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Race and Revitalization in the Rust Belt: A Motor City Story

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RACE AND REVITALIZATION IN THE RUST BELT: A MOTOR CITY STORY

*A REPORT OF FINDINGS FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN'S 2004
DETROIT AREA STUDY*

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I. DETROIT: FROM MODEL CITY TO MOST MALIGNED CITY

On Saturday evening, July 22, 1967 two black undercover Detroit police officers, Charles Henry and Joseph Brown, sought unsuccessfully to enter an illegal drinking spot at the corner of 12th and Clair-



**GUARDIAN BUILDING
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK
GRISWOLD & CONGRESS IN
DOWNTOWN DETROIT**

mount on the city's west side. About 3:30 on Sunday morning they slipped into the blind pig, expecting to find a dozen or so clients. Since the plainclothes officers did not return promptly, the back-up officers on the street broke down the door, rushed the place and declared a raid. Patronizing after-hours drinking spots in Detroit was not a major crime. Customers were typically booked and released while the owner was charged, released and later paid a fine. Instead of just a few drinkers, the officers found a crowd of 85 African-Americans, some celebrating the return of two servicemen from Vietnam. The officers held the crowd of law violators on 12th street until police wagons arrived—a slow process because of the large number. By 5 AM on Sunday morning, hostile crowds gathered. Their remarks for the police were not complementary. Some of them yelled Black Power slogans and called for violence. By 6:00 AM, windows were being smashed and by 7, Detroit police alerted State Police, the National Guard and the FBI of a possible riot. By 8 AM, the police estimated that 3,000 were in the area starting to smash windows and loot. Hardys, a black-owned pharmacy, was the first store to go.

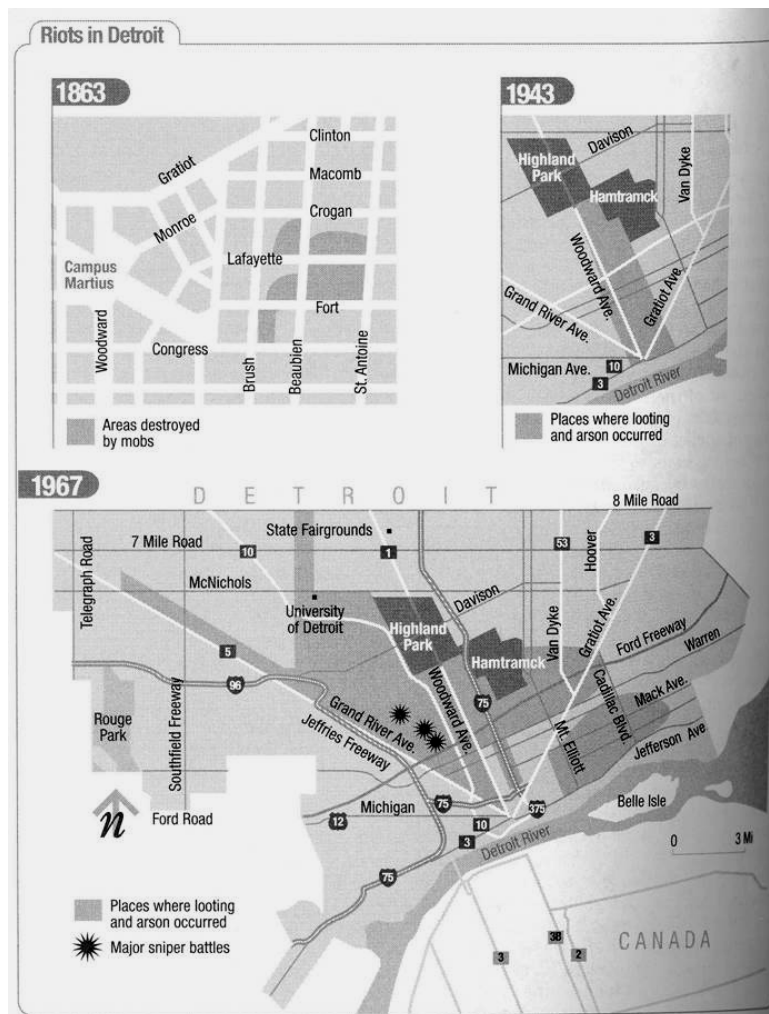
Racial violence in Detroit was not unexpected. The nation's bloodiest World War II riot began on the Belle Isle Bridge on Sunday evening, June 20, 1943 when young blacks and whites leaving that segregated park fought with each other. Detroit police lost control of the situation. On Monday morning, blacks and whites going to their defense jobs fought with each other and a racial riot developed. Early that day, President Roosevelt dispatched Fifth Army troops to Detroit. Violence escalated after sunset, but massed federal troops marched toward the rioters with drawn bayonets and tear gas. This quelled the rioting by midnight and, on Tuesday, Detroit returned to its role as the Arsenal of Democracy. That was too late for the 25 Detroit blacks and 9 whites who died in that violence. And in the summer of 1966, a series of confrontations between Detroit's largely white police force and militant black youth on the east side escalated into the Kerchaval mini-riot—one violent but not deadly evening where a massive show of police strength terminated the rock throwing, burning and looting.

Mayor Cavanaugh and the Police Chief Girardin thought they could control the riot that broke out on that July Sunday in 1967. By mid morning, they assembled a force of heavily armed officers who marched into the crowds on 12th street, hoping to disperse them and dissuade them from looting and burning. It worked on Kerchaval the previous August, but it did not work on 12th Street. Crowds of young blacks ran from the police, scooting into alleys and side streets, thereby spreading the looting. When their first strategy failed, Detroit police reverted to their second. They attempted to cordon off the West Side area and would let anyone leave, even if they were removing stolen goods, but would not permit anyone to enter. And, for fear of inciting even more violence, police officers were ordered to avoid using force and tear gas with the rioters, even when they were looting. In the meantime, black leaders including Congressman Conyers and State Senator Del Rio lead "Peace Patrols" encouraging militant youth to stop their looting and burning.

The second strategy failed also. Rioting spread throughout the West Side and then to the East Side, primarily along Mack. By Sunday afternoon, suburban mayors insisted that Governor Romney call out the National Guard since they feared that black looters from the city would advance to the

suburbs where there was more to steal and burn. By Sunday evening, the Fire Department stopped responding to calls in the riot zones because they were attacked and their equipment destroyed. The Peace Patrols had few good effects on the west side as young blacks—and a few whites—stole from merchants and lit fires. Late in the day, leaders of the black community met with Mayor Cavanaugh and Police Chief Girardin and stressed that the black community of Detroit was being destroyed as its homes and shops burned. They insisted that the police give up their passive policy and enforce the law. Word went out and the police started using force with the rioters but it was too late.

This was an era of urban rioting. Thirty-eight died in the Watts riot in Los Angeles in August, 1965 and, just a month before Detroit's violence, much of Newark went up in flames, leaving 21 dead—a conflagration seen on national television. A riot



in Detroit surprised no one. By Sunday evening, Michigan's National Guard arrived, but they had no training for street riots so they contributed little. Mayor Cavanaugh alerted Vice-President Humphrey to a possible Detroit riot at dawn Sunday morning and remained in contact with the White House. Violence spread on Sunday evening—the first death occurring about 8 PM near the Cultural Center. Early Monday morning, President Johnson shifted highly-trained federal paratroopers from Maxwell

Air Force base in Alabama to Selfridge Field outside Detroit and then to the State Fair Grounds at 8 Mile and Woodward. Not trusting what he might hear from local officials, President Johnson dispatched his personal representative, General Throckmorton, with orders to drive a jeep through the city and regularly report about conditions. Detroit's mayor and Michigan's governor assured the President that local forces had the situation under control, but as the sun set on Monday evening; General Throckmorton described increasing arson and violence. Shortly before 11 PM, he ordered that the Michigan National Guard control Detroit west of Woodward while he sent the much more competent—and racially integrated—federal troops to the East Side—a fateful decision that President Johnson ratified. The presence of federal troops almost immediately ended the violence on the East Side but the Michigan guardsmen used excessive violence both Monday evening and Tuesday in their attempt to suppress rioting. By Wednesday morning, July 26, some calm returned to Detroit. Businesses reopened and mail was delivered again, but 43 residents—34 blacks and 9 whites—were dead. Thousands of homes were burned and black entrepreneurs lost their shops and stores.

The riot marked a great change in Detroit to its white residents. To be sure, the migration of whites to the suburbs began long before 1967. The housing policies of the federal government after World War II made spacious suburban homes available at low cost. And there was also a major shift of industrial jobs away from the city. The huge Hudson plant at Jefferson and Conner and the historic Packard plant straddling East Grand shut down in the mid-1950s, leaving thousands jobless. After 1967, the out-migration of whites from the city continued. In 1950, 1.5 million whites called Detroit their home. Fifty-five years later, only 87,000 whites lived in the city—a drop of 94 percent. As Mayor Young (Young and Wheller, 1994, 179) remarked:

“The riot put Detroit on the fast track to economic desolation, mugging the city and making off with incalculable value in jobs, earnings taxes, corporate taxes, retail dollars, sales taxes, mortgages, interest, property taxes, development dollars, and plain damn money. The money was carried out in the pockets of the businesses and white people who fled as fast as they could.”

The riot was not the only symbolic turning point of that era. Through his own diligent work and support from his closely-knit family, Detroit resident Barry Gordy developed the innovative Motown Sound, perfected it and successfully marketed it. He capitalized upon a Detroit product—and a truly black one—rooted in the city's rich musical history, polished it and sold it to enthusiastic white audiences throughout the United States, and then the world. In doing this, he created the world's largest African-American business and gave hope to thousands of young Detroit musicians who aspired to success, fame and riches. Gordy started his firm in one West Grand Boulevard home, eventually purchased a dozen of them and, following the lead of Henry Ford, established a highly efficient Motown production line, turning out dozens of upbeat hits year after year. But, in 1972, telling only his closest friends, Gordy shifted his business to Los Angeles where he intended to enter the movie industry. To many blacks, his stealthy departure



MOTOWN MUSEUM, 2648 WEST GRAND BOULEVARD

symbolized the decline of Detroit. No longer could young blacks hone their musical skills in hopes of joining the ranks of the Motown stars. No longer could black Detroiters point to one of their own and remark that his financial accomplishments rivaled those of Henry Ford.

For many whites who remained in the city after the riots, the election of Mayor Coleman Young in 1973 was a further confirmation of their fears that Detroit was a black city where whites might or might not be safe and welcome. As we will see, when it came to fostering economic development in the city, Mayor Young's record was quite strong. But his style—an advocacy of radical change, a frequent use of confrontational tactics, a consistent denunciation of white suburbs and his use of expletives—offended most whites and many blacks.

These were monumental changes for Detroit. During the 20th century, no city played a more important role in changing the world than Detroit. For decades Detroit was the international symbol of engineering innovation, business acumen and the economic growth that greatly raised standards of living and improved the quality of our lives. The most popular method of local travel was perfected in Detroit by entrepreneurs—Henry Ford, Will Durant, Alfred Sloan and Walter Chrysler—who established the leading vehicle firms and by the engineers including Henry Leland who developed the procedures that made possible the massive production of the precision parts needed for large scale manufacturing. In the early industrial age, workers produced a few objects every day using their tools and skills but, as soon as Henry Ford established his production line, thousands of unskilled men worked side by side at repetitious tasks turning out consumer goods of high quality and at low cost. Detroit's engineering inventions spread throughout the world and the city quickly came to symbolize the modern industrial era for the entire world. The quality of life for both workers and those who enjoyed manufactured goods greatly improved. Ford plants sprung up in many countries: the National Socialists in Germany in the 1930s called upon Ford to help them with their vehicle production and the Communists in Russia recruited Ford's favorite architect, Albert Kahn, to build massive tractor factories that still stand today. No technological development of the last century had a bigger impact than motor vehicles.

The modern blue-collar working class was a development of Detroit. From World War I through the 1950s, millions of Americans who lost their jobs on farms came to Detroit and other industrial centers where they earned much more money. Wages in the auto industry have always been relatively high. At first, the jobs were dangerous and dirty, so high pay rates were needed to recruit and retain workers. However, the amassing of thousands of workers in one plant gave union organizers the opportunity they needed. Shutting down a key plant effectively terminated the flow of profits to management. The IWW successfully organized the Everitt-Metzger-Flanders factory on Piquette before World War I, but it took the Roosevelt administration's 1935 Wagner Act—and many Sit-Down strikes in Detroit, Flint and other auto centers—for unions to gain recognition from the owners. Once they did, they effectively demanded higher wages.

Bitter labor management conflict continued after World War II, but booming auto sales in the late 1940s pressured the Big Three to settle quickly with the United Auto Workers. That union successfully obtained the employment benefits that most white-collar—and many blue-collar—employees now take for granted: wages that increase steadily with inflation, paid vacations, paid holidays, employer paid health insurance for both workers and their families, guaranteed disability payments and pensions. Governments in the Scandinavian nations mandated these generous policies for their residents. Once the UAW in Detroit won these gains for production line workers, the firms extended these benefits to their white-collar workers. Then unions won the same benefits in most other manufacturing industries. Later, state governments and the federal government adopted similar policies of steadily increasing wages and generous benefits. The prosperous blue-collar middle class

that was at the center of the nation's economic growth after World War II emerged first and most strongly in Detroit.

By 1940, the Wehrmacht controlled Europe from the Atlantic shores to the Russian border, while the Luftwaffe threatened to destroy London, then force Great Britain to capitulate as France, Austria and Poland had done. President Roosevelt's Lend-Lease program, shipped munitions from Detroit factories to the British. After Japan's Pearl Harbor attack, the United States entered the world's most devastating war and Detroit earned its sobriquet "The Arsenal of Democracy." The armaments, tanks, jeeps, ship engines and planes produced in Detroit allowed the Allies to defeat the German and Japanese dictators in less than four years. Without the Motor City, World War II would have been more prolonged and bloody.

Detroit's summers of discontent began with urban racial riots in 1964. By this time, observers recognized that prosperous whites and labor-intensive manufacturers were leaving older central cities places that had large stocks of humble workingmen's homes and tenements that were becoming slums. For several decades after World War II, it was assumed that continuing economic prosperity would minimize poverty but, by the 1960s, it became apparent that in the older cities, there was a large native-born American population living in poverty. The riots provoked President Johnson's administration into action with many programs to provide job training, to link low skill workers to employment, to provide social and welfare services and to minimize the problems of the ghetto. Mayor Cavanaugh quickly seized the opportunity and sought to have Detroit defined as the Model City when it came to solving problems. The Johnson Administration went along and sent generous federal dollars. Detroit was seen by many as progressive with regard to race since the city had relatively many blacks in appointed and elective positions. Additionally, Michigan's voters and the UAW had been bedrock supporters of the national Democratic Party since the Roosevelt years.

No longer does anyone call Detroit the Model City. The image of Detroit changed after the riots of 1967, the departure of Barry Gordy and the election of Mayor Young. It is now the most maligned and negatively stereotyped city in the nation. It is portrayed time and time again as a city of decaying housing, exceptionally high violence, extreme racial segregation, inept administrators, poorly performing schools, abandoned factories and once elegant but now dilapidated hotels, office buildings and mansions. The most frequently published picture of a home in Detroit is the Ransom Gillis residence, located near downtown Detroit at John R and Alfred. The urban critic Camilo Jose Vergara

shows this home time and again in his essays and books to illustrate that Detroit was once a prosperous city with magnificent mansions, but has turned its back on its heritage and is now an vast urban wasteland inhabited only by those too poor to leave.



RANSOM GILLIS HOME AT JOHN R AND ALFRED IN BRUSH PARK

Interestingly, there are many neighborhoods that have been revitalized in Detroit and numerous historic buildings have been restored to their original glory. These are overlooked in the effort to stereotype Detroit as the nation's most miserable city. If Camilo Jose Vergara had walked just one hundred

yards to the west of the Ransom Gillis home, he would have seen the elegantly restored Hudson-Evans home, another of the Victorian-era mansions of Brush Park. And if Vergara had walked around the Brush Park Historic District he would have seen quite a number of homes undergoing revitalization and as well as several hundred new condominiums.

The city of Detroit and its suburbs are permanently bonded. In the Coleman Young era, commentators suggested building a wall along Eight Mile Road to isolate the city with its largely black and often poor population from the prosperous white suburbs. But the metropolitan area cannot survive without the City of Detroit. If Detroit disappeared, more than 130,000 suburban residents would instantly lose their jobs. No longer could suburbanites enjoy the cultural center or have their ailments treated at Henry Ford, the Detroit Medical Center or St. John's hospital.



HUDSON-EVANS HOME AT 79 ALFRED IN BRUSH PARK

The metropolis would wither if Detroit closed, meaning that General Motor might move their headquarters to Cleveland or Seoul while Cadillac production might go to Oklahoma City and Jeep Cherokee production to St. Louis or Canada. No suburban county could afford the one billion or more dollars needed for new stadia from the Detroit Lions, the Red Wings and the Tigers.

The city of Detroit cannot survive without its suburban ring. Many of those who work and pay taxes in Detroit reside in the suburbs. The monies that support the increasingly prosperous entertainment, recreational and theatrical district adjoining Grand Circus Park and Campus Martius come from suburban residents. The new lofts and apartments built in Detroit near the waterfront and along Woodward from Hart Plaza to the Highland Park boundary are attracting residents from the city, the suburbs and from the rest of the nation.

II. DETROIT'S RESPONSE TO THE RIOT OF 1967

City officials, Michigan's governor, businessmen and foundation leaders recognized the devastating consequences of the riot for the metropolis, and knew that something must be done. For four decades since the riot, Detroit's leaders struggled—sometimes successfully, sometimes in failure—to both remake the city and give the entire metropolis a new vibrant image. If you were an urban planner or civic booster, just after the riot you might have suggested all of the following strategies to both reverse the terrific negative stereotyping of Detroit, and make the city both financially sound and appealing to developers, business owners, residents, and tourists.

- ***BUILD A MASSIVE AND ATTRACTIVE SYMBOL OF THE REVITALIZATION OF DETROIT, A SYMBOL THAT WOULD BE RECOGNIZED AROUND THE WORLD AS A SIGN OF THE CITY'S IMAGINATION AND POTENTIAL WHILE ALSO SERVING AS A CATALYST FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.***

Shortly after the urban violence, several of the most prosperous individuals in the metropolis, including Max Fisher of Marathon Oil and Henry Ford II, collaborated on a variety of projects designed to herald the rebirth of Detroit. As a result of their efforts and financial backing, the Renaissance Center complex was built on the riverfront—a series of huge office buildings surrounding a new structure that would be the city's tallest and serve as a hotel for those visiting the new Detroit that arose from the ashes of July, 1967. Everyone who flies into Detroit or spends time in the city's increasingly dynamic downtown sees the Renaissance Center. Indeed, when built, it was the largest construction project in the nation supported by private funds. Presumably, new firms would locate their offices in the Ren Center and the presence of so many well-paid workers would attract stores and restaurants.



DETROIT'S RENAISSANCE CENTER

The Ren Center got off to slow start. Some expected that the Ford Motor Company would move their headquarters from Dearborn to this building, but that never happened. Pessimists presumed that the office space in the Ren Center would attract firms from older downtown buildings, leaving them empty. That didn't happen either. In the late 1990s, General Motors found their impressive headquarters building designed by Albert Kahn in the New Center Area was

aging, so they purchased the Renaissance Center. This effectively spurred developments around the complex—and is generating residential development and shopping along the riverfront north of the Ren Cen fulfilling the expectations of its creators, albeit more slowly than they hoped.

