

---

## Guest editorial

---

### **Detroit: A tale of two crises**

The American automobile industry has put its stamp on the entire world, from the Chrysler Building in New York City, with its architectural details based on Chrysler radiator caps and hood ornaments, to the Chelyabinsk tractor plant, designed by Henry Ford's master architect Albert Kahn.<sup>(1)</sup> In much of the United States, however, the remains of 20th-century automobile production have already been reduced to ghostly traces. There are streets and avenues named after Henry Ford in Mexico, Brazil, France, Germany, India, Canada, and in the United States, and the Free University of Berlin has a 'Henry Ford Building'.<sup>(2)</sup> There is one place, however, where the American car industry's history continues to permeate an entire sociosymbolic landscape: Detroit and its environs.

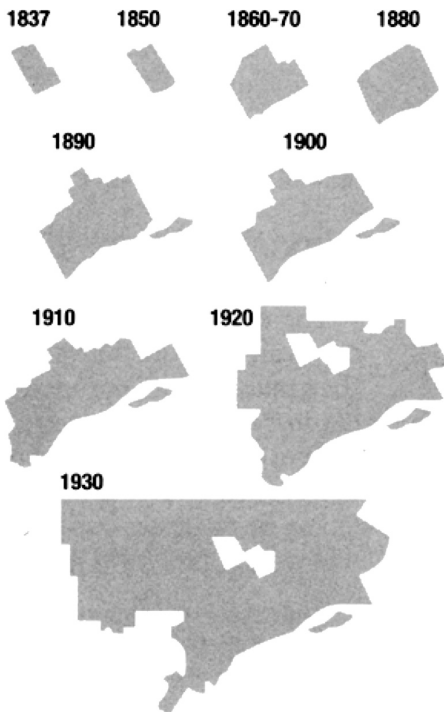
Detroit's urban landscape seems at first glance to be completely shaped by the auto industry. At the center of downtown along the riverfront stand the seven interconnected skyscrapers of the Renaissance Center, the international headquarters of General Motors (and of the new, postbankruptcy GM). The Renaissance Center's central tower is seventy-three stories high, dwarfing the city's other high-rise buildings.<sup>(3)</sup> The streets radiating off from the Renaissance Center seem like the nerves connecting the company's brain to its productive body. Moving up Woodward Avenue from the Detroit River you come to Ford's now crumbling Highland Park factory. Moving downriver along Jefferson Avenue you arrive eventually at Ford's gargantuan River Rouge complex. Upriver along Jefferson Avenue sits Chrysler's Jefferson North Assembly Plant, which employed almost 3000 people until recently. The names of American automotive giants are emblazoned across the region. A high school, academy, community college, hospital, medical center, and museum are named after Henry Ford, high schools are named after Henry Ford II and Edsel Ford, and elementary schools are even named after the less famous members of the family. Detroit-area freeways are called Chrysler, Edsel Ford, Fisher, and Walter Reuther.

Detroit's population skyrocketed from just 116 340 to almost a million between 1880 and 1920, making it the third largest city in the US after New York City and Chicago. Although Detroit had been a manufacturing town before 1880 its industrial base was diverse. Before 1905 the US automobile industry was dispersed across the northeastern and Great Lakes states, and "Detroit was clearly not the dominant place" (Bloomfield, 1986, page 169). Between 1909 and 1914, however, fully "85% of the national growth in

<sup>(1)</sup>Kahn also designed factories in Stalingrad, Kuznetsk, and Nizhni-Tagil in the USSR. The Chelyabinsk plant is still operating and producing tractors (see <http://chtz-uraltrac.com/>). In Forlandia, Henry Ford's rubber-producing company town in the Amazon, the hospital designed by Kahn "has collapsed, the jungle has reclaimed the golf course and tennis courts, and bats have taken up residence in houses where American managers once lived" (Grandin, 2009).

