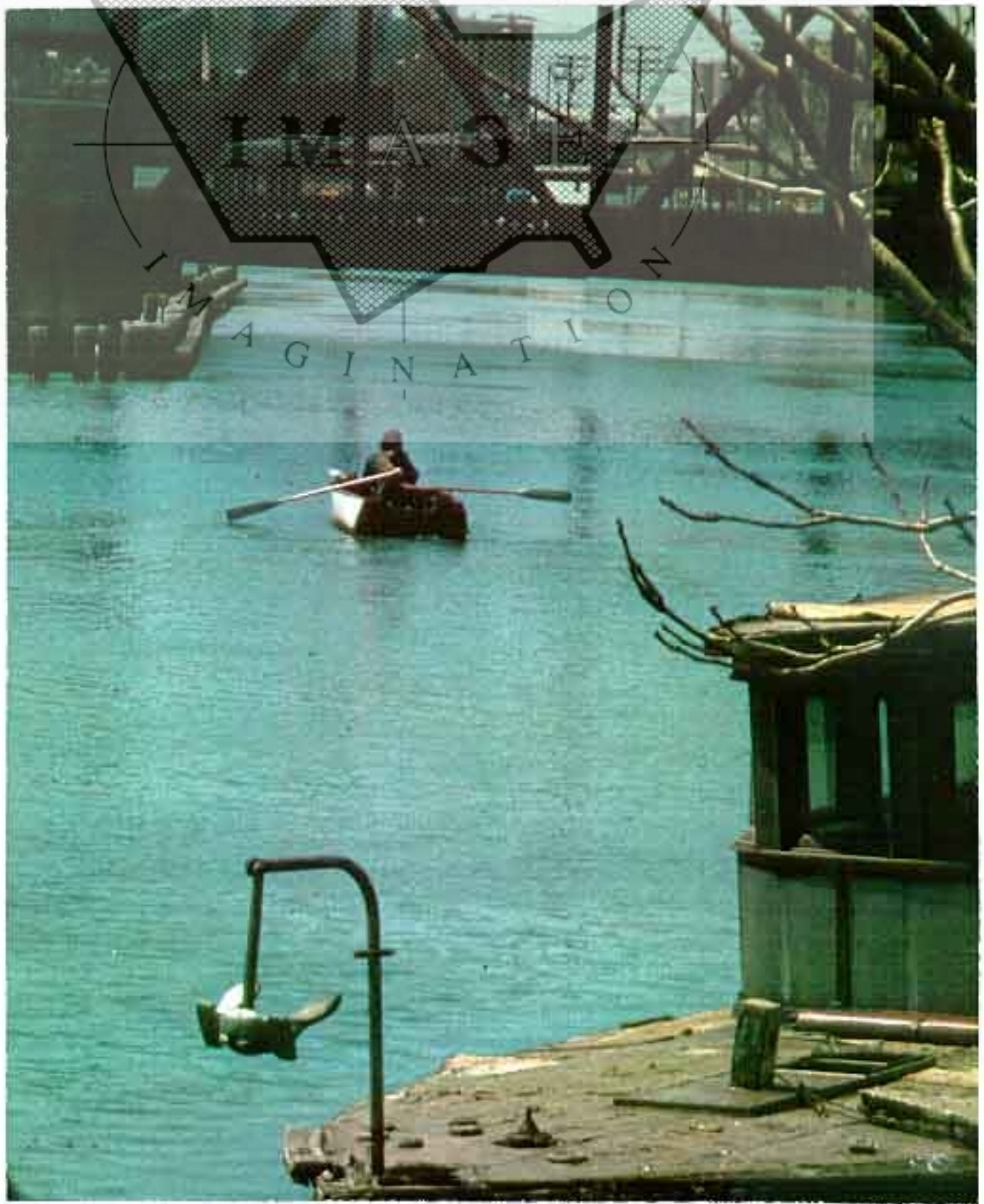


Institute of Mathematical Geography *SOLSTICE*

INDUSTRIAL WASTELAND RIVER
Photograph by John D. Nystuen; Rouge River, Detroit, 1974.
FRONTISPIECE: A City of Strangers.



Winter, 1990

A CITY OF STRANGERS:
SPATIAL ASPECTS OF ALIENATION IN
THE DETROIT METROPOLITAN REGION.