- ***RECOGNIZE THAT DETROIT'S VEHICLE MANUFACTURING PLANTS WERE ANTIQUATED, SO ENCOURAGE FIRMS TO BUILD THEIR NEW PLANTS IN THE CITY AND ITS SUBURBS, RATHER THAN IN THE SOUTH OR ABROAD, THEREBY KEEPING THOUSANDS OF HIGH-PAYING, BLUE-COLLAR JOBS IN THE CITY.***

Mayor Coleman Young's administration devoted great efforts to attracting new plants to the city. General Motors' factory on Clark Avenue profitably turned out Cadillacs from World War I to the 1970s, but it could not easily be modernized. GM sought 600 acres for a new factory in the city, with the



**AMERICAN AXLE HEADQUARTERS
HOLBROOK AT I-75, DETROIT**



THYSSEN-KRUPP STEEL HEADQUARTERS
CHARLEVOIX AT CONNER, DETROIT

threat of shifting Cadillac production to Oklahoma. Mayor Young and Governor Milliken quickly identified a suitable place along the Detroit-Hamtramck border. This was a sparsely populated neighborhood of small working men's home with an elderly but racially integrated population. The city first encouraged residents to leave and then strongly pressured those who resisted. Ralph Nader used this occasion to generate his second major campaign against GM, arguing that the nation's largest firm, the mayor of the nation's sixth largest city and the governor of the mighty State of Michigan were forcing elderly persons from their homes and tearing down their churches so that a large firm could generate even more profits. Mayor Young stood his ground and, although the process was

slow with numerous court rulings, GM eventually built the modern and efficient Poletown plant, one that now produces Cadillacs and Pontiac Bonnevilles. Much less controversy—although considerable expense—was involved in Detroit's successful efforts to clear the industrial land on the East Side where Hudsons and Hupps were once built so that Chrysler could erect the large Jefferson North plant where Jeep Cherokees are assembled. Such efforts were not limited to auto makers nor did they stop at some point in the past. Thyssen-Krupp purchased the former Budd Company—a body maker—and then expanded their presence in Detroit with remodeled factories and office buildings. GM's Power Train division was sold to American Axle and, within a few years, this supplier modernized and expanded its plants in Hamtramck and Detroit and built the gleaming new office building that you see when you drive the Chrysler Expressway to or from downtown Detroit.

- RECOGNIZE THAT SUBURBAN RESIDENTS AND THE NATION'S VACATIONERS GENERALLY AVOID DETROIT BECAUSE OF THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF ITS DILAPIDATION, RACIAL CONFLICT AND CRIME. TO PROVE THAT THE CITY IS SAFE, DESIRABLE AND LIVELY; REVIVE DOWNTOWN DETROIT MAKING IT AN ENTERTAINMENT, RECREATIONAL AND CONVENTION CENTER. ATTRACT EVENTS THAT WILL DRAW SUBURBANITES AND VISITORS TO THE CITY ALONG WITH THEIR DOLLARS: POLITICAL CONVENTIONS; ALL-STAR GAMES AND THE SUPERBOWL.**

Downtown revival got off to a slow start after the Riot of 1967, but it picked up momentum during Coleman Young's later years in office, momentum that accelerated in the late 1990s. Mayor Young successfully convinced the Republicans to hold their 1980 convention



COMERICA PARK

in the Motor City, where they nominated Ronald Reagan. Ironically, political commentators attributed his victory that year to his effective courting of the votes of blue-collar Democrats typified by those who left the city of Detroit for Macomb County.

The Red Wings owners grew tired of massive, old Olympia Stadium out on Grand River and threatened to move to the suburbs unless the city provided a new arena for them. Mayor Young used city funds to build the new Joe Louis Arena that is now home to the nation's most financially successful hockey team. More than a decade later, both the Tigers and Lions welcomed their fans to new parks built downtown, but these were primarily funded by team owners.



FOX THEATER

Perhaps New York is the only US city with a more magnificent array of theaters than Detroit. The city's downtown has been revived by the investments the Illich family made in refurbishing Fox Theater, a venue whose annual ticket revenue is probably greater than that of any other theater in the nation. The Detroit Opera House was modernized, and Orchestra Hall, after languishing in disrepair for decades, was restored to its glory, and now anchors a performing arts complex along Woodward. When Judge Woodward drew up plans for Detroit in 1807, he presumed that Campus Martius would be a widely used focal point for the entire city. Land owners had little enthusiasm for

Woodward's plan and so Campus Martius was quickly surrounding by ordinary building that were replaced by more ordinary buildings as the generations passed. That changed recently. The impressive new Compuware Building not only drew into the city several thousand workers who formerly worked in the suburbs but graces a remodeled and beautiful Campus Martius. Now, it is a place for office workers to enjoy their lunches and listen to music on sunny days and for skaters in winter.

Mayor Young realized that new job opportunities and sources of revenue were needed if Detroit were to prosper. He knew what casino gambling accomplished—at least in terms of generating tax revenue—for Las Vegas and Atlantic City, so he proposed opening casinos in downtown Detroit. Many Detroit residents approved the mayor's defense of the city and his militant stances, but they also believed he ignored neighborhood development. Detroit's ministers opposed gambling and demanded a referendum. Perhaps as a symbolic show of opposition to the mayor, the voters blocked casinos. After Mayor Archer took office in 1994, three casinos were opened, casinos that are now building new facilities and the multi-story hotels that the city needs. Detroit plays a key role for Michigan with re-



CAMPUS MARTIUS

gard to gambling. Windsor, Ontario developed a booming gaming industry. In Canada, your winnings are not reported to the Internal Revenue Service and you can gamble—and drink—when you reach age 18. Were there no gambling in Detroit, Michigan and the US would lose a great deal of revenue.

- ***DEVELOP DETROIT'S INTERNATIONAL RIVERFRONT INTO THE CITY'S MOST ATTRACTIVE FEATURE. USE THE RIVER AS A FOCUS FOR BOTH RECREATION AND RESIDENCES MAKING IT A SYMBOL OF THE CITY'S BEAUTY AND CANADIAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP.***



OMNI HOTEL: THE FORMER PARKE DAVIS COMPLEX ON THE DETROIT RIVER

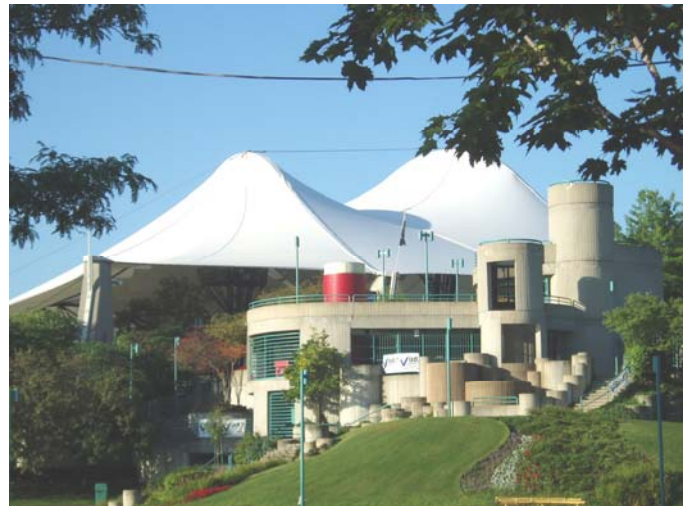
When ships were the mode of transportation, Detroit's riverfront was filled with grimy docks, warehouses, factories and rail sidings. As early as 1900, city planners proposed changes so that citizens could readily enjoy their river. Progress has been slow, partly because land owners are reluctant to surrender valuable property and partly because the industries along the river left toxins. The Ford Auditorium and the Hart Plaza were Detroit's first post-World War II investments in the riverfront. The Ren Cen capitalized upon one section of the riverfront, but did not encourage access to the magnificent waterway. Mayor Young sponsored the development of Chene Park, giving one example of how to use the river-

front for music and entertainment. The effective reuse of the huge Parke Davis complex is an example of converting the factories that lined the riverfront into upscale housing. Much more is happening at present. Thanks to donations from Detroit's leading foundations, to State of Michigan investments in parks, and to private developers, a renewal of the riverfront from downtown Detroit to the Belle Isle Bridge is well underway. Eventually, the huge area along East Jefferson at the MacArthur



LIVINGSTONE LIGHTHOUSE AT THE NORTH END OF BELLE ISLE

Bridge will become a park and commercial center. Well north of Belle Isle toward the city's border with Grosse Pointe Park, new residential



CHENE PARK

developments offer modern, new single-family homes along the banks of the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair. The younger among us may eventually see the development of the riverfront south of downtown toward the spectacular, but presently idle military buildings that comprise Fort Wayne.

- ***GIVEN THAT THE CITY'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARE OFTEN SEEN AS DEFICIENT ONES WITH POOR AND UNDERPERFORMING STUDENTS, INVEST HEAVILY IN SCHOOLS TO MAKE THEM A SYMBOL OF THE CITY'S STRENGTH, ITS REVIVAL AND ITS DEDICATION TO EDUCATING ITS YOUTH.***

The public schools of almost all large cities are thought to be ineffective. Few cities have been able to change that perception of their schools. Detroit, more so than most other cities, has tried. In the early 1990s, city's voters authorized spending 1.5 billion to build new and refurbish existing schools. Throughout Detroit, older school buildings have been remodeled, making them into attractive, appealing learning centers. The two most impressive new inner city high schools in the nation were recently completed in Detroit—Cass Tech located downtown at Cass Park, and the School for the Performing Arts on a campus that includes the refurbished Orchestra Hall and the new Max Fisher Center.



CASS TECH HIGH SCHOOL AT CASS PARK



UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT HIGH SCHOOL ON SEVEN MILE ROAD

Our surveys over the years reveal that Detroit parents are extremely dissatisfied with the city's traditional public schools. Perhaps this explains why there is a tremendous variety of educational options in Detroit—specialized public schools, charter schools affiliated with Michigan universities, schools administered by the Edison firm, a few traditional parochial schools affiliated with Catholic or Lutheran churches, as well as new religious schools including the small system of Cornerstone schools developed by the Catholic archdiocese.

Many in the city, the suburban ring and throughout Michigan believed the city's schools were poorly administered so Governor Engler engineered a State of Michigan takeover of the city's schools in 1996. Next year, residents of Detroit will once again control their public schools, but with more state supervision than in the past.



SCHOOL FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS NEAR ORCHESTRA HALL AND THE MAX FISHER CENTER

- ***REDUCE CITY, STATE AND FEDERAL TAXES TO ENCOURAGE THE REDEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY'S NEIGHBORHOODS MAKING THEM ATTRACTIVE PLACES TO BOTH LIVE AND TO ESTABLISH BUSINESSES.***

Jack Kemp led the Buffalo Bills to two American Football League championships. He also represented that city in Congress, then served as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in the first George Bush administration. Coming from Buffalo, he fully understood the tremendous financial challenges facing older cities with their shuttered factories and persistently declining populations. He proposed creating Empowerment Zones—places in older cities with potential for development. In such zones, federal taxes would be reduced for those who built new residences or factories and employers would get generous tax credits if they located there and hired local residents. They would also receive federal monies and tax credits to train Empowerment Zone residents for new and better jobs in their plants. The financial demands of the Gulf War prevented the first Bush Administration from implementing Empowerment Zones but, during President Clinton's Administration, a large Empowerment Zone was designated in Detroit, extending from the Grosse Pointe Park boundary in the north, along much of the waterfront down to the Delray neighborhood in the South. (For a map of the Empowerment Zone see: <http://www.detroit1701.org/EmpowermentZone1994.html>.)



**HOME OF TY COBB
4117 COMMONWEALTH
WOODBIDGE HISTORICAL DISTRICT**



SHERWOOD FOREST NEIGHBORHOOD

This stimulated residential development and the construction of some new plants. The federal empowerment zone is similar in its goals to the Enterprise Zones and Renaissance Zones established by the State of Michigan. In the Neighborhood Renaissance Zones, property taxes are reduced by 50 percent for ten years. Many of the new condos along Woodward from downtown to Highland Park benefit from tax credits. The smaller state of Michigan Renaissance Zones—currently 12 within the city—typically include buildings that have been abandoned,

such as the Lynch Road plant where Chrysler turned out Plymouths for generations, the Packard Plant and Tiger Stadium. Investors capitalizing upon opportunities in these zones are freed from paying city and state taxes for 15 years. To provide financial support for information technology entrepreneurs, there is now a Woodward Corridor Smart Zone centered about Wayne State. An extensive but complicated system of city, state and federal tax abatements is now place to attract investors and residents to numerous locations in Detroit. Changes in the state's code in 2006 will allow Detroit to designate about 45 additional areas for reduced taxes.

The zones mentioned above focus largely on jobs and new buildings, but there are similar programs seeking to revive Detroit's residential neighborhoods, especially those with historic homes and apartments. The National Park Service placed some Detroit neighborhoods, including the Mies van der Rohe district, the Palmer Park Apartment district, and the East Grand Boulevard residential area on the National Register of Historic Sites. Similarly, the State of Michigan designated historic districts within Detroit, such as the Eastern Market area and the beautiful Indian Village neighborhood, while the City of Detroit created about 65 Local Historic Districts including Brush Park, the Barry Subdivision, Sherwood Forest, the West Canfield district and Boston-Edison. On the one hand, living in an officially historic area has cache and suggests that homes are unlikely to be torn down, sold to a fast food chain or painted chartreuse. On the other, there are modest tax abatements for owners when they remodel or repair their residences, so long as the remodeling is historically consistent. Presumably, housing values ascend more rapidly in these historic districts than elsewhere.

- ***CAPITALIZE UPON THE CITY'S RICH CULTURAL HISTORY BY INVESTING IN ITS MUSEUMS, OPENING NEW ONES AND ENCOURAGING PUBLIC ART AND PUBLIC SCULPTURE ACROSS THE LANDSCAPE***

Detroit's capitalists amassed so much wealth between the late Nineteenth Century and the great Depression that they created a city with an exceptionally rich array of historic buildings, museums and public art. As Jose Camillo Veragra observes, only New York and Chicago have more buildings than Detroit illustrating the architectural ken of the first half of the Twentieth Century. Since the riot of 1967, many new sculptures have been put on display in the city and new museums opened. Detroit's Cultural Center has always been an attractive location, but its expansion in recent years and its increasing links to the appealing, even sylvan, campus of Wayne State and the intriguing campus of the Center for Creative Studies with its new Josephine Ford

sculpture garden make it even more valuable. The magnificent



**CHARLES WRIGHT MUSEUM OF
AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY**



**DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY
5201 WOODWARD AVENUE**

Detroit Institute of Art that Phillippe Cret designed has been modernized and expanded. Detroit's Public Library rivals those in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago but receives less attention. It became even more impressive with the addition of Millard Sheet's large, gleaming mosaic at the Cass Avenue entrance. The Detroit Science Museum has been rebuilt recently and, under Mayor Young's administration, modest city funding was provided to the new Charles Wright Museum of African American History. Indeed, its building is one of the most attractive modest sized museums in the country.

Throughout the city, older monuments and fountains have been cleaned and renewed. Perhaps the best example is the fabulous James Scott Fountain that Gilbert Cass designed for the southern tip of Belle Isle.

New monuments now remind us of the city's history and the accomplishments of its residents, such as the monument to those bold slaves who ended their bondage by crossing the Detroit River. Also at Hart Plaza are the graceful arches of the Michigan Labor Legacy Landmark—one of the nation's most impressive new monuments.



JAMES SCOTT FOUNTAIN ON BELLE ISLE



**MONUMENT COMMEMORATING THE SLAVES WHO
GAINED THEIR FREEDOM BY CROSSING THE
DETROIT RIVER INTO CANADA**



MONUMENT TO THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

III. DETROIT IN 2006: AN UPWARD TRAJECTORY OR CONTINUED DECLINE?

Despite the persistent efforts of Detroit's leaders to revitalize the city, the results are uncertain. An optimist will point to many encouraging signs and assert that critics lack patience. Perhaps Detroit sunk to a nadir in the early 1990s and is now on an unalterable upward trajectory. During the quarter-century from 1974 through 1998, an average of just 26 building permits for single family homes were issued in Detroit each year. Since 2002, that jumped up to 326 new single-family homes in the city annually. Within another decade or 15 years, Detroit might be recognized as the nation's most suc-

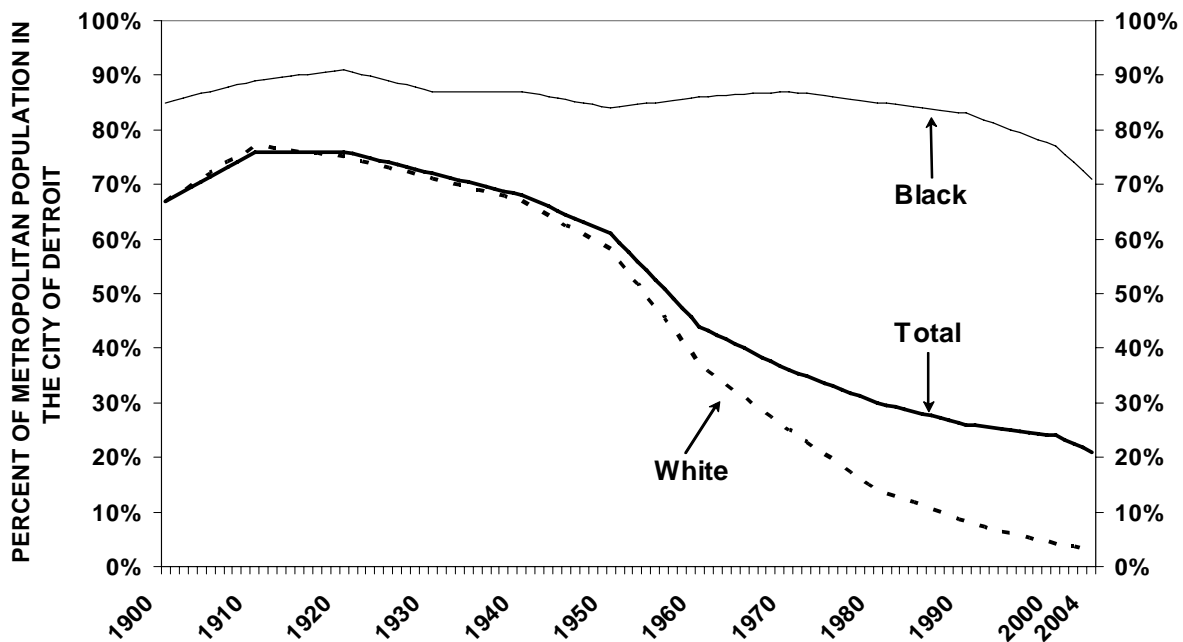
cessfully revived Rust Belt city as tourists visit the city's museums, theaters and sports venues in large numbers. A huge new convention hall may host the nation's largest trade shows and national political conventions. Perhaps the Detroit River will be lined with parks, while prices go up for thousands of condos, lofts and apartments—some in new buildings but many in the historic structures now found throughout the city. Developers might be competing vigorously for the major underutilized tracts of land within the city: Fort Wayne, the State Fairgrounds, City Airport, the Packard plant and Briggs Stadium.

A pessimist—some would contend, a realist—would emphasize a very different perspective:

- The city's population continued to drop rapidly: from 1.9 million in Census 1950 to a Census Bureau estimate of 896,000 in 2005. At the end of World War II, Detroit retained its rank as the fourth largest city trailing only New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Since then some large cities annexed outlying land and other grew spectacularly. By 2005 Dallas, Houston, Los Angeles, Phoenix, San Antonio, San Diego and San Jose surpassed Detroit in population. Between 1950 and 2004, the white population of the city decreased consistently at an average of 5 percent per year. The city's black population reached a peak around 1990 and is now slowly declining. Several neighborhoods in the city are revived and, for the first time in decades, may be growing in population but there is every reason to expect that Census 2010 will count many fewer Detroiters than Census 2000.

A city's population size merits consideration. Declines in population are often viewed as an index of problems. And a smaller population for Detroit means less clout in Lansing and Washington. But population size is certainly not the only important characteristics of a place. Boston, Washington and San Francisco are very much smaller, at present, than Detroit—about 60 percent as large. Those cities are the lively centers for large and prosperous metropolises. A Detroit with 750,000 residents could be the hub for a dynamic and economically successful metropolis.

