

Opinion polls

ATTITUDES OF DETROIT PEOPLE TOWARD DETROIT

Summary of A Detailed Report

By **ARTHUR KORNHAUSER**
Wayne University

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DETROIT 1

Foreword

This booklet is a condensed form of a much longer technical report to be published in the near future. Its purpose is to present facts that will be useful to persons interested in making Detroit a better city. The facts have to do with the feelings and attitudes of Detroit people toward their city.

The Detroiters who were questioned expressed many favorable and many unfavorable comments about the city and its various groups, activities and institutions. We hope that no one will misunderstand our purpose in exploring the negatively critical attitudes along with the favorable. The city needs to know the things people are concerned and dissatisfied about in order to direct efforts at improvement. Knowledge that deals with *negative* feelings can be put to *positive* use. Our findings are published in the faith that they will be used in this constructive manner.

The material of this study touches many sensitive spots. It will not be easy for individuals and organizations that are personally involved — and who is not — to maintain a balanced, unemotional view of the findings. All we can ask is that the reader remind himself at every point that this is evidence to be weighed — not propaganda to be either swallowed or damned.

Moreover, it must be understood that when groups of people are compared, the differences that are pointed out mean only that *more* of one group than the other hold a particular view. Almost always there are many exceptions; a great number of persons do not fit the *average* description or the group tendency.

Men are taller than women. This is a true statement, speaking in terms of averages. But it is equally true that large numbers of men are shorter than large numbers of women. While this simple point is clear in speaking of people's height, it is most important to keep it in mind also when we compare the *opinions* held by different groups.

Both for myself and for Wayne University it is a pleasure to acknowledge the grant from the Detroit Board of Commerce which made this study possible. The terms of the gift were most generous in the freedom they provided. A few statements from the Board's letter make this clear:

In making this grant to the University the Board of Commerce has but one objective—a comprehensive survey of the attitudes of Detroiters toward Detroit. The University is to have complete freedom in its conduct of the survey and in the use of the material developed by the survey For the report to be of service to the entire community we believe that it should be as factual, impartial and free of bias as possible.

Through the course of the study, the donors have adhered completely to the assurances contained in these sentences.

I wish to express our deep gratitude to Mr. J. W. Parker, Mr. Willis H. Hall, Mr. E. P. Lovejoy and Mr. Frederick Brownell for their constant interest and encouragement—and in addition to Mr. Brownell for his indispensable role in initiating the study. We wish, too, to acknowledge the generosity of Mr. Parker, Mr. Lovejoy and their associates in the Detroit-Edison Company in providing facilities for the machine tabulation of our data.

We are happy to record our appreciation of the friendly assistance given by Dr. Angus Campbell and his staff at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, by Mr. George Schermer and by many other good persons in academic, civic, religious and labor organizations whom we consulted during the course of the study.

To all the staff members, assistants and interviewers who worked with me on the undertaking I likewise offer my personal thanks. Among my faculty colleagues this refers particularly to Dr. Donald Elliott, Dr. Albert Mayer, and Dr. Edgar Schuler. Mrs. Fae Weiss has been most helpful as a research assistant. And Mr. W. Sprague Holden, of the University's Department of Journalism, performed skillful operations in helping to reduce the detailed report to this briefer form. On the administrative side, Dean Victor Rapport has provided precisely the optimal balance of freedom, facilitation and encouragement.

And finally a salute to the hundreds of Detroiters who were willing to spend an hour or more telling our interviewers their thoughts and feelings about Detroit. Without their cooperation this report could not have come into being.

A.K.

I.

WHAT DETROITERS THINK OF THEIR CITY

On the whole Detroit people like Detroit.

Eighty-seven per cent of a cross section sampling declare that they like life in their home city.

But they are vigorously alive to its problems. They think housing and race relations are the fields it is most important to "do something about." They also want to see improvement in the city's transportation system, labor-management relations, city government, the public schools, traffic congestion and a variety of other matters. But their approval more than balances their criticisms.

Sixty-five per cent of them, for example, think it is a good place in which to raise a family. Eighty-five per cent say they are proud of Detroit. Slightly more think it a good place in which to work. Only eighteen per cent would not mind leaving Detroit for some other city. Other comparisons are shown in the chart on the next page.

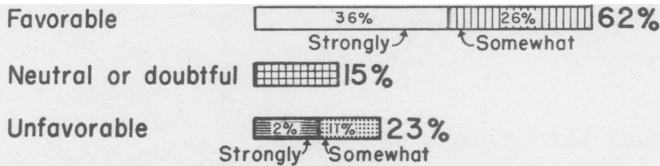
The Survey: How It Was Done

These, and scores of other opinions about Detroit, are conclusions from a public opinion survey recently concluded by a research team at Wayne University. Conducted by means of accepted public opinion sampling procedures, the survey was an attempt to find out from Detroiters of all stations, background, economic levels, races, and beliefs what they think of their city.

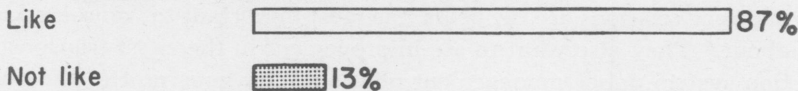
A total of 593 persons in metropolitan Detroit were questioned, in their homes, by trained interviewers. The survey was carried on from May to August, 1951. Each interview required about an hour, and the respondents were carefully chosen to represent correct proportions of the population as to age, residence area, sex, education, race and so on. Interviewers told respondents they represented "The Detroit Public Opinion Survey Committee," a neutral name adopted to avoid influencing people's answers. Every effort was made to have each person tell his own feelings and, as far as possible, the interviewer wrote down the person's exact words. White persons inter-

CHART 1.
FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE
OPINIONS OF DETROIT

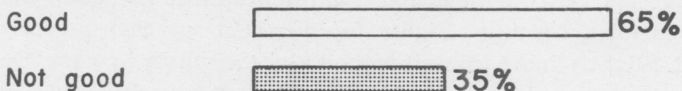
HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE CITY ?



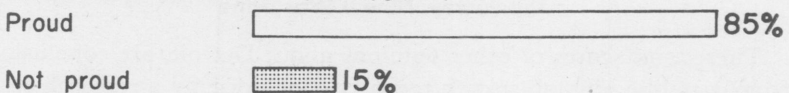
LIKE LIVING IN DETROIT OR NOT ?



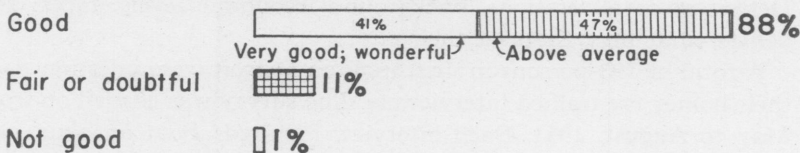
GOOD CITY TO RAISE A FAMILY ?



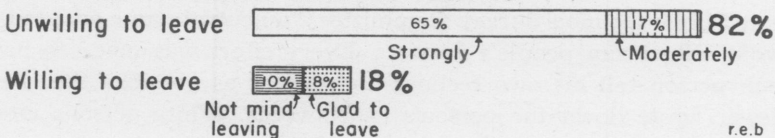
PROUD OF DETROIT OR NOT ?



DETROIT AS A PLACE TO WORK ?



HOW FEEL ABOUT LEAVING DETROIT ?



r.e.b

viewed white respondents, Negroes, Negro respondents.

Neutral questions were asked first, to catch the initial, spontaneous views of the individual. Later came specific questions.

Opinions by Detroit Groups

In order to know which people are best satisfied with Detroit and which are less satisfied, we classified all persons interviewed according to their answers to six general questions. The six questions are the ones shown in the chart on page 2. Three groups were set up: "Definitely favorable" to Detroit, "Fairly favorable," and "Somewhat unfavorable," depending on the nature of the individual's answers.

These three groups were then examined to determine what kind of people hold the more favorable and less favorable attitudes toward Detroit. By ages, for example, it was found that more middle-aged and older adults like Detroit than do young adults. In the 21-to-34 year age group, there is a 32 per cent "somewhat unfavorable" response; for ages 35-to-54, the figure is 23 per cent, and it is only 18 per cent for 55-and-over.