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An invited address given in the conference:

Detroit Metropolitan Politics: Decisions and Decision Makers

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Comments added, 1990

Suburbanization at the edge of the metropolitan region and the destruction of homes in the inner city through "urban renewal" or expressway construction are the results of uncoordinated and decentralized decisions made by people remote from those directly affected. Unwanted transportation burdens are forced on us by changes in the location of population and jobs. There has been a shift, still continuing, from "people space" to "machine space" [5] in our cities which we seem powerless to stem. "Machine spaces" are those spaces dedicated to machines or to inter-regional facilities which present larger than human, impersonal and often hostile, aspects of society. We are alienated from our urban environment to the degree it has become machine space. We are alienated from land controlled by strangers. These strangers may be decision makers in institutions with metropolitan-wide jurisdictions such as transportation planning authorities, mortgage and banking firms, and the regional power company. The interests of people of this type are at least focused on the metropolis. Other decision makers affecting local land use are outlanders whose concerns are not exclusively local. One type of outlander is the decision maker at state and federal level, concerned with and responsible for general policy of some aspect of urban life but whose vision cannot be expected to distinguish variations in every neighborhood within his/her broad jurisdiction. Other outlanders are decision makers in multi-state or international corporations and institutions whose structures extend horizontally across many communities or even continents. Their aspirations and understanding of urban life are often incommensurate with local community objectives. Misunderstanding, alienation, and conflict easily result.

The Cost of Victory over the "Tyranny of Space"

From the geographical point of view these disturbing aspects of urban life today are the result of our victory over the "tyranny of space [7]." Much of the technological achievement of our society has been improvement in transportation and communication. We made the oceans routes not barriers; achieved air and space flight; built power transmission lines to move energy, and sewer lines to carry off wastes. Innovations in communication are equally important. The invention of the alphabet was a great achievement in ancient times (history begins); the printing press followed in medieval times (information widely shared); today we have mini-computers made of inexpensive printed circuits. Electronic data processing (embracing complexity) is as revolutionary as the alphabet and the printing press. The change which will be forthcoming can be only dimly perceived. These inventions affect society by radically changing spatial and temporal limits within which we are confined. This freedom over space and linear time, while closely linked to the rise in our standard

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of living, now threatens us in other ways. Previously, local community organization and control processes developed relatively free of outside interference because of the friction of distance. Decisions about local land uses and activities had to be made locally because control at a distance was too inefficient. Freedom from the tyranny of space has made us subject to other tyrannies which may be worse. The opportunity to control at a distance which technology offers us may be seized by those who are indifferent to others' needs, selfish and unscrupulous in their quest for power. Too often one man's gain is another man's loss. The unscrupulous become anonymous and unreachable by being hidden in vast institutional hierarchies. Traditional mechanisms of social control and the means to draw people to act for the good of the community are lost. The community is lost in the old geographical sense. We are a city of strangers. I do not advocate giving up our victory over space. Instead we must consider new means of association and control that will humanize the space around us once again.

Alienated Space

Alienated land in the sense I am using it has two meanings. It is any place where humans are not welcome or may be in real danger; lands dedicated to machines are of this type. But it is also space controlled by strangers, perhaps pleasant places from which we are excluded by fences and "no trespassing" signs, or places we may enjoy but over which we have no control as to how they are to be used or changed; state and federal parks are examples. We may find ourselves excluded from many places, subject to regulations in others and even in that kingdom, our own home, denied the right to modify it as we see fit. Little wonder we feel a certain detachment and alienation. Loss of sense of community is the price for our victory over the tyranny of space. Machine space and control of community or neighborhood by strangers are the consequences.

Machine space

Ron Horvath, in an article in the *Geographical Review* entitled "Machine Space," classified land parcels as "machine space" rather than "people space" depending upon "who or what is given priority of use in the event of a conflict" [Horvath, p. 169]. He then pointed out how much of our cities we have given up to machines, especially the automobile. He characterized this machine as the "sacred cow" in American culture. He said

In the minds of many Westerners, India's sacred cow has come to symbolize the lengths to which people will go to preserve a nonfunctional cultural trait. But India's sacred cow is downright rational in comparison to ours. Could an Indian imagine devoting 70 percent of downtown Delhi to cow trails and pasturage as we do for our automobiles in Detroit and Los Angeles. Every year nationally we sacrifice more than 50,000 Americans to our sacred cow in traffic accident fatalities (Figure 1) [2, p. 168].

Something like 20 percent of our gross national product is tied directly to manufacturing, servicing and fueling the automobile—twice the amount we spend on war machines, another more sinister genre of sacred cow machine to which we seem addicted.