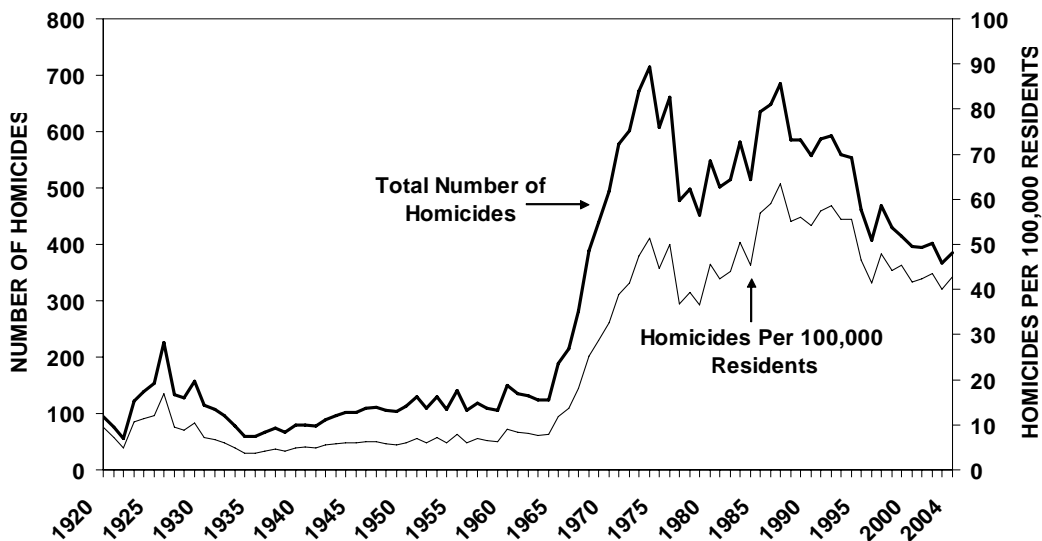
PERCENT OF THE THREE-COUNTY METROPOLITAN POPULATION LIVING IN THE CITY OF DETROIT, 1900 TO 2004



- Crime remains a problem. As the city's racial composition changed after World War II, many whites feared black criminals and believed that a forceful police presence was needed to protect whites from blacks. John Nichols, who served as police commissioner following the riots, created the STRESS (Stop Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets) squad. These officers were specially trained in surveillance and decoy operations to cut down on street crime. But they were viewed in the black community as a violent squad who may have killed as many as 22 black Detroiters in three years. Commissioner Nichols lost the 1973 election to Coleman Young who promptly terminated this unit.

The accompanying figure illustrates that homicides in Detroit increased rapidly between 1965 and 1973, perhaps because many residents armed themselves after the 1967 violence. In the early years of Mayor Young's administration the homicide rate fell, but then it soared to record highs in the late 1970s. Detroit's economy soured and the city became known as the nation's murder capital. Since 1985, the city's homicide rate has fallen. However, Detroit's homicide rate in 2004—43 killings per 100,000 residents—remains elevated compared with the rate in other large cities: a rate of 16 per 100,000 in Chicago; 14 in Los Angeles; 11 in Boston; 9 in San Francisco and only 7 homicides per 100,000 residents in New York.

NUMBER OF HOMICIDES IN THE CITY OF DETROIT AND HOMICIDES PER 100,000 RESIDENTS, 1900 TO 2004



- Signs of urban blight, decay and poverty are extremely evident in the city of Detroit. If you get off the freeways in Detroit and walk around or drive the side streets, you see many abandoned homes, retail stores that have been shuttered for a years, side-by-side with abandoned early automobile age factories nearby. Very few see these empty homes and buildings as opportunities for development. Rather, most observers take them as signs of despair and possible criminal activity. Shown below you see the once elegant mansion that Albert Kahn



PRECARIOUS WILLIAM LIVINGSTONE MANSION IN BRUSH PARK

designed for William Livingston—of Belle Isle Lighthouse fame. In an effort to save this architecturally significant home, it was moved to its present Brush Park on Eliot Street about a decade ago. A sign proclaims its rehabilitation but, in fact, the structure continues to deteriorate.



**BURNED HOME OF PHILETUS NORRIS
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC SITES**

Detroit's Philetus Norris was appointed by President Hayes to serve as the first superintendent of Yellowstone Park. His home is the last surviving structure from the village of Norris that was annexed by Detroit in 1890. Fittingly, the National Park Service lists Mr. Norris' home on the National Register of Historic Places. Now it is an especially ugly burned out home surrounded by a tall fence to keep ne'er-do-wells away.

Throughout Detroit, you find architectural relics that tell us much about the development of the automobile industry. All too often these are uncared for buildings that have not been used in decades. The building below—at the corner of Mack and Beaufait—was constructed in 1906 for the unsuccessful Aerocar firm but, by 1909, served as the successful launch point for the Hudson Motor Car Company that continued producing vehicles in Detroit until 1955.



**FIRST HUDSON PLANT
MACK AND BEAUFAIT IN DETROIT**

Census 2000 counted 34,500 unoccupied housing in the city of Detroit. In recent mayoralty campaigns, candidates have promised to raze the abandoned homes that stigmatize so many neighborhoods. A look at the record, shows only modest progress. During the last half of the 1990s, about 5,700 units were demolished each year but, in the first five years of this century, the average dropped to 2,500 annually. Only modest progress is being made in removing the eyesores that help deter the revitalization of many Detroit neighborhoods.

IV. DETROIT'S REVIVAL: WHAT WENT WRONG? WHAT WAS NOT ACCOMPLISHED?

Following the racial riots of the 1960s, President Johnson appointed Illinois Governor Kerner to head a commission to explain the causes of the riots that killed several hundred. The report was radically different from what President Johnson expected and unlike the bland reports of most federal commissions. It challenged the way Americans viewed race and urban poverty and called for the federal government to fundamentally change its policies. The Kerner Commission argued that city, state and federal governments failed to address the pervasive problems of the urban black poor, a group that often faced racial discrimination when they sought the employment, housing, educations and political opportunities most white Americans took for granted. The Kerner Commission stated:

“What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that the white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.”

They argued that the nation faced three choices:

- do nothing with the foreseeable consequence of more urban racial rioting
- gilt the ghetto so that schools, public services and job opportunities in urban black neighborhoods rival those of prosperous white suburbs
- promote racial residential integration

If nothing were done, the Kerner Commission warned, the nation's older metropolises would soon be riven into dissimilar and increasingly hostile components: a largely black and substantially impoverished central city surrounded by largely white and much more prosperous suburban rings. For most cities, the Kerner Commission's predictions were incorrect, indeed, dramatically wrong. They did not foresee the immigration of millions from Asia and Latin American, migrants who revived numerous decaying neighborhoods in many cities. Nor did they see the rapid migration of blacks from central cities to suburbs as the federal Fair Housing Law of 1968 opened suburbs to African Americans. The Kerner Commission had no knowledge of basic demographic shifts that increased the demand for downtown housing: much delayed married, much lower birth rates and more gay and lesbian couples who wish to live and work in downtowns. Nor did the Kerner Commission foresee the boom in medical sector and professional employment—typically located downtown. The Kerner Commission, however, correctly foresaw developments in metropolitan Detroit. Basically, the strategies implemented for recreating Detroit and the metropolis were insufficient for several reasons:

The Failure to Cope Successfully with Industrial Restructuring

Macro economic trends have not been favorable to metropolitan Detroit or Michigan. The adjustment to industrial restructuring has been rocky and unsuccessful. Historically, Michigan's rise to the top ranks of prosperous states was propelled by its natural resources and the industrial products made from them: first the white pine forests of the Lower Peninsula and then the copper and iron mines of the Upper; later to the thousands of manufacturing plants, especially those in the vehicle industry. Throughout the industrial era, manufacturing jobs were the highest paid and, since the end of World War II, have offered the most generous fringe benefits, thanks in large part to the successful efforts of the United Auto Workers. In 2003, workers in manufacturing in metropolitan Detroit earned an average of \$27.20 per hour. Those working in all other industries earned about seven dollars less for each hour on the job: \$19.90.

Detroit began losing industrial jobs as the older and least efficient plants closed in the 1950s, but this was offset by increases in manufacturing jobs in the suburban ring such as many plants came on

line in Warren, Wayne, Wixom, Flat Rock and dozens of other industrial suburbs. Manufacturing employment in the metropolis reached its peak just before the first energy crisis in 1973. From the early 1970s, through the late 1990s, total employment grew in the metropolis as new jobs in health care, education, finance, legal services and retail trade replaced those disappearing in manufacturing. In the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, employment in metropolitan Detroit grew about 1.1 percent per year—a reasonable growth rate, but a much lower rate than the national growth rate of 2 percent per year. Employer payrolls in the greater metropolitan area attained a peak at about 2.2 million jobs in 2000 but, since then, they have fallen.

The vehicle industry has not disappeared from Detroit or Michigan. Indeed, city and state officials can enthusiastically boast about their success in attracting new plants—within the city of Detroit: the GM Poletown and Daimler-Chrysler's Jefferson North assembly plant (1992), and a remodeling of the Daimler Lynch Road plant to manufacture differentials (2001). Close to the city there is the new 1.5 billion dollar Ford truck plant in Dearborn that opened in 2004, two new GM production plants in Lansing in this decade, a vastly remodeled Chevy truck plant in Flint, a new production plant for Mazda in Flat Rock now turning out Mustangs and, then in 2005, Daimler-Chrysler opened a new plant in Dundee, Michigan producing engines for their line-up of smaller cars. Just across the state line is the new Daimler-Chrysler Toledo North assembly plant (2001) for Jeeps.

Since Henry Ford initiated production lines, auto firms have been trimming labor costs. A prospering Automation Alley developed in Oakland County where innovative firms and imaginative engineers design the machines and computer programs that manufacture industrial goods of excellent quality with a minimum of human labor. It is not that auto and truck production has disappeared in Michigan. The Midwest has done reasonably well in retaining vehicle production. Rather, fewer and fewer blue collar jobs are required to produce the 13 or 14 million vehicles made in the US each year.

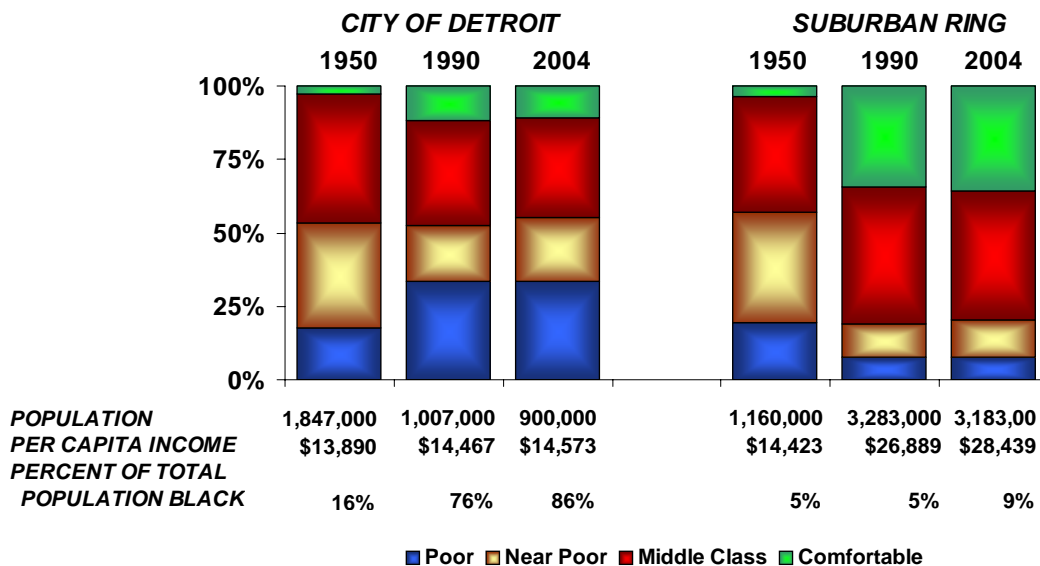
Most older metropolises faced a job-loss crisis beginning in the 1970, but it has greatly accelerated since the turn of the millennium. A few older metropolises have successfully turned around their economic base, thereby ending their loss of jobs and population. An expanding financial services industry in New York helped revive what was once the nation's most troubled city. Boston capitalized upon the boom in education and medical research to transform itself from a dormant place to lively, attractive one. While many neighborhoods in Chicago resemble troubled ones in Detroit, that city's has become a world center for trading options and, increasingly, an international convention center generating many jobs and gentrifying a necklace of neighborhoods around the Loop and along Lake Michigan's shore. In the 1950s, Washington was a moderate-sized, racially-polarized city but lobbying, drafting laws, and governmental administration led to a rapidly growing, high income metropolis and one that is more racially integrated. Metropolitan Detroit continues to see employment increases in some sectors: health care, the high tech end of the automobile industry and in professional services. However, Michigan and metropolitan Detroit will continue to face challenges in the future as the 700,000 manufacturing sector jobs located in the state will likely disappear quite quickly for the rest of this decade.

Failure to Minimize City-Suburban Differences

City-suburban gaps remain large, just as the Kerner Commission predicted they would. Race is the major factor distinguishing Detroit and its suburban ring. The Census Bureau's 2004 numbers revealed that the three-county suburban ring was 84 percent white, but only 9 percent black. The city of Detroit was just about the reverse: 86 percent African-American and 10 percent white. A largely white suburban ring surrounds an African-American city. Between 1970 and 2000, the number of jobs in the ring grew at an average annual rate of 2 percent but within the city of Detroit, the number of jobs declined by 2 percent each year.

There is another major difference between the city and the ring: economics. And this difference has been getting larger and larger. The figure below classifies the population of the city and the ring in 1950, 1990 and 2004 by their economic status. The vertical bars show the percentage of people who lived in households with pre-tax incomes below the poverty line—\$19,300 for a family of four in 2004; the percent near poor, that is households with income 100% to 199% the poverty line; the percent middle class, that is with incomes 200% to 499% of the poverty line and the percent comfortable. That meant having an income at least five times the poverty line or more than \$ 96,500 for a family of four in 2004.

***ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE RESIDENTS OF DETROIT AND THE THREE-COUNTY
SUBURBAN RING, 1950, 1990 AND 2004***



As white residents and jobs moved away from the city of Detroit, the city's poverty rate increased as shown by the growing size of the blue component of the vertical bars for Detroit. The large change for the city after 1950 was the increase in poverty and the decline in the relative size of the middle class as shown in red. However, there was also some growth in the percent of people with comfortable incomes in the city of Detroit. The percent impoverished in the city went up from 18 to 34 percent in the last half century, the percent in the economic middle class fell from 44 to 34 percent, but the percent with high incomes grew from 3 to 11 percent. Per capita incomes in Detroit rose, but at a glacier's speed, from about \$13,900 in constant 2004 dollars during the Truman Administration, to \$14,600 in 2004.

The story of economic change in the suburban ring is dramatically different. Back in 1950, the poverty rate was even higher in the ring than in the city but that changed as employment and population growth boomed in the suburbs. The poverty rate fell to 8 percent by the 1970s and has remained at that modest level while the proportion of suburban residents in the middle or comfortable class increased sharply. Per capita income just about doubled in the suburban ring between 1950 and the present while, in the city, it was up by only 5 percent.

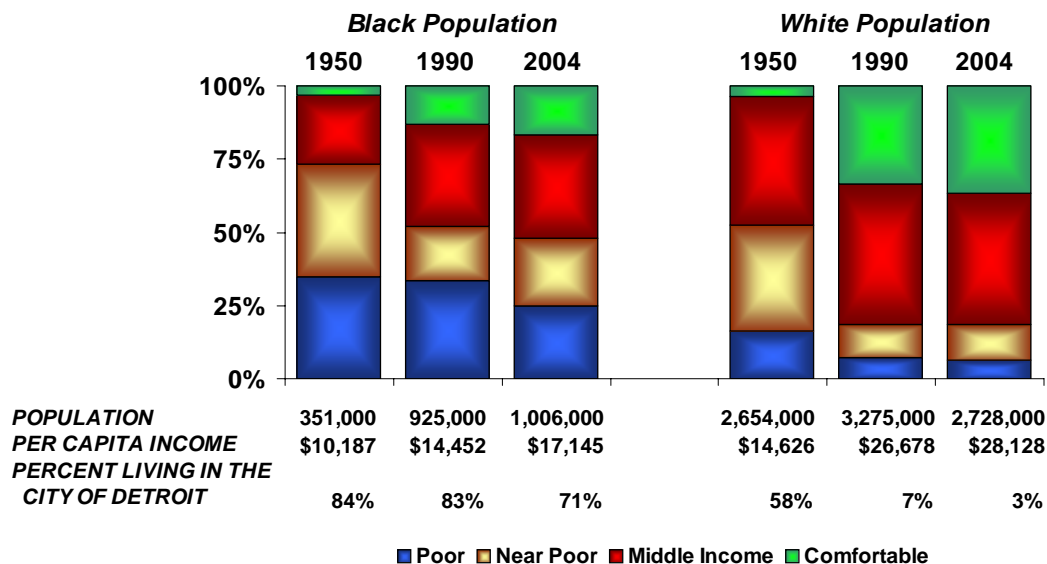
With regard to wealth and poverty, the city and the suburban ring continue to become more distinct. City of Detroit residents in 1950 had per capita incomes 96 percent those of suburban residents. Per capita income rose for city residents but at a very much slower rate than for the suburbs so, by 1990, city residents had incomes only 53 percent those of suburbanites. By 2004, that fell to 51 percent as much.

For the most part, the city and suburban governments have been competing rather than cooperating. Each municipality promotes its own economic and residential developments. There are no effective joint efforts to establish a modern metropolitan transportation system that benefits both city and suburban residents. Nor is there cooperation to build the huge exposition and convention center that will be needed if the metropolis is to become a Mecca for largest trade shows and conventions. Governors and state legislatures have not promoted thoughtful discussions of what governmental functions might best be handled at the metropolitan level and which should be left to individual locations. Governor Engler successfully managed a state take-over of administrative responsibilities for the Detroit's public schools but that did not provoke any consideration of a cost-saving reorganization of one-hundred or more districts that now provide education in metropolitan Detroit.

Minimal Success in Minimizing Racial Gaps

While the city continues to fall further behind the suburban ring on economic indicators, there are modest—but only modest—signs of a narrowing of black-white differences in economic status. The figure below classifies blacks and whites in metropolitan Detroit by their economic status, just as the previous figure compared city and suburban residents.

ECONOMIC STATUS OF BLACKS AND WHITES IN THE THREE-COUNTY DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA, 1950, 1990 AND 2004



Thomas Sugrue, author of *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, and others who describe Detroit's recent history, emphasize the loss of auto industry jobs. Sometimes they imply that there was once a golden age when white and black men moved to Detroit and quickly found high paying jobs. Some did but, in terms of economic prosperity, there was never a time when Detroit's blacks were ex-

tremely well-off. Black men were employed in manufacturing in large numbers but, with the possible exception of World War II when the federal government's Fair Employment Practices rules guaranteed equal opportunities, they were confined to the lowest wage jobs. Jim Crow practices after World War II, kept blacks out of the skilled trades and out of management. Most professions and white collar jobs in Detroit were closed to blacks with the exception of a few governmental positions. Until the 1950s, black women were confined to domestic service as their occupational ghetto.

As the figure shows, 35 percent of the metropolitan black population lived below the poverty line in 1950—a time when Detroit's factories dominated auto production. The civil rights story for Detroit in the 1940s and 1950s should emphasize the unrelenting efforts of numerous organizations to get downtown stores to hire blacks, to get the city's brewers to hire blacks drive their delivery trucks and to get the Detroit Tigers to put a black in their line up. The Tigers resisted mightily, but Detroit's civil rights groups forced them finally to hire a black player 11 years after Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers. The Civil Rights Revolution of the 1960s produced even more change by breaking down the restrictions that, in Detroit and elsewhere, reserved the highest paying and most prestigious jobs for white men. The results are encouraging. It is no longer a surprise to find black physicians attending to us in a medical center, to find black administrators processing our loan applications at banks or to be stopped for speeding by an African American trooper. A significant fraction of the African American population took advantage of new opportunities, invested in education or started their own business and moved into better jobs. In 1950, only one-quarter of metropolitan Detroit blacks were in the economic middle class if that means having a household income twice the poverty line. Despite the loss of manufacturing jobs, this grew to more than one half of blacks in 1990. The removal of the Jim Crow occupational barriers was also followed by the emergence of an African American economic elite. One-sixth of the metropolitan black households, by 2004, had incomes more than five times the poverty line. The city's elegant neighborhoods with their expensive homes—Boston-Edison, Indian Village, North Rosedale Park, Palmer Woods, Sherwood Forest—are racially integrated, but are home to a large and prosperous black population not found in Detroit before the Civil Rights Revolution. As this figure shows, the per capita purchasing power of blacks rose by 70 percent between 1950 and 2004. And yet, the per capita purchasing power of African Americans today is about what it was for whites in the Eisenhower years.