<sup>(2)</sup>The Free University building is named after Henry Ford II (president of the Ford Motor Company from 1945 to 1960), not his grandfather Henry Ford. Henry Ford avenues and streets are in Brazil (São Paulo); Mexico (Mexico City, Cuautitlán Izcalli, Tlalnepantla de Baz, Zacatecas, and Apodaca); Germany (Saarlouis and Cologne); France (Lisieux); India (Maraimalai Nagar); Canada (Vaudreuil-Dorion, Québec); and the United States (Long Beach, California, Brook Park, Ohio, and Atlanta).

<sup>(3)</sup>The complex was built in 1977 as a symbol of the city's rebirth after the traumatic riots of 1967, but it has long been criticized for its fortress-like design which seemed to barricade the white-collar middle class against the urban poor.



**Figure 1.** Evolution of Detroit's boundaries, 1837–1930 (source: Gavrilovich and McGraw, 2000, page 288).

the automobile industry occurred in Detroit”, and between 1914 and 1937, 47% of the work force in the national auto industry was in Detroit (Zunz, 1982, page 292; Ticknor, 1978, pages 93, 252; Holli, 1976). The city expanded steadily through annexations, growing by 1930 to its current size of 138.8 square miles (slightly larger than Philadelphia, the city that Detroit had surpassed in population size by 1920) (figure 1).<sup>(4)</sup>

#### **From Motor City to city in ruins**

In addition to being the automobile city, however, Detroit is also the largest modern US city in ruins (Chanan and Steinmetz, 2005). It is the only American city regularly described as a ‘ruin’ in the mainstream media (Steinmetz, 2008) and probably the only one that markets its own ruination<sup>(5)</sup> to Hollywood as a backdrop for dystopian science fiction fantasies and gritty crime films.<sup>(6)</sup> The city currently has as many as 80 000 abandoned buildings (Nichols and Fleming, 2009). Downtown skyscrapers stand vacant, boarded up and crumbling. Urban preservationists in Detroit have struggled in vain to rescue landmark buildings from the wrecking ball; losses include the Hudson’s flagship department store, the Motown Center, the old Tiger Stadium, and

<sup>(4)</sup> Philadelphia’s land area is 135.13 square miles; by comparison, Chicago currently covers about 225 square miles, similar to Toronto’s 243, while New York City has 305 square miles and Los Angeles 498.

<sup>(5)</sup> On the modern ruin, see Ratzel (1876), Smithson (1979), Vergara (1999), Hell (2009), and Hell and Schoenle (2009).

<sup>(6)</sup> Some of these films, including *Blue Collar* (1979), and *The Island* (2005), were shot partly or entirely in Detroit. Others are set in Detroit but filmed elsewhere, including *RoboCop* (1988), *The Crow* (1994), *Four Brothers* (2005), and the 2005 remake of *Assault on Precinct 13*. The latter two were filmed mainly in Toronto, but the change in the US–Canadian exchange rate has made it less attractive for Hollywood to film in Canada. Michigan’s tax rebate of up to 42% for film producers is currently the most generous in the US (Sullivan, 2009).



**Figure 2** [In color online, see <http://dx.doi.org/10.1068/d2705ed>] Parking inside Detroit's Michigan Theater (photograph by the author).

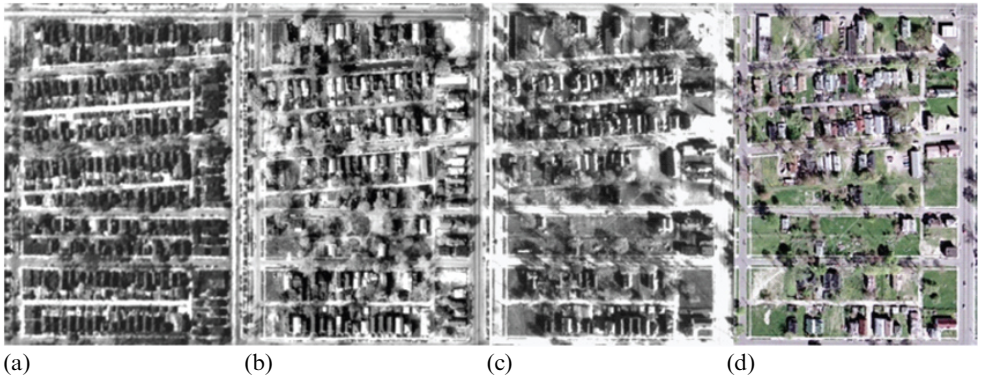
the Statler and Madison-Lenox hotels. The fate of the abandoned downtown Lafayette Building currently hangs in the balance (Gallagher, 2009). The city removed the graffiti from the windows of the downtown United Artists Building in time for the 2005 Detroit Super Bowl (McGraw, 2005), but the structure it is still empty. The former Michigan Theater, once an ornate downtown movie palace, was gutted in the 1970s and turned into a parking garage (figure 2).

