

CONFIDENTIAL

A SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

REGARDING NEW FREEWAYS

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DEPT. OF HIGHWAYS AND TRAFFIC  
GOVT. OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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Prepared by

OLIVER QUAYLE AND COMPANY  
Station Park Building  
141 Parkway Road  
Bronxville, N.Y.



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A WORD ABOUT THIS SURVEY

This survey reports on opinions of adult residents of Washington, D.C. pertaining to proposed new freeways in their city. It measures support for and opposition to new freeways generally, and more specifically, attitudes toward a plan which will connect with suburban highways as opposed to one limited to internal city routes. It determines why residents feel as they do, and what arguments used by both sides they feel are most persuasive. It tests public knowledge of the proposed new freeway program, how heavily these freeways would be used as compared to the Metro Rapid Transit System, and it reports on how people generally feel about the problem of getting around their city and to its suburbs. It also shows what particular groups of residents are most and least inclined to favor new freeways and to support a city-to-suburb system.

All of this information is provided to give an accurate picture of how Washingtonians feel about new freeways for their city.

The opinions of Washington residents, on which this report is based, were gathered by trained members of our field staff who conducted personal interviews with 400 residents, 21 years old or older, representing an accurate cross section of the District of Columbia's adult population.

Actual interviewing was done between Saturday, February 8th, and Saturday, February 15th, 1969.

The Sample. Respondents interviewed for this study were selected according to a modified area probability sample, drawn by statistician Meyer Cosnowsky. In this methodology, the number of sampling points designated is controlled by the cluster size (the number of interviews conducted at each sample point). The cluster size was kept small increasing the number of points sampled in order to obtain the most accurate possible representation

of Washington's adult population. Our experience shows that cluster sizes of between four and six interviews per point yield highly accurate representational samples and still produce an efficient sample design. In this particular sample a cluster size of five was used, producing 80 sample points for a total of 400 completed interviews.

Sampling points were selected in the following manner: Washington's 128 precincts were ranked in order of population size according to the population estimates for the city as made by the Demographic Analysis Unit Statistical Information Systems Group in May 1968. Then sampling points were assigned to precincts proportionate to their size making sure that the four major areas of the city -- the Northwest, the Southwest, the Northeast, and the Southeast -- were also proportionally represented in the final sample. Age and sex quotas, based on census tract information, were assigned to groupings of four sample points.

Interviewing. At each precinct sample point interviewers started at a central point in the precinct and worked in concentric circles around that starting point until they had met their quotas. All interviews were conducted in respondent's homes, not on street corners or at places of business. All interviews with men, except shift workers, were conducted after 5:00 p.m. on weekdays or over weekends. Only Negroes interviewed Negro respondents and white interviewers only interviewed white respondents. No quotas were established for Negro or white respondents; instead we relied on the laws of probability to obtain an accurate representation of residents of each race. Of the total number of completed interviews, 77 percent were conducted with Negroes.

This is ten percent higher than recent estimates that 67 percent of Washington's population is Negro. Nevertheless, our method of sampling

could not result in more than a 4 to 5 percent error. Therefore, we feel that an accurate figure is between 72 and 82 percent which reflects increased Negro migration (and white emigration) since the last estimate was made.

No respondent was given any idea as to the identity of the client, and all were assured of personal anonymity. Each interview required approximately 40 minutes to complete.

The Questionnaire. A carefully structured questionnaire was used which allowed respondents numerous opportunities to express themselves in personal terms. These responses were recorded verbatim. Completed questionnaires were returned to our Bronxville office where they were coded for final computation on an IBM 360/45 series computer.

The Analysis. This report is divided into three types of information. First, the statistical findings are given. Second, and only when necessary, this data is explained. Finally, when appropriate, under single-spaced paragraphs marked Observations, our comments are given as to the implications of the data and what inferences can be drawn from them. Thus, while the statistical information and explanations of this information are objective in nature, Observations are subjective.

Monition. As in all Quayle studies, should any portion of this report appear in the press or any other public medium, Oliver Quayle and Company reserves the right to make public its entire contents, including the wording of questions, a definition of the sample and its size, methods and timing of interviewing, and the identity of the client.

