

## Chicago's Crosstown Expressway: Mod-Highway for Urban America

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Can we have modern expressway transportation in the city—the kind we all need for jobs, business, shopping—without tearing up the city to put it there, and without displacing great numbers of residents and local enterprises? Can we weave it into the city, so that it does not divide neighborhoods and separate neighbor from neighbor? Can we make the expressway a neighborhood asset, a linear community center that provides community facilities, stimulates community improvement, increases property values?

These are the questions that seriously concern designers and builders of urban highways today. They are the questions we are going to have to be able to answer "yes" to.

Can it be done?

We think it can, and we think Chicago is showing the way. The planning of the Chicago Crosstown Expressway, which is going on right now, is one of the first attempts in America to answer positively the questions I have raised. And the first result of that effort—the plan for the Stevenson-Midway segment running from the Stevenson Expressway south past Midway Airport—offers some very promising answers.

### ORIGINS OF THE CROSSTOWN

A circumferential boulevard of monumental scale for Chicago was first envisioned in the broad concepts of the renowned Burnham Plan of 1909. One of its purposes was "... to divert from the center, traffic not having its objective point in the central area." Since then, a circumferential roadway has been an integral part of all the plans of Chicago.

At present, Chicago's transportation network contains a series of radial routes that converge slightly to the west of the central business district (Fig. 1). The proposed highway, which in recent years has been termed the Crosstown Expressway, would run north and south at the edge of the city, connecting the various arms of the existing network and easing the demand on these radial routes. The Chicago Area Transportation Study of 1962 recommended that the location of the Crosstown Expressway be fixed in the general region of Cicero Avenue, and in 1964 this routing was incorporated into the basic policies statement of the official Comprehensive Plan of Chicago.

A more definitive analysis of the needs and character of the Crosstown Expressway was completed in 1966, when a transportation advisory group composed of representatives of the State of Illinois, the County of Cook, and the City of Chicago prepared a pioneering study of various locations and designs for the expressway, giving special emphasis to non-traffic considerations and exploring new possibilities for improving relocation and land planning associated with its concepts. This interagency team demonstrated the desirability of comprehensive planning for highways.

The general location for the Crosstown was selected through study of traffic congestion on arterial streets in the area, daily trip computation to determine the traffic-attracting power of the Chicago Loop, and a survey of existing roadway facilities. Once the need for a corridor across town was established, optimum spacing criteria were applied to establish specific alternatives of corridor location.

The Cicero Avenue corridor was clearly in the area of greatest street deficiency. Cicero was equidistant between the hub of the radial expressway routes and the Illinois Tollway bypass route in the western environs of the city. Because of its location, an

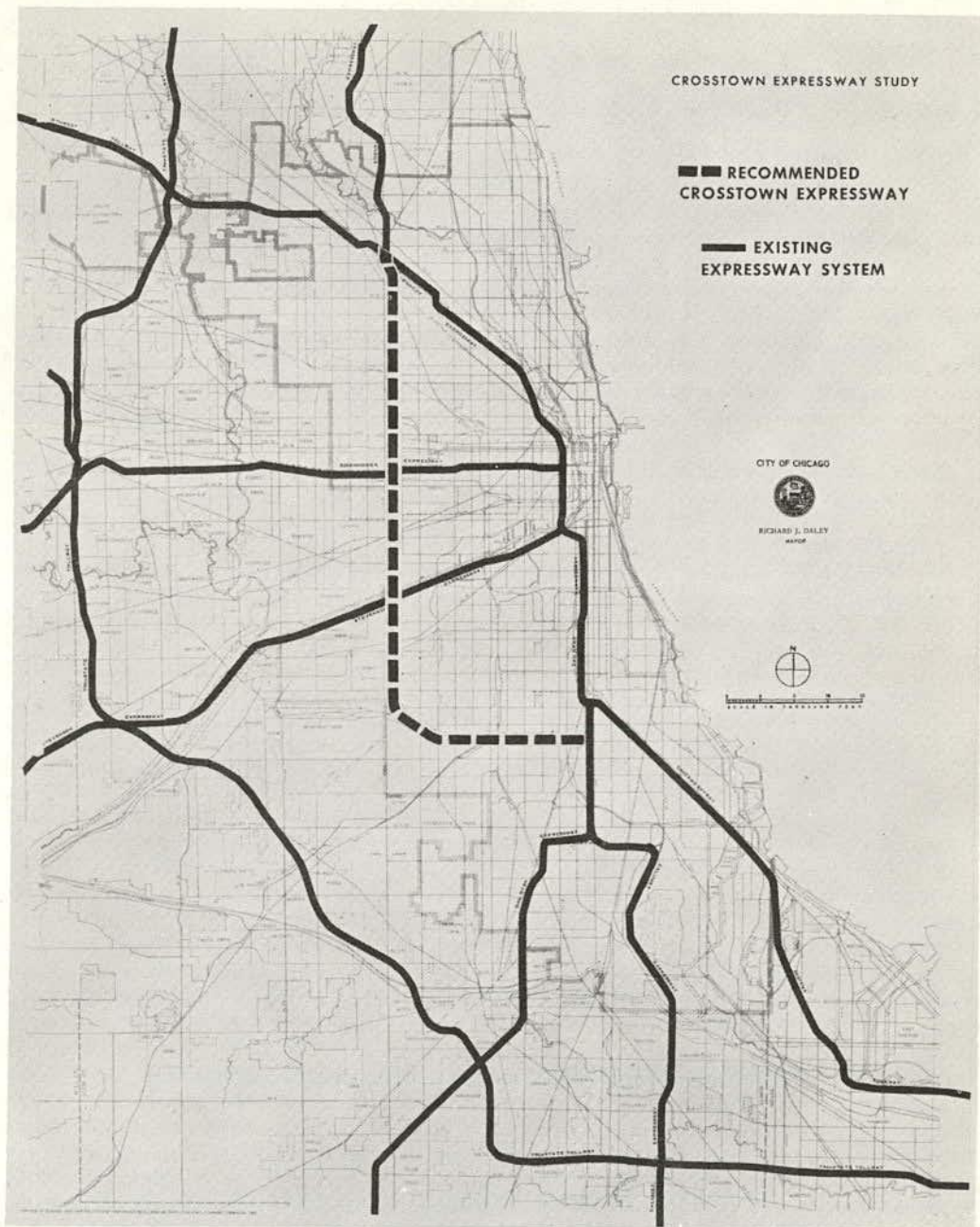


Figure 1. Crosstown route and existing radials.

expressway in this corridor could connect directly to the Edens Expressway in the vicinity of the existing Edens-Kennedy expressway junction near the northwest boundary of Chicago.