This age pattern is similar to that found in response to the questions about willingness to leave Detroit. In the 21-to-34 age group, whose spirit is so vital for the city's future, 26 per cent would "not mind leaving or be glad to leave." For 55-or-over the figure shrinks to 11 per cent. The older the respondent the less he would be tempted to leave.

Another tabulation disclosed that persons of only grade school education or less are 61 per cent "definitely favorable" toward Detroit; in the 9th-grade-or-more group the favorable figure diminishes to 48 per cent. Still another analysis shows that high income—or high "socio-economic" groups as they may be called—are somewhat less favorable than medium and lower. This socio-economic classification is based on a combination of three facts concerning respondents: their occupation, average rents in the district they live in, and a rating of their home by the interviewers.

By occupation, business owners and managers are the most favorable group—those in the middle economic bracket more than those at a higher level. Other occupations differ little from one another, but professional and semi-professional groups have fewest who are "definitely favorable."

Wives of managers, owners, professional men and salaried employees do not regard Detroit with great favor. Among wives in these

groups, there are twice as many "somewhat unfavorable" toward Detroit as we find in the rest of the population. Among Detroit women in general there is, by contrast, no important departure from the norm for the whole city.

No tendency was found for factory workers to be more unfavorable toward Detroit than any other groups. This tends to challenge the common belief that mass production work is a creator of discontent in workers.

Suburbanites are found to be slightly more unfavorable toward Detroit than are city residents. Negroes are 32 per cent unfavorable in comparison to a 22 per cent figure for whites at the same economic levels. Membership in clubs, societies, churches and other associations has no discernible bearing on Detroiters' feelings toward their home city, this discovery tending to deny that failure to "belong" creates dissatisfaction with the city.

According to length of residence, longtime Detroiters are most satisfied. Those who have come to Detroit in recent years are least favorably inclined toward the city; the longer ago they came the more favorable they are, on the average. Native-born Detroiters form a group midway between the extremes of early and late comers.

The survey found that place of previous residence had a bearing upon respondents' opinion. A 59 per cent majority of Detroiters from farms or small towns were "definitely favorable" while newcomers from medium sized cities show less than a majority approval—44 per cent. Among those who came from large and middle-sized cities during the '40s, only 35 per cent are "definitely favorable." Outstandingly favorable by contrast are persons who came to Detroit before 1930, either from big cities or from farms. The rural dweller, on the whole, is potentially the best-satisfied Detroiters.

People who come from a great distance find Detroit most satisfactory. Michigan out-staters turned Detroiters are 42 per cent "definitely favorable"; newcomers from the other forty-seven states are 49 per cent, and for foreign-born Detroiters the favorable percentage climbs to 69 per cent.

In Brief

From such data, we can now list the kind of Detroiters who think especially well of the city and which ones are less satisfied.

Especially favorable are these:

Business managers and owners

People who came to Detroit before 1930—but not those born here

People who came from farms and small towns at any time

Foreigners—including Canadians

People who have only eighth grade schooling or less

Less favorably inclined toward Detroit and more critical are these:

Younger adults—21 to 34 years of age

Persons who went beyond the eighth grade of school

Higher socio-economic groups, especially the wives and dependents of persons in professional and white collar occupations; also the upper economic groups residing in the suburbs

People who came to Detroit during the '40s (except those from farms and small towns), the more recent the more unfavorable; also those from large cities during the '30s.

Negroes

People who came to Detroit from other places in Michigan

The less favorable portrait is probably the more useful of the two; for to be critical does not mean that one is a poor citizen. Dissatisfied people are the ones to be won over to a positive approval of Detroit. In part this can come about through changing the city to make it more fully what these people want and expect; in part through changing their expectations and appreciation of the city.

Since these last pages have been calling attention to many people who are critical of Detroit, it is worth repeating here that a large majority of Detroit's population likes the city and expresses quite positive approval of it.

II.

DETROITERS' LIKES AND DISLIKES ABOUT THE CITY

The most general of all the questions asked was this: "How do you feel about the city? I'm interested in hearing any things that you think about Detroit." To this question 593 respondents offered more than 1,400 classifiable answers—54 per cent of them positive or favorable and 46 per cent negative.

Respondents were also asked to state specifically both their likes and dislikes about the city. They volunteered some 1,800 separate comments, 55 per cent favorable and 45 per cent unfavorable. We were able to classify all the specific responses to these two questions under fourteen headings. These fourteen were then listed according to the excess of positive over negative remarks that were made about each.

"Detroit as a Place to Work," for example, comes out on top. This subject receives the greatest number of favorable responses and the smallest number of unfavorable. Last in the list comes the topic "Race Relations and Kinds of People in Detroit" concerning which the largest amount of dissatisfaction is expressed.

In Their Own Words

No summary can indicate the rich spontaneity of the answers made by Detroiters to this part of the survey. The best that can be done here is to offer a random condensation of some favorable and unfavorable comments. They are listed according to the fourteen categories—from the one on which people express most approval to the one on which they feel greatest disapproval.

FAVORABLE COMMENTS

UNFAVORABLE COMMENTS

1. Detroit as a Place to Work; Economic Opportunities

(21% of all favorable comments; 1% of unfavorable)

"Advantages greater here . . . especially for youth"

"There isn't a better place for work and money"

"It is really a working city"

"Employment here makes Detroit great more than anything else"

"You certainly can't complain about working conditions here"

"Working conditions . . . bad because women hold [men's] jobs"

"Too much depends on if factories are running"

FAVORABLE COMMENTS

UNFAVORABLE COMMENTS

2. Personal Considerations: Home, Friends, Feelings About City Life

(14% of all favorable comments; 4% of unfavorable)

"Oh, I love it, I just love Detroit"
"I've been away but I've always come back"
"Had enough of farm life"
"Most important thing . . . my whole family is here"

"Feel Detroit has lost its homey feeling"
"Prefer . . . farm or in a small town"

3. Recreation and Sports

(13% of all favorable comments; 4% of unfavorable)

"Like the sports mostly"
"Lots of parks and recreation and playgrounds"
"Good beaches for swimming"
"Travel for an hour and there's such beautiful fishing"
"There's good shows here"

"Not enough place for small children to play"
"Town with as much water . . . hasn't a decent place to swim"
"Strictly industry; no entertainment"

4. Schools, Educational Opportunities

(6% of all favorable comments; 1% of unfavorable)

"Facilities for higher learning are offered"
"Teachers seem to take more interest than they did years ago"
"I feel that we have some of the best schools in the country"
"My children had all possible opportunities — especially in schooling facilities"

"School system is overcrowded. Not enough teachers . . ."
"High schools could be improved . . . too much emphasis on social life"

5. Economic Considerations Other Than Detroit as a Place to Work

(8% of all favorable comments; 4% of unfavorable)

"Very fine stores"
"People eat better here"
"The free enterprise system here [makes] the city like no other city"
"Good union town"

"Living costs . . . highest priced of any large city"
"It's a mess — labor strikes, bus strikes"

6. Cultural Aspects Other Than Schools

(6% of all favorable comment; 2% of unfavorable)

"We have very fine schools, art museums, libraries and music hall"
"Concerts . . . at the State Fair . . . that most towns don't have"
"Cultural advantages . . . lectures, plays, music"

"Lack of higher forms of music and entertainment"
"Not very cultured"

FAVORABLE COMMENTS

UNFAVORABLE COMMENTS

7. Spirit of City

(7% of all favorable comments; 7% of unfavorable)

"It's progressive"
"It's democratic"
"People demand their rights here; they
are not afraid or ashamed"
"Detroit people are friendly"
"It has a warm heart"

"Get pushed around . . . treat you as
a piece of machinery"
"No civic consciousness as in other
cities"
"All citizens seem to treat all others
with cold disregard and disrespect
—animal like"
"Nobody really gives a damn"

8. City Services—Sanitation, Police, Welfare, etc.

(3% of all favorable comments; 5% of unfavorable)

"Good services on things like garbage
collection"
"Have good police and fire protection"
"Welfare Department will help you
find work and clinic gives you hos-
pital care"

"It's all dirt; the garbage laying
around for three or four days at a
time"
"Police Department very brutal to-
ward colored people"
"City doesn't clean sewers often
enough . . . back up and flood
streets"
"So many rats and pests"
"City does not take care of old people;
I don't get enough money to live
on"

9. Housing: Shortages, Rents, Slums

(1% of all favorable comments; 6% of unfavorable)