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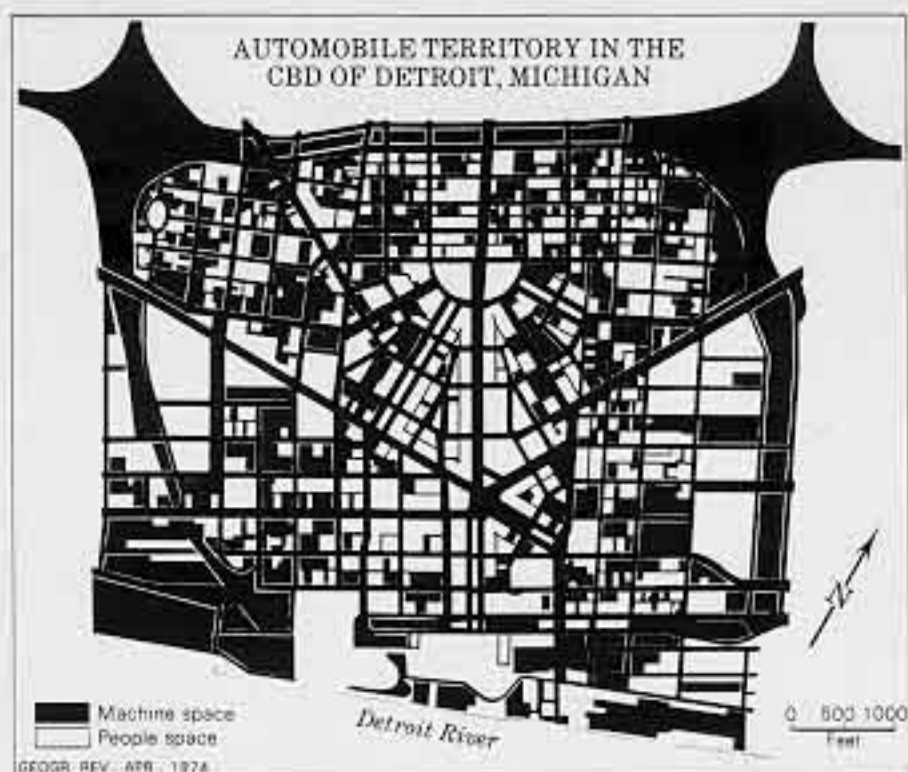


Figure 1. "Machine Space" in downtown Detroit, ground level, 1971, by R. Horvath. Map reprinted with permission of The American Geographical Society, from "Machine Space," R. Horvath, *The Geographical Review*, April, 1974, p. 171.

Vertical Control or Scale Transforms.

There are signs of a reaction setting in. Ralph Nader effectively pointed out that automobiles are "unsafe at any speed." The solution called for is not crash proof cars. It is reduction of exposure by reducing passenger miles traveled by private automobiles. We can accomplish this in two very general ways: by developing mass transit systems and by reducing the number and length of trips taken. The latter calls for re-ordering land use patterns or changing our life style by giving up some of our triumphs over space. Trends in the Detroit Metropolitan Area suggest otherwise. We are still in the process of completing an expressway system. The state has authorized one-half cent of the nine cent gasoline tax to be devoted to mass transit systems; a significant step but hardly a major re-allocation of priorities. SEMTA, the state transportation authority for Southeast Michigan, has recently released its mass transportation plan calling for a 1990 completion date. If the experience of systems such as the San Francisco Bay Area's BART can be taken as an example, significant delays due to the operation of political processes will set that date further into the future, if indeed, the system is ever built. [As of 1990, the Southeastern Michigan Transportation Authority (SEMTA) is defunct. Their mass transit plan, released in 1975, called for a 1990 completion date (Figure 2). All that came of this plan was the elevated downtown Detroit People Mover, delayed, over budget, and out-of-control as the rest of the mass transportation plan was never implemented and doomed to go out of business. Too massive to tear down without

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great expense, it will remain a bizarre monument to inadequate planning and fragmented action. On the other hand, the Detroit expressway system is largely completed. A final link in the circumferential network, I-696, opened in 1989, twenty-five years after it was proposed. This stretch of expressway was met with determined opposition from an upper-middle class, politically effective neighborhood. The final links were modified to lessen impact on adjacent residents. Neighborhoods near downtown locations succumbed to the huge concrete corridors years ago. The expressways created huge barriers and the livable spaces between them proved too fragmented to sustain and are now abandoned.]

Multi-million dollar transportation projects greatly affect land use patterns and are once-and-for-all investments. They come infrequently and permanently affect the geography of the region. The massive water and interceptor plan of the Detroit Water Board is a similar large scale project with more benign consequences. This brought water from Lake Huron via tunnel and aqueduct to a large portion of the metropolitan region. [It was also a planning error. In retrospect we see it was overbuilt due to the decline in heavy industry in the city and the exodus of people to the suburbs.]