It would also prove a direct connection between O'Hare and Midway, the city's two principal airports. The Cicero Avenue corridor clearly emerged as the priority area for detailed alignment investigations.

At present, traffic volumes in the Cicero corridor are heavy, with about 30,000 vehicles a day on Cicero Avenue, 20,000 on Archer Avenue, and 16,000 on 55th, 47th, and 63rd Streets. In addition, local streets are forced to carry heavy employee and truck traffic related to the surrounding industries.

Initial proposals for the Crosstown Expressway were announced during December 1965 and January 1966. At this time, an alignment along the Belt Railway was proposed. This alignment was to be constructed as an 8-lane facility elevated for much of its length on structures built on air rights. Proposals for the alignment served a useful purpose in establishing the general route and in clarifying the urban goals for a detailed alignment with regard to the environment through which it passes. Although not the optimum solution, the alignment selected was a satisfactory proposal and one reflecting Chicago's concern for social and human values. At the time of this recommendation, the Bureau of Public Roads guidelines for joint development (first defined in December 1966 by F. C. Turner in "A Concept for the Joint Development of Freeways and Other Urban Facilities") were not available to the Crosstown study team. Because of the serious concern of Chicago and other urban centers for the consequences of existing Bureau of Public Roads design and land acquisition policies, the Bureau issued its joint development proposals and recommended a restudy of the Crosstown Expressway. New studies were essential to determine how joint development concepts could be specifically applied to the proposed alignment.

### THE CORRIDOR CONCEPT

Providing an expressway for this corridor—any kind of expressway—would be an improvement. It would reduce the peak-hour expressway traffic jams downtown and it would reduce, by as much as 50 percent, the traffic burden on Cicero Avenue and on other major west side streets—streets that otherwise would continue to show increases in traffic load every year.

In Chicago, our philosophy requires the Crosstown Expressway to serve another function, namely, to be a community facility and a backbone for community improvement. We shall concentrate on that purpose of the Crosstown in reviewing the plan for the Stevenson-Midway section.

To start with, the following criteria or ground rules were established:

- Minimum disruption of communities;
- Minimum displacement of homes and other structures;
- Accommodation within their own community of all displaced families, stores, and industries who chose to stay;
- Adequate compensation for those who did not choose to stay;
- Provision of space for mass transit as part of corridor development;
- Allowance of adequate space for joint development projects; and
- Provision of a secondary transportation system to integrate the expressway and the surrounding communities.

As a final ground rule, we set up a planning principle to answer the question, "What should an expressway be to a community, anyway?" We decided to initiate the Chicago Comprehensive Plan's proposal to concentrate Chicago's growth along "corridors of high accessibility".

In too many cases in Chicago, commerce, industry, and residences are all intertwined, as shown in Figure 2a. This results in confusion, traffic, noise, and even danger, with trucks cruising through residential blocks and school children having to cross heavy-traffic streets.

The corridor concept shown in Figure 2b proposes that we equip a few main transportation routes with a full range of transportation options, then concentrate our high-traffic activities along them: shopping centers, industrial parks, high-rise apartment projects, and community centers. This is not only more convenient for these activities; it also means less traffic, less noise, less danger in the blocks of single-family homes and low-rise apartments away from the corridor. At the same time, the corridor can become a new kind of main street for those residential areas.

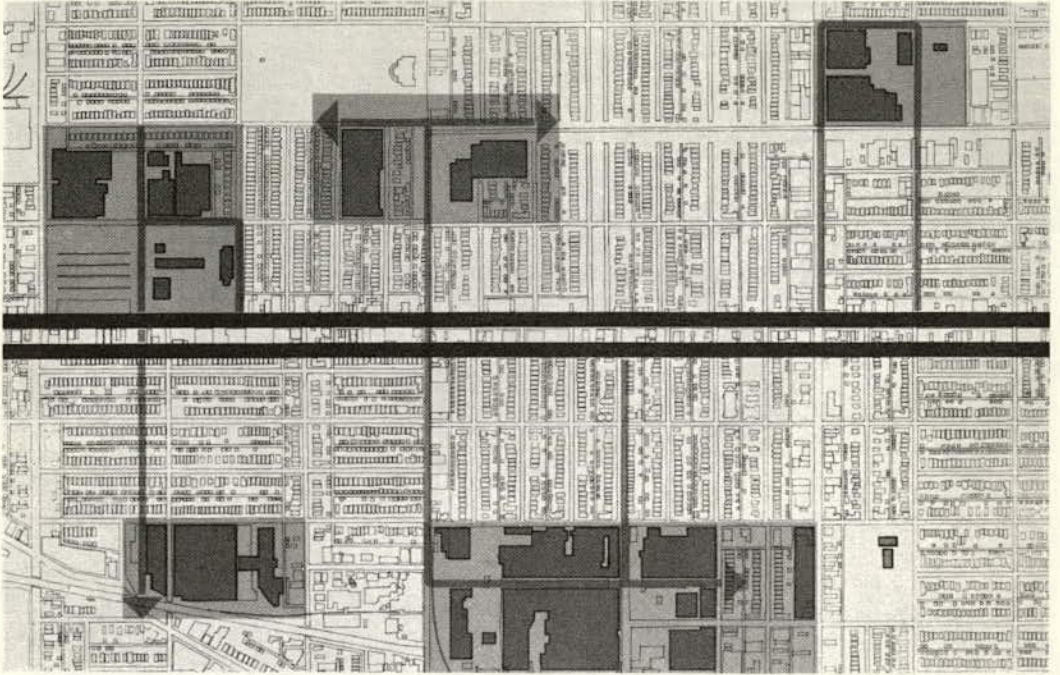


Figure 2a. Disruptive land use.