Many of the vacant buildings remain standing because they are too expensive to demolish or because the owners prefer to sit on them. The hulking skeleton of the Michigan Central Railway Station, a mixture of a Beaux-Arts terminal and an office tower, built in 1913 and empty since the 1980s (Hill and Gallagher, 2003, page 246), looms over the surrounding neighborhood. Although there has been a decrease in acts of arson on 'Devil's night' since a peak in the 1980s, vacant buildings still burn on a regular basis (Chafets, 1990; McGraw, 2009). As a result of arson and depopulation, in many neighborhoods there are more empty lots than houses. A series of aerial photos of the Heidelberg Street neighborhood (figure 3) illustrates the process of emptying out during the past sixty years and the emergence of an urban prairie.<sup>(7)</sup>

#### **The urban crisis and the crisis of 'Detroit'**

Current discussions of "the death of Detroit" (Mahler, 2009) and "Detroit's road to ruin" (Pilkington, 2008) threaten to lose track of the distinction between the urban crisis, signified by Detroit's ruination, and the crisis of the American auto industry. The name Detroit is also used in the American media and political discourse as a metaphor

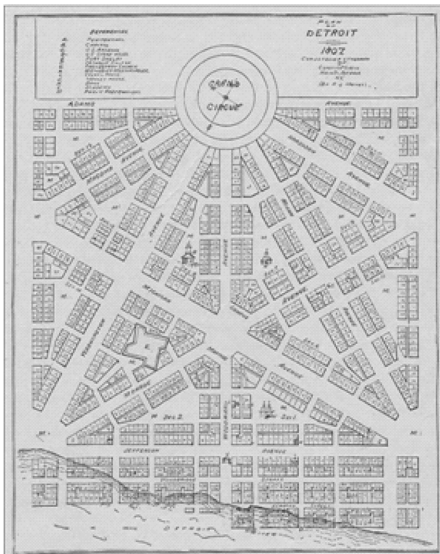
<sup>(7)</sup> Detroit artist Tyree Guyton has transformed a number of abandoned houses and empty lots on Heidelberg Street into installations using the refuse of industrial civilization (see <http://www.heidelberg.org/> and Guyton, 2007).



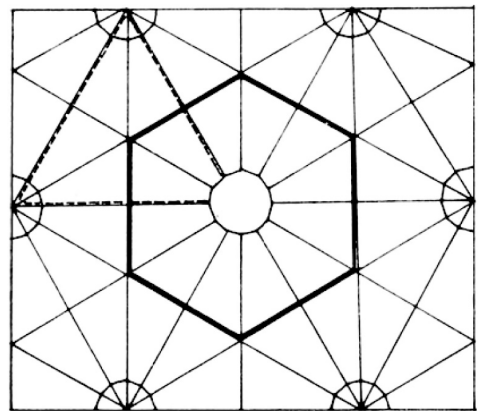
**Figure 3.** [In color online] Heidelberg Street area overtaken by vacant lots: (a) 1949, (b) 1981, (c) 1997, and (d) 2002 (source: [http://techtools.culma.wayne.edu/media/low\\_res/aerial\\_photos/index.htm](http://techtools.culma.wayne.edu/media/low_res/aerial_photos/index.htm)).