"No tenements like New York"
"Like the idea of privately owned
homes rather than apartments"

"Don't like the slums"
"I don't like temporary houses that
have proved to be permanent"
"Can't find any decent place to stay
when you have kids"
"Not enough houses for the people
that don't make much money"
"Buildings not fit to live in and there
are people living in them"

10. City Government and Taxes

(1% of all favorable comments; 7% of unfavorable)

"Government is good and honest"
"Laws are good"

"City employees too interested in
their jobs and selves"
"Politics has ruined the city"
"Public is not getting their full equity
out of taxes"
"I feel the city government is rotten,
the way the city is run"

FAVORABLE COMMENTS

UNFAVORABLE COMMENTS

11. Physical Characteristics

(16% of all favorable comments; 22% of unfavorable)

"Beautiful waterfront is going to be nice"	"An overgrown town . . . spread out too quickly . . . slums, an ugly waterfront"
"A clean city"	"Too crowded and dirty"
"A lot of trees that enhance the beauty"	"Too large . . . too hard to get around"
"Situated in a favorable climate"	"Weather is always bad"
"Just wonderful—it has grown so"	"It's dirty, smoky, dusty, over-run with rats"
	"It is too noisy; too much traffic noise"

12. Traffic, Parking, Streets

(2% of all favorable comments; 10% of unfavorable)

"The new highways and expressways"	"Parking facilities are bad"
"Traffic less congested here"	"Poor system of paving streets"
	"Transportation both public and private is terrible . . . very congested"
	"Traffic rules are outdated"

13. DSR

(2% of all favorable comments; 13% of unfavorable)

"You don't have to walk very far to get public transportation"	"The worst street car system in the U.S."
"Good transportation to any place you want to go"	"DSR service . . . is slow and its drivers are not courteous"
	"Always have to stand in busses . . . fare is too high . . . they're too crowded"
	"Could show profit if privately owned"
	"Bus service is bad; we pay enough taxes to have better service"

14. Intergroup Relations; Kinds of People Here

(1% of all favorable comments; 14% of unfavorable)

"Isn't too much ethnic conflict"	"Unfairness here . . . eating places are not open to Negroes"
"The Negro has a higher status here than in other cities"	"Fair employment isn't here"
"I like its melting pot aspect"	"Don't like the segregation"
	"I don't like all the mixing with the colored people"
	"Too much Polish tradition . . . in the school system"
	"People discriminate against foreign born"
	"I hate this racial discrimination"

Balance Sheet of Likes and Dislikes

It was noted above that "Detroit as a Place to Work" drew the greatest number of spontaneous favorable comments and the least number of unfavorable. This, however, would offer bleak comfort

to Detroiters if it were not supported by majority approval of Detroit living conditions. Notable, therefore, is the strong accent on favorable responses to questions about schools, recreation and sports, cultural opportunities, stores, shopping centers and so on.

Notable on the negative side are expressions of discontent about Negroes and Negro-white relations. The comments consist largely of complaints about the number of Negroes, their movement into white neighborhoods and their having too many rights. Foreigners and other minority groups are likewise targets for criticism though less often than Negroes.

Adverse attitudes are prominent, too, toward the DSR and traffic and parking conditions. Unfavorable to only a slightly less degree are the opinions volunteered on housing, city government, local taxes, garbage disposal, sanitation, and such physical characteristics of the city as its size, congestion, smoke, dirt and climate.

The facts turned up here can serve a two-fold purpose. They suggest conditions that need remedial attention. At the same time they indicate well-regarded phases of the municipal life toward which increased appreciation may be developed.

More Pointed Questions

After people had told us the likes and dislikes that were uppermost in their minds, we began asking questions to set off new trains of thought about the city.

A Good Place to Raise a Family?

One such question asked whether they think Detroit is a good place in which to raise a family—and why, specifically?

We recorded 468 reasons why people think Detroit a good city to bring up children. The reasons most often given, with the city's schools far in the lead, are these:

		<i>Per cent of 468 reasons</i>
Why Detroit is believed a good place to raise a family	Detroit schools	43%
	Detroit as a place to work	15
	Opportunities for recreation and sports	13
	Cultural advantages like music, art, libraries, etc.	10

The most common reasons for thinking Detroit is not a good place to raise a family are:

		<i>Per cent of 277 reasons</i>
Why Detroit is believed not a good place to raise a family	Bad physical characteristics of the city (congestion, dirt, climate, etc.)	20%
	Kinds of people and group relations here (many references to Negroes and their treatment but also to foreigners, rowdies, gangsters, etc.)	14
	Problems created by traffic and parking conditions	13
	Personal considerations (friends, feeling against living in a city, etc.)	13
	Poor recreation facilities	12

Parks, playgrounds and other recreational facilities drew comments that were about in balance as between favorable and unfavorable. "Around here, there's no place for the kids to play" is in opposition to "Yes, right across the street we have playgrounds."

Negroes, it was found, tend to stress economic advantages more than whites. They also speak out more strongly against restricted opportunities for their children. This applies to playgrounds, schools and to discrimination in general.

Proud of Detroit?

Proud or not proud of the city? Proud, by an overwhelming majority, as noted earlier. Why? What are the reasons for civic pride? The survey put its finger on a number of them.

The largest group spoke of the city's size, beauty, cleanliness and other physical characteristics. This and other leading reasons for pride are listed here:

		<i>Per cent of 629 reasons</i>
Why Detroiters feel proud of the city	Physical characteristics of Detroit (size, location, beauty, etc.)	22%
	Detroit's industrial importance; production achievements	18
	Good place to work and make a living	14
	Opportunities for recreation, sports, entertainment	12
	Spirit of the city (friendly, dynamic, etc.)	8

Other reasons given for feeling proud of Detroit refer to its cultural assets (schools, libraries, music, etc.), the city government's services (police, fire, etc.) and its progress in making civic improvements, in traffic control, etc.

People who said they are not proud of Detroit or are doubtful were asked what keeps them from feeling proud. Their responses are classified as follows:

		<i>Per cent of 158 reasons</i>
Why Detroiters do not feel proud of the city	Physical characteristics of the city (congestion, dirt, ugliness, etc.)	30%
	City government and services; way the city is run	20
	Position of Negroes and conditions of Negro-white relations	17
	Spirit of the city (unfriendly, lack of civic pride, etc.)	9

Smaller numbers spoke adversely of unions and labor relations as reasons for not being proud of the city, the lack of recreational and entertainment facilities, and the low level of cultural activities.

Certain subjects often drew emphatic and totally opposite opinions from large groups of Detroiters:

"Successful corporations [are] a tremendous thing for the city" and "I'm not proud of any city which controls so many people as Ford and General Motors." "It is a beautiful city" and "It's a dirty, filthy town." "The Detroit river—the beautiful Belle Isle—and our new waterfront" and "Its lack of beautiful waterfront drives." "Less prejudiced than other cities as far as Negroes are concerned" and "So much discrimination exists."

Willing to Leave Detroit?

Sixty-five per cent of Detroiters express strong unwillingness to leave Detroit. An additional 17 per cent would be reluctant to leave. Of the remaining 18 per cent, about half would not mind leaving and the other half would "be glad" to go. Here is a sampling of the responses:

"I feel I would die away from Detroit." "I would not leave Detroit, for any reason." "Nothing much that holds us here." "I would [leave] for a smaller town." "My home is here and all my ties." "I wouldn't care about leaving." "I could leave Detroit." "Fine—wouldn't mind [leaving] at all." "It wouldn't break my heart."

When Detroiters were asked what kind of people are "especially desirable and good to have in the city," their responses were vaguely general, like: "law-abiding citizens," "almost all people are nice," "economically sound" and "stable" people, people with the "right values."

But a question on "undesirable people"—ones "not good to have in the city"—brought more definite replies, as follows:

		<i>Per cent of 379 responses</i>
People considered "undesirable" to have in Detroit	Criminals, gangsters, etc.	26%
	Poor Southern whites; "hillbillies"	21
	Transients, drifters and non-selfsupporting	18
	Negroes	13
	Foreigners	6

The other 16 per cent were miscellaneous, many of them denouncing communists and radicals.

A few examples of the answers are these:

"Criminals, dope peddlers, heads of rackets, numbers games, bookies—as shown by Kefauver."