That is the optimistic half of the story. The poverty rate for blacks early in the twenty-first century in metro Detroit was 25 percent. Undoubtedly, today's poor are better off than were the impoverished in 1950 since housing conditions are improved, federal and state programs provide health care and educational attainment is greater. Nevertheless, a significant, albeit declining, fraction of Detroit-area blacks are not faring well in the restructured job market. Some would point to the absence of manufacturing jobs, but when Detroit factories were running at capacity black poverty was even more pervasive. Some point to continuing discrimination, especially against black men who seek jobs but lack college credentials while other stress the consequences of residential segregation; e. g., a concentration of black residents in the city of Detroit where jobs are declining and the absence of a transportation system that might carry them to the suburban employment. Still others emphasize that many poor people make self-defeating decisions; e.g., young women who bear too many children too early or young men who dedicate themselves to sports or music rather than their studies or who engage in activities that will, foreseeably, lead to incarceration. Few, if any, effective local or national programs accelerate the movement of the minority poor into the stable middle class.

The trajectory for economic change was identical for whites and blacks in metro Detroit since the end of World War II. But whites began with many more economic resources and continue to be much more prosperous than blacks. As Eminem's, *Eight Mile*, reminded us, there are clusters of poor whites in Detroit's suburban ring. Indeed, the Census Bureau's 2004 survey counted 82,000 white households in metropolitan Detroit with cash incomes so low they were impoverished. Nevertheless,

favorable economic trends and government policies greatly increased the income and wealth of Detroit area whites: generally increasing wages for white men for much of the recent period, the almost universal employment of wives in recent years and annual increases in Social Security payments. The consequences have been beneficial for metropolitan whites: a doubling of per capita income since 1950 while black per capita income rose 70 percent.

Few successful efforts have been made to bridge the huge racial divide in metropolitan Detroit: either the economic gaps or white mistrust of blacks and black mistrust of whites. President Clinton called for a national discussion about race. There has been no such call in Michigan. No state or local authorities have successfully promoted a merging of city and suburban efforts with regard to economic development, educational challenges, public transportation or parks. No one has called for an equalization of tax rates in the city and suburbs so as to provide similar services. Primarily white suburbs still compete with the overwhelmingly black city for new businesses and for the funds flowing from state and federal governments. No philanthropic foundation in metropolitan Detroit strongly encourages either racial integration or city-suburban cooperation on key issues. No Michigan university supports an institute focused upon analyzing the racial issues that isolate blacks from whites and the city of Detroit from its suburbs.

Rather than promoting interracial cooperation, civic leaders have sometimes emphasized racial divisiveness. In his inaugural speech in 1973, Mayor Coleman Young called for the city's criminals to hit Eight Mile Road. Presumably, he meant that his police force would crack down on street crime, but suburban residents assumed he meant that the city's thieves should work the suburbs rather than the city. In 1986, *Sports Illustrated* presented the city with a gift of sculpture commemorating the centenary of the Detroit Institute of Art. Robert Graham showed the strong forearm and massive fist of the city's greatest athlete, world champion Joe Louis. The Young Administration placed it in the city's busiest intersection—the corner of Woodward and Jefferson. Many in the suburbs assumed this was Mayor Young's black power salute to the whites who encircled his city. In most of his mayoralty campaign, Mayor Young typically faced only token opposition, so he served for a score of years. When the grandson of Joe Louis, Thomas Barrow mounted a strong campaign in 1989, Mayor Young asserted that he represented the interests of black Detroit residents while if Mr. Barrow were victorious, he would promote the interests of white suburbanites, not the black residents of the city. L. Brooks Patterson, served as prosecutor in Oakland County and then three terms as the executive of that suburban county, a time when it grew rapidly and attracted many new factories, office complexes and elegant shopping centers. He also came to symbolize strident suburban opposition to Coleman Young and Detroit, stressing that the city's problems resulted from the failures of its administration and the deficiencies of its residents.

The Failure to Make Detroit a Port-of-Entry for International Migrants

Census 2000 reported surprising findings about the nation's big cities. Since 1950, most of the older cities in the Northeast and Midwest had been losing population but, during the 1990s, eight of the 10 largest grew in population —Philadelphia and Detroit being the exceptions. Growing big cities now serve as ports of entry for migrants from Asia, Mexico and Latin America who revitalize old neighborhoods and promote economic growth. To be sure, these immigrants compete with the native born for some jobs but migrants from abroad typically fill jobs where American workers are scarce—the high-skilled jobs in science, professional sports, engineering and medicine—or the low wage jobs that US high school graduates avoid: raking asphalt, busing dishes, running small businesses in low-income neighborhoods and cleaning hospital rooms.

Within Detroit, a vibrant but slowly growing Mexican neighborhood thrives along Vernor Highway in the southwest; a small Bengla Village with Bosnian and Bangladeshi residents is bisected

by Conant near the Detroit-Hamtramck border and a Chaldean neighborhood sits astride Seven Mile at John R near the Sacred Heart Church that Sadaam Hussein donated to Detroit's Iraqi Catholic community. These are exceptions. Compared to many large cities along the seacoasts, some in the South and to the one Midwestern port of entry—Chicago; metropolitan Detroit misses opportunities for economic growth because it attracts so few international migrants. There have been no prominent discussions of the economic stimulation provided by immigration. The State of Michigan and the City of Detroit have no offices in Asia or Latin America promoting economic and population growth by encouraging migration to this region.

The Absence of Planning for Population Declines

Every municipality, county, and state in this country is a growth machine. Local developers typically seek to retain the jobs and population they have while encouraging new employment and more residential construction so that tax bases will expand, incomes go up and the quality of life improve. Our economic system is based upon the assumption of continued economic and population growth, both nationally and in the 50 states and their municipalities.

The city of Detroit's population in 2005; 887,000; is just about what it was when Henry Ford introduced the world to the automobile age by getting his production line running efficiently. Population decline is common in the Rust Belt. Buffalo's residents in 2005 were only 45 percent as numerous as in 1950 and that city's population is now back to the point it reached on the upswing when its favorite son, Grover Cleveland, ran for president in the 1890s. Pittsburgh's population at the start of the 21st century is only 43 percent of its World War II size. Pittsburgh returned to the size it attained in the mid-1880s. The current population of St. Louis is the same as the city had in the Reconstruction Era when President Grant served in the White House. The Census of 1920 counted almost one million residents of Cleveland; 452,000 live there now. These cities support infrastructures that one served twice as many residents.

Inner ring suburbs report large drops in population. Many more will do so in the next decades. The three county—Macomb, Oakland, and Wayne—suburban population reached its peak in the 1990s and is now declining, attributable to low fertility and the absence of US or international migrants. Highland Park's population is only 29 percent of what it was when the stock market crashed in October, 1929. Although Hamtramck's has grown since 1990 thanks to immigration, its residents were almost three times as numerous in 1930 compared to 2005. River Rouge lost 55 percent of its residents after 1950 and Ecorse, 61 percent. Dearborn Heights lost thirty percent of its population since 1970.

Rapid population and job growth are marvelous elixirs for any area. For developers and mayors, the key issue is how to the new neighborhoods, shopping centers, and schools that follow population growth. Where there's population increase, property values—and tax revenue—typically go up rapidly and steadily.

Policy makers and politicians have devoted no thoughts to coping with sustained population declines. Some federal programs provide limited assistance to local government impacted by growth, be it due to a military base or persons displaced by natural calamities. But there are no such programs to help areas cope with the massive out migration of jobs and people. Mayors, civic leaders and neighborhood leaders gracefully accept accolades when they open new schools, new parks and new fire stations. They are unlikely to show up when they have to close such facilities because their city lost 20 or 30 percent of their population in a couple of decades. So long as our political-economic system assumes that older metropolises have to grow themselves back to prosperity on their own, the Buffalos, Clevelands, Pittsburghs and Detroitis will face challenges.

IV. HOW DO PEOPLE IN METROPOLITAN DETROIT THINK ABOUT RACIAL ISSUES

Race and residence are linked in metropolitan Detroit in a manner not typical of metropolitan America. Indeed, they are linked in exactly the manner the Kerner Commission described when they issued their report 37 years ago. The *Chocolate City-Vanilla Suburbs* song describes metropolitan Detroit today just as it did in the 1960s when it was frequently played on soul music stations.

To understand the racial, social, economic and political shifts that shape this metropolis, the University of Michigan sponsored an annual Detroit Area Study from 1952 through 2004. Large samples of adult residents of Macomb, Oakland and Wayne counties were personally asked their views about key issues in face-to-face interviews conducted in the respondent's home. The primary author of this report led the 1976, 1992 and 2004 studies that focused upon racial issues: how blacks and whites thought about each other and how race influenced where people worked, lived or wanted to live. The sample size included 1,134 respondents in 1976; 1,543 in 1992 and 734 in 2004. At all dates, African-American neighborhoods were oversampled.

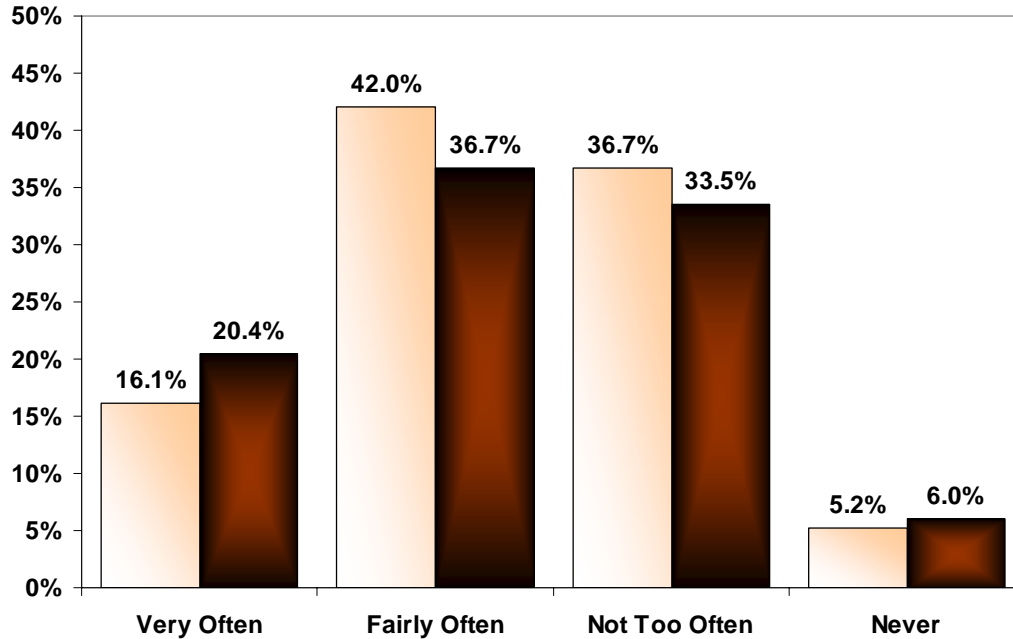
Critics often assert that surveys do not provide useful information since respondents tell interviewers what they think the interviewer wants to hear. This view is wrong and demeans all respondents but, in fact, race of interviewer does have an effect on responses when sensitive racial questions are posed. In our studies, we attempted to match race of interviewer and race of respondent. To further minimize the effect of race of interviewer, in 2004 we used laptops and had respondents self-administer racial questions. The respondent did not tell the interviewer how he or she felt about racial issues.

Do Whites and Blacks Feel Sympathy for the Other Race?

Many portrayals of metropolitan Detroit emphasize the negative and convey the impression that suburban whites blame blacks for their own problems while central city blacks may believe that the suburban white population is basically hostile toward the city and its residents. We wished to investigate whether members of each race were hostile toward the other. Or, quite the contrary, did they recognize the challenges the other race faced and sympathize with them? In the 2004 survey, we asked whites: *How often have you felt sympathy for Blacks and their families?* Blacks were asked the identical question about whites. Results are shown below:

Those who stress black-white contentiousness may be surprised to learn that many Detroit area African Americans frequently feel sympathy for whites and their families. And, equally surprising, whites frequently report feeling sympathy for African-Americans. That is, 57 percent of blacks said that they very or fairly often felt sympathy with the much more prosperous and largely suburban white population. Almost the same percent of whites—58 percent—reported feeling sympathy for blacks very or fairly often. This question only touches the surface of racial issues but the findings unambiguously suggest that rather than blacks and whites viewing each other with hostility, they frequently sympathize with the other race.

***DO DETROIT-AREA WHITES AND BLACKS FREQUENTLY OR SELDOM FEEL SYMPATHY
FOR THE OTHER RACE?***



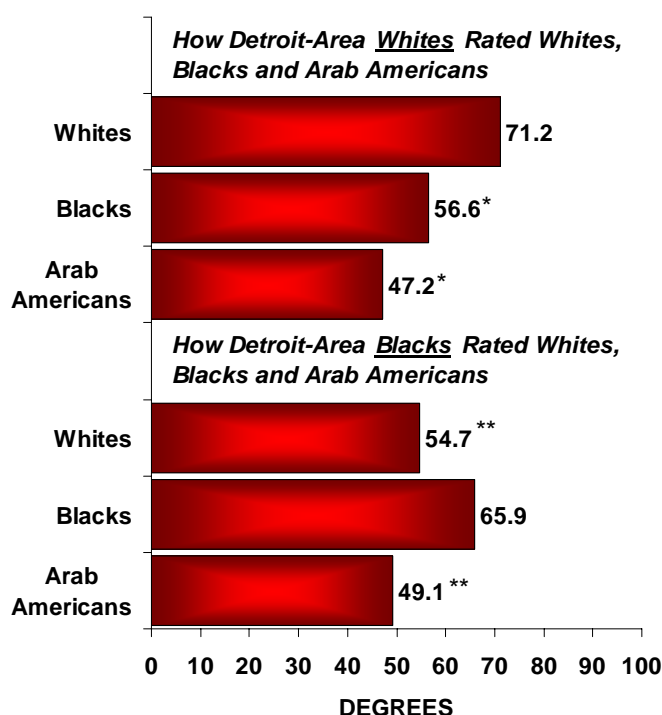
Rating Whites, Blacks and Arab-Americans on the Feeling Thermometer

To assess how members of one race feel about another race, survey investigators have used a “feeling thermometer.” Respondents are presented with a picture of a thermometer and asked to rate their own race and other races at a specific temperature. They are told that ratings above 50 mean that they feel favorably toward a race while ratings below 50 mean that they do not care too much for that race. Respondents who felt neither warm nor cold about a race were told to assign a temperature of 50. We asked all respondents in the 2004 survey to rate whites, blacks and Arab-Americans on the feeling thermometer. At first glance, this may not seem like a sophisticated measure of racial preferences but the temperatures people assign to races quite strongly predict their preferences for contact with the other race. Detroit area blacks who ranked whites low on the thermometer were much less enthusiastic about having a close relative marry a white than were blacks who gave the white race high temperatures. Whites who ranked blacks at high temperatures more strongly supported government programs to improve the economic status of African Americans than did whites who assigned low temperatures to blacks.

The figure below shows how blacks and whites in the Detroit area in 2004 rated whites, blacks and Arab-Americans.

When given the thermometer, whites reported highly positive evaluations of their own race—an average temperature of 71. They typically placed blacks well above the 50 degree mark, meaning they have some feeling of warmth for blacks, but whites ranked blacks significantly lower than whites: 15 points lower to be specific. When we look at the temperatures that blacks assigned, we see similar scores but with the races reversed. Blacks, on average, placed themselves at 66 degrees, while ranking whites significantly lower at 55 degrees. These temperatures reveal ethnocentric feelings, meaning that each race has significantly warmer feelings for their other race than for the other.

**HOW DETROIT-AREA WHITES AND BLACKS RATED WHITES, BLACKS AND ARAB AMERICANS
ON THE FEELING THERMOMETER**



* Indicates that whites assigned significantly lower temperatures to blacks and Arab-Americans than to whites.

** Indicates that blacks assigned significantly lower temperatures to whites and Arab-Americans than to blacks.

Although the Asian and Spanish-origin population have grown recently, Arabs are the largest minority in metropolitan Detroit, so we included them in the feeling thermometer. Whites and blacks share similar—and rather cool—feelings about Arab Americans. They were scored below the 50-degree mark, suggesting that negative feelings outweighed positive feelings. Interestingly, there was no significant black-white difference in the temperatures assigned to Arab-Americans. Our sample included too few Arab-Americans to determine how they rated blacks and whites.

Beliefs about the Abilities and Behavior of Your Own Race and the Other Race

How whites compare themselves to blacks

The decisions we make are strongly influenced by our beliefs. Often these are generalizations—sometime accurate, sometime flawed. We assume that a political party represents our interests, so we vote for a candidate of that party even if we know little about her accomplishments. We buy one marque of car or truck and avoid another because we believe that one manufacturer produces much better vehicles than the other. We may prefer to recruit and promote employees who have been trained in a specific school system or college because we believe they received an excellent education. And we may decide to look for new homes in specific neighborhoods because we believe people living there work hard, keep up their property, will be easy to get along with and have children who are good students in the schools.

Racial stereotypes have been influential throughout the nation's history. Until the late 1940s, blacks were kept off professional sports teams, at least in part because of a belief that they lacked the stamina to play competently for an entire season. One of the justifications for racially-segregated schools in the distant past was the widespread belief that blacks were not as intelligent as whites, so they could not learn at the same pace as whites. And, in the 1980 presidential campaign, candidate Reagan often mentioned a welfare queen in Chicago who purchased an expensive car every year with the many welfare checks that she cashed. Candidate Reagan never mentioned her race, but everyone was aware of the strong link between welfare reciprocity and race.

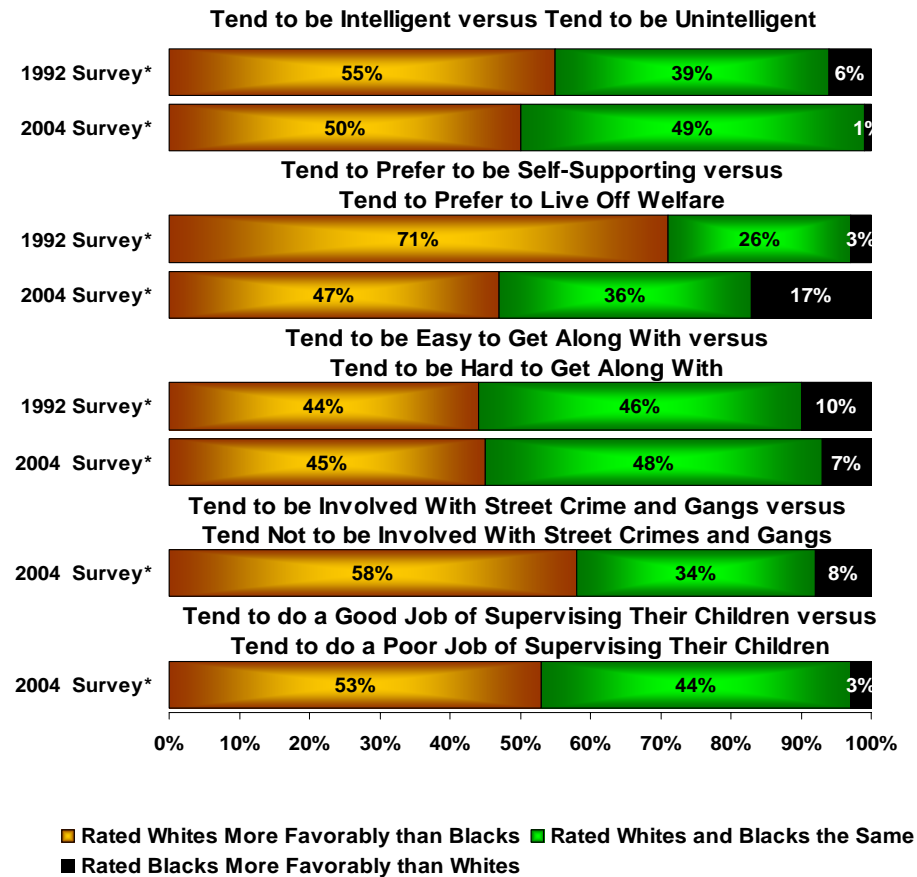
The Civil Rights Revolution—and the laws that followed—emphasized that individuals should be evaluated on the basis of their own achievements and not denied opportunities because of widespread beliefs about their race or ethnicity. Do Detroit-area whites and blacks continue to believe racial stereotypes? It is not easy to measure racial stereotypes, but they are important and influence decision making. However, we approached this important topic by asking individuals to rate their own race and then the other race on seven-point scales with regard to the following important abilities or behaviors:

- *Tend to be intelligent versus Tend to be unintelligent*
- *Tend to prefer to be self-supporting versus Tend to prefer to live off welfare*
- *Tend to be easy to get along with versus Tend to be hard to get along with*
- *Tend to not be involved with street crime and gangs versus Tend to be involved in street crime and gangs*
- *Tend to do a good job of supervising their children versus Tend to do a bad job of supervising their children*

Using laptop computers, each respondent—without speaking to the interviewer—placed their own race and the other race at points on scales that ran, for example, from *tend to be intelligent* to *tend to be unintelligent*. The highest positive score was 7 points; the lowest possible score was 1. A black respondent, for instance, who thought there was no racial difference in intelligence might place both blacks and whites at 5 points on the scale that ran from *tend to be intelligent* to *tend to be unintelligent*.