ANALYSIS

Timing

The reader should understand that events taking place during the days when interviewing is conducted can influence the opinions of respondents. Thus, it is important to bear in mind that interviewing for this survey was done between February 8th and February 15th, 1969. During the early part of this week, oil leaks from offshore Southern California wells and the pollution threat they posed were featured in headlines. Secretary of Interior Walter Hickel ordered all drilling stopped in the already polluted Santa Barbara Channel. Heavy snows whipped the Northeast, but President Nixon escaped them by spending a long weekend in Key Biscayne. He was back in Washington, however, on Tuesday and announced that he was making no changes in his plans to visit Berlin later in the month in spite of the East Germans' hostility to the holding of West Germany's Presidential Election in that city. Later in the week, the selection of a jury to try Sirhan Sirhan for the murder of Robert Kennedy was completed, and in New Orleans the state's key witness against Clay Shaw said he was not absolutely certain that he had heard Shaw talk about murdering President Kennedy.

After a visit to Washington, Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York announced that he had suggested to President Nixon that federal financial aid to states and local governments be increased eventually by 30 billion dollars and that this be done by keeping the 10 percent income tax surcharge and earmarking revenue for state and local aid.

Disturbances on the nation's college campuses were very much in the news as the National Guard was called in to quell a student strike at the University of Wisconsin. In Durham, North Carolina the police used tear gas to break up a crowd of 1000 Duke University students, most of them white.

Then as the week closed, a one day truce was announced in Viet Nam to mark the Tet, or Lunar New Year holiday. It was emphasized by both the U.S. and the South Vietnamese that the truce was kept brief this year to discourage the type of enemy offensive which almost overran South Vietnamese cities during the Tet holiday last year.

Background

To dramatize the need for action to solve Washington's transportation problems, it has been pointed out that in the past 20 years over 26 transportation surveys of the District of Columbia have been completed at an estimated cost of approximately 20 million dollars.

In contrast to this investment in planning, progress in terms of new highway construction within the city has been extremely slow. Under the Federal Interstate Highway program the Beltway, the Shirley Highway, and the Anacostia, Southwest, and Whitehurst Freeways have been built in the area in and around the District. Also, last fall voters in Washington's suburban counties approved of bond issues which would finance their share of the Metro Rapid Rail Transit System. Yet, practically all the freeways built serve the periphery of the District and practically none of the inner city leading out to the periphery.

This leaves Washington with an incompleting and what many believe is an inadequate freeway system. This situation prevails mainly because the city has been racked by 15 years of controversy as to whether further freeways should be built and if so where they should be located. It has now reached the crisis stage since Congress has hinted that it will not appropriate its share of funds for Metro rail system until the city shows "concrete" evidence that it has agreed upon a plan to complete its unfinished freeway network.



Thus, it seems that the years of controversy must end, and the city's leaders must reach some decision.

So far this decision has been held up in part by what would seem to be widespread opposition from citizen groups to new freeway construction or at least to freeways connecting the city to the suburbs. Out and out opponents to any new freeways argue that these new highways would destroy homes and neighborhoods, displace people, cause greater air pollution, and rob many sections of Washington of their natural beauty and charm. These opponents come from both the white and black segments of community leadership, but the overtones are heavily racial as typified by the accusation that freeways "are white men's roads through black men's homes".

Then there is another viewpoint, as represented by the most recent decision of the City Council and National Capital Planning Commission, which would not connect the District's new freeways with suburban highways. Adherents argue that by eliminating such gateways to the city as the Three Sisters Bridge and the North Central Freeway that suburban commuters, discouraged from bringing their cars into downtown Washington, will thus relieve downtown congestion. In other words, they contend that the flow of commuter traffic can be stemmed by limiting freeway facilities. They back this up by stating that the Washington residential community does not want suburban-access freeways and that the downtown business community does not need them. Indeed, they feel that the central business district would be hurt rather than helped by such freeways.

Finally, supporters of freeways which would lead directly into suburban highways argue that the Washington area must have a balanced regional transportation system to include freeways, rail rapid transit, improved bus service, and more public parking facilities; that each one of

these systems must complement the other; and that any efforts to force unrealistic limitations on one of these necessary improvements will result in deficiencies which cannot be corrected by the other segments of the system. As an example of this, these freeway backers point out that, despite the existence of a rapid rail system, a large number of people will still use their cars either to commute to Washington or to reverse commute to the suburbs, and efforts to discourage cannot be successful.