Decisions associated with large scale projects are examples of factors which are out of the hands of the ordinary citizen or even the large land developers working in the region. They impose important constraints on land use possibilities. They are decisions made by strangers and represent a loss of private or small community freedom of choice. Many gross forms in the Detroit metropolitan region are the consequence of decisions made many decades ago. Some individuals and communities try to resist the pressures of single large scale commitments. In the case of water procurement, this can be done by using local ground water wells and septic tanks or small municipal sewage plants. At low population densities these local devices may work fine and a decentralized system is probably best. At high densities, however, local environmental capacities are exceeded. Other public agencies, such as the County Health Departments, may then operate to pressure communities into the larger system. It is this hierarchical ordering of systems that removes local control from one aspect after another of urban life. When the problem condition in the environment enlarges previously separate problems begin to merge, the best institutional response we have yet devised is to establish a hierarchically ordered social process to address the larger problem. This change in scale may result in qualitatively different situations. Institutions operating at metropolitan levels may appear very inflexible and arbitrary from the point of view of a local authority, municipality, or private home owner. The need for standardization and routinization is absolutely crucial for such organizations. Alienation may develop between parties who view things at different scales without anyone being at fault.

Politically, a metropolitan region is hierarchically organized by spatial jurisdictions. Local problems are most appropriately dealt with by local authority and regional problems by regional authorities. We have yet to devise a means of graciously transferring jurisdiction up or down the hierarchy to correspond to changes in scale in the nature of the problems. Our greatly increased capacity to overcome transportation and communication costs has led to changes in population density and locations of jobs which have often exacerbated local problems and called forth a scale transfer. The local community, no longer able to perform the service, loses jurisdiction over the problem to higher authorities. At a higher level, much of the loss of state power to the federal government has been a change of this sort. [To some extent deregulation efforts of recent years prior to 1990 have shifted responsibility back to

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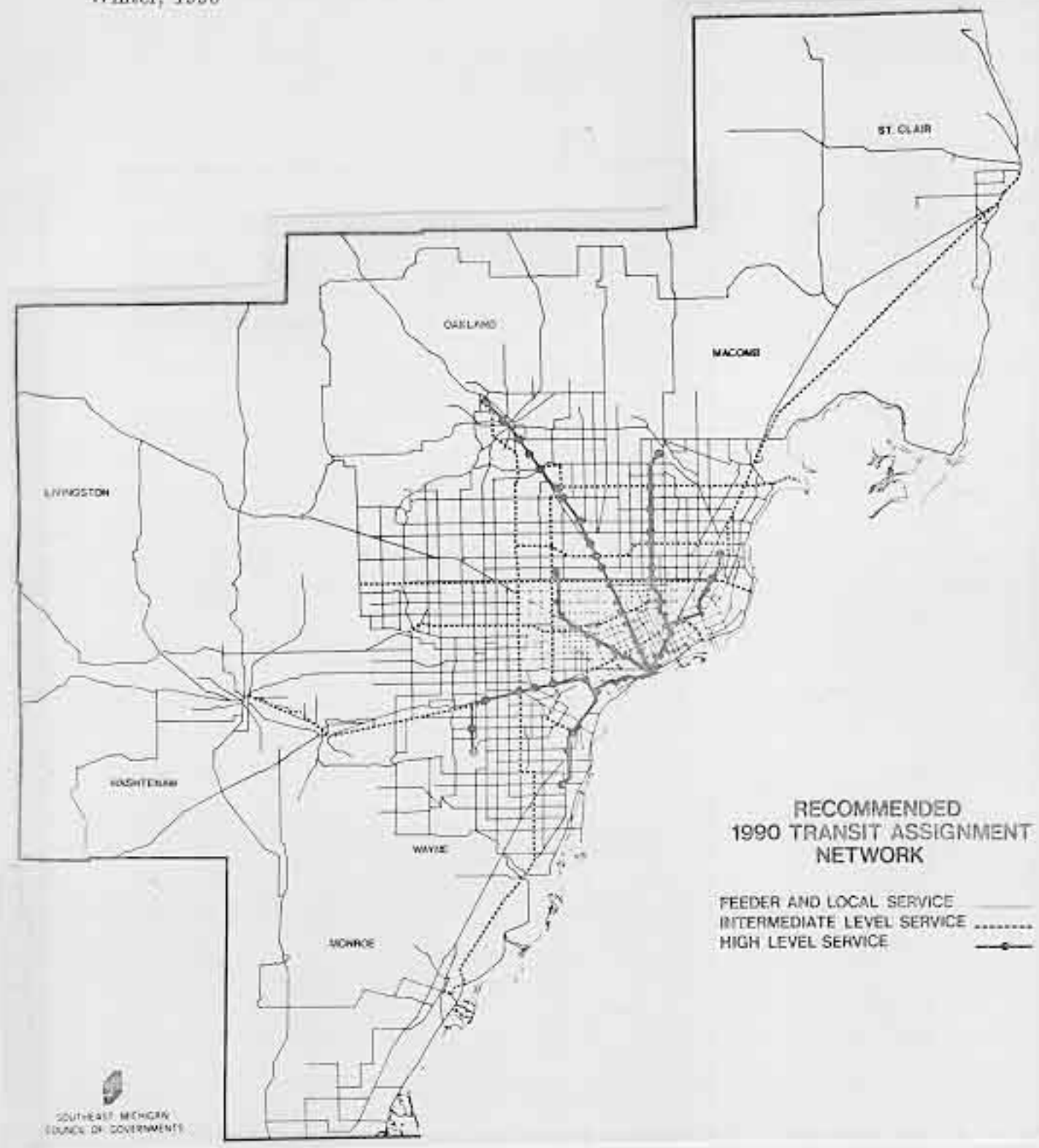