The panel below reports the responses of whites to these five items that measure what whites believe about their own race and about blacks. Rather than listing dozens of numbers, we summarize by showing the percent of whites who rated whites more favorably than blacks, the percent who rated whites and blacks at exactly the same point and then the small percent of whites who rated blacks more favorably than whites. The 1992 survey asked the questions about intelligence, welfare dependency and easy or hard to get along so findings from that survey are also displayed.

**HOW DETROIT-AREA WHITES RATED WHITES AND BLACKS WITH REGARD
TO THE FOLLOWING CHARACTERISTICS**



*Indicates that white respondents gave significantly more positive scores to whites than to blacks.

Half of whites in the 2004 survey thought that whites tended to be more intelligent than blacks, while roughly the same percent of whites thought that blacks and whites tend to be equally intelligent. There was no significant change from 1992 to 2004 in how whites viewed the racial difference in intelligence. About one-half of whites endorse the belief that whites having an advantage over blacks with regard to intelligence but one-half of whites rejected the idea that whites had an edge on blacks when it came to intelligence.

Comments about poor inner-city neighborhoods in the 1970s and 1980s often mentioned welfare dependency. A consensus emerged that rather than helping the poor move to the middle class, the well-intentioned federal programs encouraged some people, especially black women, to depend upon monthly checks from the government. President Clinton promised to end welfare as we knew it and, in 1996, signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act that not only placed strict limits on the receipt of welfare, but required most beneficiaries to take a job. In the 1992 Detroit survey, almost three quarters of whites said that blacks were more likely than whites to prefer to live off welfare rather than be self-sufficient. That changed greatly. In 2004, a minority of whites saw blacks as more likely than whites to prefer living off welfare rather than work. Surprisingly, by

2004, one white in six said whites were more likely than blacks to prefer to live off welfare. There was a significant and large change in how whites viewed blacks in this regard attributable, perhaps, to the new law with its time limits and work requirements. Political candidates in the future will not be able to stigmatize blacks as welfare dependent.

Competing images of African Americans have been in our popular culture for decades. One, as portrayed in the *Amos and Andy* radio shows and by *Aunt Jemima* with her pancakes, suggested that blacks were jovial and shrewd people who were very easy to get along with. An opposite characterization suggested that blacks were aggressive and often hostile, so whites should be careful when dealing with blacks lest, as the old expression put it, if whites gave an inch, blacks would take a mile. Respondents in both 1992 and 2004 were asked how they rated their own race and the other with regard to being easy or hard to get along with. The results are not surprising. In both years, about 45 percent of whites said that whites were easier to get along with than blacks, while a similar percent said there was no racial difference. From 1992 to 2004, there was no significant change in how whites viewed the racial difference in being easy or hard to get along with. Whites typically think whites are easier to get along with, but in both years, about one white in ten thought that blacks were easier to get along with than whites.

Fears about traveling through some Detroit neighborhoods are based upon beliefs about crime. We know a great deal about racial differences in victimization and incarceration. Blacks are, statistically, much more likely to be the victims of crimes and to be put in jail. We do not know whether whites think blacks are much more prone to criminal behavior than whites. We asked respondents, in 2004, to give us their confidential rating of both races with regard to tending to be involved in street crime and gangs or tending not to be involved. This is the item where whites see the largest racial difference. About six whites in ten told us that they thought blacks tended to be more involved in street crime than whites. This was also the item where the smallest percent of whites saw no racial difference—only 34 percent thought whites and blacks were equal with regard to their involvement in street crime.

Our study sought to determine the causes of continued racial residential segregation. We presume that many parents with children consider the reputation of local schools when they select new neighborhoods. Some whites may avoid neighborhoods where the schools mostly enroll African American children since they believe that black children are not interested in education and, when they get to their teen years, engage in illegal activities. This prompted our question about racial differences in intelligence, but we also wondered if blacks and whites thought that parents in both races did an equally good job of raising children. We asked respondents to rate their own and the other race with regard to whether parents tend to do a good or tend to do a bad job of supervising their children.

Once again, we found that whites typically gave more favorable scores to whites than to blacks. That is, 53 percent of whites confidentially reported they thought whites did a better job of supervising their children while 44 percent thought that whites and blacks tended to be equally successful as parents.

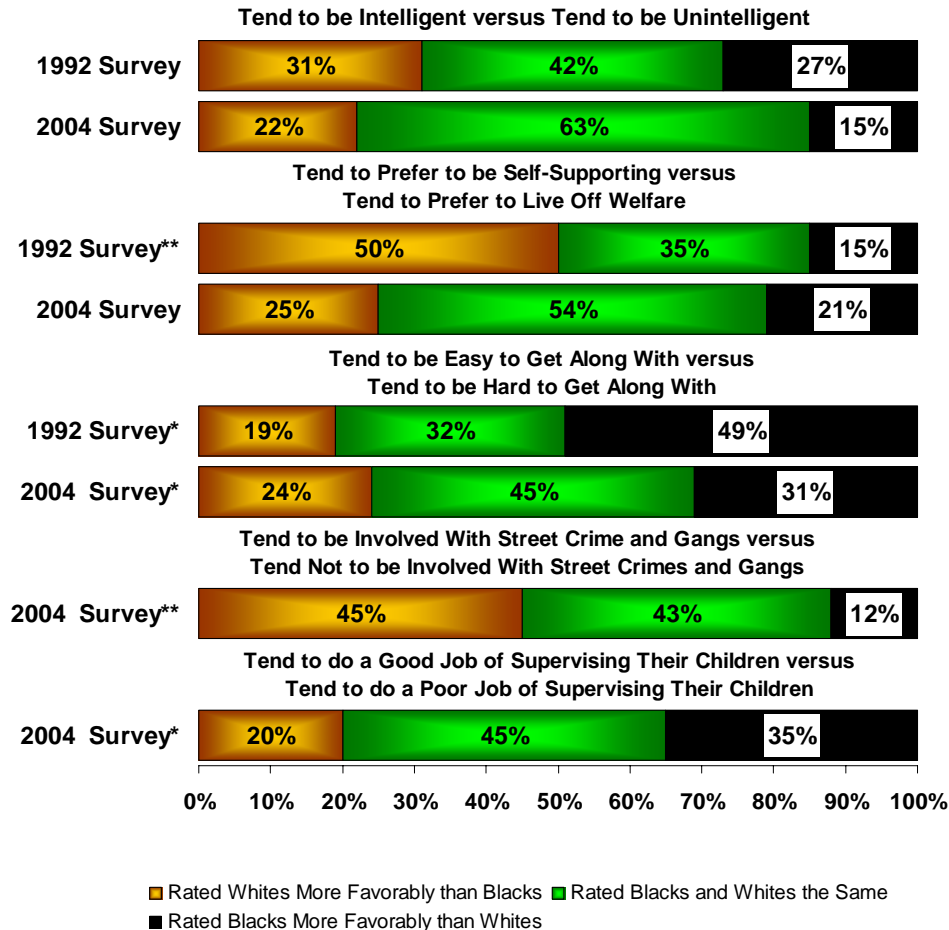
Many Detroit area whites believe that races do not differ with regard to the characteristics we measured. About half of whites see no racial difference in intelligence and almost half think that blacks are just as easy to get along with as whites. Indeed, 13 percent of whites placed both races at the same point on every one of the five scales. They clearly reject racial stereotypes and believe the races are similar. Nevertheless, most whites apparently endorse racial stereotypes since they hold more favorable beliefs about their own race. Indeed, on every item in both years, whites gave whites significantly more positive scores than blacks. We do not argue that these beliefs are responsible for continued residential segregation or for the high rate of black poverty in Detroit. Nevertheless, they

may be influential when whites make decisions about where to live, whom to add to their payroll and whether to visit or shop in the city of Detroit.

How blacks compare themselves to whites

Blacks were asked the same questions about racial stereotypes as whites. The figure below summarizes the information we obtained from African Americans in 1992 and 2004.

HOW DETROIT-AREA BLACKS RATED WHITES AND BLACKS WITH REGARD TO THE FOLLOWING CHARACTERISTICS



* Indicates that blacks gave significantly more favorable scores to blacks than to whites.

**Indicates that blacks gave significantly more favorable scores to whites than to blacks.

African Americans reject the stereotype that there are racial differences in intelligence. True enough, a fraction of blacks endorse the stereotype that whites are more intelligent than blacks, while others rated blacks as more intelligent. But, on average, blacks placed their own race and whites at the same point on this scale. In 2004, for instance, about two-thirds of blacks saw no racial difference in intelligence.

The stereotype about blacks preferring welfare was widely held. Half of the blacks in the 1992 survey thought that African Americans were more likely than whites to prefer to live off welfare. Just as the beliefs of whites about racial differences in welfare dependency shifted dramatically, so too did those of blacks. By 2004, African Americans saw no significant racial difference in tending to prefer self-sufficiency to welfare whereas whites still see blacks as more likely than whites to prefer welfare.

Whites and blacks had opposite views about which race was the easier one to get along with. Whites rated whites as easier to get along than blacks, while African American thought their race was the easier race to get along with. These racial differences were significant in both years. However, there has been an important shift among African Americans. The percent of blacks who thought whites were just as easy as blacks to get along with went up significantly in the 12 year span, perhaps an indicator of an improvement in race relations. That is, blacks are now less likely than in the past to rate whites as hard to get along with.

Whites believed that blacks were more likely than whites to be involved in street crime and gangs. It may surprise some to learn that blacks told us the same thing. That is, while 43 percent of African Americans in 2004 said there was no racial difference in involvement in street crime and gangs, 45 percent of blacks thought blacks were more involved in crime than whites. The average score that blacks gave to blacks on this scale, where 7 means not involved in street crimes and 1 means involved, was 3.3 points. This is more negative than the score that whites gave to blacks: 3.5. In others words, blacks have an even dimmer view of their own race when it comes to tending to be involved in street crime than do whites.

Every year, the Census Bureau conducts a survey of 42,000 households and asks about whether residents were victimized by crime in the previous year. Reported violent crime has fallen by 50 percent since the late 1970s, but it is a sad fact that blacks are more victimized by crime than whites. Considering robberies and assaults including rape, the rate of victimization in 2004 for persons age 12 and over was 26 per 1,000 for African Americans compared to 21 per 1,000 for whites. These high rates of victimization may help explain our finding that blacks rate whites significantly more favorably than blacks with regard to involvement in street crime and gangs.

Less surprising is our finding with regard to which race does the better job of supervising their children. Detroit area whites told us that whites did a significantly better job than blacks, whereas African American respondents said that blacks did a significantly better job raising children than whites. Blacks and whites clearly and significantly differ in their views of which race is doing the better job of raising children.

The Residential Preferences of Whites and Blacks

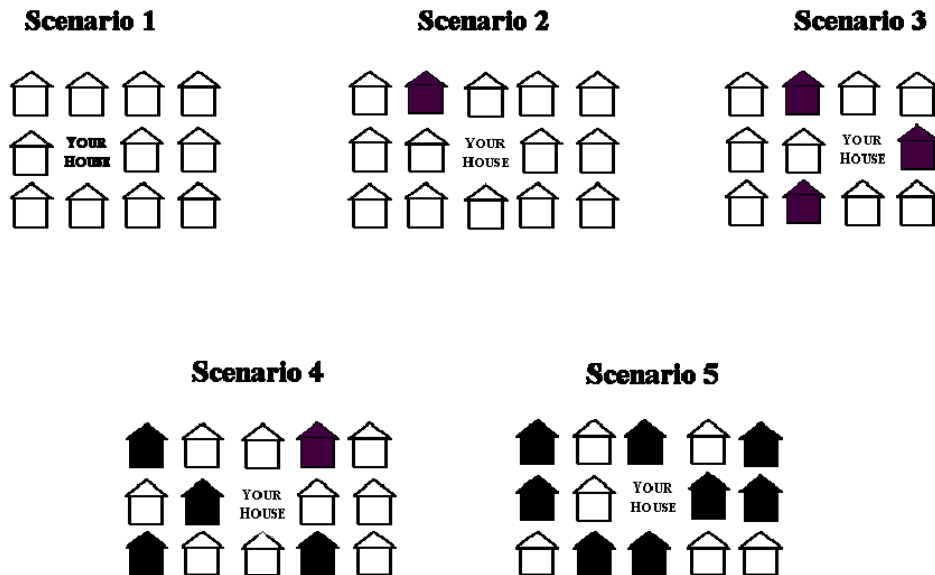
These findings help to explain why black-white residential segregation persists at high levels in metropolitan Detroit. While each race reports sympathy for the other, when we used the feeling thermometer we found whites and blacks both rated their own race more positively than the other. And when we asked questions that tap the endorsement of stereotypes, we learned more about beliefs that may contribute to persistent segregation. Many whites saw blacks as tending to be less intelligent, as more difficult than whites to get along with and as tending to be involved in street crime. Blacks, on the other hand, rejected the idea of racial differences in intelligence but viewed blacks as easier to get along with than whites.

We moved on to the issue of racial residential segregation, and asked questions that provide direct information about how comfortable whites are living side by side with blacks and whether African Americans are willing to move into white neighborhoods. We wondered whether whites were

willing to remain in their own neighborhoods when blacks moved in, and whether whites were willing to consider moving into neighborhoods where blacks already resided. To get answers, we presented whites with cards showing neighborhoods with racial compositions ranging from all-white to half white-half black. We told them to imagine they lived in an all-white neighborhood similar to the first card shown in the figure below. For many whites this was a realistic assumption. We then presented them with a card showing a minimally integrated neighborhood—1 black family and 14 white. This is the second card shown in the figure.

We asked them whether they would be uncomfortable should their own neighborhood come to look like the neighborhood shown on the second card. If they said they would feel comfortable living in that minimally-integrated neighborhood, we presented them with the third card showing more black residents in their neighborhood. Once again, we asked them if they would feel comfortable should their neighborhood come to resemble the one shown on the card. We continued showing neighborhood cards until the white respondent either said they would feel uncomfortable with so many black neighbors or they came to the final card showing a neighborhood with 2 black and 8 white families. If a person said they would be uncomfortable living in any neighborhood, we asked them if they would try to move away. We posed these questions in our 1976, 1992 and 2004 surveys.

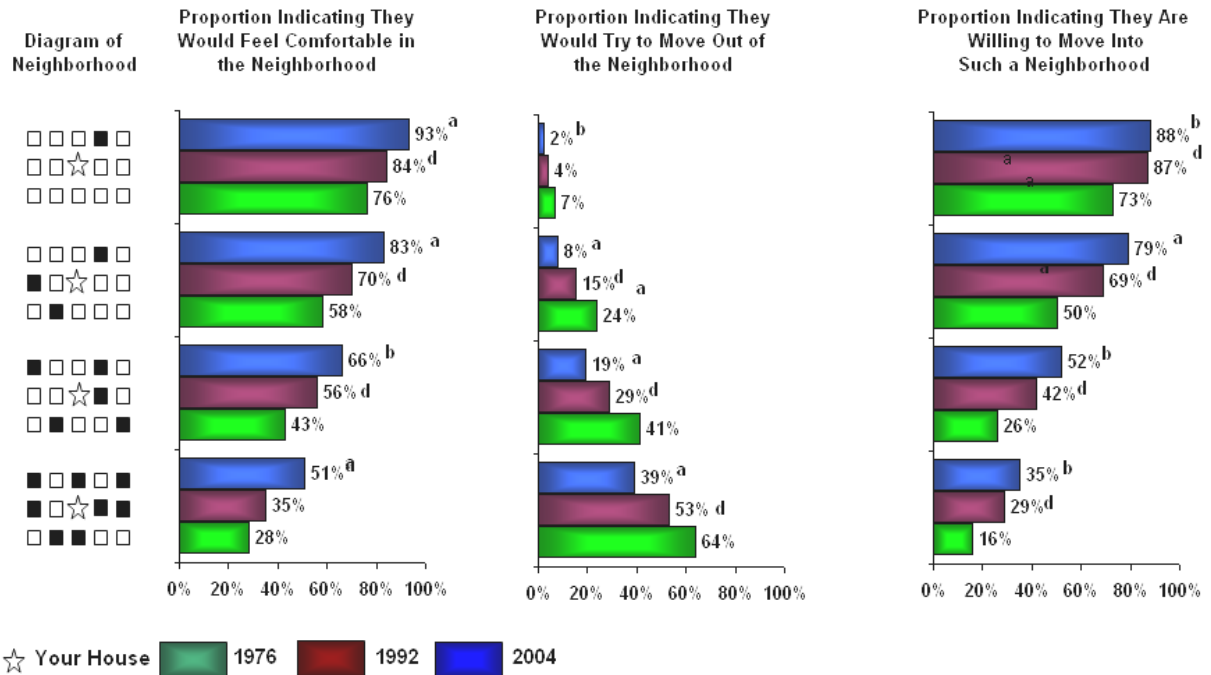
NEIGHBORHOOD CARDS FOR WHITE RESPONDENTS



Later, we gave these same cards to white respondents a second time and asked them to suppose that they had been searching for a new home and found a nice, affordable one in each of the five neighborhoods. We asked which of the five neighborhoods they would be willing to move into.

The views of Detroit-area whites about living alongside blacks changed greatly in the last three decades. Whites report they are much more accepting of African American neighbors now than in the past. The figure below summarizes the increasing willingness of whites to share neighborhoods with blacks.

**ATTRACTIVENESS OF NEIGHBORHOODS OF VARYING RACIAL COMPOSITIONS FOR
WHITE RESPONDENTS; 1976, 1992 AND 2004**



Note: Sample size was 7 in 1976; 736 in 1992 and 339 in 2004.

a. Percent in 2004 differs significantly from percents in 1992 and 1976.

b. Percent in 2004 differs significantly from percent in 1976, but not from percent in 1992.

d. Percent in 1992 differs significantly from percent in 1976.

More and more whites report they feel comfortable with African-American neighbors. Back in 1976, three-quarters of whites said they would feel comfortable living in a neighborhood with one black family. In 2004, whites almost universally accepted that minimum level of integration since 93 percent said they would be comfortable with one black in their neighborhood. In all survey years, however, the comfort level of whites decreased as the number of black neighbors went up. In 2004, two-thirds of whites said they would feel comfortable living in a 5 black-10 white neighborhood and just over fifty percent of whites said they would be comfortable living in the 8 black-7 white neighborhood.

The story of neighborhood change in Detroit in the 1950s and 1960s was white flight. Blacks entered neighborhoods as whites departed, often for the outskirts of the city and then for the suburbs. Chicago alderman Francis X. Lawler became well-known at that time for defining integration as the interval between the arrival of the first black and the departure of the last white. White attitudes about moving away when African Americans enter their neighborhoods changed sharply. In 1976, 40 percent of whites said they would try to move away if their neighborhood came to have a composition that included 10 white and 5 black families. That is no longer the case. In 2004, only 19 percent of whites said they would try to leave such a neighborhood. Indeed, the majority of whites in 2004 said they would not try to move away from their neighborhood even if blacks became numerically dominant. But the era of white flight may not completely be over since 39 percent of whites said they would try to move away when their neighborhood tipped over the 50-50 balance.

There has been a huge change in how whites view residential integration. Whites in Detroit now report they are much less likely to move away when African Americans arrive than did whites three decades ago.