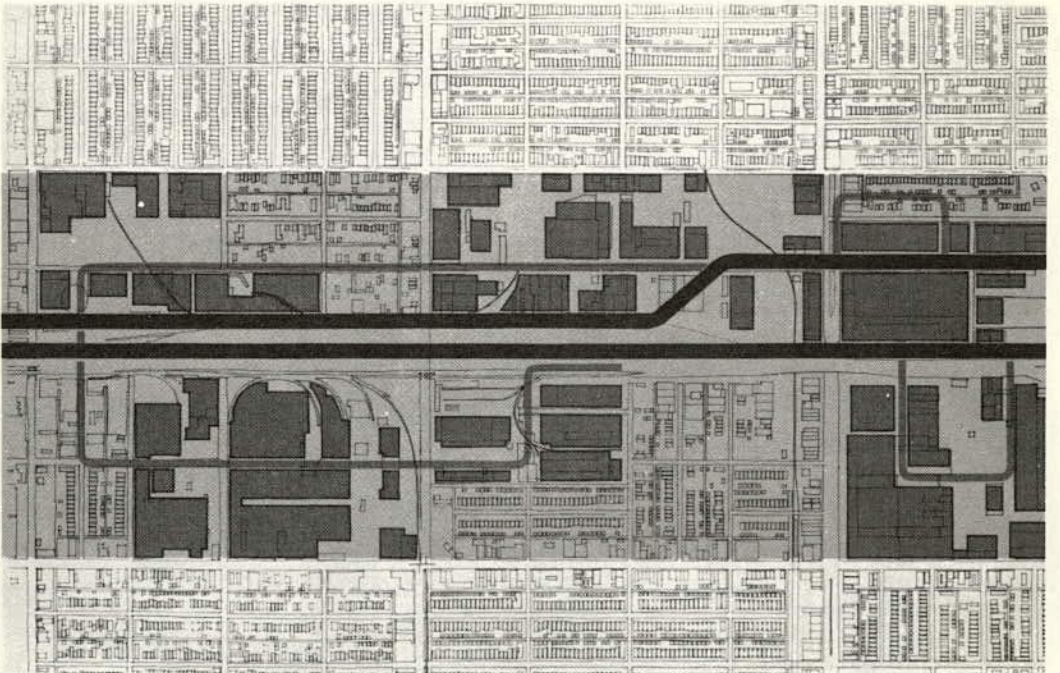


Figure 2b. The corridor concept.

## SELECTING THE ALIGNMENT

To satisfy all the ground rules established actually required two plans: (a) an alignment plan that was a layout of the actual expressway, and (b) a development plan that suggested ways of using the new highway as a basis for community improvements.

Three viewpoints, or categories, constituted the framework of our study. Each of the three had its own set of objectives and criteria, and each was treated separately in analysis. While relative values or weights were given to the individual criteria within each of the three categories, alignments were rated with respect to each category separately. Thus, if one alignment emerged as the best in all three categories, it obviously would be the best solution.

The category of engineering aspects included all technical and economic requirements of the expressway facility itself in its primary purpose of moving people and goods more safely, rapidly, and efficiently, and in its relation to other transportation facilities.

The category of community impact analyzed community groups on ethnic, religious, and political bases, and considered the number of people and business establishments that would be directly dislocated by the alternative alignments. A survey of demographic and population data investigated such aspects as the displacement of schools, churches, parks, and businesses, and the splitting of communities, school districts, fire districts, and police districts. For the purpose of community analysis, distinctions were made between the highly neighborhood-oriented grocery or drug store and the more sector-oriented businesses, such as the motel or the used-car lot.

The category of potential land use improvements explored opportunities presented by the alternative alignments as a possible catalyst for achieving desirable objectives—a means of linking the community as it is to an image of what it might ideally be. Chicago's basic policy requires that "transportation facilities should be used as positive factors in improving Chicago's communities and in establishing the future form of the city."

Having thus established a framework for the study, these three categories were then related to a process of analysis. Because the study group was to consider all alignment possibilities, the method of analysis had to function as a deductive process of elimination. Three sequential levels of analysis—general, intermediate, and detailed—were decided upon as best able to accomplish this process of elimination.

At the general level of analysis, all proposed alignments in the Crosstown study corridor—and there were several dozen—were considered in the broadest context with respect both to the city as a whole and to the communities involved. Comparative evaluations of each alignment were made. Thus, each of the alternatives was given a rating with respect to the criteria for the engineering aspects category. Concurrently, and in a similar manner, but entirely independently, each of the sociological, economic, and city planning factors was rated in its respective category of impact on existing communities and potential land-use opportunities. Finally, findings were brought together and compared. If we were hoping for a decisive consensus in favor of a single alignment at the general level of analysis, we were disappointed. Six routes received acceptable ratings in all three categories (Fig. 3). The pros and cons of these six might be listed from top to bottom as follows:

1. Combined Alignment  
 Pros—Low industrial displacement.  
 Cons—High residential displacement; prevents Midway Airport expansion.
2. Belt Line Alignment/Frontage Roads  
 Pros—Continuous frontage roads distribute traffic evenly and protect residential neighborhoods.  
 Cons—Heavy industrial displacement; high residential displacement.
3. Belt Line Alignment  
 Pros—Minimum disruption of existing neighborhoods; least commercial displacement; lowest cost.  
 Cons—High residential displacement; little opportunity for joint development projects; no frontage roads.