Figure 2. Map from 1974 suggests a network that was never built (as of 1990).

local authorities, especially from Federal to State levels. Hierarchies need to be designed that set limits or levels of acceptable performance but remain tolerant of variation in local actions. State rules regarding equalization of county property taxes and local school performance are

examples.]

Horizontal Control.

Some institutions and corporations are cross-threaded in the fabric of society. Their interests and actions are uncoupled from the local community because they are interested in a single category of phenomena and not in the mix of all spatial categories at one location. The decision makers in these organizations are very likely to be outlanders; people who live in entirely different communities or even other nations, yet whose decisions may be controlling factors in a local situation. The ability of multi-plant firms to make long distance decisions is closely tied to the effectiveness of channels of control via communication and transportation facilities. As communication improves the management has the option to centralize decision making, thereby reducing the autonomy of each plant manager. In times of poorer communication major decisions regarding enlargement or closing of plants would have been made at the headquarters of the central management. A local community finds its fortunes very much in the hands of outlanders. Three subtle and disturbing aspects may characterize such a relationship. In the first place the central management may act in what it believes to be rational and moral purposes in closing least profitable facilities in favor of expansion in areas which promise higher returns. The overall result may be pernicious. A supermarket chain operating under such rules may end up closing all its stores in the inner city in favor of suburban stores. The internal firm reasons may make complete sense; close the oldest facilities on lots too small to accommodate the latest technologies, in neighborhoods which have declining populations and which do not yield high returns because of general low income levels. Inner city neighborhoods with older retired people and poverty stricken ethnic groups, losing population to urban renewal or expressway construction end up losing their local supermarket. They are the least able to afford the loss. The decision may be made in another city by outlanders unresponsive to the local peoples' problems and with no court of appeals available.

A second difficulty for the local community with a plant owned by an international corporation is the policy of the corporation to keep its young and most talented management moving from place to place in order that they can learn the business and eventually be able to assume roles higher up in the corporate hierarchy. It is a perfectly reasonable policy with respect to the internal firm requirements. The consequence, however, is a cadre of talented nomads who show little or no interest in the local welfare of the community in which they are temporarily located. Nor would the community want to commit political resources to such people if they expressed an interest. They are simply removed from making a local community contribution which they might easily have pursued had they been permanently in the community. The only loyalty that makes sense to them is company loyalty. Higher corporate management is certainly not going to discourage this. A third tendency of horizontal cross-community control in society is the homogeneity of facilities and company policy. Hierarchies work best under standard operating procedures. Economies of scale are possible, substitution of material and personnel from one locality to another are facilitated if the installations are all the same. If disciplined standardization and routinization has been enforced top management can make broad, basic decisions secure in the knowledge that countless local exceptions will not subvert their intent during the implementation phase. But what happens when accommodation to local situations is required. You may get a machine answer, "that

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request will not compute!" or more likely the local manager will say, "I sure would like to help you but my hands are tied by company policy." He may not be telling the truth. The impersonal corporate presence is an easy way to solve a problem by defining oneself out of any concern or responsibility. Of course, he may be telling the truth but be as powerless to change corporate policy as the outsider seeking accommodation.