"The Southerners and hill-billies who migrate here because of the higher wages. They are not permanent residents, have no city pride. They do not keep up their homes so there are eye sores where they live."

"The poor truck from the South—both white and Negro. They are not good citizens."

"Colored people spreading out more. Should have their place. They and the Jews push in everywhere."

"Communists—good for nobody; send them back to Russia. Too lazy, don't want to work, want someone else to work for them."

The hate, ignorance and bigotry implicit in many of the answers is not to be denied. But such expressions came from only a small number of respondents, and the survey provides no sound basis for estimating the frequency or rarity of such feelings. This is a project on which more research is needed.

Do Pressure Groups Run the City?

Who runs Detroit? This question had two purposes: to determine whether citizens believe special groups have too much power and do "run the city" and to learn which groups people name most often.

Perhaps the most significant figure is that 42 per cent of Detroiters

name no special groups that they think have most influence. The answers are classified as follows:

		<i>Per cent of 593 respondents</i>
What people are said to run Detroit	No special group: "the public", don't know; no answer, etc.	42%
	Special groups named—Total	58
	Businessmen, industrialists, rich people	18
	Labor unions, organized labor	11
	Politicians, political bosses	11
	Jews	6
	Negroes	5
	Racketeers, gamblers, underworld	2
	Others	5

These were some of the replies: "The smarter [people] run the city . . . the way it should be," "automobile unions and automobile manufacturers," "church people have a lot of influence . . . Kiwanis, Masons and Moose . . . Elks," "racketeers," "the Jews have most influence in business," "Italians," "the Polish people," "looks like the Irishmen," "capitalists of course, the ones with the money have the influence," "the working man," "nobody . . . it runs smoothly . . . nobody has undue influence."

The survey showed interesting variations of response among different population groups. The better educated are most convinced that special groups "really run the city." Only 30 per cent of those who went beyond high school name no groups that have most influence, while 50 per cent of people with eighth grade education or less name no particular groups. The better educated especially stress the economic interest groups—both business and labor. High school and college graduates and the upper socio-economic groups almost never name Jews or Negroes.

The more education people have the more likely they are to believe that businessmen and "people with money" have most influence in the city. However, college men and women of high economic status name organized labor most frequently. This is not true of college people at lower income levels—and it is not true, either, for the upper income people who are *not* college educated. Apparently, it is the

combination of higher education and high economic status that brings the belief that labor unions "run the city."

Job Views, By Groups

We have already reported the strongly favorable findings about Detroit as a place to work. All groups were overwhelmingly positive in their opinions about job opportunities here.

Responses included opinions of various shades, however, like these: "Detroit is the city of opportunity," "Nice place . . . if you don't run into prejudice," "If the factories close, you're gone, and there is nothing to do," "Well, I think it's wonderful," "If you are in a factory, barely get existence due to layoff and changeover," "The hardest working town—too much work and no play, but a very good place to work."

Employed people—324 of them—rated their job satisfaction this way:

		<i>Per cent of satisfaction</i>
Job satisfaction	Very satisfied	62%
	Fairly satisfied	35
	Rather dissatisfied	2
	Very dissatisfied	1

Most notable is the extremely small number dissatisfied. No more than 8 per cent of any occupational group say they are dissatisfied.

High job satisfaction is found most at upper economic levels and least in lower level occupations. It is more frequent among business executives, proprietors, and the upper range of white collar employees than among lower level white collar employees, skilled workers, and professional and semi-professional people. Semi-skilled and unskilled—only 2 per cent of whom said they were "rather dissatisfied" or worse with their jobs—came in between the extremes.

No Negro workers among 32 queried in this sampling express dissatisfaction with their jobs, 59 per cent being "very satisfied" and 41 per cent being "fairly satisfied."

Contrary to expectations, job dissatisfaction was no greater than average among the better educated who work at lower white collar or manual jobs. Significant, too, is the finding that labor union members are about as satisfied with their jobs as non-union workers and further that active unionists express dissatisfaction even less than do the inactive members—those who never attend a meeting. Active participation in labor unions apparently bears no relationship to personal dissatisfaction with one's job.

“What do you like about your job? What don’t you like about it?”
 Here are the principal likes and dislikes, and the percentage of employed people who named them:

		<i>Per cent of 324 employed people*</i>
Things liked about job	Kind of work done; nature of job	48%
	People I work with	32
	Pay	23
	Freedom; personal responsibility	16
	Work environment; working conditions	14
	The company; the bosses; people I work for	13
	Hours	7
	Chance for advancement	5

The outstanding result of the “don’t-like” question was that many respondents—48 per cent—said there is nothing about their work they do not like. The dislikes mentioned are the following:

		<i>Per cent of 324 employed people</i>
Things disliked about jobs	Kind of work done; nature of job	13%
	Work environment; working conditions	13
	Hours	8
	Pay	7
	People I work with	6
	Irregular; not a steady job	3
	The company; bosses; people I work for	3
	No chance for advancement	2

Both in factory and non-factory employment, skilled workers refer more often to “kind of work done” than do unskilled and semi-skilled workers. In the same way, upper level white collar workers speak of the “kind of work” they do as a reason for job satisfaction more than the lower level people do. Implicit in this finding is industry’s problem of making the nature of lower level jobs more attractive to workers.

Not less interesting is a related discovery. Whereas 68 per cent of skilled and 51 per cent of non-skilled factory workers mention “inherent interest, nature of work” and the like as reasons for liking their jobs, only 38 per cent of skilled and 27 per cent of non-skilled workers outside of factories cite similar reasons. This tends to refute the notion that auto-plant jobs are especially robot-like, deadly or devoid of

*Many persons mentioned two things they liked, which explains why the percentages total more than 100 per cent.

interest. At the same time, however, it is to be noted that factory workers speak much less than non-factory workers of freedom, personal responsibility and opportunities for advancement as sources of job satisfaction. Among all the occupational groups, moreover, there are remarkably few references to chances for advancement.

Changes Desired in Detroit

Near the beginning of the interview people were asked what changes they would like to see made in Detroit. The aim was to secure people's spontaneous, volunteered ideas—whatever came to mind first.

While the answers naturally resemble the statements about matters disliked in Detroit, there is greater concentration upon concrete proposals: upon matters felt as immediate problems and things that people believed could be changed.

We have classified and tabulated 843 suggested changes. "Public transportation; the DSR," leads all other matters as needful of change. It and seven other subjects account for 90 per cent of all the suggestions. They are the following:

		<i>Per cent of 843 suggested changes</i>
Areas in which Detroitters would like changes	Public transportation; DSR	20%
	Traffic, parking, streets and expressways	17
	Physical characteristics of city (improve riverfront, clean up the city, etc.)	15
	Housing (abolish slums, etc.)	10
	Race relations ("segregate Negroes"; "stop discrimination"; "remove tensions, etc.")	9
	City services (apart from DSR, traffic, streets, etc.)	8
	Recreation, playgrounds and sports	6
	City government and taxes	5

A few direct quotations are illustrative:

DSR: "[Should be] privately owned." "Build a subway." "Switch all streetcars to buses." "New bus lines."

Traffic, parking, streets: "Streets [in] bad shape—street where I live is awful." "Dark streets [should] have more lights." "Cross-town highway with cloverleaf turns."

Physical characteristics of city: "City hall is disgrace . . . antiquated and dirty." "A new civic center." "A smoke ordinance." "Tear down old factories."

Housing: "Eliminate the slums." "Not allow people to live in dumps, rat dens, overcrowded places." "Bad sections should be replaced." "City [should be] zoned . . . to keep residential districts." "Object to zoning laws."

Intergroup relations: "Wish Negroes had their own section." "[Need for] fair employment and equal opportunities as citizens, to both Negroes and whites." "Colored should have their own parks, pools and other spots."

Other suggested changes: "Improve . . . garbage and rubbish disposal." "More colored policemen." "More playgrounds." "Places [needed] for teen-agers to dance that do not sell beer." "Belle Isle should be cleaned up." "Lower the taxes on small business and property owners." "An income tax for anyone working here and living in the suburbs . . . suburbs are bleeding Detroit dry." "An Art Center." "Get in younger teachers." "More controls on the unions." "More trade schools." "A centrally located city airport."

III.