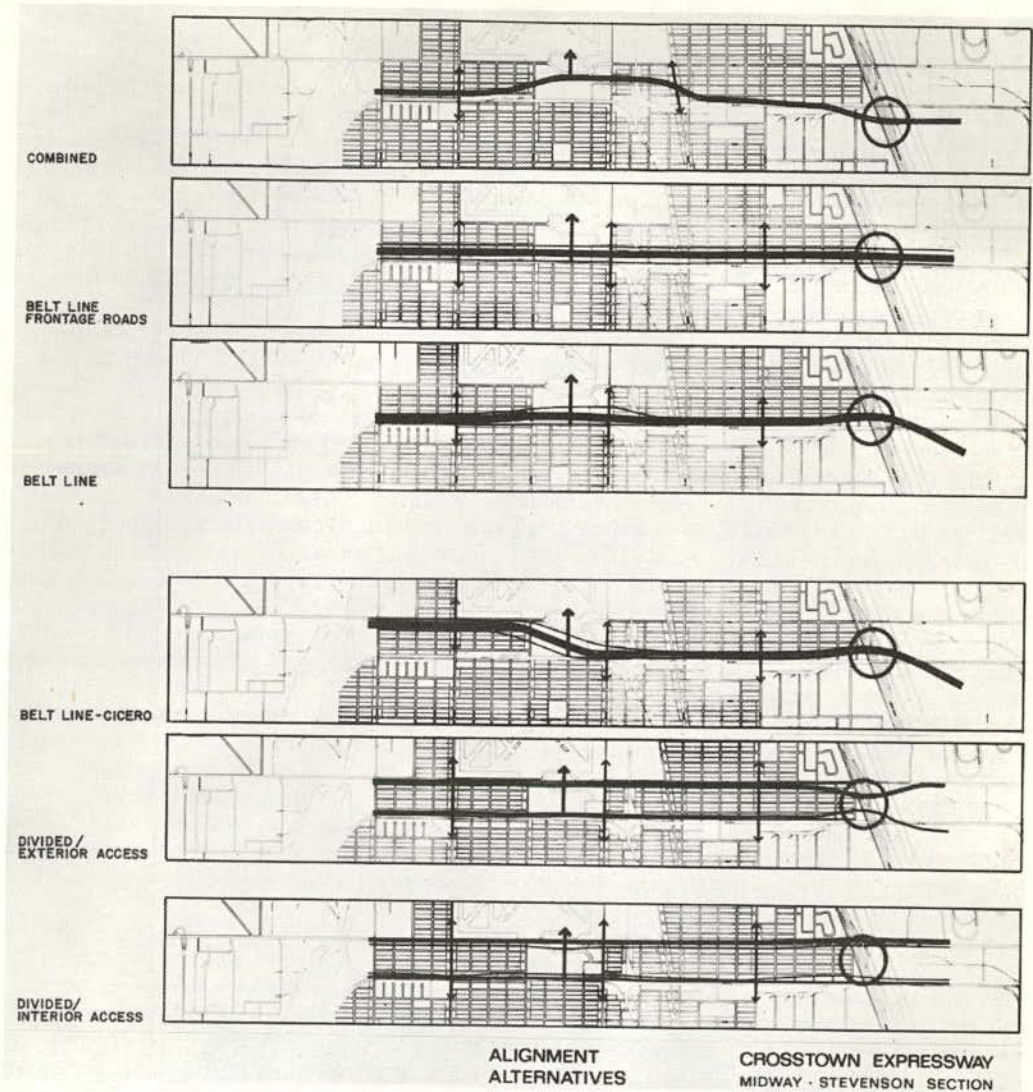


Figure 3. The Stevenson-Midway design: Six alignment alternatives.

4. Belt Line-Cicero Alignment
  - Pros—Minimum disruption of existing neighborhoods.
  - Cons—Highest residential displacement; little opportunity for joint development projects.
5. Divided Alignment/Exterior Access
  - Pros—Low residential displacement; great opportunity for short-range joint development projects; high protection of neighborhoods inside corridor; continuous frontage roads.
  - Cons—Less protection of neighborhoods outside corridor; egress from Midway Airport requires use of preferential street interchange system.

## 6. Divided Alignment/Interior Access

Pros—Low residential displacement; great opportunity for both long- and short-range joint development projects; continuous frontage roads; highest accessibility.

Cons—Highest commercial displacement.

In this manner, the study advanced into the second, or intermediate, level of analysis. This level of analysis might be compared with the second power of magnification in a microscope. The field was narrowed to encompass only those alignments surviving the first screening, but these now were to be brought into sharper focus for more detailed analysis. New criteria were introduced in each area of investigation, and some of the criteria examined during the general level of analysis were given more detailed study. Finally, the three independent evaluations again were brought together.

Still there was no decisive result. Three of the six alignments still received acceptable ratings: the Belt Line Alignment, the Belt Line-Cicero Alignment, and Divided Alignment with Interior Access. The Belt Line Alignment would connect at Stevenson Expressway and run south immediately adjacent to the Belt Railway. The Belt Line-Cicero Alignment runs south along the Belt Railway to 55th Street, then bends to the west and, at 60th Street, follows south along Cicero Avenue. The Divided Alignment with Interior Access—also called the "reversed split" alignment—is divided into two one-way roadways. The roadway carrying traffic south starts at Stevenson Expressway and runs south along the Belt Railway; the northbound roadway replaces Cicero Avenue.

At the conclusion of detailed analysis, the evaluation chart showed that all three of these alignments equally satisfied engineering requirements. In the impact on existing communities and the potential land use, however, the reversed split alignment emerged as the clear preference.

The Belt Line Alignment was found to require displacement of some 160 families. In addition, it would permit minimum opportunity for neighborhood improvement. It would have the minimum direct highway cost of the three trial alignments, but only at the expense of minimum community opportunities.

The Belt Line-Cicero Alignment could be integrated into the existing neighborhoods more successfully than the Belt Line Alignment, but not as effectively as the Divided Alignment with Interior Access. In addition, it would displace some 208 families.

### THE RECOMMENDED ALIGNMENT

The Divided Alignment with Interior Access—the "reversed split" alignment—was the one recommended (Fig. 4). It satisfied the ground rules. It provided a high-accessibility corridor. It displaced only 69 dwellings in  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles—and proposals were made to relocate those families, houses and all, on nearby vacant lots. And it protected and enhanced the existing residential areas both within and adjacent to the expressway corridor.

The wavy lines at the top and bottom in Figure 5 represent this buffering effect in which the depressed roadways insulate the surrounding community from the impact of traffic on the interior frontage roads. Or, as indicated at the left of the diagram, similar protection can be provided residential areas within the inter-roadway island by means of landscaping and limited access between the frontage roads and residential streets.

The reversed split alignment was also able to make maximum use of existing rights of way and adjacent underused land. Figure 6, for example, is a view of the Belt Line Railway with its fringe of largely vacant industrial land. Figure 7 is the same view as proposed, showing the railroad, one leg of the divided alignment, and adjacent park development.

Similarly, present-day Cicero Avenue, flanked by underused commercial strips, is used to accommodate a community play area, rapid transit line, expressway leg, and frontage road.