We Are the Enemy

Pogo said, "We have met the enemy, and he is us" [Kelly, 1972]. All metropolitan areas are complex. The Detroit region is no exception. There is no one to blame for the mess. We are the enemy; we are the city of strangers. There is no single leader or group, either evil or benign to blame. The land use pattern grows from our decentralized decision processes. The decisions which actually affect local land use extend over time and space well beyond the here and now. It is true the channels of control could be in the hands of evil doers and we could improve our lot by exposing and removing them. But I think we are not generally in the hands of the unscrupulous; not even in the hands of the stupid and insensitive. It just appears that way. Each decision or action is contingent upon conditions that are beyond the control of the individual or group making a particular choice. There is rarely an instance where these constraints are not present. The outcome often seems stupid or callous. Most deleterious outcomes are probably unanticipated. They are indirect effects not thought of by the decision makers. We need to understand our urban processes well enough to take action to avoid effects which cause discomfort or inequity to others. Constraints on decisions may be classed into three groups. There are institutional and legal policies. There are physical and natural environmental limitations which have to do with laws of nature and the technological capacities with which we may accommodate to those laws. And finally, there are limitations to our aspirations and goals, the imagined conditions that motivate our actions. These aspirations are not hampered by any finiteness of imagination in any single pursuit, for we all know flights of imagination are boundless. Rather limits appear because we harbor multiple needs which are often in conflict. We choose to restrain our objectives in one pursuit in order to achieve goals in other pursuits. For example we find it hard to have large lots and big lawns which provide us with seclusion and status and at the same time have many close and friendly neighbors which make available to us the pleasures and security of sharing a close community. Under most circumstances to gain one value is to lose the other.

Scale Attributes of Value Systems

A definition of values is that they are an individual's feelings about and identification with things and people in his environment. Values have scale attributes. Another three fold classification is convenient. There are *individual/familial identification*, a commitment to proxemic space — the space within which one touches, tastes and smells things. Secondly there is *community identification*, embracing the individual's feelings and concern for those with whom he or she lives and interacts, not in the same house, but in the vicinity or neighborhood. This is local space generally recognizable by sight and smell. Finally there is *political-cultural identification* which refers to ideals and concerns extending beyond the people and community with which the person has daily contact. This realm must be dealt with abstractly and through instruments, either mechanical or institutional for it is too large to be perceived by the senses directly. This is national or global space. Machine space and

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control by outlanders may be viewed as intrusions into our community space by organizations and facilities of this larger domain. How they look, sound or smell has not been taken into account in the design of such facilities. Examples include Edison power stations, the Lodge and Ford expressways, and Detroit Metropolitan Airport. We give up local community values for the benefits of the global mobility and interaction. Metropolitan life pushes us to scale extremes. We value individual rights and prerogatives and mainline connections with the global culture over familial and community concerns. Intermediate spatial scale values suffer and the community declines along with them. The consequences are visual blight, noise pollution, reduced security, and injustice. Community values include concern for our fellow man, a sense of equity and humaneness. The mechanisms for enforcing a community code of ethics are ostracism, social pressure and the use of sense of humor to keep people responding to others as human beings. These mechanisms do not work well in a city of strangers and are not followed. They are particularly ineffective in those large impersonal machine spaces, the streets and expressways, bus stations, terminals and warehouse and factory districts. The urban code of ethics carefully preserves the privacy of individuals and tolerates eccentrics. A person has functional but fragmented value and is valued for specific tasks he or she can do. A major problem with the dehumanization and anonymity of urban life is that the unscrupulous are freed from social control along with the rest of us. We have distinct evidence that we are being "ripped off" at both ends of the spatial scale of involvement. Corporations manipulate markets through advertisements thereby creating artificial shortages and rapid obsolescence of their products without fear of being called to account. Radical monopolies in the words of Ivan Illich. At the other extreme individuals, free of local control, satisfy their wants by committing violent criminal acts against others and then disappearing into the crowd. Ostracism and social pressure work between friends. They are meaningless to the corporate manipulator and street criminal.

We are in a crisis of conflicting values when we attempt to reform the structure of society to eliminate these problems. We tend to throw the baby out with the bath water. Action against crime in the streets and the home is moving toward hardening our shelters, walling up windows, barring doors, hiring guards and guard dogs, and restricting access. Security guards in Detroit are big business. Even entering the Federal District Court in downtown Detroit now requires a personal search. These actions are destructive of community spirit. They are a falling back to greater individual isolation. Burglar proof apartments are more effective against neighbors than against burglars (Figure 3).

We have barely recognized the assault on our well being through manipulation by national corporations, let alone having devised counter measures. The major instruments of global firms are standardization and routinization. And Detroit is a symbol of giant multinational corporations and the Henry Ford-perfected assembly line. A defensive action of sorts is uncoupling part of one's life from the national distribution system. Making and using homemade products are countermeasures. The great rise in home crafts, community garden projects, potters' guilds, art fairs and galleries and counter-culture craft shops provide some vehicles for humanizing city space and reestablishing a sense of community. College youth are showing the way. Wearing old work clothes everywhere, worn and patched (whether needed or not) is a symbol of a society moving beyond mass consumption. Of course, as soon as old work clothes become *de rigueur* the agents of mass production can reassert themselves by selling pre-patched garments. Community values benefit most by seeking simple

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Figure 3. Photographs of Detroit scenes by John D. Nystuen, c. 1974.

handmade products. The craft shop and modern craft guilds should be valued for their local community effect and should be supported because of their community value (Table 1).

