Society For Human Exploration

Field Notes No. 4

The Trumbull Community

THE CONTINENTS AND ISLANDS OF MANKIND
Robert Colenutt
Dept. of Geog
Syracuse Univ.
Syracuse, N.Y.

13210

The Tumbull Community

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The Society for Human Exploration

The Detroit Geographical Expedition and Institute

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THE TRUMBULL COMMUNITY

Field Notes is a series of discussion papers which are published occasionally as research is completed. Any person desiring to join the Society for Human Exploration and to receive the Field Notes should write to:

Andrew Karlin
10210 Second Avenue
Apartment C-6
Detroit, Michigan

Membership dues for two years are $10.00.
Copies of Field Notes No. 4 can be obtained direct from

Robert Colenutt
Department of Geography
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York 13210

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FOREWARD

The work of the 1971 Detroit Geographical Expedition was different from that of previous expeditions. Instead of providing educational and technical services to the Black community of Detroit, the idea behind the expedition was to assist a specific geographically defined community by providing 1) technical assistance for tackling crisis situations, 2) training in geographic and planning methods, and 3) analyses of some of the problems facing the community.

The Detroit Geographical Expedition (DGE) was invited by People Concerned About Urban Renewal (PCAUR), a community organization in the center of Detroit, to conduct a free Community Planning Class twice a week for a six week period. The topics to be researched by the Expedition developed out of discussions at these classes. They ranged from dealing with immediate crises such as the Matthaei Playfield (see the Recreation Report in these Field Notes) to problems dealing with the overall condition of the community. Hence the DGE did not enter the Planning Class with any preconceived notions about the research to be undertaken, and was thus able to respond to the daily struggles of the community.

The result was that the Expedition prepared a report on one immediate crisis (Matthaei) and also investigated the provision of housing, police and health services in the community (see the Housing and Police Protection Reports).

The community in question, the Trumbull community, is located south and west of Wayne State University as shown in Figure 1, about two miles north of Detroit's Central Business District. The community (see Figure 2) is bounded by the Edsel Ford Freeway to the north, the John Lodge Freeway on the east, Canfield to the south and Twelfth Street to the west. For some research purposes other areas are included, specifically the Cass Corridor south and east of the Trumbull community. The community
Figure 1

RELATIVE LOCATION OF TRUMBULL COMMUNITY, DETROIT
is further defined by two urban development programs as Model Cities Area A2 and as University City Two (UC2) in the Detroit Urban Renewal Program. The community population consists predominantly of Southern whites (principally from Kentucky and Tennessee) with about 26% of the population being Black. The median income of the area is slightly over $3000. A more detailed profile of the community is found in the Housing Report.

These Field Notes are written up as a series of reports. In addition, excerpts from taped interviews with community organizers have been included at the beginning of the Field Notes. We think that these excerpts are important because they demonstrate firstly the severity of the crises facing Trumbull and secondly the level of commitment necessary to begin the struggle for justice, dignity, and power in the poor and powerless areas of American cities.

Working with PCAUR and the Trumbull Community Center was the essence of the 1971 DGE. Sam Stark, Kay Halonen, Sue Brown, Chris Davario, Leo Schulzitski, Gary and Darlene Boley, Larry Collins, Alan and Liz Mass, John Winbury, Richard Gusman, and other members of the Trumbull community gave us help and encouragement. These people made the DGE possible. Living and working with them was a vital part of the Expedition.

The Expedition members doing the research for the Trumbull community were Robert Colenutt and Cedric Dyce of Syracuse University and David Campbell of Henbury Comprehensive School, Bristol, England. Andrew Karlin set up most of the initial contacts with PCAUR. The Cartographic Laboratory at Syracuse University provided much of the cartographic effort with help also from Robert Ward, Jr. of Detroit. In the struggle for the control of the Matthaei Playfield, Bob Borosky, Mike Hickey, and Barbara Pickens of the University of Detroit produced the imaginative and detailed designs for the proposed Community Park on Matthaei. This help was vital to the successful defense of community play-space.
The DGE also extends acknowledgment to Syracuse University for the financial and technical assistance that made the publication of these Field Notes possible. The DGE otherwise received no financial support.
EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEWS WITH COMMUNITY WORKERS

Kay: Living in this neighborhood was an accident. It just happened to be where we ended up first. I stayed here for a year, went to Highland Park, then came back. Been here since 1966; the total amount of time has been about three years. When I moved back the second time I didn't have the idea of organizing—I needed a place to live and this was the only place that I could find with two kids. And it happened that Sam and some other people were doing work organizing in the area and at the same time I got a letter from the Housing Commission saying that I had to move out in a month and I didn't feel like looking for another house and PCAUR was already doing work and I came in when some people came to my door and said why don't you come to a meeting and I've been involved since then.

Kay: When we first moved in here the neighborhood and the area was already beginning to deteriorate a lot and what we got from talking to people was that up until 1958-1959 it was really a pretty cool neighborhood; it was mostly working-class but most of the people living in the area had worked steadily, a lot were buying their homes, the architecture was really nice old Victorian kind of stuff, basically a white working-class kind of neighborhood and then in 1958, the city declared it an Urban Renewal area based on a windshield survey where they go down a block and see if they can find any kind of superficial things which are deteriorating and then that place has got to go and if a certain percentage of houses has it then the whole area has to go. Since that time what has happened is that property owners couldn't fix up their places the city cut down on its services like garbage pick-up and leaf pick-up and the regular things that keep up a place, people began trying to sell and the place increasingly became a tenement renter place where the landlord wasn't doing any kind of fix-up or paint-up because either they couldn't make too much money off of people or they couldn't get
permits to do anything basic to the house. Last year the fastest deterioration has taken place where the city started buying up personal property and refused to do things like boarding up the houses, keeping them so that they would remain intact, and vandals got into them sometimes if it wasn't vandals or the city or private junkowners would come in and just start ripping off stuff. Then during the summer and spring there was a whole series of fires which demolished really good houses. There isn't any concern about the fact that the area is becoming a slum because there is a design on the part of the city and the city corporations to rebuild Detroit and it happens that our area is central to the rebuilding of the downtown area and moving northward between the new center area and the downtown area. One developer referred to this neighborhood as an oasis and as a desert and as where the natives are and that the idea is not so much for people living in the slums as rather how we rebuild Detroit, how do we start moving the tax base back in and to start making it into a commercial center and that means you can't have poor people around.