for the auto industry tout court. It is crucial to differentiate between the two crises if a solution for the city's plight is to be found.<sup>(8)</sup>

It seems obvious that Detroit's urban form and symbolic landscape must be more than simply a materialization of the auto industry once one recalls that Detroit has existed since 1701. Is it possible, however, that the automobile era completely remade the city? At first glance the downtown's hub-and-spoke-design (figure 4) is suggestive of the shape of an automobile wheel, but this would be highly anachronistic. The hub-and-spoke pattern was created by Augustus B Woodward, the first Chief Justice of the Michigan Territory. The plan's rational symmetry was based on equilateral triangles subdivided by streets and arranged side by side to form a series of hexagons, each of



**Figure 4.** Woodward's 1807 plan of Detroit (source: *Wikipedia commons*).



**Figure 5.** Woodward's hub (source: Norton, 1986, page 159).

<sup>(8)</sup> Responses to a recent *New York Times Magazine* article on "Detroit and the fall of the black middle class" (Mahler, 2009) illustrate the confusion that results from conflating the two crises. One letter writer ignores the city's plight, insisting that the black middle class in metropolitan Detroit has not declined but has in fact prospered by moving into the medical sector and other industries; a second writer focuses entirely on the city's "spiraling decay" and "decaying neighborhoods" (letters *New York Times Magazine* 12 July, 2009).



**Figure 6.** Pattern of Detroit city freeways (source: Doxiadis, 1970, page 129); reproduced by kind permission of Detroit Edison).



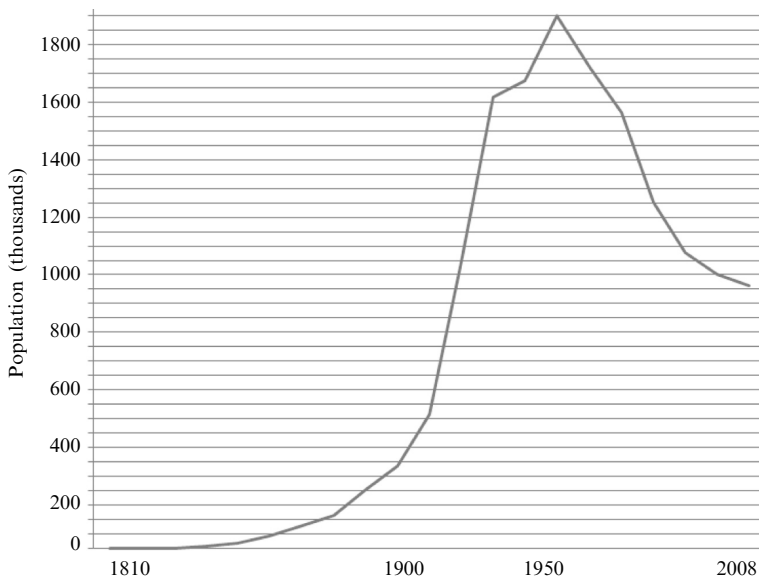
**Figure 7.** Chrysler Freeway with former Hastings Street in red online. Area shown here is located in the lower right of figure 6.

them with a grand circus at its center (figure 5). This approach reflected Woodward's immersion in 18th-century enlightenment thinking and had little to do with the industrial era. Indeed, if Woodward's plan had been extended to the entire city as he intended, Detroit would have become a "monumental complexity for the operator of an automobile" (Norton, 1986, page 165).<sup>(9)</sup>

The freeways that encircle downtown Detroit (figure 6) also appear to reflect purely industrial interests, channeling traffic to and from the deconcentrated production facilities of Highland Park and Dearborn and the residential suburbs. According to Sugrue (1996, page 47), however, "Detroit's highway planners were careful to ensure that construction of these new high-speed expressways would only minimally disrupt middle-class residential areas, but they had little such concern for black neighborhoods, especially those closest to downtown." Expressway construction was "welcomed as a handy device for razing slums" (Mowitz and Wright, 1962, page 405). The Chrysler Freeway cut through the old black ghetto on the east side, completely erasing Hastings Street (figure 7), a shopping center and home to more than twenty mainly black-owned jazz clubs during the 1930s (Bjorn, 2001, page 39).