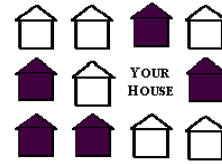
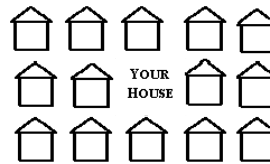
At all dates, whites' willingness to enter a neighborhood was strongly influenced by the number of blacks already living there: higher densities of blacks meant fewer whites would consider that neighborhood for their new home. Almost all whites reported they are willing to move into a neighborhood that is minimally integrated with just one black family. When you get to three black families in the neighborhood, 21 percent of whites in 2004 said they would not consider the neighborhood. Blacks comprise one-quarter of the metropolitan population. The fourth card we showed whites illustrated a neighborhood with an even higher density of blacks—one-third black. In 1976 only one-quarter of whites said they would consider a nice, affordable home in such a place. This rose to just over a majority of whites in 2004. In 1976, only 16 percent said they would consider an attractive, affordable home in a neighborhood that included 8 white and 7 black families. This went up to 29 percent in 1992 survey and to 35 percent in 2004. This suggests that when whites seek new places to live they pay considerable attention to the racial composition of the neighborhood. If blacks are there in modest numbers, most whites are willing to consider the neighborhood but as the percent black goes up, whites' willingness to consider the neighborhood goes down. The major finding, however, is that whites' attitudes about whites moving to where blacks already live changed, since they were significantly more willing to do so in 2004 than in 1976.

Extreme levels of racial residential isolation in metropolitan Detroit will decline if whites move into neighborhoods where blacks live and African Americans simultaneously chose new homes and in white areas including the suburbs. Detroit blacks have a long history of battling both the racial violence and restrictive covenants that once confined them to segregated neighborhoods. An historical marker on the East side at 2905 Garland (<http://www.detroit1701.org/SweetHome.htm>) commemorates Dr. Ossian Sweet's successful 1925 battle to purchase a home on a white block. On the West Side, an historical marker at 4626 Seebaldt () reminds us of the efforts of Orsel and Minnie McGhee to purchase a home, an effort that eventually prompted the Supreme Court in Washington to rule, in 1947, that restrictive covenants could not be enforced.

We know about the long fight of blacks to obtain equal opportunities in the housing market, but we know less about their preferences and their willingness to move into overwhelming white neighborhoods. We studied the preferences of blacks, but used a different array of cards as shown below:

The high level of segregation that characterizes metropolitan Detroit will decline only if whites move into neighborhoods where blacks already live, and African-Americans move into largely white neighborhoods such as those in the suburbs. Blacks in the Detroit area have a long history of battling restrictive covenants and Jim Crow practices, but segregation remains pervasive. We studied the racial residential preferences of blacks but used a different array of cards as shown below:

NEIGHBORHOOD CARDS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN RESPONDENTS

Scenario 1**Scenario 2****Scenario 3****Scenario 4****Scenario 5**

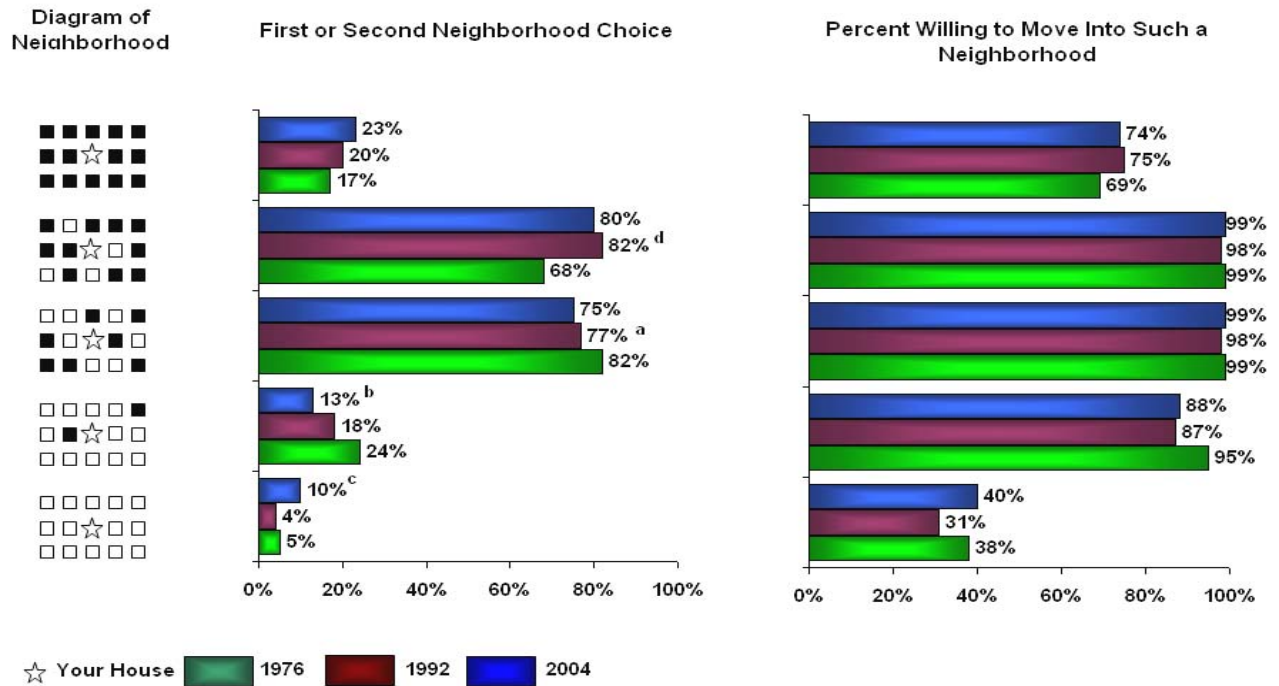
We began by giving these five cards—ranging from an all-black to an all-white neighborhood—to African-American respondents and asked them to look at them and then array them in order from their most preferred neighborhood to their least preferred. The findings are easy to summarize. At all dates, Detroit area blacks preferred neighborhoods that were racially integrated but at least one-half black. In 2004, four blacks in five put the 12 black-3 white neighborhood at the top of their preference order or made it their second choice. This was a significant increase from the 68 percent who did so in 1976. Also very popular with African Americans was the 7 black-8white neighborhood. Exclusively black neighborhoods were not very popular. Only one black in four in 2004, ranked the all African-American neighborhood as their top or second choice. However, the least preferred neighborhood for blacks at every date was the all-white one. In 2004, we interviewed 346 blacks. Only 12 of them said their most preferred neighborhood was the all-white one. Few Detroit-area blacks want to be the only African-American in a white neighborhood.

If Detroit-area blacks had their choice, they would buy homes or rent apartments in neighborhoods where African-Americans comprised between one-half and two-thirds of the population. There are few neighborhoods in metropolitan Detroit with a racial balance like that so, it is not a realistic option. We gave the five cards back to black respondents and asked if there were any neighborhoods that they would not want to move into.

Their choices are clear. Almost all blacks would move into any racially integrated neighborhood, even the one with just two blacks, and 12 whites when they arrived. This racial composition did not rank high in the preference order of blacks, but almost all blacks were willing to move to such a neighborhood where African Americans were a small minority. Although the majority of African Americans, at all dates, said they were willing to move to an all-black neighborhood, a substantial proportion said they would not: one-third in the 1976 survey and one-quarter in 2004. Without any doubt, the least popular neighborhood with African-Americans was the all-white one. About 40 percent of blacks would be willing to pioneer in a white neighborhood in 2004 revealing that 60 percent were not willing to be the first black living among whites.

Whites' attitudes about residential integration changed significantly and substantially. That was not the case for African Americans. Indeed, some significant changes among blacks are away from integration: significantly more blacks made the 10 black-5 white family neighborhood their first or second choice in 2004 than in 1976 and significantly fewer African-Americans rated the 3 black-12 white neighborhood highly. There was no significant increase in the percent of blacks willing to pioneer in white residential neighborhoods.

***ATTRACTIVENESS OF NEIGHBORHOODS OF VARYING RACIAL COMPOSITIONS FOR
AFRICAN AMERICAN RESPONDENTS; 1976, 1992 AND 2004***



Note: Sample size was 404 in 1976, 750 in 1992, and 341 in 2004.

a. Change is statistically significant at .01 level.

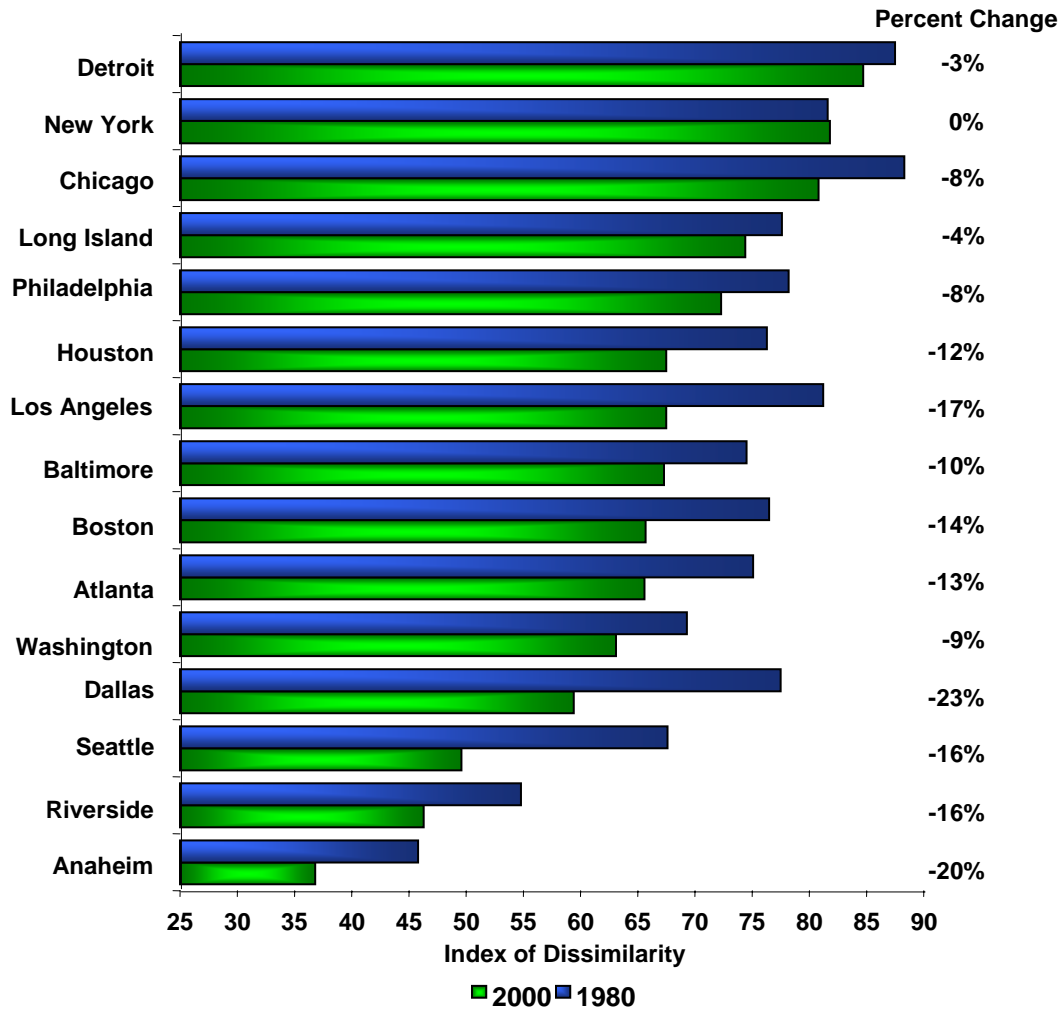
b. Percent in 2004 differs significantly from percent in 1976, but not from percent in 1992.

c. Percent in 2004 differs significantly from percent in 1992, but not from percent in 1976.

d. Percent in 1992 differs significantly from percent in 1976.

White attitudes about living along side blacks have changed and, at all dates, blacks overwhelmingly expressed a desired to live in racially integrated neighborhoods, albethey neighborhoods with numerous black residents. But segregation persists in metropolitan Detroit and at an exceptional level. As the figure below indicates, Census 2000 reported that metropolitan Detroit had the nation's highest level of black-white residential segregation just as it did at preceding census dates. To be sure, black-white segregation dropped but the decline was miniscule in Detroit—just 3 percent in 20 years—compared to the large declines registered in the rapidly growing metropolises: Dallas, San Bernardino-Riverside and Houston. Places that were once highly segregated including Atlanta and Washington no longer have segregation scores rivaling that of Detroit. Neighborhoods are slowly becoming more integrated throughout the nation, but not here in southeast Michigan.

BLACK-WHITE SEGREGATION IN METROPOLISES OF TWO MILLION OR MORE, 1980 AND 2000



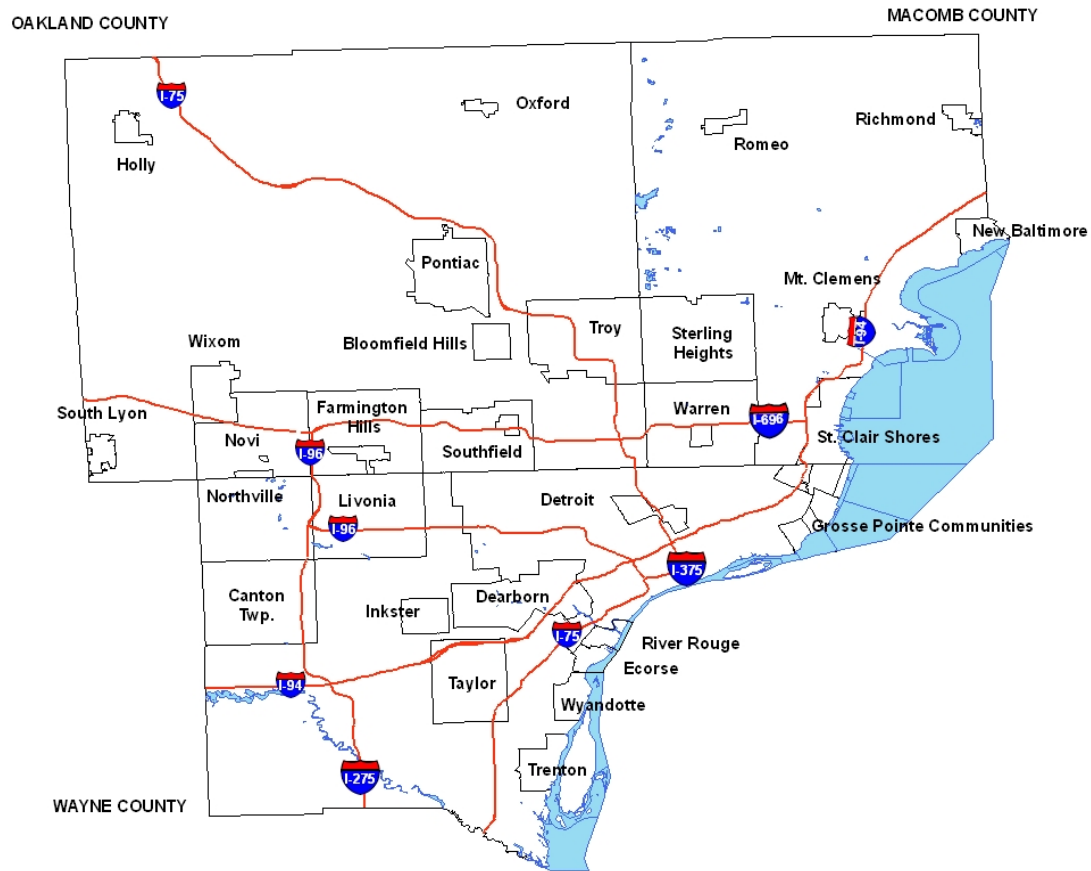
Our use of neighborhood cards explains why residential segregation is breaking down so slowly in Detroit. Whites report a willingness to live along side blacks but, as the number of blacks in a neighborhood goes up, the comfort level of white's decreases and their willingness to enter a location goes down. African-Americans prefer integration, but integration with a substantial representation or numerical majority of blacks. Apparently, many blacks need the presence of other African Americans in a neighborhood to signal them that is OK to move there.

Do Detroit Area Blacks and Whites Search for Jobs and Homes in the Same Places?

The neighborhood cards unambiguously show racial compositions with their "white" and "black" houses, but they are abstract. People don't select a new neighborhood by looking at such cards and real estate brokers would never present them to clients. There is little in-migration to metropolitan Detroit from the rest of the United States or abroad, so most residents have lived here many years and have clear cognitive maps of the area. They know where jobs might be located and where not to search for work. And they have images of where they might want to live and where they would certainly not want to live. They know that Canton Township is now growing rapidly, and that the

stock of housing in Bloomfield Hills differs greatly from what you find in Taylor or on the east side of Detroit.

We used an innovative strategy to investigate these issues. We showed respondents colorful maps that clearly identified well-known locations within the three-county (Macomb, Oakland, and Wayne) metropolis. Five of these are areas within the city of Detroit as shown in the accompanying map. Then we showed 11 Wayne County suburbs; seven in Macomb County and 10 in Oakland County. We included the largest and best known locations, as well as smaller places in the outer reaches where many new homes are going up thanks to low interest rates.



We gave respondents this map, asked them to examine it and then gave them a pen. We encouraged them to mark all the locations where they had searched for a job in the last 10 years. Some, of course, had not looked for employment in that span or had only searched outside the metropolis. But 48 percent of whites said they sought employment within the metropolis in the last decade. Because of their elevated unemployment rates and shorter job tenures, we were not surprised to find that the percent of blacks who looked for work—60 percent—was significantly higher. Our 1992 investigation found that even after you control for educational attainment and gender, blacks had to search longer and visit more perspective employers to get hired than did similar white applicants. Our recent survey provides hints of a continuation of that pattern since the typically white looked for work in 4.7 places but blacks in a significantly higher 5.7 places.

There are nine large-employment clusters in the three-county metropolis. Census 2000 showed that the city of Detroit continues to be the heart of the metropolis when it comes to jobs, with 319,000 located there. Prosperous Troy, with its mix of offices, shopping malls and factories, was in second place with 105,000 jobs. Warren with its industrial plants, Southfield with its diverse array of office complexes, shopping centers and factories; Dearborn with its spectacular mix of factories, offices, shopping, museums and a new plant turning out F line pick ups each had between 85,000 and 100,000 jobs. Sterling Heights, Farmington Hills and the industrial center of Pontiac trailed further behind on the list of employment clusters. Shown below is a list of the top ten places where whites and blacks searched for jobs and a map showing racial similarities and differences.