Sam: The construction of the John C. Lodge Expressway was a major decision. If you follow the JCL X-Way, it goes out to the northwest suburbs and its primarily the major mode of transportation to bring those people into their law offices, the downtown businesses, and the civic center of downtown, but on its way, it passes by the industrial area and deposits people working in the GM building, Fisher building and then next to that is the Forrest St. exit which deposits students and faculty from the northwest suburbs and Southfield, Birmingham, and so on. And that was constructed in 1955; the effect that it had was that it completely tore out the heart of the Trumbull community; Trumbull was never the main business section, it was interspersed with small business and individual homes and was mainly a residential area; Hamilton was a street where JCL X-Way now is used to have a major movie theatre, best supermarkets, hardware store and drugstore in the area, all the services that the community relied upon, and when that was taken away, it had a tremendous effect in
terms of displacement of residences, businesses, and the overall social connection of the community. The interests of the people here were secondary because the intent was to drive them out anyways.

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Kay: ... most of the people here do work, the majority of them like 75% of them do work. The problem is that most of them is on periphial jobs, non-union shop, seasonal kind of stuff really parts plant kind of stuff in the big car factories and stuff like that ... at first, there was a lot of criticism about being in a neighborhood that's basically lumpin'; we have a lot of prostitutes, pushers that kind of stuff and that's true, this is the focus for prostitution, for heavy dope, for alcoholism, people really destroyed by the system are down here, but the majority of the people are not that. Another thing about the neighborhood is that a lot of people are from the South, Kentucky and Tennessee people have historically come to the Cass area as their land was stripped in their home areas. People came to Detroit with all the promises of steady and full employment and some people were able to come in and move out, Black people weren't but some of the white people were, but there were a whole number of white people that didn't find the land of opportunity here either and it's those people that came looking for dreams that were promised but in fact are left in the Cass-Trumbull area right now. I think that because racism exists makes it easier for redevelopment to continue. I think the power structure is non-racist in wanting this particular piece of land and this land wasn't chosen because there was Black people here so much, except Black people are here due to racist America, but the point is that where we're located is key to them, our location is important to them, we're strategically located in terms of the river, the downtown area, and the fact that this is tied in with the whole movement of breaking down the concept of city and concentrating on the region, the Midwest region as the commercial selling point with Detroit as the hub of this region. The fact that they want this land isn't racism as much as it is class
interests at work. However, both Black and whites in this area are being messed over because of where we happen to be sitting... the line between the haves and the have-nots is stronger than the color line... if people understand who the enemy is... racism occurs out of frustration when people don't realize who they're fighting...

Leo: An example of recognizing the common enemy is when this Black dude stopped when I was coming from this store that I worked in and basically he wanted to beat me up. But the point that we had to understand was that I only worked in the store, I didn't own it, what the guy could be doing is going in there and ripping stuff off, I wouldn't give a shit rather than hassling me...

One of the problems right now is that there is no functioning Black organization in this neighborhood which makes it very difficult to deal with Blacks in the area because we can't go down to Jeffries and start organizing Blacks. But on the other hand, we can't say we don't want Blacks in our struggle because we're only organizing for southern whites. Either position is a wrong attitude to take. One thing that particularly bothers me is that Wayne State is adjacent to this neighborhood, this community, supposedly a strong Black organization exists at Wayne made up of the Association of Black students and so forth and yet they haven't begun to relate to the surrounding communities, to work with Black people, to organize better living conditions, but have stuck to the campus and have had little impact into the struggles of Black people outside the university campus, let alone poor people in general. Until a Black person becomes a leader, and energetic leader and not merely a figurehead saying "I speak for the Black community," until someone begins to incorporate the Black segment into the community struggle, I doubt if we will ever be successful.

Sam: At the present time, the Trumbull Community Center is engaged in a number of programs. First, a priority remains housing and our need to defend ourselves against the actions of the Detroit
Housing Commission, HUD in Washington D.C. as well as the efforts of Wayne State University because we still do not have any power or control over the neighborhood and we are constantly fighting the assaults that Wayne and the Housing Commission throw our way.

The federal government created Model Cities, the main administration for urban renewal programs; the state of Michigan created citizen district councils and they are facades in the name of citizen participation, basically they are frauds. The people do not have any power, they are merely advisory, and when they ask for radical demands, they are ignored. Part of the problem is that these citizen groups are not effective in agitating for change and in the organization and education of people. These representatives generally think in capitalistic terms and accept the system's rationalization that low-cost housing is economically unfeasible therefore the people become accustomed to putting their tail between their legs and feeling defeated. The people should be feeling that everyone has the right to live decently and people's right to live should not be based upon which end of the economic spectrum they are supposed to be on. We also have to break down the class barriers, the acceptance that only certain people have the brains, the expertise, the knowledge or experience to determine what is right and proper and make decisions for us. We also have to destroy the idea that anytime anything happens in this country someone has to make a profit from it. Around housing, we have to encourage the idea of cooperatives, community controlled housing. This would eliminate the landlord-tenant relationship and the profit motive in housing. People are concerned about meeting their own needs. It establishes an alternative—a socialist alternative—to the provision of low-cost housing, which presently is the "trickle-down" method where the rich move out and the poor move in—the whites move out and the Blacks move in: poor people are always getting second best. We are also raising the possibility of cooperatives oriented towards businesses. Businesses owned and controlled by the community—groceries, stores, laundromats etc., the types of basic retail services a community needs to survive without outside interests practicing the diseconomies of the ghetto upon us.
We know we do not have political power, but we can organize, agitate and demonstrate . . . we need form political action committees which will study philosophers such as Marx and Lenin, and will study racism, class prejudice, and alternative to the system for instance socialism and communism. This will raise the consciousness of the community as well, as through demonstrations, leaflets and so on.

We are organizing around the need for change in power relationships between institutions and communities . . . the programs operating out of the Trumbull Community Center provide a service and more importantly they educate people to the need for a long-term struggle.

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Joanne: There is a problem in the community in terms of where the organizers are at and where the people are at . . . Another thing is that there isn't much indigenous community leadership and that makes it difficult for some organizers to rid themselves of feeling of manipulation--I mean I wanted to be like rank and file within the organization, not as someone who had all the answers for the people in the area . . . I think that one problem relating to people coming into the neighborhood from different class backgrounds is they feel they have to lead, it's the notion of class privilege . . . Essentially, when you have middle-class people or whatever type class people coming in to work out their own sense of white guilt, it's going to mess people up, people in the community and those who come in . . . if guilt is your reason for doing community work, to purge yourself of the class prejudices you've developed over the years, you'll never be trusted . . . you will be a detriment and a drain, a complete drag to the struggle and you'll be hassled and fucked over by the people who live there because they know a fool when they see one.