DETROIT ACTIVITIES RATED HIGH—AND LOW

In the second half of the interview we asked people's opinions about fourteen different activities and services in Detroit—like schools, race relations, DSR, etc.* For each topic, the person interviewed first rated how good or poor he considers the matter—for example the public schools. He rated the schools by simply choosing one of the four phrases: "Very good," "Fairly good," "Not good," or "Definitely bad." After other questions concerning the schools, he goes on to rate each of the other activities in the same manner.

The chart on the next page shows how people rate the fourteen aspects of Detroit life. The most favorably rated is at the top, the lowest rated is at the bottom. Here is a clear picture of what Detroit people think of important features of their city. They are well satisfied with the institutions and activities in the upper part of the chart. There is considerable dissatisfaction with the matter lower down in the list.

Detroit people express highest approval of Wayne University** and Detroit newspapers. Each of these is judged very good by well over half of the people who rate it, and only 5 per cent or fewer say each is "not good." Almost as favorably regarded are the activities of industrial companies in their relations to the city and its people, the Detroit public schools, opportunities for spare-time activities, and the city's police department. These are judged "very good" by nearly 50 per cent, with the "not good" ratings running only 4 per cent to 13 per cent. These top six activities clearly stand out as the ones best thought of among all those considered.

The next two topics—Detroit's city government and the activities of labor unions ("in their relations to the city and the people of the city")—receive ratings that indicate neither general approval nor disapproval. One-fourth of the people believe them "very good" but much larger numbers call them only "fairly good," while 16 per cent

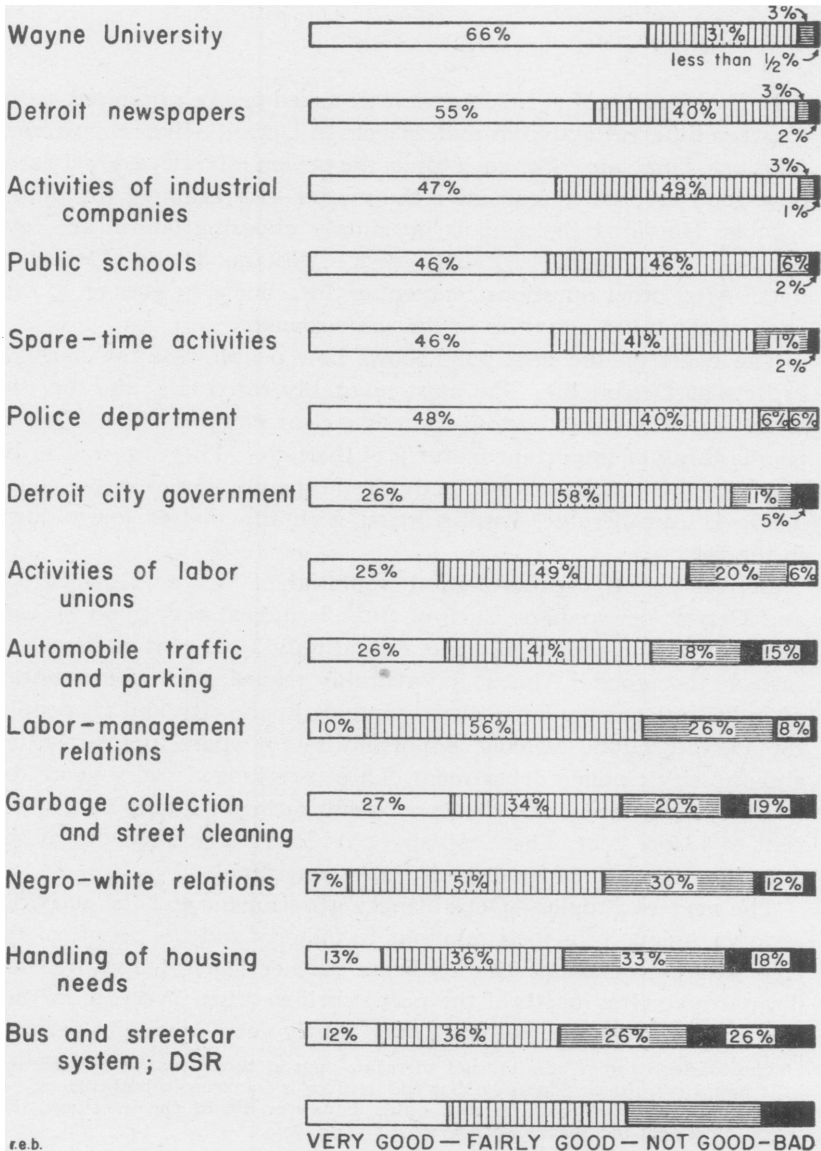
*The fourteen topics here are not the same ones as those in an earlier section. It happens quite accidentally that the number is fourteen in both places.

**Respondents were given no clue, either before or during the interview, that could connect the survey with Wayne University.

CHART 2.

PEOPLE'S RATINGS

OF 14 DETROIT ACTIVITIES



say that the city government is "not good" or worse, and 26 per cent attach these negative ratings to labor unions.

On the remaining six items in the chart the ratings of "not good" (and bad) greatly outnumber the "very good." DSR and the handling of housing needs stand at the foot of the list with more than 50 per cent of the estimates declaring that they are "not good" or are "definitely bad." About 40 per cent assign these low ratings to Negro-white relations and to "garbage collection and street cleaning."

At the same time, it is important to note that wide differences of opinion exist on every one of the activities. Even the lowest matters are rated "very good" by some people and at least a few think very poorly of even the topmost items.

IV.

WHAT ARE DETROIT'S BIGGEST PROBLEMS?

After the person interviewed had given his views on each of the fourteen points separately, we handed him a list of them and requested that he "pick out the *three* things you feel it is *most important* to do something about in Detroit." Finally, each person was asked to say which of the three things is the *most* important one to do something about.

The chart on the next page summarizes the results. Here, in bare statistical austerity, is the trouble with Detroit—as seen through the eyes of Detroit people themselves. These are probably the most important findings in the survey.

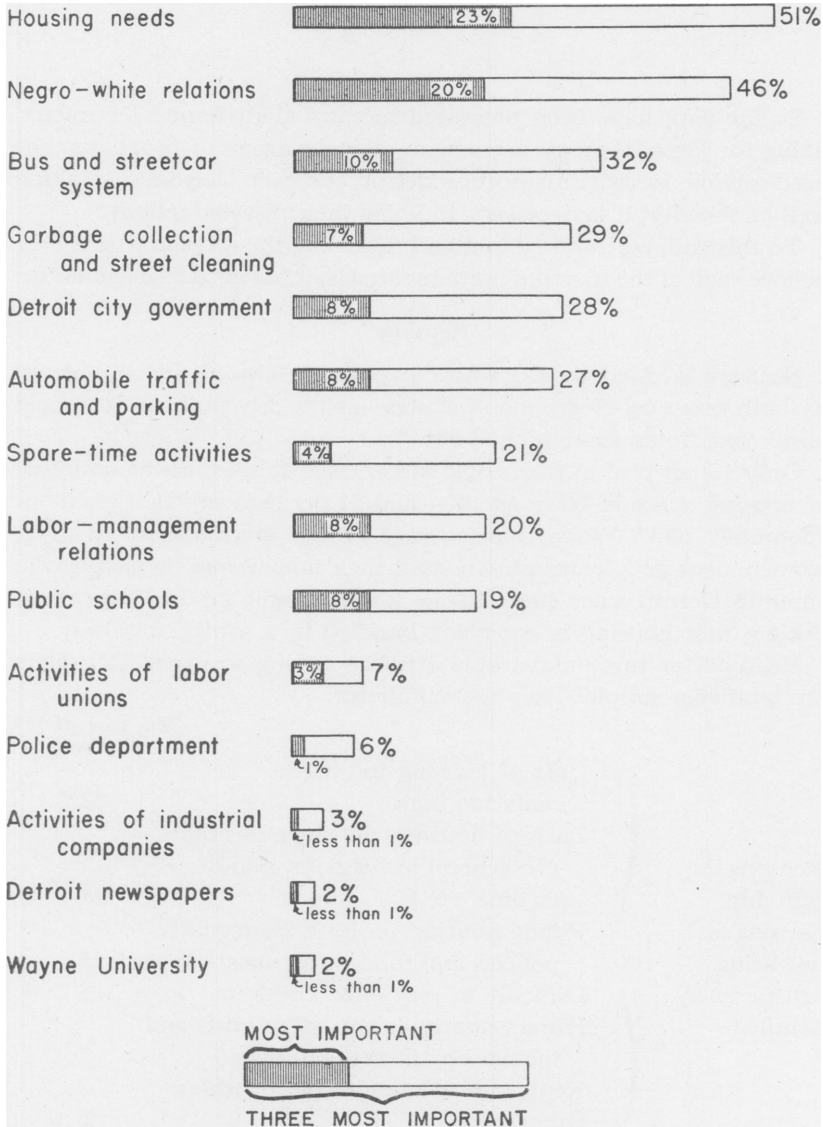
Housing needs and Negro-white relationships not only occupy first and second places; they are first and second to a poor third. They are separated from all others by a wide margin. More than one-fifth of the people queried named housing as Detroit's most pressing problem and another fifth named Negro-white relationships. Approximately one-half of the respondents included these two in their choice of the city's three dominant problems.