TABLE 1.
HUMAN VALUES CLASSIFIED BY SPATIAL SCALE

Value	Space	How Sensed
individual-familial	proxemic	see, hear, touch, smell
communal	local	see, hear
political-cultural	global (national)	abstract via instruments and institutions

Human values are an individual's feelings and sense of identification with people and things in the surrounding environment.

Card Carrying Americans

My standard sized dictionary has a dozen meanings listed for the word *trust*. The first meaning of trust is that it is a confident reliance on the integrity, honesty, veracity or justice of another. It used to be that credit was a local community relationship. When you moved to a new town or new neighborhood you could gain credit by managing to buy some clothes or furniture on time and then making sure that you payed up in a timely fashion according to the agreed-upon terms. It was a way to establish trust with local merchants. Today large financial institutions and other multinational corporations such as petroleum companies have taken advantage of innovations in communication and information handling to make a space adjustment in extending credit which better fits their scale of operations. Credit cards make trust an abstract, formal relationship which operates nationwide or globally and which can be entrusted to machines for monitoring. But as with other abstractions, not all the original meaning of the word transfers to the new use. Justice fades. The new scale of operation provides a marvelous freedom for those who carry cards. Unfortunately it is easier for some people to get credit cards than it is for others. The poor and the young are often prevented from obtaining them at all. We have created two classes of Americans — card carrying Americans and second class citizens who must pay cash. There is every reason to believe that in the future consumer exchanges will be increasingly handled by some type of credit transaction. The effect is pernicious in poor neighborhoods. In the past the local grocer or merchant often provided credit to local people whom they had come to trust. This service has become less common and the range of goods obtainable through local credit is shrinking as large corporations capture greater and greater share of the market. They deal in cash only or with credit cards. They do not maintain personal charge accounts.

Typically in an urban renewal process a poor, ghettoed family is forced to move because their house is condemned by the "improvement." They move to a new neighborhood where likely as not they must pay more for housing than they did previously and simultaneously they lose the credit relationship they had built with local merchants in the old neighborhood.

Credit cards are typical of space adjusting developments which accomplish their purpose through abstracting and depersonalizing relations. Accounting for the full circumstances of an individual and making a judgment about his or her trustworthiness is not possible.

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Justice is lost in the transform and the word trust begins to mean something else.

Mainlining Fantasy with the Television Tube

Just as surely as the automobile is the dominant anti-neighborhood transportation device, television is the dominant anti-community communication device. Think of the products sold on television: standardized balms and salves for our bodies, stomachs and minds; automobiles to speed us into exotic landscapes; miracle materials to clean our homes without effort, and corporate images to make us all like the firms which deliver these products. Television is a device for mainlining messages directly from national and global organizations to individuals: to millions of individuals. The messages must necessarily be abstract, standardized and unreal. There is a certain lack of trust in the transmission. Value priorities and the meaning of common English words used in ads do not resemble the values and common usage used in face to face communications. The verbiage is exaggerated; hyperbole employed to describe mundane products. Cliches are strung together one after another. If one of these advertising images came alive in our living room and we tried to have a conversation we would find the person indeed odd.

From the point of view of community values television messages have several bad features. First and foremost there is no way to clarify or challenge a point because the communication is one way. Secondly it is difficult to compete with the siren songs of the national product distributors. A message meant for millions is worth purchasing the best possible creative talent to deliver it. Corporations that can afford national TV time are selling standardization and routinization nationwide. They gain economies of scale in doing so. This often means they have a price advantage over local competition or worse, they convince people the national product is a superior albeit more expensive item than a local one. Countermeasures for this assault are to substitute handmade items for mass produced ones. Another step is to consume less. Seeking satisfaction in other than materialistic pursuits will often mean turning to local, community-level activities.

It hardly need be said that the images projected by television are fantasies that mirror reality through very strange glasses. They glorify individualism and vilify community forces. Nature is also often depicted as implacable, hostile and competitive. This view requires that the individual seek some inner strength in order to prevail when threatened by the environment. Other views in which nature and society are more benign and cooperative are possible but they do not provide the excitement which seem to attract viewers. This hostile approach to the fantasy environment apparently affects people's evaluation of the real environment. There is evidence that people who watch television extensively are more fearful of crime than people who seldom watch it.