***TOP TEN LOCATIONS WHERE DETROIT RESIDENTS LOOKED FOR JOBS IN
THE LAST DECADE: 1994 TO 2004***

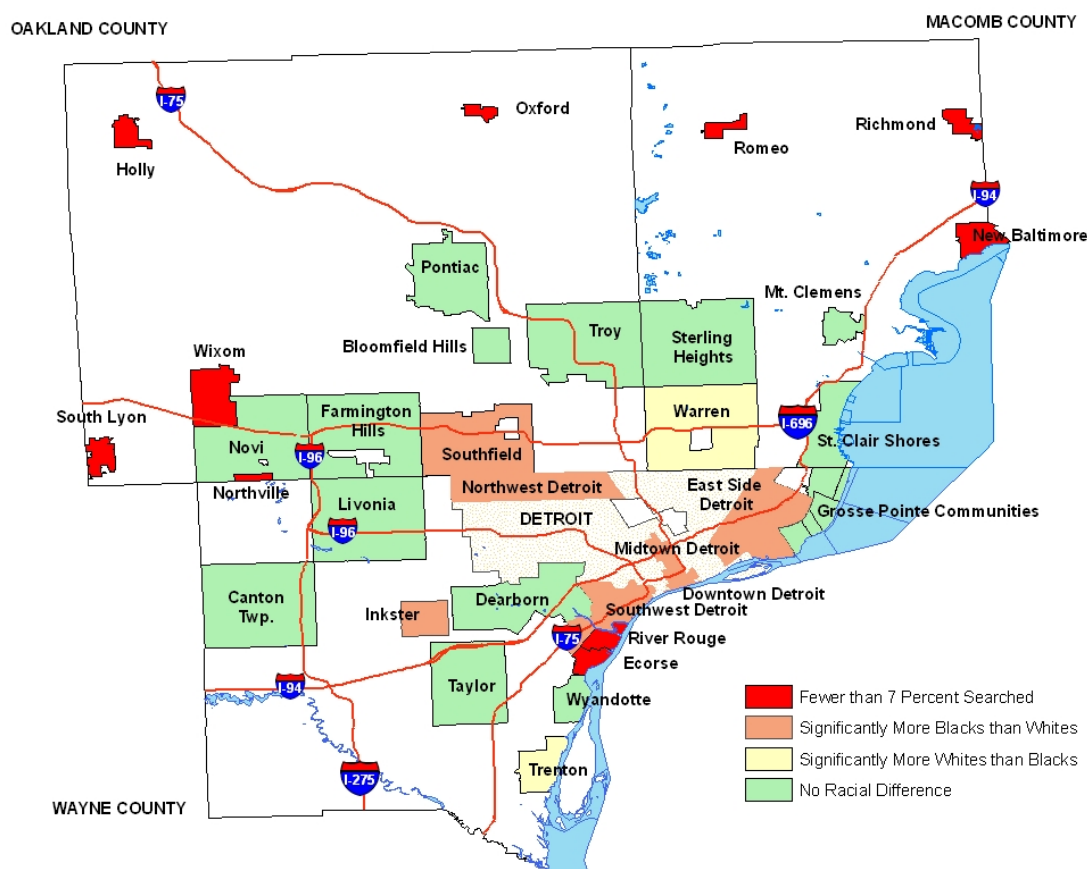
Whites			Blacks	
Rank	Location	Percent of Those Searching Who Looked in this Location	Location	Percent of Those Searching Who Looked in this Location
1	Troy	39%	Detroit	68%
2	Warren	32	Southfield	51
3	Southfield	31	Dearborn	36
4	Sterling Heights	26	Livonia	32
5	Dearborn	26	Troy	27
6	Farmington Hills	23	Sterling Heights	25
7	Livonia	23	Farmington Hills	25
8	Detroit	22	Warren	21
9	Pontiac	20	Pontiac	19
10	Novi	19	Mt. Clemens	19

While racial residential segregation is extensive in metropolitan Detroit, racial segregation by place of employment is considerably less since almost one-half of those who worked in the city in 2000 were whites. Blacks, in turn, were somewhat more represented in suburban jobs than in suburban neighborhoods as shown below:

RACIAL SEGREGATION BY PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT

	<u>City of Detroit</u>		<u>Three-County Suburban Ring</u>	
	Residents	Workers	Residents	Workers
Percent White	12%	47%	86%	83%
Percent Black	81	47	8	12
Number	952,000	319,000	2,975,000	1,703,000

***LOCATIONS WHERE RESPONDENTS IN THE 2004 DETROIT AREA STUDY SEARCHED
FOR JOBS IN THE LAST 10 YEARS***



Note: The Spearman's rank order correlation for the 29 locations considered in this analysis is +0.86, meaning that the places where whites in metropolitan Detroit who searched for jobs in the decade before 2004 were generally the same places where blacks searched for employment.

Whites and blacks reported basically similar patterns of employment searches. Job openings are linked to where jobs are already concentrated. Perhaps it is not surprise that all nine of the major employment clusters appear on the lists of top ten job-search locations for both blacks and whites. As the map shows, there are downriver suburbs and some in northern Oakland and Macomb counties where few people searched for jobs, presumably because of their remoteness and the few jobs located there. Blacks searched significantly more than whites for work in just three locations: Detroit, Inkster and Southfield, each with substantial black populations reflecting the tendency of many to look for work first close to where they live. Warren and Trenton were the only two places where significantly more whites than blacks looked for work.

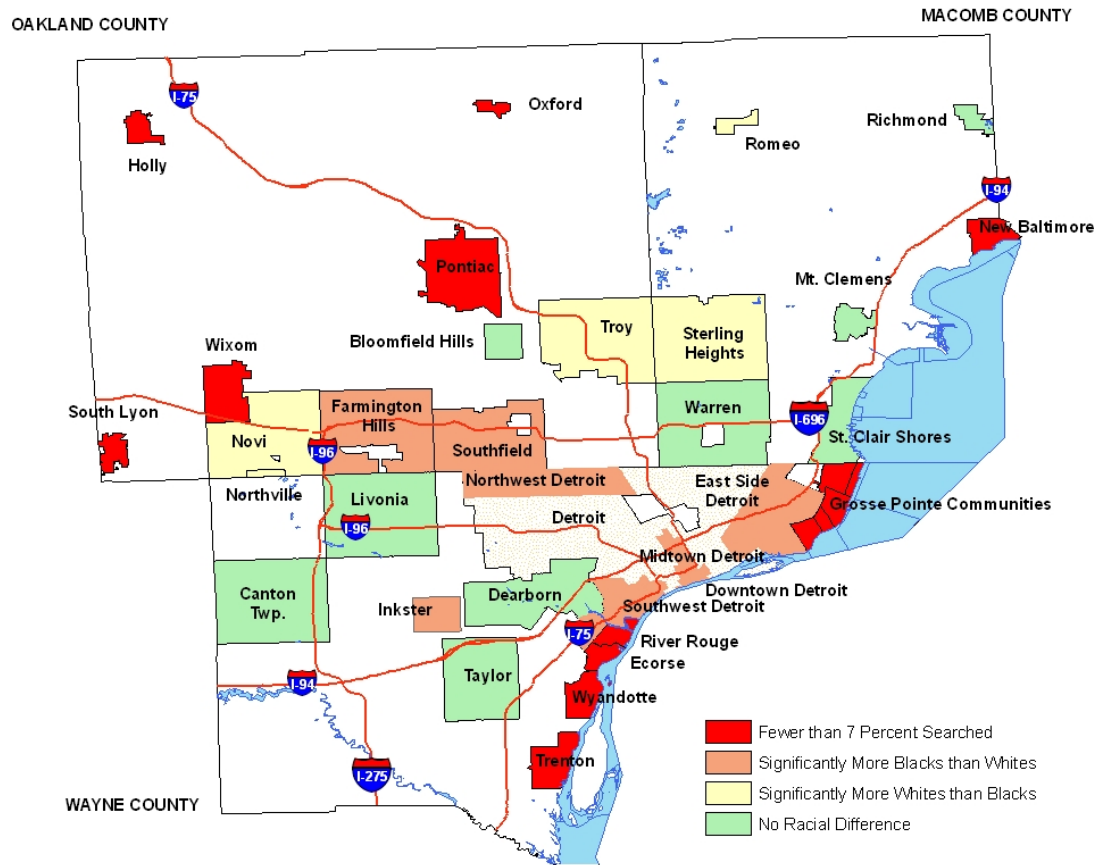
The most surprising finding is the infrequency with which whites search for employment in the city of Detroit. Given the concentration of jobs in the city, you might expect that many job seekers would look there at the start of their search. But there was a huge racial difference. Detroit ranked first among blacks and more than two-thirds who sought jobs looked in Detroit. Among whites, the city of Detroit ranked eighth, and fewer than one white job seeker in four looked for employment there. This is a puzzling finding. Detroit continues to be a center for the highly skilled and high paying jobs in finance, the law, medicine, higher education, public administration and business administration. Perhaps suburban whites are quite willing to commute to such prestigious and rewarding jobs in Detroit, but are reluctant to seek the more modest jobs to be found in the city's expanding hospitality industry.

Shifting from job search to housing search, we gave respondents a new copy of the identical map and asked them to mark all the locations—if any—where they had searched for housing in the last 10 years. There was no significant difference in the percent of whites and blacks who looked for a new home or apartment: 61 percent for whites and 66 percent for blacks. The table below shows the top ten locations where blacks and whites looked for new residences followed by a map showing racial similarities and differences.

***TOP TEN LOCATIONS WHERE DETROIT RESIDENTS LOOKED FOR NEW HOMES
OR APARTMENTS IN THE LAST DECADE: 1994 TO 2004***

Whites			Blacks	
Rank	Location	Percent of Those Searching Who Looked in this Location	Location	Percent of Those Searching Who Looked in this Location
1	Sterling Heights	27%	Northwest Detroit	44%
2	Warren	23	Eastside Detroit	38
3	Troy	23	Southfield	33
4	Dearborn	15	Midtown Detroit	20
5	Mt. Clemens	15	Downtown Detroit	19
6	Romeo	14	Warren	19
7	Livonia	13	Dearborn	13
8	Bloomfield Hills	12	Farmington Hills	13
9	Farmington Hills	12	Inkster	12
10	Novi	11	Southwest Detroit	11

**LOCATIONS WHERE RESPONDENTS IN THE 2004 DETROIT AREA STUDY SEARCHED FOR
A NEW HOUSE OR APARTMENT IN THE LAST 10 YEARS**



Note: The Spearman's rank order correlation for the 33 locations considered in this analysis is +0.03, meaning that the rank ordering of places for housing search by whites is not at all similar to the rank ordering of the same places by blacks.

The table and map show both expected and surprising findings. In the last decade, Detroit-area whites looked for new residences primarily in the outlying suburbs, including some that are far distant, such as Romeo. Only one of the top ten places for the white list shares a border with the city of Detroit—Dearborn. Consistent with findings from our neighborhood cards, most of the places where whites searched had very few black residents: Dearborn, Livonia, Bloomfield Hills and Sterling Heights were less than 2 percent African American at the last census count.

When it came to job search, the rank order of the places was pretty much the same for blacks and whites with the exception of the city of Detroit. When we consider the rank order of places for housing search, the findings are extremely different. The rank order correlation coefficient, shown in the table, is essentially zero. This means that knowing a place was a popular search location for blacks gives you no information at all about whether it was popular with whites. This helps to explain why racial residential segregation persists at high levels: blacks searched in locations with many African American residents while whites searched where whites already lived.

The five sections of the overwhelmingly black city of Detroit were places where blacks frequently looked for new homes or apartments as were two suburbs with majority black populations. Southfield is just across Eight Mile Road from the city of Detroit and has undergone a substantial racial change in recent decades. In 1970, its composition was only 0.1 percent black; in 2000, 57 percent black. Inkster has a long and interesting history, including a span in the early 1930s when Henry Ford developed the suburb for his black workers. It now has a two-thirds black population and ranks among the top ten places where blacks searched for homes.

Two suburbs that once had strong reputations for hostility to blacks were, surprisingly, places where African Americans frequently searched, suggesting that the image of places can change. Orville Hubbard reigned as mayor of Dearborn for three decades starting in the early 1940s and developed a national reputation for his unyielding hostility to black residents; indeed, by the 1960s he was a national symbol of white suburban resistance to integration. African Americans were certainly welcome to work at the Ford plants in his city but, as he boasted, if any of them tried to buy or rent in Dearborn, they would be visited by his police and told to leave. However, one black in eight who looked for new residence in the decade before this 2004 survey did so in Dearborn. Warren once had a reputation for hostility to blacks. Former Michigan governor George Romney served as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development during President Nixon's administration and dedicated himself to opening the nation's suburbs to blacks. He threatened to terminate his department's funding for water, sewer and urban rehabilitation projects in suburbs that failed to take minimal steps toward reducing their exclusion of blacks. Romney came to Warren in 1971 to promote equal racial opportunities in housing, but was heckled so severely that his security guards had to rush him away for his own safety. Warren voters then rejected federal funding if it meant promoting open housing but now it is a place that many Detroit area blacks consider when looking for new housing.

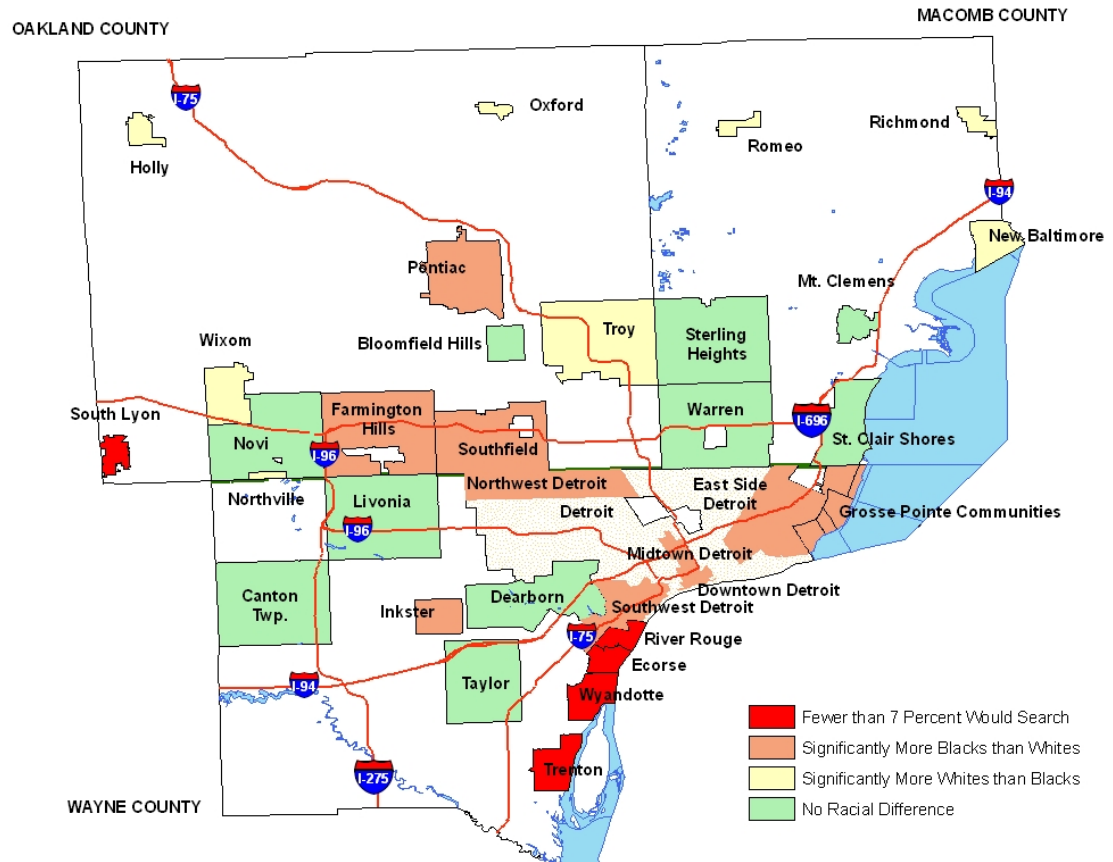
When asked about their housing searches in the last decade, whites reported primarily looking in locations with overwhelmingly white populations, while blacks searched in the city of Detroit and black suburbs. We wanted to know if there is any hope for reductions in segregation in the future, so we gave respondents a new copy of the map. We focused on this future by asking them to assume that they were looking for a new home or apartment. We told them to mark all of the 33 communities they would consider in their search. The results are shown in this table.

***TOP TEN LOCATIONS WHERE DETROIT RESIDENTS WOULD LOOK FOR
NEW HOMES OR APARTMENTS***

Whites			Blacks	
Rank	Location	Percent of Those Searching Who Would Look in this Location	Location	Percent of Those Searching Who Would Look in this Location
1	Romeo	27%	Southfield	46%
2	Troy	26	Farmington Hills	38
3	Farmington Hills	26	Northwest Detroit	37
4	Novi	23	Bloomfield Hills	29
5	Sterling Heights	22	Downtown Detroit	26
6	Bloomfield Hills	22	Eastside Detroit	24
7	Northville	21	Midtown Detroit	20
8	Oxford	21	Troy	19
9	Livonia	18	Canton Township	18
10	St. Clair Shores	16	Dearborn	18

Large racial differences are evident but, from reading this report, you know what to expect. Most of the locations where many whites would search for new housing are toward the outskirts of the metropolis. Oxford, Novi and Romeo appeal to many whites and have numerous amenities, but closeness to the cultural attractions, medical centers and sports stadia of Detroit are not among them. Indeed, none of top ten places on the white list share a border with the city of Detroit. All of them—with the exception of Farmington Hills—had miniscule African American populations in 2000.

LOCATIONS WHERE RESPONDENTS IN THE 2004 DETROIT AREA STUDY WOULD CONSIDER SEARCHING IF THEY WERE LOOKING FOR A NEW HOUSE OR APARTMENT



As expected, several areas of the city of Detroit—the northwest section and downtown—ranked high when we asked blacks where they would look for new residences, as did Southfield. But five of the locations where blacks would consider are suburbs with few African American residents: Bloomfield Hills and Troy in Oakland County and a distant but rapidly growing suburb not far from Ann Arbor that has not yet developed a reputation with regard to racial issues: Canton Township. These findings suggest that many Detroit area blacks have a favorable view of suburban living. If Census 2010 reveals less black-white segregation, it will likely be the result of more blacks moving into largely white suburbs.

Revitalized Neighborhoods in the City of Detroit: Would You Move There?

Segregation will also decline if more neighborhoods within the city are home to both African Americans and whites. This report describes the extensive efforts that elected officials, planners, and entrepreneurs made to revitalize the city of Detroit since riots of 1967. Few new homes, apartments or

condos were built inside Detroit from the 1950s to the 1990s, but that changed in the 1990s as river-front development, neighborhood revitalization and downtown development took off. Expensive single-family homes have been built along the riverfront from just north of the Ren Center to the city's border with Grosse Pointe Park. The huge Parke Davis complex is the city's leading example of converting an obsolete industrial plants into attractive residences for the prosperous, one that is Detroit's rival to New York's Soho. Near downtown and along the Cass Corridor extending toward the Henry Ford Medical Complex and Wayne State, about 400 new condos a year have been offered for sale, most of them in architecturally interesting buildings that had been dormant for decades such as the Kales Building at Grand Circus Park or the Willys-Overland building on Willis.

The city's future will be bright and its finances secure if it attracts middle- and upper-class whites and blacks who will be employed at the Ren Center, in the legal and professional offices downtown, the expanding medical centers along Woodward and Grand Boulevard or the research facilities near Wayne State. The 2004 Detroit Area Survey provided an opportunity to investigate whether people were willing to move to the city of Detroit and, if so, why.

Respondents were told about redevelopment neighborhoods in Detroit and then were asked how they viewed these efforts to turn neighborhoods that were once long past their prime into vibrant, attractive places. Images of Detroit often emphasize crime, so our first question asked about the safety of Detroit's redeveloped neighborhoods. Fortunately, three-quarters of whites and three-quarters of blacks said they believed that the redevelopment of neighborhoods in the city made them safer. Metro Detroit residents, with few exceptions, see neighborhood redevelopment creating safer places to live. Investments in reviving more of the city's neighborhoods may help Detroit to shake its reputation as a crime center.

Urban critics sometimes condemn neighborhood revitalization, contending that it chases away the working poor who have lived in their homes for generations so that prosperous young professionals can live elegantly while enjoying tax breaks. We asked Detroit-area respondents if they thought that redeveloped neighborhoods were places where high-income people were moving in and low-income people moving out. Respondents in the 2004 survey—both black and whites—were just about evenly split between those who thought that redevelopment meant replacing the poor with the rich and those who denied that was happening. On this dimension, there was no racial difference. Clearly, many see neighborhood revitalization as a process that replaces the poor with the prosperous, but there are about as many who think that is not happening.

Federally sponsored urban renewal programs of the 1950s were often called Negro Removal. Many in Detroit's black community—especially Mayor Coleman Young—thought this is exactly what happened when the homes and businesses of blacks along Hastings Street were knocked down to make way for the Chrysler Expressway, the Mies Van der Rohe residential district and the now-abandoned Wayne State Medical School. Do most people believe that the redevelopment of older neighborhoods within the city of Detroit is a new form of "Negro removal?" We asked respondents if they thought that, in the redeveloped neighborhoods, whites were moving in and blacks moving out. Here we found a substantial racial difference. While the majority of respondents rejected this characterization of neighborhood redevelopment, 21 percent of whites, but a significantly larger 37 percent of blacks, thought that redevelopment meant replacing black residents with white residents.

We then asked respondents if they would be willing to consider a redeveloped neighborhood in the city of Detroit when they searched for a new home or apartment. There was a huge difference in the willingness of whites and blacks to consider moving to redeveloped Detroit neighborhoods. Just under two-thirds of blacks said that they would consider moving into such a neighborhood. When asked their reasons for considering redeveloped neighborhoods in the city, they commented most fre-

quently upon the availability of affordable housing, the high quality of housing found in redeveloped neighborhoods and the nearness of these neighborhoods to the city's cultural and recreational attractions.