The nonsimultaneity of the urban and automotive crises is underscored by the fact that the auto industry had already started relocating outside the central city around World War I (Zunz, 1982). Ford built his first large assembly line factory in 1909 in Highland Park, an enclave city entirely surrounded by Detroit; in 1917 he located his massive River Rouge plant in Dearborn on Detroit's western border.

<sup>(9)</sup>The war of 1812 brought an end to Woodward's plan and he was soon back on the east coast. In 1816 he published *A System of Universal Science* (Woodward, 1816).



**Figure 8.** Total Population of the city of Detroit, 1810–2008

The migration of automotive jobs toward the suburbs continued apace (Ticknor, 1978). This process of deconcentration did not signal a crisis of the auto industry, but the city's population began to decline in the mid-1950s (figure 8).

Although the two crises have different temporalities and origins, the crash of 2008 and the bankruptcy and downsizing of GM and Chrysler have exacerbated the city's travails. Since 2001 Detroit has had the highest unemployment rate among the fifty largest US cities, but unemployment shot up to a record 29% in August 2009 (Gallagher, 2009). Detroit has recently recaptured its title as 'Murder City', with violent crime levels leading all US cities (Ewalt, 2007; O'Malley Greenburg, 2009).<sup>(10)</sup> Detroit has long led other large cities in the number of households below the poverty line and rates of diabetes, asthma, smoking, disability, and heart disease (Jahnke, 2009), and it is now the poorest big city in the US (Satyanarayana and Tanner, 2008). Detroit's \$285 million deficit for 2009/10 led to "the closings of 29 schools and layoffs of about 1,900 teachers and administrators" (Terry, 2009). Current plans by GM and Chrysler to close local auto plants "will dump an estimated 25 million square feet of industrial land onto a struggling commercial real estate market" (Aguilar, 2009) in Michigan, exacerbating the problem of empty buildings and unused space in Detroit. And while Detroit had high rates of working-class homeownership before 1920 and after the Great Depression (Zunz, 1982), by 2007 the city had highest rate of home foreclosures in the US.

**State form, political opportunity structure, and the spatial organization of the national economy**  
Responses to Detroit's tragedy usually take for granted the fragmentation of the US state, according to which local and regional (state) governments are forced to fend for themselves fiscally and to use tax incentives to compete with one another for scarce investments. But the economic crash of 2008 and the ensuing drama that has played out on the national political stage have opened up new possibilities for thinking about and dealing with the urban crisis. On the one hand, the automobile industry

<sup>(10)</sup> These estimates are based on FBI statistics of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

and Wall Street are being bailed out according to an explicitly Keynesian model. This overnight paradigm shift toward a logic of state capitalism makes it possible to imagine even more dramatic changes in political perspective. Most cities and states are now facing huge deficits but most are legally prohibited from engaging in deficit spending. Thus while the recession “has doubled the number of jobless Americans seeking aid”, many states are unable to pay jobless benefits, since they finance unemployment insurance by taxing employers. During the last decade the tax on employers for jobless benefits fell by 40%, a drop supported by business lobbies and state governments who see lower tax rates as making it easier to compete for investments (DeParle, 2009). As cities call on the states for help, and as states ask the federal government for loans or direct infusions of cash, the irrationality of the American state’s fiscal and administrative decentralization is revealed in the harsh light of day.

One result of this altered political-economic landscape is an opportunity for overcoming the state’s structural fragmentation and for moving toward more “nationally centralized and uniform patterns of state territorial organization”—that is, toward a politics of *spatial Keynesianism* (Brenner, 2004, page 135). The national state would then direct more of its resources to the internal urban peripheries of the United States, including impoverished cities like Detroit, and would coordinate policies so as to smooth out the huge regional inequalities in the United States.<sup>(11)</sup> Social service provision and infrastructural modernization would be spatially standardized. Planning and policy implementation would be coordinated nationally and “megaregionally” (Wells, 2009) and reoriented toward the creation of a *national* growth machine (Davis, 2009) rather than *local* ones (Molotch, 1976). Incentives would be calibrated at the national scale in order to channel private investments into regions and localities that need them most.