Large communication systems affect perception apart from the fantasy content. In reporting news in a metropolitan area the size of Detroit with nearly five million people in the "community" many bizarre crimes are avidly reported by telecasters and other media sources. Upon hearing such reports people think, "What a terrible thing right here in our city." The populace of metropolitan areas of half a million will not hear such stories about their town with nearly the same frequency because there is an order of magnitude difference in the base population. This is not to make light of the crime rate in Detroit which is large on a *per capita* basis or by almost any measure. But the scale effect is present in addition to the hard facts of the high crime rates in Detroit.

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Further technological innovation may deliver us from some of the worst effects of the current revolution in transportation and communications devices. It is becoming more feasible to handle great complexity in large systems through information control. The likely consequence is greater individual freedom of choice while still permitting participation in a large system. The automobile assembly line is again an example. Henry Ford provided Model T and Model A Fords in the colors of your choice — so long as that choice was black. Modern auto manufacturers now deliver autos of many styles, in scores of colors, streaming from assembly lines in a complex sequence which matches the week by week flow of customer orders coming in from throughout the country. This is achieved through computer control of parts scheduling on the assembly line. Cable TV promises multiple channels, possible two way communication, and tapes and libraries of past broadcasts, and narrow casting in which programs and exchanges are limited to specified audiences. These developments might provide such a great range of choices to the viewer that the current monopolizing of television by outlander interest, as with major news networks, could be weakened. Capacity to handle an order of magnitude greater complexity through effective information processing could serve a broader range of values. But, as with credit cards, who will be served by the greater freedom? Freedom will go to those with the knowledge and money to use the services. Justice need not be served. Community values could regain some lost ground under such developments but only if concerted and careful efforts in support of local values is brought to bear on decisions as to how the new technology is to be used.

Strategies for Local Control

Our message is that the decline in quality of urban life is due in part to loss of community values in competition with individual and outlander values which were better served by advances in transportation and communication. Our goal should be to restore balance in our lives by restoring some community commitments. In general, as temporal and spatial constraints are lifted institutional and legal parameters need to be erected to avoid abuse and pathologies in our social processes. This is easier said than done.

The first problem is to recognize a problem when we see it. We have been slow to see that the automobile is actually taking over the spaces of our cities as if it were becoming a biologically dominant species. Bunge and Bordessa suggest that we concentrate on improving and enlarging the spaces devoted to children in our cities as a first priority in ordering city space. They show that much benefit flows to the entire society through such strategies. People space gains at the expense of machine space. If the long distance transportation facilities and other sinews of the large metropolitan systems are channelized and confined to corridors and special locations the spatial cells created will be available for local uses. But priorities must be correct. We live in the local cells. We only temporarily exist in the transportation channels at which times we suspend normal civilities and common courtesy. The life cells (neighborhoods) should be the objects, not the residuals, of the urban form. Bunge and Bordessa [3] suggest mapping local and non-local land use in urban neighborhoods. The simple facts of that division will reveal the extent of outlander control of a community. I repeat, you have to see a problem before you can deal with it. Professional planners, academics and citizen groups should develop the concepts and generate the data which highlight the areas that are directly and humanly used rather than those spaces that are indirectly, abstractly used through machines.

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Hierarchies are necessary for the operation of large systems but the tendency for imposing standardization and routinization in control hierarchies should be resisted. This can be done by incorporating the rapidly increasing capacity to handle complex information flows. Great metropolitan-wide hierarchies to deal with water supply, traffic control and crime suppression are possible if these large structures are robust enough to allow local variation and still retain an overall integrity. The goals should be always to allow maximum freedom of choice at local levels but with that choice constrained by considerations of equity relative to other elements in the system. Promoting local initiative, self-respect and autonomy would tend to create a heterogeneous urban landscape. But freedom and equity can be conflicting values.

We must strive to make the heterogeneity healthy. We would do well to give first consideration to local people space rather than to machine space. Once our attention is so directed we should make certain that no living space in the city is mere residual left from the process of carving the urban landscape into machine space and space for the outlander and the powerful. I wager that the reader is probably viewing the metropolis at full regional scales. I will close with a word of advice. If you are active in trying to make Detroit a better place in which to live you may well be viewed as an outlander by most of those with whom you interact. There may be a conflict of interest between local community and regional views. I believe your strategy should be to encourage local initiative to enlarge and to improve the quality of neighborhood people-space while at the same time being careful that such actions are not at the expense of other neighborhoods. The achieving of equity is the responsibility of those with regionwide vision. Value, understand, and encourage heterogeneity in living spaces but strive to prevent any living area from falling too far behind in the quest for quality neighborhoods. That will insure integrity of the whole while affording maximum freedom to the parts.

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