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Kay: The concept of community organizer is a viewpoint people have to deal with everytime they come into a neighborhood. The term "organizer" can, in some people's mind, immediately set them apart from the local community. When this happens, when people conceive of themselves as "organizer"--some weird-ass animal
walking around doing strange things and feeling separate—a lot of problems do ensue. Out of this separatist concept comes a form of elitism, knowing what is best for people, not having real confidence in people. In reaction to that, many people working in the area wanted to abandon the concept of "organizer" and leadership, thereby being one with the people and having the capacity to assimilate into the area. Either extreme is bullshit and during the years we have been here, both extremes have been represented to some degree and people have been victims of or victimized by one of those two attitudes. The one that says I am the organizer and I am going to tell you what is best for you just perpetrates the authoritarian--the government knows best--attitude that exists in our neighborhood and similar neighborhoods throughout the country. The organizer in that kind of framework find themselves feeling washed-out, completely drained because unrealistic goals are set, achievements are established beyond what a human being can reasonably accomplish and as a result we have had a lot of burned-out people that just couldn't adjust to a life-style which never became one of daily scheduled routines. The other extreme of total assimilation tends towards a very patronizing attitude towards people in the neighborhood, some false assumptions about "being one of the people" involve the retarding of movements and positions which people are prepared to make. These extremes are most strongly felt by people arriving from upper middle-class backgrounds and maybe the stabilized working class background. There is some problem with people who have gone to college, who have had some alternatives and opportunities available to them. What tends to happen is that people will go through a process of denying what their economic history has been. They attempt to disassociate themselves from the class privileges they have had and the lifestyles inherent in these class privileges. Because of this, there is a whole pretending thing where you see people walking around with leather coats, and carrying on a whole street thing and it just is not real and people of the area know it for what it is—a sham. The unreality leads to potentially disastrous things. From personal
experience, I have seen some people really get messed up by just having the shit kicked out of them because they did not have the instincts to survive on the streets—people felt put upon, did a lot of testing and these shams did not have the instincts to realize when they were being hassled or not being hassled. What this stems from is this belief that one should deny one's historical roots and socializing process to become one of the people when in fact you are your own person.
A REPORT ON HOUSING IN THE TRUMBULL COMMUNITY

1. **Introduction**

The physical decay of the environment in the Trumbull area has led many city officials and some residents to regard the community as essentially a dying community. However, we shall argue that the City and the institutions that work with it in the planning process are largely responsible for the deterioration that has taken place, and that the community is not only socially viable but contains many of the prerequisites for successful rehabilitation. We shall also show that the community has been misrepresented as an area of transience and instability by City planners and institutional officials in order to justify plans for the area that are not, on the whole, in the interests of community residents.

2. **Description of the Housing Environment**

The Trumbull community consists of two distinct sub-areas separated by Trumbull Avenue. On the east, from Trumbull Avenue to the Lodge Expressway and from Warren to Canfield lies University City 2 (see Figure 2). This sub-area was scheduled for clearance under urban renewal programs of the early 1960's. Because of this threat, maintenance on many of the houses and apartments in UC 2 lapsed and homeowners were encouraged by the City Housing Commission to leave. An injunction was brought against the Housing Commission by the Model Neighborhood Agency (of which Trumbull was a part—sub-area A2 in Figure 3) and by a coalition of community groups (including PCAUR) who argued that further action by the City was illegal without community participation in the planning process. The injunction was upheld by the courts in January 1970. However, this has not stopped the City from continuing their policy of buying up property in the area.

The land on the west side of Trumbull Avenue across to
12th Street (see Figure 2) was also declared part of the urban renewal program but it was not scheduled for clearance. It was designated a conservation area and consequently the City has been less actively purchasing property (although it has bought some), but funds for "conservation" or plans for rehabilitation have not been forthcoming. Thus, the entire community lives in a state of limbo with few people willing to make investments under such uncertainty. Planning has been held up until it is decided who is to participate in the planning process.

The majority of the homes in the community are large detached structures built before 1910. Out of the total of 520 housing structures, 52 are multiple dwelling units (containing more than 4 household units); 26 of them in UC 2, and 26 west of Trumbull Avenue (see Figure 2 and Table I). Most of the multiple units are located on the cross-streets running east and west or on the block corners, while the longer north-south streets such as Avery and Commonwealth contain single-family dwellings and generally have the appearance of more favorable residential zones (i.e., show signs of better property maintenance, and more closely attended yards).

According to the City, the condition of most of the homes in the Trumbull community is poor (see Figure 4). The majority are recorded on City maps as either "deficient" (requiring minor or major structural repair) or "substandard" (requiring several major structural repairs). Generally, structures to the east of Trumbull Avenue are in worse condition than those to the west. According to surveys of the physical condition of housing, therefore, the City does not regard the area as particularly valuable.

In addition, City assessments of properties in the community give most properties a low economic value. But these assessments are based entirely on the economic value of the structures. City assessors do not consider the social value of housing. Their assessment is made without regard to the needs of the occupant of the dwelling or of the social quality of the
TABLE I

TYPE OF OWNERSHIP OF RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY IN TRUMBULL COMMUNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UC 2 (EAST TRUMBULL)</th>
<th></th>
<th>WEST TRUMBULL</th>
<th></th>
<th>TRUMBULL COMMUNITY</th>
<th></th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Multiple</td>
<td>Single</td>
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<td>Single</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner Occupied</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19.1</td>
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<td>Local*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>DHC*</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>50.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suburban*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Area*</td>
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<td>3.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporation*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Notes below:

Local* - indicates owner resides within community but not upon owned property.
DHC* - indicates owner is Detroit Housing Commission.
Detroit* - indicates owner resides outside community but within city limits.
Suburban* - indicates owner resides outside city limits but within metropolitan area.
Other Area* - indicates owner resides outside Detroit metropolitan area.
Corporation* - indicates owner is a realty company.
Figure 4

GENERAL CONDITION
OF STRUCTURES

Generalized to Predominant Condition
and to Areas of 10 Acres or More

SOUND

FAIR (Need Assistance)

SUBSTANDARD

VACANT or OPEN AREAS

Source
1. 1968 CRP Model Neighborhood Blight Rating
2. 1970 CPC MN Building Construction Type
3. 1970 CPC MN Building Age
4. 1969 CPC Non-Residential Condition
5. U.S. Project Surveys - U.C. #2, Elmwood #3
neighborhood. In effect, the assessment is made as if the occupant could find suitable alternative housing if the house he lived in was removed. The assessment procedure that leads ultimately to demolition assumes that the occupant will be rehoused in equal or better quality housing, even though neither City housing vacancies nor plans for the construction of low-income housing provide any assurance that this outcome is likely.