Movement in these directions is already taking place in an incremental fashion.<sup>(12)</sup> Some of the Obama administration’s policies are pushing political culture and the spatial organization of sovereignty upward toward the national level. The overarching political effect of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 and the bailouts of the auto industry and Wall Street is to reassert the role of the central state (<http://www.recovery.gov>). Money for buying a house or car or starting a new business can be obtained from the federal government. And while state and local governments are facing huge budget shortfalls that are leading to massive service cuts and job losses,<sup>(13)</sup> the imbalance between revenues and what is needed for locally funded services would be much greater without the stimulus money. For example, the Recovery Act is “providing roughly \$140 billion over two-and-a-half years to help states pay for education, health care, public safety, and other key services” (<http://www.cbpp.org/files/3-13-08sfp.pdf>; <http://www.ed.gov/policy/gen/leg/recovery/factsheet/stabilizationfund.html>). The federal government determines how much each state is getting, and there are restrictions on the ways states can disburse the money. States are required to use 81.8% of the stabilization funds they receive to ‘backfill’ cuts made to education programs, and they are prohibited from spending any of this money on private institutions of higher education (Lederman, 2009; <http://www.ed.gov/programs/statestabilization/guidance.pdf>).

The US state system’s *intermediate* level—the level of the ‘states’—is being eroded. The paired discussions about California’s “ungovernability” (*The Economist* 2009) and

<sup>(11)</sup> In some respects this program would resemble the policies pursued in the Federal Republic of Germany during the 1960s, analyzed by Brenner (1997).

<sup>(12)</sup> A variety of other nationalizing changes that cannot be addressed here would contribute less directly to lessening spatial inequality, including the introduction of national health care.

<sup>(13)</sup> Shortfalls are estimated at \$350 or more through 2011 (McNichol and Lav, 2009).

the threatened secession of Texas<sup>(14)</sup> suggest that the locus of political sovereignty at this intermediate level is coming under extreme pressure and being pushed in two directions: upward toward the federal level or downward toward further decentralization or even breaking away to form a separate country. But while the Texas Governor can imagine his state existing on its own, secession would not solve California's problems (Steinhauer, 2009, page A3). The only alternative for California, if the economic crisis persists, will be to let the federal government assume more control over its affairs.

In other respects what is emerging is a new balance of local and national sovereignty in which the latter is more clearly dominant. For example, local newspapers are disappearing across the US and being replaced not just by the Internet but also by public broadcasting, which receives government support and embeds local news within programming from national producers like National Public Radio, Public Radio International, and the Public Broadcasting Service.

It would be foolhardy to try to eliminate local political culture or sovereignty, or to turn cities and regions into mere conveyor belts for national policies and messages. Democracy would be endangered and government would be inefficient, forfeiting access to sources of local knowledge that help tailor policies to specific needs. What is at stake is not full-scale centralization but national policies that distribute government resources in ways that equalize localities economically but without eliminating local-scale political institutions and culture.

Before the US Presidential election of 2008 these sorts of ideas would have seemed absurdly unrealistic. It is no surprise that local progressives in Detroit focused until recently on ideas like urban farming (Josar, 2009). But policies that are restricted to the city level cannot challenge the deeper structural roots of US spatial inequality. At the end of the day, mere "nudging" (Thaler and Sunstein, 2009) will not be enough. The US constitution will have to be revised to make the state more unitary and less federal and to give more electoral power to the country's metropolitan majority.<sup>(15)</sup> Obama's "loyal opposition" (Kuttner, 2009) has been given an unprecedented opportunity to push for reorganizing the entire antiquated structure of the American state.