One-third of Detroiters name the DSR as one of the three leading problems that calls for attention and almost as many point to garbage collection and street cleaning, the city government, and problems of traffic and parking. Opportunities for spare-time activities, labor-management relations and the public schools are next most often mentioned as urgent problems.

There is, however, no line in the chart that is not important. A significant number of persons express concern over each set of needs. Who the people are that accent different problems—and the kinds of changes they desire—are reported in the next section.

CHART 3.

THE MATTERS PEOPLE THINK IT IS IMPORTANT
TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IN DETROIT



V.

VIEWS ON FOURTEEN DETROIT ACTIVITIES

So far data have been presented to show that despite Detroiters' liking for Detroit, many persons are acutely aware of problems that need solving. In order to improve Detroit and keep Detroiters thinking well of the city, it is necessary to know their dissatisfactions.

To this end, we inquired in detail regarding the ways in which they believe each of the fourteen matters rated is not as good as it should be.

Housing

Housing is rated by the whole population—by all income levels, by both sexes, by Negroes and whites—as the city problem it is *most important* “to do something about.”

Only 13 per cent of the people interviewed think that the handling of housing needs is “very good”—and 51 per cent say “not good” or “definitely bad.” Worse-than-average ratings are made by Negroes, women, poor people, people who rent their homes, and by people who came to Detroit since 1945. In the low economic group, 70 per cent declare that housing is not being handled in a satisfactory way.

Reasons for this unfavorable attitude among so many Detroiters are relatively simple. They are as follows:

		Per cent of 564 criticisms
Reasons for thinking housing is not being satisfactorily handled	Cost of housing too high; rents too high	32%
	Lack of housing; shortage of homes (In general or for poor, middle income, etc.)	27
	Public housing projects inadequate; policies and procedures unsatisfactory	25
	Difficult to rent with children	5
	Homes poorly constructed; graft and inefficiency in new building	3
	Rent control undesirable or unfair	2
	Other	6

The first two reasons—high costs and housing shortages—constitute close to 60 per cent of the total. A fourth of all the complaints (the third reason) are directed against lack of public housing projects and especially against what are believed to be unnecessary delays, discrimination, and poor procedures in slum clearance and handling displaced tenants.

Detroiters want adequate housing at rents or costs they can afford. To many people in low income groups this means public housing and their criticisms are consequently directed toward current public housing activities.

The "number one" position of this problem in the minds of Detroiters is an index of their intense feeling on the matter. True, the general run of the population has little to suggest in the way of concrete methods for improvement. Nor can most people even offer specific criticisms. All they know is that the problem is one of prime importance. And a large number of them believe that it is not being met as well as it should be. Their wish that something be done about it is positive and emphatic.

Negro-White Relations

The problem of race relations runs a close second to housing among the matters Detroiters think it most important to do something about. It is given this position of urgency by all groups.

Negro-white relations stand near the foot of the list in ratings of how good or bad things are in Detroit. Only 7 per cent say "very good," but along with 51 per cent who say "fairly good," this means a definite majority think relations are in the good rather than the bad direction. Most people also believe that race relations are getting better—58 per cent say "better" as against 32 per cent "worse," the other 10 per cent saying that they remain the "same." Negroes rate Negro-white relations better than do whites and are even more optimistic about improvement than the population as a whole.

For the whole population, it was found that people who believe the situation is fairly good tend to believe it is improving; those who consider it not good tend to see it getting worse. Analysis also reveals that it is the white people with prejudice against Negroes who most commonly believe that inter-racial relations are bad and are getting worse.

White respondents were classified into three groups according to all their answers that refer to Negroes—those in favor of fully accepting Negroes, with equal rights for the races; those not in favor of such

acceptance of Negroes; and those whose answers left doubt as to their attitudes.

Using this classification, an analysis of our interviews shows the majority on the negative side in regard to accepting Negroes without segregation or discrimination. Well over half of all white Detroiters are against treating Negroes as citizens with full and equal rights. Not in those words, of course. What they say is simply that they do not want colored people moving into white neighborhoods, eating at white restaurants, intermingling with white people. In contrast to these views stand the white Detroiters who declare that the way to better race relations lies not in segregation but in improving the conditions of Negroes, giving them equal rights, using education and organized efforts to build intergroup understanding and acceptance.

The proportions in the three groups are: favorable to full acceptance of Negroes, 18 per cent; "neutral" and not classifiable, 28 per cent; against full and equal acceptance, 54 per cent. If we assume that the 28 per cent lean one way or the other in about the same proportions as the other respondents, the figures would mean that one-fourth of the white population favors race relations improvement on a non-segregation, non-discrimination basis. Together with the Negroes themselves, this makes approximately 40 per cent of the population.

The remaining part of the population, in one way or another, speaks in favor of segregation. But these people differ greatly among themselves. Many make no attempt to conceal their deep prejudice and their support for outright segregation. The comments of others reveal that they feel a moral conflict within themselves on the issue and that they are unsure of their beliefs. Some of them express fine friendship for the Negro coupled with a "but" Some argue that they want segregation "for the good of the Negroes themselves." Some insist on the "separate but equal" view contending that segregation does not mean discrimination.

A considerable number of people waver in their opinions and beliefs about race relations. Since our survey covered so many topics, it could not go into these attitudes on race thoroughly or deeply enough to tell how many people have these inner conflicts. Certainly there are many who are likely to act according to one set of feelings or the opposite, depending on the appeals and pressures that are playing upon them at any given time.

The answers in our interviews leave no doubt, however, that most of the people classified here are really different and sharply divided

on the race issue. A deep cleavage exists among the people of Detroit in regard to the problem. What people hold the opposed views? Our data lead to the following conclusions:

Adults younger than 25 years are most often in favor of race relations improvement through understanding, non-segregation and equal treatment.

Native Detroiters and persons of long residence in the city reflect similar attitudes more than recent arrivals.

White Southerners in Detroit are no more commonly intolerant or in favor of segregation than persons from elsewhere in the United States. There is less prejudice among Detroiters from abroad than among native-born Americans.

The most frequent approval of segregation and the most unfavorable feelings toward full acceptance of Negroes are found among people with less education and people at the lower socio-economic and occupational levels. Among working people, moreover, labor union members express no more willingness to accept Negroes than is found among non-union people.

By religion, slightly more Catholics are found to be against full acceptance of Negroes than are Protestants, while "all others"—Jews, persons of "no church preference," Greek Orthodox—were the most favorable.

City districts with a small number of Negro residents are found to be more in favor of fully accepting Negroes than districts with no Negro residents or districts with large numbers. There is also a little evidence, though the point needs further research, that increase of Negro residents in a district over recent years brought a slight increase in the number of whites with unfavorable attitudes but brought no decline in numbers of those with favorable attitudes.

Several of these findings suggest that attitudes approving non-segregation and equal treatment are likely to increase. If the trend continues for younger citizens and those better educated to be more favorable than the rest of the population, this will mean a steady growth of such attitudes in the city as a whole. The same is true for the tendency of people who live here longer to become more favorable to full acceptance of Negroes. Such trends are certainly not inevitable or to be taken for granted, however. The facts do not show what *will* happen but they may be of help to all groups interested in bringing about race relations of the kind they think *should* be developed.

City Government and City Services

The City Government Itself

People's overall impressions of Detroit's government are fairly favorable. Only one person in six rates it in a negative direction. The Negro population above the lowest economic level tends to be more unfavorable than any other group studied. The remainder of the population differ little from one group to another.