Figure 8 illustrates another advantage of the split alignment. As most people know, it is easier to cross two creeks than one river. The split alignment made bridging much easier, and for the first time air rights development over an expressway became

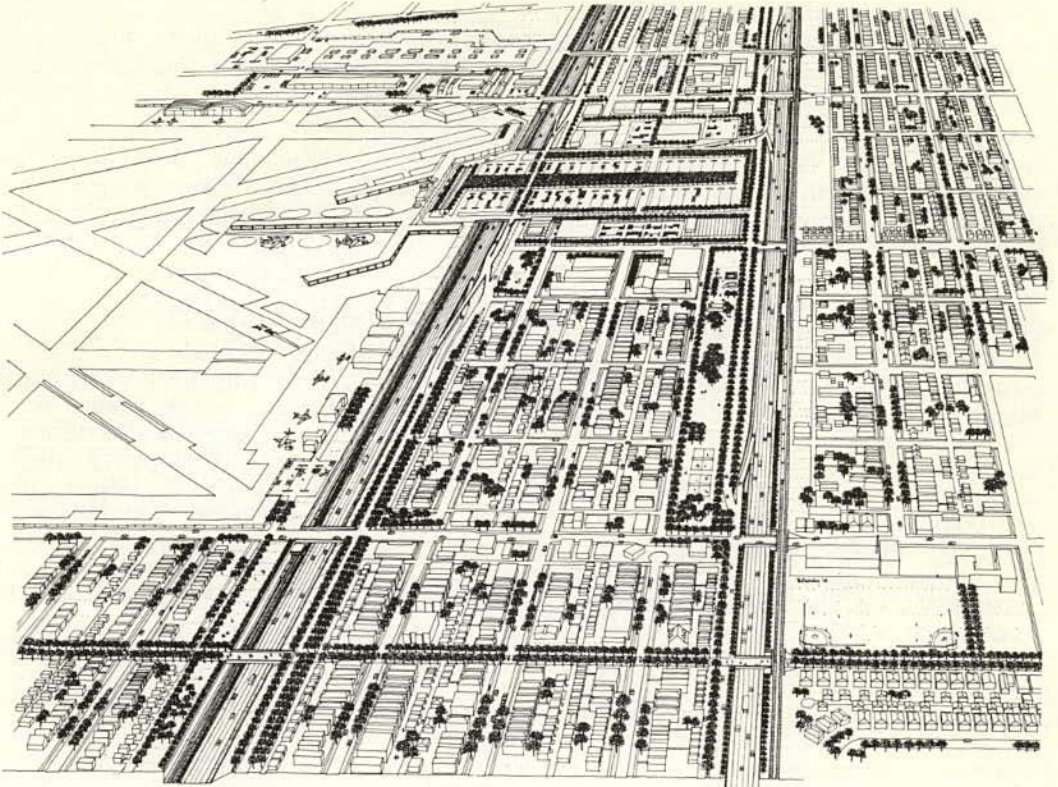


Figure 4. Artist's view of the Stevenson-Midway design.

really feasible. To put an air rights structure over a conventional expressway 300 feet wide is quite a project; but air rights construction over the 100-foot channels of the Stevenson-Midway alignment is not only practical—it is probable.

#### THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The community development plan, shown in outline in Figure 9, went beyond the expressway to propose 18 different projects for street improvement, new shopping centers, and other community facilities in a 2-mile width of city between Central Avenue on the west and Pulaski Road on the east.

Why? Because an expressway has an impact on the adjacent community, and it should, therefore, at the same time provide new opportunities for improving the quality of the environment for the residents and workers in the area.

One effect of an expressway is that traffic is reduced on parallel streets but increased on major cross streets leading to and from the highway. So, the community

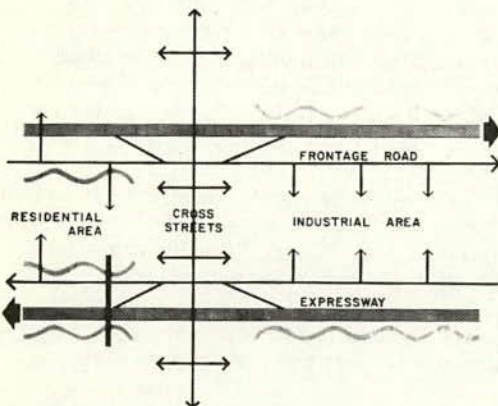
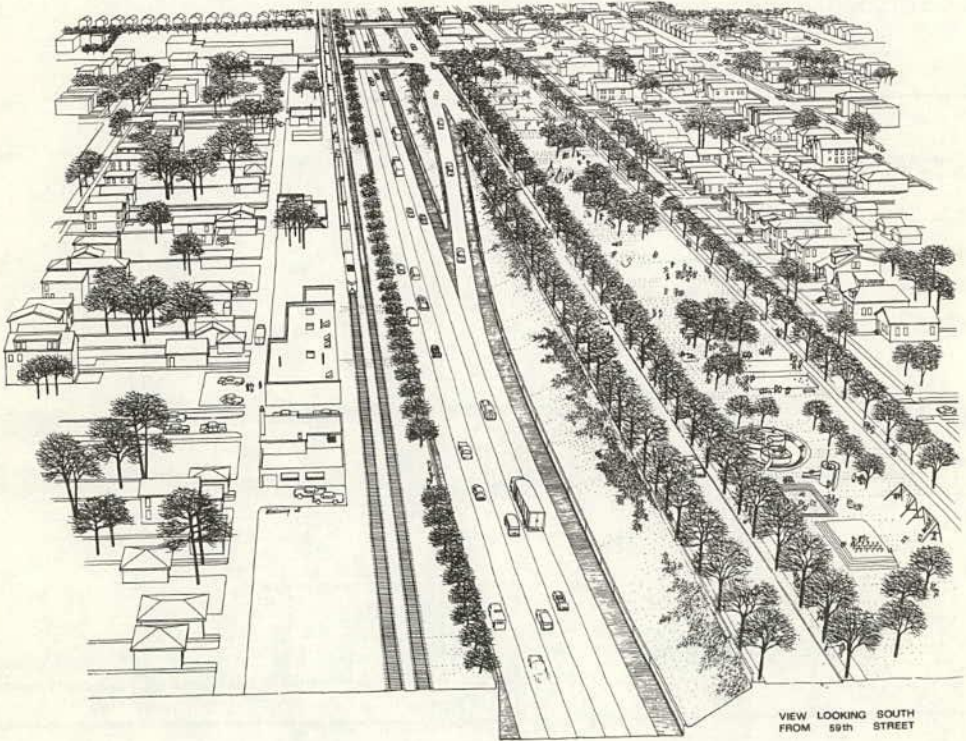


Figure 5. Buffering effect of the Stevenson-Midway design.





Figure 6. The Belt Line corridor at present.



VIEW LOOKING SOUTH  
FROM 59th STREET

Figure 7. The Belt Line roadway as proposed.