**Acknowledgements.** Many thanks to Howard Kimeldorf, the editors of *Society and Space*, and above all Julia Hell, *ruingazer extraordinaire*, for discussing this essay with me.

George Steinmetz

Department of Sociology, University of Michigan

#### References

- Aguilar L, 2009, "Auto crisis fallout" *Detroit News* 22 June, <http://www.detnews.com/article/20090622/AUTO01/906220310/Michigan-cities-scramble-to-recycle-auto-plants/?imw=Y>
- Bjorn L, 2001 *Before Motown: A History of Jazz in Detroit, 1920-1960* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI)
- Bloomfield G T, 1986, "Shaping the character of a city: the automobile industry and Detroit, 1900–1920" *Michigan Quarterly Review* 25 167–181
- Brenner N, 1997, "State territorial restructuring and the production of spatial scale: urban and regional planning in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1960–1990" *Political Geography* 16 273–306
- Brenner N, 2004 *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood* (Oxford University Press, Oxford)
- Chafetz Z, 1990 *Devil's Night and Other True Tales of Detroit* (Random House, New York)

<sup>(14)</sup> In April 2009 Texas Governor Rick Perry "touched off a political uproar by expressing sympathy for Texans who want to secede from the United States" (McKinley, 2009).

<sup>(15)</sup> A variety of other nationalizing changes that cannot be addressed here would contribute less directly to lessening spatial inequality, including the introduction of national health care.



- Chanan M, Steinmetz G, 2005 *Detroit: Ruin of a City* (Bristol Docs, Bristol)
- Davis M, 2009, "Obama at Manassas." *New Left Review* 56 <http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2769>
- DeParle, J, 2009, "Jobless checks for millions delayed as states struggle" *New York Times* 23 July, page A1
- Doxiadis K A, 1970 *Emergence and Growth of an Urban Region: The Developing Urban Detroit Area* Volume 3, Detroit Edison Co., Detroit
- Ewalt D M, 2007, "America's most murderous cities" *Forbes.com* 8 November, [http://www.forbes.com/2007/11/08/murder-city-danger-forbeslife-cx\\_de\\_1108murder.html](http://www.forbes.com/2007/11/08/murder-city-danger-forbeslife-cx_de_1108murder.html)
- Gallagher J, 2000, "Preservation war rages on in Detroit: once-doomed Lafayette Building may yet be saved" *Detroit Free Press* 12 July, page A28
- Gallagher J, 2009, "Detroit jobless rate a record 28.9%" *Detroit Free Press* 27 August
- Gavrilovich P, McGraw B (Eds), 2009 *The Detroit Almanac: 300 Years of Life in the Motor City* (Detroit Free Press, Detroit, MI)
- Grandin G, 2009, "Touring empire's ruins: from Detroit to the Amazon" *The Nation* 23 June, <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20090706/grandin/print>
- Guyton T, 2007 *Connecting the Dots: Tyree Guyton's Heidelberg Project* (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, MI)
- Hell J, 2009, "The twin towers of Anselm Kiefer and the trope of imperial decline" *Germanic Review* 84 84–93
- Hell J, Schoenle A (Eds), 2009 *Ruins of Modernity* (Duke University Press, Durham, NC)
- Hill E J, Gallagher J, 2003 *AIA Detroit: The American Institute of Architects Guide to Detroit Architecture* (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, MI)
- Holli M G, 1976, "The impact of automobile manufacturing upon Detroit" *Detroit in Perspective* 2 176–188
- Jahnke K, 2009, "Metro Detroit can be hard on your health" *Detroit Free Press* 7 June, page D4
- Josar D, 2009, "Urban gardeners nurture nature in Detroit" *Detroit News* 24 April, <http://www.detnews.com/article/20090424/LIFESTYLE14/904240359/Urban-gardeners-nurture-nature-in-Detroit?imw=Y>
- Kuttner R, 2009, "Obama's Loyal Opposition" *Huffington Post* 13 April, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-kuttner/obamas-loyal-opposition\\_b\\_186025.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-kuttner/obamas-loyal-opposition_b_186025.html)
- Lederman D, 2009, "The stimulus as savior?" *Inside Higher Ed* 27 March, <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2009/03/27/stimulus/>
- McGraw B, 2005, "It'll be clean, but it'll still be vacant" *Detroit Free Press* 20 December, page A1
- McGraw B, 2009, "Tallying up Detroit's absurdities" *Detroit Free Press* 29 June, <http://www.freep.com/article/20090629/COL27/90629003/>
- McKinley J C Jr, 2009, "Texas Governor's secession talk stirs furor" *New York Times* 18 April
- McNichol E, Lav J, 2009, "State budget troubles worsen", Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, revised 29 June, <http://www.cbpp.org/files/9-8-08sfp.pdf>
- Mahler J, 2009, "Detroit and the fall of the black middle class" *New York Times Magazine* 28 June, pages 30–37, 44–47
- Molotch H, 1976, "The city as a growth machine: toward a political economy of place" *American Journal of Sociology* 82 309–332
- Mowitz R J, Wright D S, 1962 *Profile of a Metropolis; A Case Book* (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, MI)
- Nichols D N, Fleming L N, 2009, "Despite common ground, Bing and Cockrel disagree on solutions" *Detroit News* 1 May, <http://www.detnews.com/article/20090501/METRO01/905010392>
- Norton P, 1986, "Woodward's vision for Detroit" *Michigan Quarterly Review* 25 155–166
- O'Malley Greenburg Z, 2009, "America's most dangerous cities" *Forbes.com* 23 April, <http://www.forbes.com/2009/04/23/most-dangerous-cities-lifestyle-real-estate-dangerous-american-cities.html>
- Pilkington E, 2008, "The road to ruin" *The Guardian* 3 December, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2008/dec/03/detroit-motor-city-ford>
- Ratzel F, 1876 *Städte- und Culturbilder aus Nordamerika* (F A Brockhaus, Leipzig)
- Satyanarayana M, Tanner K, 2008, "Detroit is poorest big city in U.S." *Detroit Free Press* 27 August, page B1
- Smithson R, 1979, "A tour of the monuments of Passaic, New Jersey", in *The Writings of Robert Smithson* Ed. N Holt (New York University Press, New York) pp 52–57