Nevertheless, city government is put rather high—fifth place—on the list of fourteen things Detroit should “do something about,” and 28 per cent call it one of the city's three most urgent problems.

Four categories cover more than three-fourths of the specific complaints registered against city hall. “Inefficiency, incompetent officials, poor services” stand first. The other leading points are criticisms of DSR, charges of graft and corruption, and belief that special groups have too much influence. More than half the respondents offered no particular criticism.

An additional question concerning the city government brings out a striking fact. The question reads: “Do you feel that there is anything you can do to improve the way the city is run? What do you feel you can do?” The aim of the question was to see how far people feel personal responsibility for better government. Their replies illuminate the individual's sense of helplessness to do anything constructive all by himself in a huge city. More than half the people declare they can do nothing. One-third speak only of voting. Only one person in twelve mentions that he can exert influence by means of personal criticisms (“holler louder”) or by joining in group action and work in organizations. The indifferent or helpless types of reply are much more common at low educational and low economic levels than at higher levels. They likewise occur more among women than men, and more among older than younger people. Those who belong to organizations answer no differently than members of organized groups. Labor union members say there is nothing they can do as often as do non-union people.

Some grounds for optimism may be found in the fact that the younger and better educated citizens display more positive spirit in this connection. But the findings as a whole offer a challenging problem. The problem is to develop in the ordinary citizen the conviction that this is *his* city and that its improvement is *his* responsibility.

Police Department

Opinions of the police department are more favorable than those of the city government as a whole. Only one person in eight rates the police services in the "not good" direction and half the people rate it "very good."

These high estimates are definitely not shared by the Negro population. Two of every five Negroes rate the police "not good" or "definitely bad." Moreover, there is marked contrast between the 4 per cent of whites and the 21 per cent of Negroes who regard the police department as one of Detroit's three biggest problems. Two-thirds of the Negroes' criticisms refer to anti-Negro discrimination or the mistreatment of people.

In the population as a whole, the chief criticisms of the police department are inefficiency and failure to do a good job, the fact that there are not enough policemen, and statements charging graft, corruption and dishonesty.

The DSR

The general run of Detroiters express much more dissatisfaction and concern over other city services—the DSR system, the automobile traffic and parking situation, and the handling of garbage collection and street cleaning. These services are all rated rather low.

DSR stands lowest of the entire list of items considered in the survey. The unfavorable attitude exists at all socio-economic levels, among both men and women, and for both Negroes and whites. It is still true, however, that 12 per cent of the people call DSR "very good" and 36 per cent say "fairly good."

DSR is third among the problems about which Detroiters think it most urgent to do something. One-third of the people place it among the three topmost problems.

The leading complaints concerning DSR are: irregular, infrequent service and slow runs; fare too high; and overcrowding of buses and streetcars.

Auto Traffic and Parking

The people of Detroit rate the city's handling of traffic and parking just below the average of all fourteen activities considered. It is rated a little lower than the city government as a whole. One-third of the respondents give ratings of "not good" and "definitely bad." However, 26 per cent said "very good" and 41 per cent "fairly good."

The city's handling of traffic and parking is placed in the upper

half of problems people think it important to do something about. Slightly more than one-fourth of the respondents include it in their selection of the three most important matters calling for attention.

The handling of traffic and parking is rated worst by the upper economic group and best by the lowest economic group. The top group also includes it more often as one of the three most important problems.

Far and away the greatest number of criticisms concern insufficient parking facilities. Other criticism deals with the need for more expressways and wider streets, poor traffic control and routing arrangements, street parking that slows traffic and similar matters.

Garbage Collection and Street Cleaning

The condition of alleys and streets drew the emphatic disapproval of many Detroiters. They put the combination of garbage collection and street cleaning fourth to lowest among the city's activities that were rated, with only DSR, housing, and race relations rated worse. Thirty-nine per cent say "not good" or "definitely bad" while 61 per cent give "very good" or "fairly good" ratings. Nearly one-half of the respondents in the low income group consider these activities "not good" or "definitely bad," and Negroes rate them worse than whites.

These services are also rated high up among the matters on which people think something needs to be done. Approximately three persons in ten include this item among the three most urgent matters calling for action. This ranks it fourth in importance among the fourteen problems covered in the interview.

Specific complaints about infrequent, irregular and careless garbage collection are somewhat more common than about poor street cleaning. On both matters, many of the comments are strong and bitter.

Industry, Unions and Labor-Management Relations

Detroit is best known around the world as a great industrial center. The survey was interested in finding out how the industrial aspects of the city are regarded by a cross-section of Detroit people. Accordingly, we asked about attitudes toward industrial companies and labor unions—and about labor-management relations.

Industrial Companies

The general estimate of industrial companies—"in their relations to the city and the people of the city"—is extremely favorable. They

are called "very good" or "fairly good" by 96 per cent of the people interviewed. Moreover, the approval is expressed by all major groups in the city. Labor union members, especially those in the CIO, rate the companies a little lower than the average, but their ratings are still favorable by a very large majority.

Detroiters in general express strong appreciation for the companies' production achievements and their contribution of jobs, income and economic welfare for the city. A number also speak approvingly of the companies' charitable donations and other assistance to community life. People, nevertheless, express a number of criticisms of industrial firms. These deal largely with the dirt, smoke and ugly surroundings they create and with various features of their employee and labor relations policies. Notable, however, is the fact that 46 per cent of the persons interviewed either had no answer to the question about companies doing harm or they declared that the companies do no harm. These "no harm" answers were given about equally often by poor people, middle income, and well off.

Labor Unions

The attitudes of Detroiters toward labor unions are less favorable. Nevertheless a large majority of respondents — 74 per cent — rate unions either "very good" or "fairly good." At the same time, there are considerably sharper divisions of attitude between different groups in the community in regard to unions.

More than toward any other phase of Detroit life, the high, middle and low income groups are divided in their views about labor unions. Only 7 per cent of the high group rate them "very good" while 26 per cent of the middle and 41 per cent of the low group give this rating. Unions are rated "not good" or "definitely bad" by 45 per cent of high income people, 23 per cent at the middle level, and by only 12 per cent of the low.

Union members themselves rate unions this way: "very good" or "fairly good," 86 per cent; "not good" or "definitely bad," 14 per cent. For CIO unionists, the proportion is 90 per cent "very good" or "fairly good" and only 10 per cent "not good" or "definitely bad." These figures indicate that the overwhelming majority of union members in Detroit approve of their organizations.

When people are asked how the unions do good, they accent the tangible benefits to members. Four-fifths of the answers mention better wages and living standards; job security, fairness to workers and protection of rights; improvement of hours and working conditions.

What harm do the unions do? What activities do they carry on which they should not carry on? By far the largest group of answers to these questions relate to strikes—"too many," "unnecessary ones," etc. The other matters most often spoken of are the use of union power in a way that places union interests ahead of the public's, improper practices and procedures inside the union, and unreasonable demands on employers.

Labor-Management Relations

As reported earlier, Detroit people have quite positive feelings about work opportunities and jobs here. They are not so pleased with the larger relationships that exist between industry and working people. Only 10 per cent of Detroit people rate labor-management relations "very good" and one person in three rates them definitely "not good." However, two-thirds of the respondents think these relations are at least "fairly good" and the same proportion asserts that relations are getting better.

One person in twelve places the problem of improving labor relations at the very top of the list of things it is important to do something about in Detroit. One person in five includes it among the three most urgent problems.

Many Detroiters are particularly critical of the way organized labor and management deal with each other. Both unions and companies are blamed, unions somewhat more so—and strikes are an especially frequent target for complaints.

At the same time, unions are also given credit more than management for bringing about improved industrial relations. In response to a question whether labor or management has done most to make their relations better (or worse), labor is selected about twice as often as management, *both for making things better and for making them worse*. For "better," the response is 42 per cent for labor, 22 for management. For "worse," 24 per cent blame labor and 12 per cent management. Labor is regarded as the active agent for change—both for better and for worse.

Attitudes toward labor-management relations, as toward labor unions, show large and significant differences by subdivisions of the population.

The upper economic group has the most unfavorable view of the labor-management situation. Their ratings are 51 per cent "not good" or "definitely bad," while for middle income people it is 31 per cent and for low it is 25 per cent.