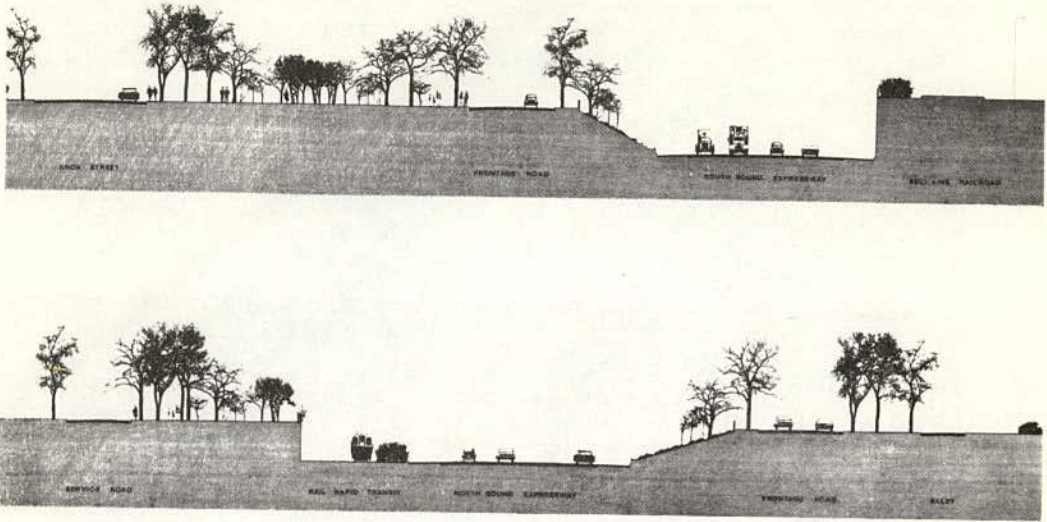


Figure 8. Cross section of the divided alignment: (above) East roadway; (below) West roadway.

plan proposed widening of those cross streets. It also proposed a whole new circulation scheme, with local streets protected from heavy traffic and with a pedestrian walkway system connecting shopping centers, parks, playgrounds, schools, and the expressway edge. The expressway edge, incidentally, should be worth walking to. It will be like the low bluff along a stream, this time a stream of traffic; and it will be a point of interest, a place to meet, even a playground or park.

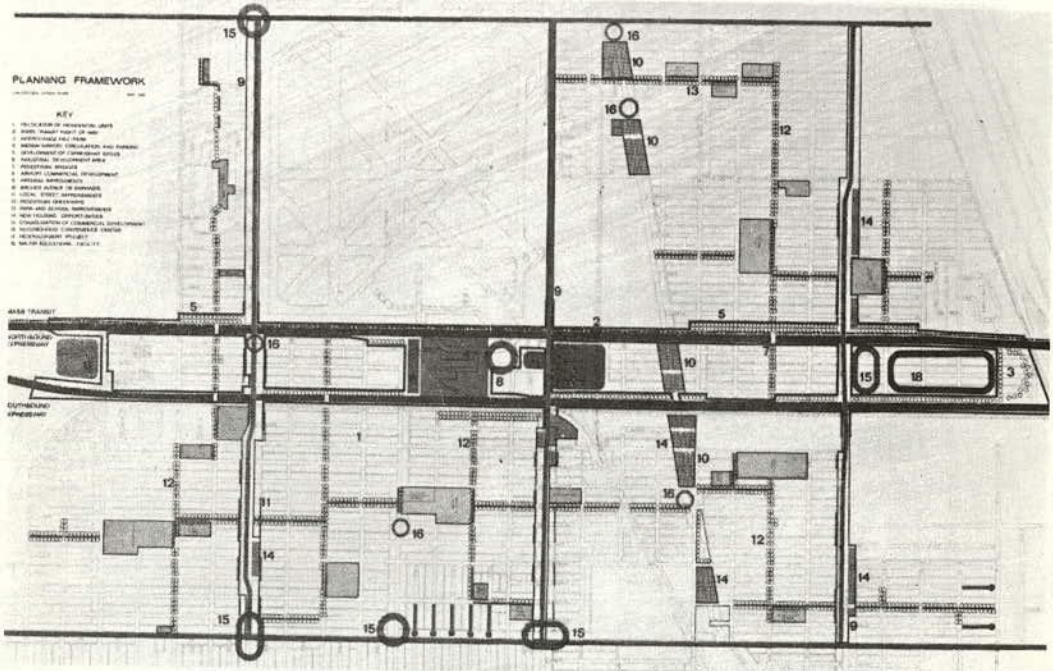


Figure 9. The community development plan: Stevenson-Midway section.

Parks, in fact, are one of the great needs of the Stevenson-Midway area, and the Crosstown project can provide them through joint development. The split alignment was especially strong in joint development opportunities; 48 acres of land would be acquired for parks and green spaces.

At the north end of the expressway segment, where it will interchange with the Stevenson, a hill-park was one of the proposals (Fig. 10). It could be made of earth removed in building the highway, and the savings in earth hauling would probably pay for it. In winter, it would provide a sled and toboggan slide half again as high as the highest one now available in the Chicago area.

Among other projects, a new parking lot would be provided for Midway Airport, and it would run on an air rights structure across the highway right to the terminal. Nearby would be a small industrial park and a small shopping center, both for airport-oriented activities.

North of 47th Street would be a major shopping center, and along with other proposed centers, it would give the Stevenson-Midway area modern shopping facilities in place of the old Cicero Avenue strip. At the foot of the proposed hill-park mentioned is land for a proposed educational center that the Board of Education is studying.

To sum up the proposals in the Stevenson-Midway plan:

- A modern, fast transportation system will be provided for the area, thereby materially reducing through traffic on local streets.
- This will be done with minimum dislocation of families, without exiling anyone, and without cutting a canyon through the community.
- Above the expressway and within its two paths will be a corridor that can become a center of community activities. This corridor will have easy access to the expressway without being strangled by through traffic.