There is, therefore, considerable difference of opinion between City officials and local residents about what constitutes a dwelling unit requiring clearance. Local residents do not enjoy living in poor housing, but if nothing else is available to them they certainly do not want their homes removed arbitrarily. It is also worth noting that in the Model Neighborhood questionnaire survey, 44.9% of the residents thought that their homes did not need any repairs. Possibly, therefore, the poor condition of housing has been exaggerated in order to expedite city urban renewal plans.

When an area is labeled as one of poor housing, there is usually the implication that local residents are responsible for this state of affairs. In fact, in the Trumbull community, the City itself (and the corporate and institutional interests which it appears to be serving) is largely responsible for the condition of housing particularly to the east of Trumbull Avenue. As Figure 2 shows, most of the property in UC 2 is now owned by the City. In addition, almost all of the boarded up and abandoned housing in the community is located there (see Figure 2), much of it owned by the City or by non-local persons or real estate companies.

An investigation of 17 structures located in UC 2 that had been abandoned but had not been boarded up by the owners (in defiance of the City ordinance), revealed that 6 were owned by delinquent landlords living in the suburbs and 6 were owned by the City (see Table II). These structures constitute a blight on the neighborhood because they are a fire hazard, are dangerous to children, and because they attract winos. They lower
TABLE II

OWNERS OF DELINQUENT ABANDONED STRUCTURES IN UC 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address of Structure</th>
<th>Address of Owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4445 Lincoln</td>
<td>4445 Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759 Lysander</td>
<td>Southfield, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4742 Brooklyn</td>
<td>Detroit Housing Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4830 Brooklyn</td>
<td>Detroit Housing Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4837 Brooklyn</td>
<td>Detroit Housing Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1121 W. Hancock</td>
<td>Southfield, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1127 W. Hancock</td>
<td>Southfield, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1133 W. Hancock</td>
<td>Household Management Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1139 W. Hancock</td>
<td>Union Lake, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 W. Hancock</td>
<td>Detroit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1195 W. Hancock</td>
<td>Southfield, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1188 W. Hancock</td>
<td>1188 W. Hancock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1218 W. Hancock</td>
<td>Detroit Housing Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1214 W. Hancock</td>
<td>Detroit Housing Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1123 W. Warren</td>
<td>Detroit Housing Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1199 W. Warren</td>
<td>Detroit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770 W. Forest</td>
<td>Southfield, Michigan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The addresses of owners were compiled from City of Detroit Taxation Records. The Records tend to underestimate the number of absentee landlords because in some cases the addresses given for taxation purposes are not the place of residence of the owner.
property values and the morale of local residents, and they discourage investment in the community by landlords or homeowners. No one wants to be surrounded by boarded up and derelict housing and consequently many people in UC 2 have tried to move. This entire problem has been caused by forces outside the control of the community.

Looking across to the other side of Trumbull Avenue, there is considerably less City owned property compared to UC 2 (only 0.9% compared to 50.9%; refer again to Figure 2). Few houses have been boarded up and 53.4% are owner occupied compared to 16% in UC 2. There are, in addition, more signs of home improvement such as fences around front gardens, lawns cut or watered, recently painted homes, and maintenance of paths and stoops. It is true that there is still broken glass and litter in the street in places, several lots are vacant, and some houses are boarded up, but the area is undoubtedly a better residential prospect than UC 2 principally it seems because it has been left alone by the City. If the UC 2 area was once as healthy as the area west of Trumbull Avenue, then urban renewal must be held responsible for undermining the social fabric and physical environment of UC 2.

3. The Social Value of the Trumbull Community

One of the widely held views about an area such as Trumbull is that it has little value in the social and economic life of the City because it contains decaying housing and a transient community. A close study of the Trumbull community fails to substantiate this viewpoint.

The Trumbull community provides a much needed stock of "low-income" housing in a city in which housing vacancy rates are very low (2% overall in July 1971), and are even lower in the low income housing market. To remove these housing units, or to allow them to deteriorate, without providing alternative housing to meet particular local needs must be considered unwise, unjust and socially costly.
The fact is that the area does provide a rather unusual range of housing. Figure 5, showing the distribution of household types in the community, illustrates this point. There is a large percentage of elderly persons, mostly white, living alone (23.8% of all households) and at the other extreme, 25.4% of the households are families with more than three children. The elderly tend to live in apartment buildings and the large families, both black and white, in subdivided single family homes. Most of these households rent.

Alternative housing for these two groups is not provided in anything like sufficient quantity by the City. The Detroit Housing Commission provides one and two bedroom units for the elderly, but there are very few large apartments for rent (Figure 6). As of August 15th 1971 the waiting list for City housing showed that two and three bedroom apartments were very difficult to obtain, while 4 bedroom apartments were impossible to obtain.

The Detroit Housing Commission supplies a list of housing units for which families displaced by urban renewal can apply. This list contains very few large apartments and only a handful of one bedroom apartments. Thus, the displaced family is either faced with buying a house (which is generally beyond its means) or with moving outside the community. Most of the recommended housing is not local so that displaced persons from the community are faced by the City to break their neighborhood ties. Thus, what is left of the Trumbull housing stock has, at the moment, a very high social value to the community.

The potential economic value of the area as seen by the City and the business and institutional interests that initiated the urban renewal program revolves around the continuing expansion of Wayne State University into the neighborhood and the construction of housing for middle income professionals, businessmen, and students. These people have economically terrorized some community residents into abandoning their homes, thus, making them urban refugees. It is a clear case of powerful economic
interests overriding the needs and interests of a powerless community.

The Trumbull community is also often characterized as "transient" or "unstable." These phrases are euphemisms for the inferior value of low-income neighborhoods undergoing "change," and are employed by City officials and Wayne State University administrators who themselves often come from neighborhoods that are transient in the sense that residents only stay in the neighborhood a short time. (A geographic study of "transience" is needed in order to explore the meaning of this concept or mental construct rigorously.)