These proponents also argue that unless such a balanced system, including freeways leading directly to the suburbs, is initiated immediately traffic congestion will make Washington's residential areas unlivable, will cause economic stagnation downtown, and will prevent Washington's large number of low and unskilled workers from reaching job opportunities now opening up in the suburbs. Under such conditions of congestion, stagnation, and urban blight, they contend the city's tax base will be so reduced that it will be forced to cut back on vital public services such as schools and hospitals, and police protection, and will be totally unable to play its proper role as the governmental center of our nation.

No matter what point of view is taken on a question as controversial as new urban freeways, it is always a temptation to claim that "the people want this and the people want that". The purpose of this study is to find out exactly what the people of Washington want in terms of freeways or no freeways, or suburban connected freeways or freeways limited to the city proper, and why they feel the way they do.

This leads us to these attitudes of Washington residents, but first let us take a brief look at exactly who Washington residents are.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF WASHINGTON, D.C. ADULT RESIDENTS

All Washington  
Adult Residents

%

(Read Vertically)

Sex

Male	47
Female	53

Age

21-34 years	32
35-49 years	34
50-64 years	25
65 years and over	9

Socio-Economic Level

Upper and upper-middle	24
Middle	53
Lower	23

Annual Family Income

\$3,000 and under	13
\$3,100 to \$5,000	20
\$5,100 to \$7,500	25
\$7,600 to \$10,000	16
\$10,100 to \$15,000	10
Over \$15,000	12
Don't know or refused	4

Occupation

Business, professional and small business	9
White-collar	32
Blue-collar	37
Retired, widow	15
Unemployed or student	4
Housewife	3

Head Of Household Employed By

Federal government	30
Private business or organization	40
Self employed	4
City government	4
Not employed	22

Union Affiliation

Union household	16
Nonunion household	84

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF WASHINGTON, D.C.  
ADULT RESIDENTS - Cont'd.

All Washington  
Adult Residents

%

(Read Vertically)

Location Of Employment

Washington, D.C.	58
Virginia Suburbs	8
Maryland Suburbs	12
Not employed	22

Method Of Getting To Work

Household car	42
Car pool	6
One bus	11
Two or more buses	12
Walk all the way	5
Take taxi	1
Other means	1
Depends, varies	2
Don't go to work	20

Time Required To Get To Work  
(Employed Only)

15 minutes or less	25
16 to 25 minutes	22
26 to 30 minutes	19
31 to 45 minutes	19
46 minutes or more	15

Automobile Ownership

Own one car	46
Own two or more cars	14
Do not own car	40

Race

White	23
Negro	77

Religion

Protestant	68
Catholic	17
Jewish	2
Other or refused	13

Major Protestant Denominations

Baptist	41
Methodist	11
Fundamentalist	7
Episcopal	4

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF WASHINGTON, D.C.  
ADULT RESIDENTS - Cont'd.

All Washington  
Adult Residents

%

(Read Vertically)

Length Of Residence In Washington

Less than 2 years	7
2 to 10 years	18
11 to 20 years	16
Over 20 years	59

Home Ownership

Own home	45
Rent home	55

Type Of Dwelling Lived In

One-family house	56
Apartment or multi-family house	44

Political Registration

Republican	8
Democrat	60
Independent	4
Not registered	28

Area Of Residence (See Map In  
Appendix A For Area Definition)

Northwest	24
Southwest	28
Northeast	23
Southeast	25

This table gives a thumbnail sketch of District adults. Thus, we find that women outnumber men among people who live in the city by 53 to 47 percent and that people under 50 outnumber those over 50 by approximately two to one. From a strictly subjective appraisal of the way people live, (as viewed by our field staff) there are almost as many poverty-stricken residents as well-to-do ones, but the majority (53 percent) are members of America's great middle class.

If this middle class is to be defined as families having incomes of between 3,100 and 10,000 dollars then 61 percent of Washington's households fall into this class, but according to our staff's appraisal half of those with incomes of between 3,100 and 5,000 dollars are living under poverty conditions. Indeed, one might ask how any family with the head of the household making between 3,000 and 5,000 dollars could be classified as middle socio-economic strata. These would be mainly families where both the husband and wife work and particularly families with no children or perhaps only one or two.

As to how these incomes are earned, more people work at blue-collar than at white-collar jobs. Furthermore, approximately one adult resident in five is either retired or unemployed. Although Washington is the Capital City, fewer than one resident in three works for the Federal Government, and private business and organizations are the city's largest employers.