The upper income and occupational groups also tend to blame unions for what is bad and to credit management for what is good in labor relations. Manual workers and people at lower economic levels tend to reverse this, blaming management and approving the union's role. Union members express an especially strong belief that unions rather than management are responsible for improved relations.

The large middle economic group splits in its approvals and disapprovals on these issues. Approximately the same number rate unions "very good" as rate them "not good" or "definitely bad." Similarly about as many say that labor has done most to make labor-management relations better, and management has done most to make them worse, as say the opposite—that labor is most responsible for making things worse while management has made them better.

These contrasting attitudes of different economic groups are an outstanding fact of Detroit life. They are most clearly in evidence in respect to the "labor question," but the underlying differences of values and group interests show themselves on many other issues as well.

Schools, Newspapers and Recreation

Among the best-regarded of the fourteen phases of Detroit life are the public schools, newspapers, Wayne University and the opportunities Detroit offers people to enjoy themselves in their spare time. However, while approval is emphatic for each of the four, sharp criticisms are also voiced.

Detroit Public Schools

Only eight persons of every hundred questioned think that Detroit schools are not at least "fairly good." Almost half the people consider them "very good." It is notable, though, that 19 per cent of the whole sampling included schools among the three top problems the city should "do something about."

The schools are rated highest by Detroiters who have only grade school education. Those who attended high school are less favorable, while the least enthusiastic estimates come from those who went to college. By religious groups, the public schools are judged "very good" by 52 per cent of Protestants and by 41 per cent of Catholics. Jews rate the schools about the same as Protestants, while the "no church preference" group gives the least favorable ratings of all.

Somewhat more than one-third of all criticisms are directed against over-crowded schoolhouses and the need for more teachers. Other comments criticize the quality and performance of teachers and various phases of school policy and program that are disliked, such as the kinds of courses.

Parenthetically, Detroit's parochial schools receive an even higher rating, though from a much smaller group—about 125 persons—for only those with first-hand knowledge about them were queried. Of these, only 2 per cent think parochial schools “not good.” Of the small number of specific criticisms, about half concern the educational policies and methods and types of subjects taught, and about one-fifth refer to crowded conditions.

Wayne University

Of the fourteen activities examined, Wayne University receives the highest rating. Ninety-seven per cent of the ratings are “very good” or “fairly good,” with two-thirds in the “very good” group. Respondents did not know, of course, that the University had any connection with the survey.

The principal ways in which Wayne University is considered “not as good as it should be” are that it is overcrowded and needs more buildings, that its location is poor, that it has no campus; and that it is too radical or “communistic.” The “communistic” charge comes from only a small number of Detroiters and differs from every other set of answers in the survey in the large proportion of respondents who use such phrases as “I’ve heard rumors . . . ,” “they tell me,” “this is probably not true,” and “what I’ve read . . . might be just to build [newspaper] circulation.”

Detroit Newspapers

Second only to Wayne University in general approval are Detroit's three daily newspapers. To the general question, “How do you feel about the Detroit newspapers as a whole—the *Times*, *Free Press* and *News*?” 95 per cent of the replies were “very good” or “fairly good,” with only 5 per cent “not good” and “definitely bad.”

Men and women rate the dailies without notable differences. Nor do differences in schooling or in economic level appear to have any bearing on the judgments. There are, however, marked differences between the replies of Negroes and whites. Fifty seven per cent of the white population and only 34 per cent of Negroes rate the dailies “very good.” The “not good” and “definitely bad” responses are used

by 3 per cent of whites and 16 per cent of Negroes. Negroes of middle economic status, and consequent better education, hold especially unfavorable opinions of the newspapers.

"In what ways are the Detroit papers not as good as they should be?" Forty-three per cent of the answers charge unfair or biased treatment of the news. In most responses, this refers to bias against Negroes or against labor and in favor of "the big shots." The next most common criticism is that of sensationalism, exaggerated headlines, and playing up crime and scandal. Nearly half of these responses refer to a specific one of the three papers. The remaining comments deal with inadequate or improper news coverage, too much advertising and an assortment of other charges.

Opportunities for Spare-Time Activities in Detroit

The last question that we asked about Detroit life lumped together all kinds of recreation. The question inquired: "How do you feel about the opportunities for spare-time activities—playgrounds and parks, sports, music, theatre, neighborhood meeting places, and all that sort of thing?"

Detroiters rate these activities fairly high—fifth among the fourteen points in the survey. Almost half the people consider them "very good" while 13 per cent say "not good" or "definitely bad." However, slightly more than 20 per cent list the improvement of spare-time activities among the city's three most important problems.

Further questions about recreation show that what Detroiters have most on their minds here is the need for more playgrounds and parks. Substantial numbers also want neighborhood meeting places and teen-age centers, pools and beaches, more musical activities, plays and theatres.

The strongest demand for playgrounds comes from the lowest income group. They likewise speak more often of the need for additional parks. The upper group, more often than others, points to deficiencies in musical and theatrical entertainment.

VI.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The picture that has been sketched of Detroiters' attitudes contains little in the way of surprises. This is as it should be. If the findings contradicted the knowledge possessed by people who know the city, who have lived their lives here, it would be ground for grave suspicion of the survey. Part of the value of the findings comes in confirming impressions already held while at the same time making them more definite and clear.

But the survey of attitudes does more than this. Few people have had opportunity to mingle with the varied subdivisions of the city's population. All too easily, each of us assumes that he knows how the other half lives and feels. This knowledge too often rests on an insecure foundation of scattered observations and personal interpretation—either our own or those reported to us. As a consequence, different ones of us arrive at remarkably different ideas of the city and where its people stand. The survey results may help correct, expand, and balance such previous impressions.

The last sections of this report accent the criticisms of Detroit. This diagnosis of things wrong is necessary if the city is to know how best to work for improved civic health and strength. It is important to learn which problems concern Detroit citizens most. Which phases of the city's life are they dissatisfied with— and which do they find satisfactory? What specific faults do they think need remedy? The survey secured facts in answer to these questions as an important part of what Detroiters think of Detroit.

But the problems, the dislikes and criticisms, are only one side. The survey also found that Detroit people like their city. Their prevalent satisfaction and approval were evident throughout the first half of the interview—as reported in the opening pages of this report.

Two broad conclusions emerge, then: (1) Detroiters view their city with favor, with strong accent on the positive side. (2) They nevertheless express dissatisfaction and concern over a number of the city's problems and they stress the need for important improvements—outstandingly in regard to housing and race relations but also for many other conditions in the city.

In addition, these two further conclusions grow out of the survey findings:

(3) Great numbers of Detroit citizens feel helpless and indifferent about changing their city. They have few ideas how things can be made better and little understanding of how they personally can play a part. Answers to many questions reveal limited horizons and lack of aroused civic interest. There is a challenging opportunity here for community leaders, organizations, and schools to build more enthusiastic outlooks in Detroit's citizens and more feeling of personal responsibility for Detroit's future.

(4) Deep differences of attitude divide Detroiters. Most notable are the differences on race relations and on labor-management relations. People accept different standards and seek conflicting goals in regard to the place of the Negro in Detroit life. Likewise they have different beliefs and loyalties depending on their jobs and incomes—and the greater or less education that goes with the economic position. These two sources of disunity in the city appear and re-appear throughout the survey. Other cleavages—by religions, nationality and regional groups—are important, too, but they showed up less prominently in the interviews. On race and on economic group interests, major forces pull the community in opposed directions. Equal rights for Negroes versus segregation and discrimination. Policies demanded by organized labor versus policies advocated by industry — and changes desired by the poor versus those desired by the wealthy. If Detroit is to go forward to constructively solve its problems, it must plan and move at every step with a frank facing of these two sets of opposed views. Each is strongly supported among the people of the city.

The survey does not offer solutions to these problems. It does point to the clear facts that must be considered in order to arrive at satisfactory and workable solutions. Among the facts, probably none are more important than those concerning the division of loyalties, values and beliefs of Detroit people on race and on economic group interests.

These conclusions, together with all the other facts that have been summarized, portray the climate of opinion within which Detroit's efforts at civic improvement must proceed. On many points further research is needed. It is hoped that the present report will help stimulate more intensive studies of these problems that it was possible to touch only lightly in this general survey. But even without further study, the information that has been obtained concerning attitudes in Detroit can be put to immediate use. It provides starting points and guide posts for all who are interested in pushing forward programs to make Detroit an even better city than it now is.