The Trumbull community does not appear to be unstable or socially unhealthy according to various indices of stability that can be employed. Firstly, there are about 180 homeowners in the area west of Trumbull Avenue, all of whom have a stake in the future of the neighborhood. According to a questionnaire survey undertaken throughout the Model Cities Area (which includes Trumbull), 28% of the household in the Area have lived at their present address for more than 10 years, and 15% for 5-9 years. (21.4% have been there for one year or less: this group will be considered later in the report.) In addition, the survey revealed that 63% of the Model Cities residents had no desire to move, and 17% said that if they did move, they would stay in the area. None of these data suggest that the community is dangerously "unstable."

Other data confirm this conclusion. Using Detroit Housing Commission records of the relocation addresses of households that were forced to move out of UC 2 because of urban renewal, it was possible to estimate the migration distances of these displaced persons and to infer from these patterns some further characteristics of people and housing in the Trumbull community. The data, displayed in Figures 7 and 8, show firstly that 31% of the renters moved to local addresses within the community. Secondly, the majority of those renters who moved out of the community moved in a northwesterly direction into the sector of transition from homeownership to rental housing (see Figure 8).
MOVEMENTS OF A SAMPLE OF HOUSEHOLDS DISPLACED BY URBAN RENEWAL IN THE TRUMBULL COMMUNITY

Figure 8
Displaced homeowners tended to move further away from Trumbull presumably because personal resources and Housing Commission compensation gave them a greater choice of residential locations. A good number, disillusioned by their experience in Detroit, returned to the Southern Mountain States.

These movement patterns suggest that displaced households seeking rental accommodation look first at apartments close to their previous addresses. If they can afford slightly more expensive housing, they move further away from the community, while homeowners move still further away. The conclusion that we can perhaps draw is that housing in Trumbull is suitable for certain kinds of households because there is little alternative accommodation available for them elsewhere. Some of the social continuity in the community is, therefore, maintained by absence of choice. Many households would like to move away from Trumbull because they think that it is no longer a good neighborhood to live in, but most have nowhere else to go. Thus, "transience" in the Trumbull community has in fact been reduced by the tightness of the housing market in Detroit.

There have been substantial population movements out of the community over the last ten years but these have been due to urban renewal. Thus, in 1960, there were about 14,500 persons in the Trumbull area: by 1970 there were just over 8,000. This large volume of displacement accounts for a good proportion of the residents who have lived at their present address for only a year or two.

Some of the other residents who have been in the community for a relatively short time are migrants from the South. The community has for a long time acted as a receiving area for whites from the Southern Mountain states seeking work in Detroit. Trumbull is the only area in the City of Detroit that performs this vital reception function for whites from the South. It does not, in any way, represent something undesirable or worthy of the perjorative label of "transience."

As a final example of community strength, we must point to
the vigorous activity of community organizations. PCAUR was responsible for bringing the injunction against the City Housing Commission over the UC 2 clearance program. Since that time, successful organizing has taken place around the development of community recreation programs using Wayne State University facilities at Matthaei, and recently around opposition to Wayne State plans to construct a parking lot on the playing field adjacent to the Matthaei Field House. A Community Center has been opened and this acts as a focus for community organizing and the provision of free services such as education and legal aid.

4. Conclusion

The City of Detroit and Wayne State University consider that the Trumbull community has a low value and that they are, therefore, justified in undertaking clearance and urban renewal schemes in the area. But these schemes are not aimed at improving housing opportunities for local residents; they ignore the shortage of low income housing, the present social value of housing in the community, and the commitment to the area expressed by community residents.

As a result, Trumbull residents have been forced into a struggle for the control of the land on which the community is located. The struggle means challenging the ideology that determines which interests are to participate in the planning process and whose plans are given the most serious consideration. The need for good housing and a safe environment will only be met when the community is allowed to determine how its land is developed and how its people are treated.

"Commitment to the need for revolutionary change is the key in community organizing."

- SAM
INTRODUCTION TO THE REPORT ON RECREATION
IN THE TRUMBULL COMMUNITY

"Matthaei was a symbol of the community beginning to fight back."
- SAM

The report on recreation facilities in the Trumbull community area was prepared by the Planning class at the Trumbull Community Center at the request of the people at the Center. This request was made because Wayne State University (WSU) had proposed the building of a parking lot on an area of land used by the community as play space.

This area of land is known as the Matthaei Playfield. It consists of about 16 acres of play space used by both Wayne State and the community. Before WSU acquired the land through urban renewal, the area contained the homes, shops, cinemas, and churches of a much larger Trumbull community. The community has not forgotten that this was once their land.

The history of the struggle for Matthaei began in 1969 when community groups petitioned Wayne State to open up its recreation facilities (particularly the Field House and swimming pool that are located on part of the Playfield). The community won this battle when a community recreation program was instituted.

The most recent phase of the battle began in the Spring of 1971. At various meetings between a Coalition of community groups and members of the Board of Governors of WSU, the University explained that it needed more space for parking lots in order to meet the rising demand for automobile commuting by students and faculty. At one such meeting WSU proposed the use of several acres of the Matthaei for 500 parking spaces. The initial proposal was to use the least desirable part of the Playfield; the part not underlain by a sprinkler system.
Wayne State insisted that the parking lot was to be "temporary." In the University's long-term plans, the lot would be replaced, perhaps in about ten years time, by an athletics field house. In the meantime, the lot would compensate for parking space taken out while the University was constructing a multi-story parking garage on two large existing surface lots. However, the Community Coalition drew up a list of potential parking sites in the University area arguing that there were plenty of alternatives to the use of Matthaei.

Other pressures were put on by the community. A small demonstration was held on the Matthaei field to rally community opposition to the University and to show the University that the community was prepared to fight. The Young Prides, a group of teenagers in the Trumbull community, wrote a letter to the Board of Governors of Wayne State protesting the parking lot and explaining that the field was the only baseball field available to them. In response to this protest and the statements made by the Community Coalition, the University came forward with a compromise that reduced the size of the proposed lot to 292 spaces. They expressed surprise at the vehemence of the community opposition, indicating that their sources had informed them that the community would not be upset by the use of such a small part of the Matthaei field.

At about this stage in the conflict, the Trumbull Community Center Planning class was asked to draw up a report on recreation facilities in the community for presentation at the next meeting of the Board of Governors and the Community Coalition. The report had to be prepared within five days in order to be ready in time for the meeting.