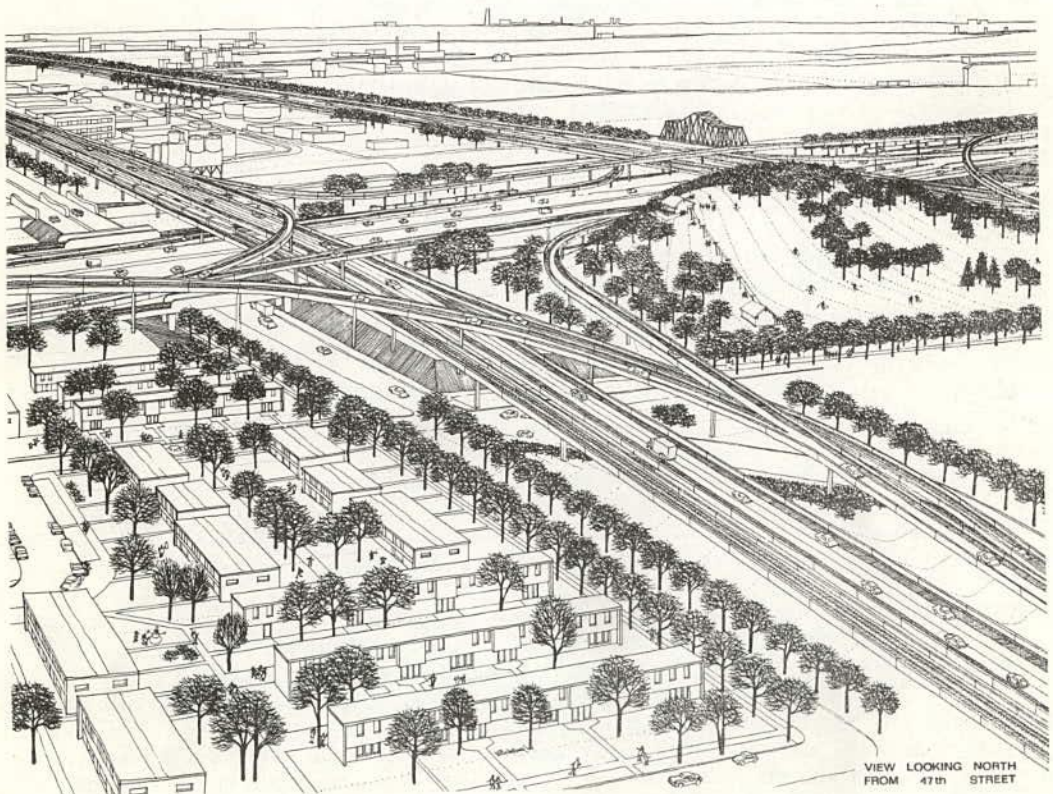


Figure 10. Proposed recreation hill.

—Much-needed parks and recreation spaces will be provided, and with them a new local street system that will provide access to the expressway and peace and quiet on residential streets—both at the same time.

### THE DESIGN TEAM

In the Stevenson-Midway design we see an expressway that is a real asset to the community it traverses, offering great opportunities for continuous community improvement. To achieve it, it was necessary that the responsible agencies develop a whole new method and organization of highway design, one that would include the range of skills needed in community planning, as well as highway design—in brief, a systems approach.

Two interdisciplinary groups are involved. An interagency group, which includes city, county, state, and federal planning and transportation agencies, is responsible for coordinating the project and ensuring consideration in it of all urban development interests. This group is served by an interdisciplinary design staff. The combined staffs include engineers, architects, landscape architects, urban designers, city planners, lawyers, sociologists, right-of-way specialists, marketing analysts, traffic analysts, and other transportation specialists.

We have mobilized and coordinated these professional disciplines systematically from the following cooperating organizations: U. S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, Illinois Division of Highways, Cook County Highway Department, The City of Chicago's Department of Development and Planning, Department of Public Works, Department of Streets and Sanitation, Department of Urban Renewal, Department of Water and Sewers, Mayor's Committee for Economic and Cultural Development, Chicago Transit Authority, Chicago Area Transportation Study, Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, and Crosstown Associates, a joint venture of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, C. F. Murphy Associates, Howard, Needles, Tammen and Bergendoff, and Westenhoff and Novick, Inc.

In addition, the following agencies contributed ideas and suggestions, as well as reviews, of several aspects of the Crosstown Expressway study: Chicago Board of Junior College District No. 508, Chicago Board of Education, Chicago Park District, Chicago Housing Authority, Chicago Dwellings Association, U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and U. S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration.

### CONSULTING THE COMMUNITY

We gave our combined staff full freedom to try new ideas, asking only that they justify everything in detail, and that they know the communities they were serving.

Response to the Stevenson-Midway plan at public hearings indicated that the designers did do their homework and did know their community—and in fact our public hearing process put them to a very thorough test.

We began with a presentation in the mayor's office to civic, business, and professional organizations. This presentation was thoroughly chronicled by the communications media.

A few days later public meetings were held, on two successive evenings, at an elementary school in the Stevenson-Midway community. The alignment was explained in detail and the related joint development opportunities for the area were also described. These heavily attended meetings lasted until all persons desiring to discuss the project with project personnel had posed all their questions.

During the following week, from noon to 9 p. m., project material was on display in concourses A and B at Midway Airport. Arrangements were made to allow free parking for all visitors to the exhibit. Staff members were continuously on duty to answer questions. (After the hearings, the display was transferred to the Ford City Shopping center where it was shown for many additional weeks.)

Next, a meeting was held in the Stevenson-Midway area, at which each property owner and tenant who would be affected by the expressway was told of the relocation opportunities and procedures. This meeting's purpose was primarily to reassure prop-

erty owners and tenants that no precipitous action would be taken, and that everyone would be dealt with in a fair and equitable fashion.

The official public hearing for the Midway-Stevenson section of the Crosstown Expressway was held two days later. The Midway-Stevenson section was again explained in detail, and all persons in attendance were given an opportunity to express their opinions.

In summary, we discussed the plan at a series of local open meetings attended by some 2,000 residents. We displayed a model that was viewed by more than 300,000 people. We asked for questions and suggestions, and we got hundreds. We have answered more than 300 written queries and comments. Some of the suggestions were, in fact, very good and were adopted. But nowhere, to my knowledge, did people object to what we were trying to do or to our basic plans for doing it. These they liked.

### THE NEW RELOCATION PROVISIONS

I shall conclude by highlighting some developments since the Stevenson-Midway study plan, beginning with one development at the federal level that will have an important impact on the Crosstown. I refer to the relocation provision of the Highway Act of 1968—particularly the provision for paying owner-occupants of single- or two-family residences up to \$5,000 beyond the acquisition payment where that payment is insufficient for purchasing a dwelling comparable to the one displaced. This, and the provision for paying tenants up to \$1,500 over a two-year period when a dwelling unit comparable to the one displaced has a higher rental, and other important relocation provisions in the 1968 law were enacted after the Stevenson-Midway plan was proposed and after we had conferred with the families to be relocated. Fortunately—and thanks to efforts by Chicago and other urban centers—the Act comes in time to be of service to these families and to be used in the implementation of the Crosstown as a whole. Other improvements in relocation allowances and procedures we are pressing for in the proposed Uniform Relocation Bill of 1969 will help still more.