Only 16 percent of whites said that they would consider buying or renting in a redeveloped neighborhood in the city of Detroit. That seems like a very low percentage compared to the two-thirds of blacks who would do so. However, the suburban white population is extremely large. The Census Bureau's 2004 survey counted two million adult whites living in the suburban ring surrounding Detroit. The finding that one-sixth of those whites are willing to consider redeveloped neighborhoods in Detroit suggests that investors now refurbishing downtown commercial buildings and putting up new condos in the city's historic neighborhoods may view the future with optimism. Two of the three leading reasons that whites gave for considering redeveloped neighborhoods in Detroit are the same as ones blacks gave: the availability of affordable homes and the closeness of redeveloped neighborhoods to the city's recreational and cultural facilities. But there was a third reason that whites frequently gave for considering redeveloped neighborhoods, one that may influence local area migration in these days of high energy prices. Detroit's expressways are filled for hours every day with an exchange: black city residents getting into their cars to go to workplaces in the suburbs and suburban residents driving to their jobs in the city. Census 2000 reported that 120,000 white residents of the suburban ring worked in the city. Only 1.7 percent of those commuters used public transit. Being closer to their jobs was a reason frequently reported by those whites who said they would consider a redeveloped central-city neighborhood. There also may also be hope for more suburban racial integration. Most of the suburbs near Detroit have a surplus of housing since their populations are typically smaller than they were decades ago. In 2000, 125,000 blacks commuted daily from their homes in the city to jobs in the suburban ring.

The overwhelming majority of whites—84 percent—said they would not consider a redeveloped neighborhood in the city of Detroit. A substantial minority of blacks—36 percent—made the same judgment. We asked their reasons for avoiding Detroit and, not surprisingly, found racial agreement. The top four explanations whites gave for avoiding Detroit were too much crime; poor city services, poor schools and too much congestion. Blacks told us their aversion to Detroit was based on too much crime, taxes too high, poor city services and poor schools. If the city's developers and administrators can successfully alter the image of Detroit by reducing crime, improving services and reducing taxes, the city's renovated neighborhoods will appeal to many more metropolitan residents.

V. METROPOLITAN DETROIT: PAST AND FUTURE

In the late 19th century, emerging manufacturing industries propelled Detroit to the first rank of industrial cities. But that growth was modest compared to the booming decades of the early 20th century, when innovative engineers, skilled craftsmen, talented entrepreneurs, and thousands of workmen made Detroit the world's quintessential industrial center. Other industrial cities around the world followed the template created in Detroit. The Depression of the 1930s interrupted progress and growth, but during World War II and for a quarter century thereafter, metropolitan Detroit attracted migrants from around the country and retained its rank as one of the most prosperous locations in the nation, largely because of the high wages in the auto industry.

European commentators write at length about Detroit's becoming the world's first industrial metropolis early in the 20th century and then becoming the world's first post-industrial metropolis at the start of the 21st. They emphasize problems they attribute to de-industrialization: the halving of the city's population; the abandoned factories, derelict homes, vacant stores, and the empty lots that, as recently as the 1960s, contained dozens of appealing homes.

It does not make sense to portray Detroit as a post-industrial or de-industrialized metropolis. Revived steel plants continue to produce thousands of tons each year in Dearborn, Zug Island, Ecorse, and Wyandotte. Nationally, vehicle production remains high and Michigan has done reasonably well in both attracting new plants and modernizing old ones. The auto industry has not given up on metropolitan Detroit and will continue to be the major employer here. And metropolitan Detroit will likely retain its role as the leading center for technological innovations in the vehicle industry.

But the future is uncertain and four challenges now face metropolitan Detroit and the state of Michigan. The first is retaining jobs and creating new ones. Improvements in technology drastically reduced employment, especially in manufacturing. In 2005, Daimler-Chrysler and their collaborators opened a modern, efficient engine plant in suburban Dundee. One thousand hours of labor at that new factory will turn out 1,680 auto engines. At the relatively new plant the same firm operates on Mack Avenue in Detroit, one thousand hours of labor produces only 233 engines. Improvements in labor technology will continue so industrial employment will likely decline, perhaps even more rapidly in the future than in the past. Sooner or later, similar increases in productivity may dramatically reduce employment in health care and education.

Into the 1990s, job loss in this metropolis was centered in the city of Detroit while Oakland and Macomb counties reported substantial increases. That is no longer the case. It now appears that employment gains in the sectors of the economy that are still growing will not offset job losses in sectors where labor productivity is accelerating. The state of Michigan lost 2 percent of its jobs in the first half of this decade. Losses were much higher in manufacturing: a loss of 6 percent for vehicle industry jobs and 17 percent for manufacturing jobs in other industries. Not only are jobs disappearing from Michigan, but the relentless downward pressure on earnings and benefits substantially reduced income. In constant dollar amount, the average purchasing power of Michigan adults fell by 7 percent in the first half of this decade while median household income declined by 9 percent. Michigan is now losing in its exchange of migrants with other states, is now losing jobs, and pay rates in the jobs that remain are moving lower.

The challenge for southeast Michigan—and the entire state—will be to define an economic niche that will encourage job and wage growth. The best prospects for the Detroit region are in the high technology end of manufacturing—the design of new metals, new energy processes, new production machinery, and new computer programs that will produce innovatively engineered vehicles and industrial goods. Turning out the first generation of new manufactured products will likely demand highly skilled workers who collaborate with engineers and designers. An emphasis upon technology and science will allow this region to successfully attract the designers, engineers and skilled workers who will build innovative—and fuel-efficient—products.

Since Coleman Young served as mayor, the city of Detroit sought to increase employment by becoming a center for entertainment and recreation. Attracting baseball's All Star game in 2005 and the Super Bowl in 2006 symbolize success in this effort, but much remains to be done. Will new hotels and a huge convention hall be built in Detroit to capitalize upon the progress that has been made? Can Detroit become a regional, national, then an international convention center? Today, the medical industry is the only employment sector with substantial growth in Michigan. Fortunately for the city of Detroit, the number of neurologists, radiologists, and therapists working in professional and scientific jobs located at Henry Ford Hospital, at the Detroit Medical Center, and at Wayne State University will go up. Are there other opportunities for employment gains in Detroit? Will spacious underutilized areas in the city such as City Airport, Fort Wayne, old Tiger Stadium and the State Fair Grounds become centers for employment, shopping, and housing? Upgrading an existing stock of housing is often a less costly way to create attractive homes than building them in remote green fields. The Woodbridge and East Village neighborhoods in Detroit are well along to revitalization. Will the city's leaders secure private, foundation, and governmental resources to similarly revive

other neighborhoods? Can Detroit demonstrate to the entire Rust Belt how older neighborhoods with attractive but run-down homes may be transformed into ideal locations for young professionals, artists and entrepreneurs? Will Detroit be successful in attracting that 16 percent of suburban resident who say they are at least willing to consider the city as a place to live?

Jobs are the first challenge. Second, is the racial polarization and mistrust that pervades the metropolis. Just after Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans, President Bush not only promised to send a tremendous flow of federal dollars to rebuild that modest-sized city, but commented eloquently about the challenges the nation faces from its failure to resolve racial issues.

As all of us saw on television, there's also some deep, persistent poverty in this region, as well. That poverty has roots in a history of racial discrimination, which cut off generations from the opportunity of America. We have a duty to confront this poverty with bold action.

If President Bush had walked through neighborhoods in Detroit, Cleveland, or Chicago, he also would have seen deep, persistent poverty rooted in the nation's history of racial discrimination. Since the riots of 1967, much progress has been achieved in providing equal opportunities for African Americans in Detroit, and positive results are obvious. A substantial black middle class emerged, along with a smaller but increasingly visible African American economic elite. All job categories and professions are open to blacks in a way they were not a generation ago and black candidates now run for office on both the Democratic and Republican tickets. Our surveys tell us that Detroit-area whites are now less likely to endorse once-common racial stereotypes than in the past and are more willing to live in those mixed race neighborhoods that their parents or grandparents dreaded in the 1950s.

That is the success story—one that promises further gains for blacks in the future. But there is another important component. Black-white socioeconomic differences are huge and persistent in this metropolis. The Census Bureau's 2004 survey found that the median income of Detroit area black families—\$45,400—was only 57 percent that of white families. Just 53 percent of black household heads owned their homes, compared to 81 percent for whites. And the homes owned by African Americans had a median value of \$97,500 in contrast to \$179,500 for white home owners, indexing a great racial gap in wealth holdings. A college education provides a tremendous advantage in today's competitive labor market. Among metro Detroit residents age 25 to 29 in 2004, one-third of whites had a four-year college degree, but only one-eighth of blacks. Have we provided truly equal opportunities for the next generation when, in 2004, 33 percent of black children attending the area's public schools lived in impoverished households compared to just 6 percent of white? If the bold programs President Bush has promised to overcome the devastating consequences of past racial discrimination are implemented in Detroit, the economic and geographic gaps that separate whites and blacks in metropolis may gradually fade.

The third challenge is that of city-suburban polarization. A ring of prosperous suburbs surrounds older cities in the United States. And in most locations, the minority population is significantly over-represented in the city. However, no other major metropolis rivals Detroit, both for its history of bitter city-suburban conflict and for the extremely great racial disparity that makes the city different from the suburban ring. Soul music stations in the 1960s played "Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs." It is still describe metro Detroit.

On January 6, 2006, Kwame Kilpatrick gave his inaugural speech for his second term. Echoing the forceful language the Kerner Commission crafted after the 1967 riot, he stressed:

For too long we've been hung up on turf and race in this region. If we don't start dealing with both issues in a more constructive manner, we're going to fail as a city and a region and a state. Race hovered over this city and region throughout the

20th century...And it flares up regularly as a sort of trump card in the political and public debates of the issues.

We're all in this together. All of us are Detroiters. No matter where you live, whether it's Allen Park or Oak Park, you're from Detroit. Here in Detroit, we're mired in the issue of black and white. This obsession with race and turf is really killing us.

At points in the past, the city of Detroit suffered uniquely from problems—a falling population, a declining tax base, a loss of jobs, and the need to close public schools, fire houses, and police stations while the suburbs boomed. Those challenges are increasingly common in the inner ring suburbs and will soon appear throughout the suburban ring. Indeed, the only areas of the metropolis where population growth continues are far-western Wayne County and the northern extremities of Macomb and Oakland Counties. Bill McGraw of the *Detroit Free Press* points out that the Detroit metropolitan counties include 83 school districts, 76 cities, 48 court systems and 42 townships. As the metropolitan population goes down, we may see a merging of these governmental entities. Detroit and suburban officials may realize they face the same challenges and, if racial hostility and mistrust wane, we may see the development of effective metropolitan-wide efforts to attract jobs, build a transportation system, and share urban infrastructure including, perhaps, police, fire, and schools.

Finally, the negative stereotypes held about Detroit—nationally and locally—need to be challenged. A rocket shot into the air inevitably attains its apogee and falls to the ground. Many see metropolitan Detroit as they might view a rocket: booming growth in the 20th century, followed by era of great prosperity, then a rapid fall to the ground. But metropolises are not subject to the laws of gravity. Their trajectories are determined by macro-economic trends, governmental policies, and most importantly, by the decisions of their residents. They grow, their employment base may change and then they may successfully or unsuccessfully reinvent themselves. Bankrupt New York City was the epitome of urban decay in the 1960s but, five decades later, is the epitome of urban prosperity and boasts the lowest crime rate of any big city in the nation. Chicago was one of three-dozen large metropolises that, at the end of World War II, had its employment concentrated in durable goods manufacturing—the jobs that have disappeared. But Chicago successfully reinvented itself as a financial, medical, educational, and convention center. Other industrial metropolises—Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Syracuse, and Springfield, Massachusetts—are going through the painful transition process, perhaps with fewer resources and considerably less success than Detroit.

Will the negative views that now shape how Americans and Detroiters think about their metropolis abate? Will Detroit be seen as a model for city-suburban cooperation in the face of population stagnation? With the city and suburban schools—public, charter, private, and faith-based—be thought of as models for providing an array of diverse educational opportunities? Will urban planners from around the nation come to Detroit to observe how effectively the architectural heritage was preserved by converting many buildings into commercial successes? Will the monuments, statues, fountains, museums and parks of the metropolis be so



RANSOM GILLIS HOME
205 ALFRED AT JOHN R
APRIL, 2006

alluring that people flying from the Atlantic to Pacific coast will stop to spend a day in Detroit? Will Detroit gain a reputation as a metropolis where, to borrow words from President Bush, leaders addressed the poverty that has its roots in racial discrimination? Will we live to see a time when skin color is so inconsequential that the city of Detroit and its suburban ring have just about identical racial composition and economic status?

Jose Camillo Vergara used the Ransom Gillis home as an icon of Detroit's decay and despair. I hope that he returns soon. In 2005, the city of Detroit and private investors initiated a major program to revitalize the Brush Park neighborhood. The city will refurbish a dozen or so of the Victorian homes that its most prosperous citizens built in the quarter-century following the Civil War. As the picture shows, the restoration of the Ransom Gillis home was well along by spring 2006.

For More Information about Metropolitan Detroit:

AIA Detroit: The American Institute of Architects Guide to Detroit Architecture. Eric J. Hill and John Gallagher. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003

This is the most comprehensive guide to architecture in the Detroit area.

The Algiers Motel Incident. John Hersey, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1968

On the final night of the 1967 riot, white police officers apparently shot three young black men to death in an inexpensive motel along Woodward, perhaps because they were cavorting with white women. This became a nationally discussed incident involving race, sex and police brutality. Hersey provides an excellent description of these issues in polarized Detroit and recounts the strong but ultimately unsuccessful effort to convict the officers of murder.

Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights and Murder in the Jazz Age. Kevin Boyle. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005.

This is the most elegantly written book about racial issues in Detroit and merits the National Book Award it won in 2004. Ossian Sweet, a black physician, purchased a home on Detroit's east side and attempted to move in but his property was attacked by a violent crowd. To defend this home, his brother shot and killed a protester leading to the nation's most significant civil right trial of the 1920s; one in which Clarence Darrow successfully defended the right of blacks to protect their property.

Art in Detroit Public Places. (Revised edition) Dennis Alan Nawrocki and David Clemens. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999.

This is an inclusive guide to public art in the City of Detroit.

Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century. David Katzman. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1973.

Detroit leads the nations in racial riots that required dispatching the federal military to the streets. Katzman describes the small black population of Detroit in the 19th century, their struggle for civil rights and the urban racial riots of 1833 and 1863.

Before Motown A History of Jazz in Detroit: 1920-1960. Lars Bjorn and Jim Gallert, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.

Detroit's musicians made remarkable contributions to the development of jazz, long before Motown music appeared. This is the authoritative history of Detroit's contributions to jazz.

Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, 1979.

The UAW's successful efforts to win gains from vehicle manufacturers helped establish the blue collar middle class. At all times, the UAW's leadership had to wrestle with racial issues. Hate strikes were common in World War II as white workers sought to prevent the promotion of blacks while black men refused to work if they were not treated in accordance with the Fair Employment Practices Commission's requirements. This is an excellent description of racial conflict within the UAW

The Buildings of Detroit: A History. W. Hawkins Ferry. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968.

This is the most comprehensive historical description of the area's architecture.

The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrialization and Immigrants in Detroit: 1880-1920. Olivier Zunz, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Detroit was a booming industrial metropolis in 1880 but the factories and shops were small employing only a few dozen workers; many of them skilled. With the coming of the vehicle industry, employers reorganized labor so that thousands of unskilled men worked in the same factory. Zunz excellently describes the industrialization of Detroit, a process that eventually led to the modern blue collar middle class. He provides much information about the assimilation of European immigrants and described the unique status of the few blacks who lived in Detroit in this era.

Dancing in the Street: Motown and the Cultural Politics of Detroit. Suzanne Smith, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1999

This is a comprehensive and informative description of the development of Barry Gordy's Motown industry and what it meant to Detroit's black residents at the time when racial issues were bitterly contested.

The Detroit Almanac: 300 Years of Life in the Motor City. Peter Gavrilovich and Bill McGraw (editors), Detroit: The Detroit Free Press, 2000.

This is a comprehensive encyclopedia of information about Detroit.

Detroit Divided. Reynolds Farley, Sheldon Danziger and Harry J. Holzer. New York: Russell Sage, 2000

This volume provides extensive information about racial, social and economic trends in metropolitan Detroit including results from attitudinal studies.

Detroit in Its World Setting: A Three Hundred Year Chronology, 1701-2001. David Lee Poremba (editor), Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001.

This is a comprehensive year-by-year history of events occurring in Detroit with an excellent index.

The Detroit Race Riot: A Study in Violence. Robert Shogan and Tom Craig, Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1964.

This informative account describes the 1943 racial riot, its causes and its consequences. Particularly interesting are the various interpretations of this riot given by different groups and organizations.

Devil's Night and Other True Tales of Detroit. Ze've Chafets. New York: Random House, 1990.

The author was raised in Pontiac, educated at the University of Michigan then moved to Israel. He returned to Detroit and lived there during the troubled 1980s when Halloween was an occasion for arsonists to burn a remarkable number of homes. He offers perceptive comments about race relations, Mayor Coleman Young and Oakland County's L. Brooks Patterson. Chafets vividly conveys the racial polarization of Detroit in the 1970s and 1980s.

Frank Murphy: The Detroit Years. Sidney Fine; Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1975.

Detroit resident Frank Murphy presided as judge in the Ossian Sweet trial in 1925, then served as mayor of the city, governor of Michigan, and was appointed to the Supreme Court by President Franklin Roosevelt. This is an excellent summary of his accomplishments in Detroit.

Grits, Noise and Revolution: The Birth of Detroit Rock and Roll. David A. Carson, Ann Arbor.

Life for Use Is What We Make It: Building Black Community in Detroit: 1915-1945. Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1992.

As the black population of Detroit grew and a middle class emerged thanks to auto plant jobs, a controversy arose between those blacks who strongly favored ending Jim Crow policies and those blacks who favored establishing parallel institutions. This is an inclusive account of these issues as they played themselves out between the first and second world wars.

Made in Detroit: A South of 8 Mile Memoir. Paul Clemens. New York: Doubleday, 2005.

This is an exceptionally thoughtful account of growing up as a white person on the east side of Detroit during the 1980s and 1990s.

The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit. Thomas Sugrue. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

This is an excellent and prize winning description of racial and economic change in Detroit in the years immediately following World War II. The precarious position of black workers in the auto industry is fully noted. No one has written a more informative account of the strident but unsuccessful efforts of many whites to keep their Detroit neighborhoods white.

Orvie: The Dictator of Dearborn: The Rise and Reign of Orville L. Hubbard. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989.

Long term Dearborn mayor Hubbard became a national symbol of suburban resistance to blacks in the era before the Open Housing Law was enacted in 1968.

Racial Situations: Class Predicaments of Whiteness in Detroit. John Hartigan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

This ethnographic account of poor whites remaining in Detroit after the city became overwhelming black is informative, especially about aspects of race relations seldom considered: urban white poverty and whites as a minority in a black-dominated city.

Someone Else's House: America's Unfinished Struggle for Integration. Tamar Jacoby, New York: The Free Press, 1998.

Several chapters of this book describe racial issues in Detroit while Coleman Young served as mayor. Jacoby very capably describes the depth of the racial division and stresses forcefully that integration has become a forgotten strategy for ameliorating racial hostility and bring about equal opportunities. This is one of the most convincing recent appeals to reconsider racial integration as a goal for this nation.

Trial and Error: The Detroit School Segregation Case. Eleanor P. Wolf, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981.

To end racial segregation in Detroit's public schools, the NAACP brought suit in 1970. Eventually, the district and circuit federal courts ordered integration through a plan that would have pooled white suburban and black central city students for purposes of fulfilling the mandate of Brown. The Supreme Court, in 1973, overturned that remedy, thereby ratifying the high levels of school segregation that persist. This is an account of that litigation.

Violence in the Model City: The Cavanaugh Administration, Race Relations, and the Detroit Riot of 1967. Sidney Fine. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1989

This historian provides the most comprehensive account of Detroit's political leaders in the 1960s and the riot of 1967. This is the best account of Detroit's most recent racial riot.

Authorship

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