The Detroit Geographical Expedition team linked with a small group of architecture students at the University of Detroit to prepare the report. The DGE prepared the report that follows while the University of Detroit students drew up detailed plans for a community park on the disputed part of the Matthaei field. This report and the plans for the park, together with a strongly
worded letter of protest from the Community Coalition were presented to the Board of Governors. The Governors promised to give the presentations careful consideration but indicated that their minds were pretty well made up on the issue and that further argument was essentially an annoyance to them.

The community then decided to publicize the issue. Letters of protest were sent by State Senator Coleman Young to the President of Wayne State. A series of newspaper articles came out in the Detroit Free Press. The television news, and the editorial columns of the city and campus newspaper came out with statements sympathetic to the community. In order to obtain student support for the community's case, a presentation was made by community people before the Student-Faculty Council of Wayne State University. At this meeting it was discovered that it was this Council that had originally recommended the construction of a parking lot on Matthaei. Thus, it was a significant victory for the community when the Council decided to reverse its original position and support the community plan for the area. Lobbying of officials at the University by members of the Planning class also took place.

In order to prove the strength of community opposition to the parking proposals, a petition was circulated among local residents which called for Wayne State not to build a parking lot on Matthaei and expressed a wish that the plans for a community park on Matthaei be implemented. This petition was signed by over 800 people in the Trumbull Community and was presented to the President of Wayne State.

On Friday, August 13th 1971, the Board of Governors, after a special meeting, announced that the Matthaei would not be considered for a parking lot. The community had won. But other struggles lie ahead. The community is now pushing forward with their plans to build a community Park on Matthaei.
A REPORT ON THE NEED FOR MAINTAINING MATTHAEI AS RECREATIONAL SPACE FOR THE CASS-TRUMBULL COMMUNITY

The purpose of this report is to demonstrate the critical need for park and playfield space in the Cass-Trumbull community, and to show that the removal of playfield space from the Matthaei Field will seriously reduce opportunities for recreation in the community.

Severe inequalities in access to recreation, particularly playfield and park space, exist in the City of Detroit. The general geographical pattern of inequality is indicated on Maps 1, 2, and 3, and showing the quantity of park and playfield space per 1000 population among the community and subcommunity areas of the city.

The maps show that recreation space is scarce near the center of the city and increases in quantity towards the city limits. This pattern is correlated with income so that areas with higher incomes have more recreation space available to them. This relationship is plotted on a graph in Figure 1.

In both Map 3 and Figure 1, the Cass-Trumbull community (community 2) can be seen to have both low income and little recreation space.

The lower income is critical because persons with low incomes must walk to recreational space and thus need local park and playfield space. Higher income persons have more resources of all kinds available to them and are less dependent on local space. Thus, those areas that show up on Maps 2 and 3 and Figure 1 with small amounts of space but with quite high median incomes are much less deprived than the central city communities because they have cars available to transport community people to recreation areas of their choice (see Figures 2 and 3).

Figures 2 and 3 show that the Cass-Trumbull community has very low car ownership and thus has a greater need for local
ACRES OF PARK & PLAYFIELD SPACE
PER 1,000 POPULATION

Map 2
SUBCOMMUNITY

Map 3
COMMUNITY
space. Consequently, the removal of recreation space from the community effects the quality of life for the people who live there quite severely.

Moreover, central city communities such as Cass-Trumbull have special needs because of the larger densities of children, fewer gardens, smaller playfield areas attached to schools, and poorer quality of playspace compared to higher income areas in the city. In Map 4 and Figure 5 there is a comparison of the quality of environments in two areas of Detroit. Clearly, Mack which is close in character to the Cass-Trumbull area provides a recreational environment that is markedly inferior to Bloomfield Hills. Thus, space like that on Matthaei is at an absolute premium for communities such as Cass-Trumbull.

In the immediate area of Matthaei (South of the Ford Expressway to Canfield; 12th St. to the Lodge Expressway) 8134 people live (1970 data), of which 1521 (18.4%) are over 60 years of age, and 4284 (52.9%) are under 24 years of age. Both of these groups of people in the community have special needs for recreation space. The 5.6 acres of the playfield to the west of the Matthaei Fieldhouse have the potential for meeting some of these needs.*

If this land is used for a parking lot, the community will lose the only area in the community in which a range of park and playfield activities are possible. The streets are already poorly maintained and unsafe for children; the Matthaei space is vital to the health of the community and for maintaining cordial relations with Wayne State University.

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*Detailed designs for a Community Park on Matthaei were drawn up by three architecture students from the University of Detroit.
COMPARISONS OF THE QUALITY OF ENVIRONMENTS IN
BLOOMFIELD HILLS AND MACK AVENUE AREAS

Map 4
POLICE PROTECTION IN THE CASS-TRUMBULL COMMUNITY

This section of the Field Notes concentrates upon the provision of law enforcement services in the Cass-Trumbull area. The first part is an investigation by the Planning Class into the effectiveness of the Detroit Police Department in different parts of the city and especially in Cass-Trumbull. The study was prompted by the feeling that the police are not particularly effective at keeping streets and homes in the community safe. As our investigation progressed, it became apparent that the community is being deprived of the kind of protection that other communities in the City of Detroit receive.

The second part deals with a unique situation involving the Wayne State University Public Safety Department and the surrounding community. This part is included because the University police are partly responsible for the negative attitudes held by residents towards law enforcement officials. Because Wayne State is so close to the community, the behavior of the WSU Public Safety Department contributes to the community feelings of "lawlessness" in the area. When public safety is not enhanced by the presence of police, then community protection is effectively absent.

Together, these two parts reflect the apprehension the community has towards law and order and the urgent need for community involvement in planning for its own security.
PART I. THE GEOGRAPHICAL PATTERN OF POLICE EFFECTIVENESS

This part of the Police Report examines the comparative effectiveness of the Detroit Police Department (DPD) throughout the City of Detroit with specific reference to the Cass-Trumbull community area.

Surveys conducted in the area by the Model Neighborhood Agency reveal that 56% of the respondents feel the need for greater police protection. Furthermore, 40% indicated that they thought that their neighborhoods were unsafe most of the time. Recent research by Loukos Loukopoulos has provided ample statistical confirmation of these opinions.* According to Loukopoulos, the DPD is lagging in its ability to clear and prosecute reported crimes in proportion to the rate of crime. For example, the prosecution rate for burglary has dropped by 109% between 1961 and 1969, and the prosecution rate for robbery has dropped by 160% over the same period.