### THE CROSSTOWN DESIGN PROCESS

Within the Crosstown design project itself, we are at work now on study plans for each of the three remaining expressway sections. Having completed a preliminary route location study for the Stevenson-Midway section, the east-west leg between Midway Airport and the Dan Ryan Expressway will be the next to be completed. We will hold public hearings like those for the Stevenson-Midway section for this and each of the remaining study plans in turn.

We are preparing preliminary engineering plans and profiles, plus type, size, and location plans for landscaping, utilities, drainage, signs, lighting, retaining walls, and bridges. Included will be specific joint development project designs and feasibility analyses, as well as specific plans for relocation of each displaced household, business, or industry.

The preliminary design concept plans for the Stevenson-Midway section are now well under way. We will conclude the entire Crosstown Expressway planning phase with two general studies: (a) an implementation study that identifies legislative and public policy changes needed in implementing the Crosstown design, and (b) a project summation in which the design process is traced, analyzed, and evaluated as a guide to future projects.

### CROSSTOWN DESIGN ELEMENTS

A third general study is also well under way. It will result in a manual of design criteria and graphic design standards appropriately termed "Highway Design Elements". Actually, the design elements will evolve as we move along in the concept stages of our project. Details will be added that are not yet determined. But the general direction of thinking can be indicated—keeping in mind that many final decisions are yet to be made:

1. We are considering a 70-mph design speed for the Crosstown. This, of course, involves us in design improvements all along the line—in entrance and exit control, in

lighting, in signing, in careful attention to geometric design details. We are studying, for example, major interchange lane balancing to improve operations at the ramp terminals. By careful attention to design detail, we expect to achieve increases in safety and capacity.

2. We are making traffic assignments on a peak-hour basis instead of the daily basis we have used in the past. This fixes design attention on a critical problem for city expressways, one which tends to be hidden when peak-hour percentages are applied to a daily forecast.

3. We have made a very careful study of visual design in which a closely coordinated team of structural engineers, architects, and estimators took part. Some of the early results of this study, in which visual design standards were developed and expressed in a model backed by prototype detail drawings, are highlighted next.

### VISUAL DESIGN STANDARDS

Uniformity was one principle: Design a fine structure and stay with it. We are considering both steel and concrete, but will avoid arbitrary shifts from one material to the other. One reason for this is that decoration can be distraction at high speeds.

Openness was a related principle. We are proposing that bridges span the whole width of expressway to maintain an open feeling and avoid driver sight blockage. Using the split alignment, this can be done with spans of 150 feet or less.

Continuous use of the General Motors type barrier as a highway edge and separator is another design feature, and the barriers are also designed to protect ground cover from salt spray.

Concrete parapets will turn the corner and cross a bridge to avoid the mixture of fencing types found along many expressways. We are also considering a 6-foot mesh fence above bridge parapets to prevent littering onto the expressway. And while we have not yet developed our signing system, we are already giving careful attention to sign structures.

For foot bridges, we are proposing a low rise-to-tread ratio of four to one, so it will be possible to push a bicycle up the stairs, or even a baby carriage. Hence the easy double flights shown in Figure 11, instead of the usual steep stairs combined with ramps.

Lighting was another concern, and light standards were designed to be simple in form. At the same time, we have worked closely with major lighting manufacturers to develop a mainline lighting system that will aim forward and be glare-free. The split alignment, of course, helps us in this.

Landscaping is a vital design element to soften the severe lines of the expressway. Therefore, as shown in Figure 12, we are proposing vines along retaining walls, trees above retaining walls, and ground cover on slopes, rather than concrete. Landscaping, of course, is at least as important for urban communities along the expressway as it is for the motorist.

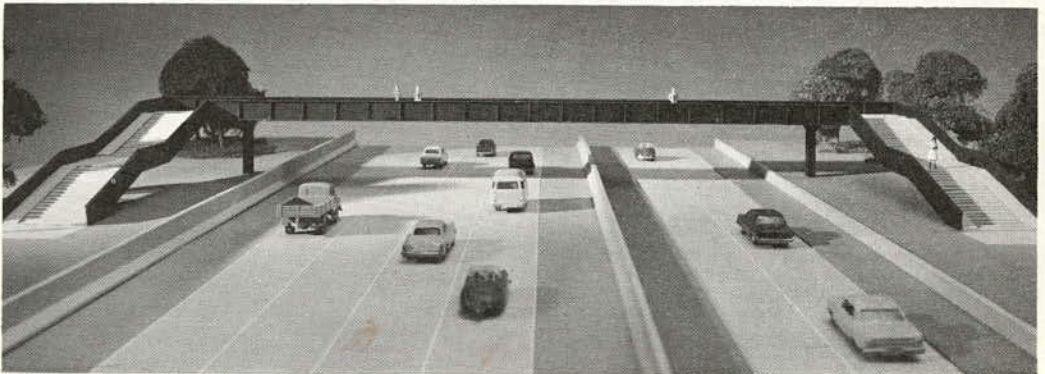


Figure 11: Standard design model of foot bridge.



Figure 12. Standard design model of bridge and retaining walls.

In even a sketchy survey of these provisional design standards, one fact stands out above the others: There is no conflict between good aesthetics and good engineering design. The two reinforce one another. Visual standards can be grounded in construction and operational needs, and when they are they can mean better performance and fewer distractions and obstructions for the driver, while permitting economies in materials and construction. Visual standards are also one of the principal means of really knitting an alignment into the urban community, as a positive community asset.

Criteria and standards will not, of course, produce carbon copies of the Stevenson-Midway plan, because this is not formula planning; this is planning to meet particular community needs, and communities differ. But all of our plans, criteria, and standards are based on the same questions the Stevenson-Midway plan started with, and we predict the same general answer will emerge: We can have urban expressways that respect the city and its neighborhoods and positively benefit those neighborhoods. We will use the Crosstown Expressway as a tool to enhance the quality of the environment through which it passes.

It should not be overlooked that Chicago's proposed Crosstown Expressway, which is being planned with due recognition of the social, economic, and cultural needs of a densely populated urban area, will cost more highway dollars than an expressway planned without regard for these matters. Also apparent, however, is the fact that planning solutions for urban problems have entered a new era and that all public works projects must both restore and improve urban communities.

It is equally true that highway agencies alone cannot be expected to carry the entire burden in solving the physical problems of the city. The pressures for urban land, the intensity of city development, and pressing social problems require that all urban changes be planned and programmed comprehensively and with intricate coordination among all aspects of urban life. Successful preservation and improvement of our nation's cities requires a partnership composed of governmental agencies and the private sectors of our metropolitan areas.