- Steinhauer J, 2009, "Pinch of reality threatens the California dream" *New York Times* 22 July, pages A1, A3
- Steinmetz G, 2008, "Harrowed landscapes: white ruingazers in Namibia and Detroit and the cultivation of memory" *Visual Studies* 23 211 – 237
- Sugrue T J, 1996 *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ)
- Sullivan A, 2009, "Postcard from Detroit" *Time* 30 April, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1894943,00.htm>
- Terry N, 2009, "Detroit school closings hurt kids" *Detroit Free Press* 6 July, page A3
- Thaler R H, Sunstein CR, 2009 *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth and Happiness* (Penguin, New York)
- The Economist* 2009, "The ungovernable state", 14 May
- Ticknor T J, 1978, "Motor City: the impact of the automobile industry pon Detroit, 1900 – 1975", PhD dissertation, Department of History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI
- Vergara C J, 1999 *American Ruins* (Monacelli Press, New York)
- Wells R, 2009, "The Rise of Megaregions," *American Prospect* 3 July, [http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=the\\_rise\\_of\\_megaregions](http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=the_rise_of_megaregions)
- Woodward A B, 1816 *A System of Universal Science* (Edward Earle, Harrison Hall, and Moses Thomas, Philadelphia)
- Zunz O, 1982 *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880 – 1920* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL)

### Filmography

- Assault on Precint 13* 2005, Dir. J-F Richet (Rogue Pictures)
- Blue Collar* 1979, Dir. P Schrader (TAT Communications)
- Four Brothers* 2005, Dir. J Singleton (Paramount Pictures)
- RoboCop* 1988, Dir. P Verhoeven (Orion Pictures)
- The Crow* 1994, Dir. A Proyas (Crowvision)
- The Island* 2005, Dir. M Bay (Dreamworks)