Underlying the aggregate figures about the ability of the DPD to apprehend criminals, as well as the negative feelings felt towards the police in the community, is a suspicion that this "ability" is not uniform throughout the city. In other words, the suggestion is that the "Protectors of Liberty" (as the DPD call themselves) might be determining those who deserve to have their liberty protected, thus, leading to an unequal distribution of police effort throughout the city.

The overall distribution of the incidence of major crime (defined as burglary, robbery, assault, rape, homicide, and manslaughter and excluding all white collar crimes) in large cities shows a general pattern of concentration towards the center of the city, but with some important variation depending on the type of crime. In Detroit, assault and robbery, essentially street crimes, tend to be more highly concentrated in those areas of the city where people are poorer and where there are more

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*The Loukos Loukopoulos, Report on the Detroit Police Department, was published by Loukopoulos in Detroit in 1970.
people on the streets (see Maps I and II and Figures 1 and 2),
while burglary is more widely distributed but with a low incidence
in the extreme northeast and northwest of the city (see Map III
and Figure 3).* High rates of burglary characterize the central
city precincts (Precinct 1 in particular) where there are many
business and commercial properties.

The Cass-Trumbull community is located in Precinct 2 and
as Figures 1, 2, and 3 show, the community has a higher crime
rate for assault, robbery, and burglary than most other precincts.
In comparison, Precinct 16, which is a white, middle-class,
relatively wealthy community in the northwest of the city has
very low levels of crime.

If the police department was equally diligent in each area
of the City of Detroit, police protection, in terms of the effort
made to deter and apprehend criminalism might be expected to be
proportional to the threat of criminality facing each community.
One simple way of testing this expectation is to look at the
relationship between the crime rate and the numbers of police per
1000 population in city precincts. At first sight (see Figure 4),
it appears that the police are distributed in proportion to the
overall crime rate.** Figure 5 displays a similar relationship,
with a higher police presence in precincts with lower income
populations living in them. Does this mean, therefore, that
police resources are distributed equitably, and that the police
are doing as much to protect people in both rich and poor
neighborhoods?

It has already been noted that the residents of Cass-
Trumbull feel that they receive inadequate protection; that the
streets are often not safe; that the police are not around when
they are needed; and that when they are evident in the community
they are too often engaged in harassment of teenagers and long-

*Crimes with a much lower incidence rate such as homicide
and manslaughter are not considered in this report because they do
not have geographical distributions that are as statistically
significant as those for assault, robbery, and burglary.

**The overall crime rate refers to all "Major crimes."
Figure 5
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLICE PER 1000 POPULATION AND INCOME

Figure 6
THE PROTECTION GAP FOR ALL CRIMES
haired youths. Unfortunately, we do not have data that measure these things, so that police effectiveness must be measured in other, more indirect, ways.

We can infer a certain amount about police effectiveness by comparing the level of police presence in each precinct with the level in the "best protected area." The best protected area, in this case, is the precinct that has the largest number of police per 1000 population relative to the crime rate. Using 1969 data, Precinct 16 (in the northwest) is, therefore, the best protected precinct for all types of crime. The difference between the best protection rate (protection at the same rate as Precinct 16) and the actual protection rate can be called the "protection gap." The idea is shown graphically in Figure 6 using data for all major crimes.

The gap for each precinct can be mapped (Map IV) so that geographical differences in this measure of protection can be ascertained. Map IV shows that the pattern of unequal protection is quite dramatic revealing poor protection in the central city (with the exception of the central business district area of Precinct 1) and good protection in the almost exclusively white, higher income sections of the northwest and northeast. Precinct 4 in the southwest is anomalous. It has relatively low income, but the crime rate is not high and police presence is above average. It is, in fact, the DPD "showcase" precinct. The explanation seems to lie partly in the relatively stable nature of the area compared to some other low income neighborhoods and partly in the fact that police working in Precinct 4 often live there too. In addition, there is quite a high police presence given the crime rate.

The Cass-Trumbull community in Precinct 2, like other low income areas, is poorly protected. There is considerable variation in how safe people feel within the precinct and even within Cass-Trumbull, but the aggregate figure suggests an inadequate level of protection.
The sector of the city that stretches from the waterfront northwest to the city line has a relatively high incidence of crime and a large protection gap. This sector defines the current direction of Black migration (and White exodus) and the area in which single-family homes and duplexes are being converted to apartment dwellings. This emerging character necessitates special attention from planners and managers of city services.

If separate protection gaps are calculated for assault, robbery, and burglary, the interesting conclusion can be drawn that property is generally better protected than people. Comparing the first three columns of Table I or Maps V, VI, and VII, it is apparent that police resources are more equitably distributed with respect to burglary than with respect to crime on persons such as robbery and assault. This not to say that property in all parts of the city is equally well protected. It is quite likely that commercial and business property is better protected than houses or apartments and that large businesses are better protected than small businesses, particularly in low income areas.

Consequently, large businesses in low income areas on the edges of the CBD, for example, are well guarded. Since the owners, and often the beneficiaries, of these businesses generally live outside the area, these people receive double protection—there are more police guarding their homes and more police guarding their property.

Not only do areas such as Cass-Trumbull fare badly in terms of police presence, but police activity that does take place there is less effective than police activity in higher income communities. Figure 7 shows the relationship (at the precinct level) of the median income in precincts and the percentage of major crimes that reach the prosecution stage. Although the scatter on the graph is somewhat erratic, it is possible to infer that high income areas experience a higher rate of prosecutions than lower income areas. Assuming that the rate of prosecutions reflects the extent to which the police are skillful or energetic enough to apprehend criminals, collect evidence, and press for
TABLE I

PROTECTION GAPS FOR ALL CLASSES OF CRIME
EXPRESSED AS POLICE PER 1000 POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Precinct</th>
<th>Assault</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>Burglary</th>
<th>All Crimes</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>83,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>82,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>137,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>96,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>91,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>141,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>94,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>133,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>79,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>196,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>224,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>179,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: (i) Precinct 1, the central business district has been omitted because the area has a number of special police services and would therefore make the evaluation of the protection gap rather difficult.

(ii) All data are for 1969.
Figure 7
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR CRIMES PROSECUTED AND MEDIAN INCOME

NOTE: Data are for 1969.

Figure 8
CRIME RATE TRENDS IN PRECINCT 2

NOTE: No data are available for 1967, the year of the Great Rebellion.
prosecution, the graph does indicate that the police in low income neighborhoods are less effective. Police presence, therefore, could be interpreted as harassment because there are police in the community but they are not often effective. Interestingly, as the Model Neighborhood Survey shows, this is how the activities of the DPD tend to be perceived.

Nor is there any indication that police protection in Cass-Trumbull is likely to get any better under existing police policies. Crime rates have been advancing steadily since at least 1960 in Precinct 2 (see Figure 8), but at the same time the crime rates, expressed this time in terms of crimes per policeman, have also deteriorated. Thus community protection continues to deteriorate. In fact, to make matters worse, the number of patrolmen in Precinct 2 has decreased steadily since 1960 as Table II shows.

Other precincts have also experienced a reduction in police strength, but what is important here is that Precinct 2 which has a clear need for greater protection has reduced its strength at the same rate as more favored precincts such as Precinct 16. This comparison is shown in Table III.

The Detroit Police Department would, of course, object to the conclusions made in this report by arguing that special squads such as STRESS (Stop the Robbers and Enjoy Safe Streets) and the Tactical Mobile Squad are assigned to high crime areas to supplement the regular precinct forces. STRESS is an undercover force for identifying and provoking street robbers, while the Tactical Mobile Squad is a highly visible, heavily armed, combat force that is supposed to act as a deterrent to criminals. The evidence so far is these squads have not significantly reduced street crime over any extended period (despite DPD claims to the contrary) and have reinforced the prevailing image of the police as ineffective and hostile. In fact, Loukopoulos has strongly recommended that these squads be disbanded and resources be channeled to other methods of community protection.
### TABLE II

CRIME RATES EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF THE NUMBER
OF STREET PATROLMEN IN PRECINCT 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>Assault</th>
<th>Burglary</th>
<th>Street Patrolmen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: There are no published data on police strength in 1967—the year of the great rebellion in Detroit. Detroit Police Department Annual Reports are the source for these and other data employed in this study.

### TABLE III

ANNUAL PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN STREET PATROLMEN
IN PRECINCTS 2 AND 16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Precinct 2</th>
<th>Precinct 16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>-12.0%</td>
<td>-20.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>-1.1%</td>
<td>+1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>+0.6%</td>
<td>+12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>-3.0%</td>
<td>-8.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It has not been the purpose of this study to suggest that there should necessarily be more police in Cass-Trumbull. But the question has been raised about the justice and rationale behind the DPD distribution of resources. Simply putting more police in the community may not be the answer, but some method of effective protection must be found.

The community viewpoint is that the community has a right to better protection and should be involved in planning for its own safety if the Police Department cannot ensure good protection. Such cooperation has not been sought by the DPD because it tends to regard people living in poor communities as the enemy, and because they claim (with the help of dubious statistics) that they are in fact being effective. But the community believes that better protection can only be achieved if the community is involved in a cooperative effort with the Police Department. Some degree of community control of the police is, therefore, what the community is asking for.
PART II. COLOR THE PROTECTION BLUE

An ironic law and order situation exists in the Cass-Trumbull community due to its proximity to Wayne State University and the Public Safety Department operated by the University. The Department is constitutionally an official adjunct of the Detroit Police Department with the authoritative power of the city police force. Their duties are to patrol the Wayne State campus, buildings, owned or leased properties, parking lots, and thoroughfares associated with student access or residence. In addition, the Department has the right to respond to emergency calls outside the confines of the main campus.

This would seem to place the Cass-Trumbull community in an advantageous position since the neighborhood would benefit from the services of both the Precinct Two Detroit Police Department patrols as well as the Public Safety Patrol. Such, however, does not seem to be the case. To a great extent, the Patrol confines its activities to an area bounded by the Ford and Lodge Freeways, Hancock, and Woodward Avenue, on the northwest, south, and east respectively. The unofficial policy appears to one of protecting University property, including the students, from the community people. In this sense, the community becomes the enemy—the human element under surveillance (see copy of poster (Figure 9) entitled "Security is a Blue Beacon"). Thus the presence of the WSU police is not for the benefit of the community but is strictly for the benefit of the University. However, according to some complaints the Public Safety Patrol has made incursions into the community that have resulted in, or were an excuse to, harass residents of the area. The frequency of such reports has led to formal allegations being placed with university officials.

A second source of friction between Wayne State and the surrounding community involves the installation of a blue-lighted Safety Sentry system. The emergency telephones and accompanying
Security is a Blue Beacon

Blue beacons blanket the Wayne State University campus and neighborhood. They burn around the clock.

They show you where to find public emergency telephones—60 of them—that constitute WSU's Safety Sentry System for quick contact with the WSU Public Safety Department. You're never more than 100 yards from one. The emergency number is posted on it.

Watch the streets, too. WSU patrol cars now have small blue lights burning constantly inside their rooftop flasher beacons. Yell at the driver. He'll help you.

Before the Safety Sentry System was installed, Public Safety officers averaged a 90-second response time to emergency calls. That's fast, friend.

But they want to be faster, to cut crime and to make you safer. And they will, with your help.

Those blue beacons put you within seconds of WSU police officers and safety. And they serve warning on the criminal element that this is not a safe area in which to operate.

Blue beacons and Public Safety officers. Help THEM help YOU! Remember: Security is a blue beacon.

PLEASE POST
beacons cost over $4,200 per phone including the monthly phone bill. Their purpose, according to Vern Foss of Wayne State Information Services is to "make the public more secure and public criminals less so." There are several factors that make this statement suspect. First, the phones do not constitute a hot-line system to Public Safety, but are within the campus communication system. Second, as Map VIII indicates, the "secure public" must either remain within proximity of the main campus or live in a parking lot. Interestingly enough, the administrator of the Safety Sentry system is also the head of the Parking Authority. Thus the proposed new phones for the Matthaei parking lot were not located with respect to community needs, nor are there other indications that the public that the Safety Department is protecting includes the residents of the Cass-Trumbull community. On the whole, therefore, the University looks upon the community as its adversary rather than its associate.

When one considers the scarcity of public telephones and the obvious need for law enforcement in the Trumbull community, it is time for Wayne State University officials to view the issue of public safety in terms of community safety. In an issue of such importance, positive communication should exist between these two institutions—the urban neighborhood and the urban University.