The great majority of Washingtonians work in their home city, but as many as 20 percent commute to either Maryland or Virginia. No matter where they work, nearly half get to their jobs by car while nearly one in four use either one or more buses. In other words, the basis of Washington's economic life depends heavily on four wheels and the internal combustion engine. This is underscored by our finding that three out of five residents

own at least one car. Whether they drive, catch a bus, or walk all the way, as many as 53 percent of those employed take over 26 minutes to get from home to their job location.

We have already commented on the higher-than-expected Negro population in the city, and therefore it follows that Protestants outnumber all other religious groups by more than two to one. This higher-than-estimated number of black residents is partially accounted for by our finding that 25 percent of Washington's adults moved to the city within the past ten years.

The city is pretty evenly divided between residents who own their own homes or rent them and between those who live in one family houses and those who live in multi-family houses or apartments. However, more rent than own and the majority live in one family homes.

Now that Washington residents have the right to vote, we find that most are registered Democrats, but that as yet 28 percent have not registered to vote.

Finally, the area definition of the city, as used in this study, is given on the map found in Appendix A of this report.

Observation: The classic image of Washington, D.C. is that its residents are either rather affluent whites living in Georgetown and in the Northwestern part of the city or poverty-stricken blacks crammed into the blighted inner city. To some extent this is an accurate picture, but it leaves out a major ingredient, because there are obviously a large number of middle-income Negroes in Washington today, many of whom are homeowners and enjoy many of the other pleasures and standards of America's middle class.

Our finding that Washington's economic existence depends heavily on the automobile and the bus comes as no surprise, but it does focus on the critical importance of resolving problems involving the movement of these vehicles.

Attitudes Toward The Present Transportation System

Washington residents were asked how quickly and conveniently they thought they normally get or can get from their homes to other places within the city or within its immediate suburbs.

ATTITUDE TOWARD SPEED AND CONVENIENCE OF GETTING FROM  
HOME TO OTHER PLACES IN WASHINGTON OR  
IN CITY'S IMMEDIATE SUBURBS

All Washington Adults:

With Undecided In      With Undecided Out

%

%

Can Get To These Places:

Very quickly and conveniently	13	14
Quite quickly and conveniently	38	40
Quite slowly and inconveniently	28	29
Very slowly and inconveniently	16	17
Not sure	5	-

\* \* \* \* \*

Favorable		54
Unfavorable		46

All but 5 percent of respondents have an opinion on this question, and of those holding one, 54 percent feel that they can get from their home to other places within the city or to the suburbs either very or quite conveniently. The greatest number select the modifying term "quite" while only 14 percent go to the top of the scale and use "very". On the other hand, few (17 percent) feel that they face a very difficult time if they want to get from one place to another in or around the District.



Observation: This somewhat favorable feeling toward the speed and convenience of transportation within the city and to its nearest suburbs shows that the majority of Washington residents do not view their personal transportation as a critical or overwhelming problem. Most are reasonably satisfied although a large minority is somewhat dissatisfied.

Getting more specific, we asked residents to rate Washington's system of streets, roads, highways, and parkways on a four-part scale.

RATING GIVEN WASHINGTON'S PRESENT SYSTEM  
OF ROADS, STREETS, HIGHWAYS, AND PARKWAYS

All Washington Adult Residents:

	<u>With Undecided In</u>	<u>With Undecided Out</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Excellent	6	6
Pretty good	34	36
Only fair	38	40
Poor	17	18
Not sure	5	-
* * * * *		
Favorable		42
Unfavorable		58

Of those with an opinion, nearly three out of five give the city's road and highway system a negative rating. Twice as many say "fair" than say "poor", but those who are completely derogatory outnumber those who enthuse or say "excellent" by three to one.

Observation: Residents may feel that Washington is not chocked by traffic (as indicated by the mildly positive reading they give on convenience and speed of getting around the city), but a rather considerable majority also feel that the present system of roads, streets, and highways is generally unsatisfactory. Nevertheless, this reaction is not strongly negative, and thus is a second indication that city residents do not view transportation difficulties as an extremely serious personal problem.

Using the same four-part scale, we asked residents to rate Washington's downtown parking facilities.

RATING OF DOWNTOWN PARKING FACILITIES

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents:</u>	
	<u>With Undecided In</u>	<u>With Undecided Out</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Excellent	2	2
Pretty good	8	9
Only fair	20	23
Poor	58	66
Not sure	12	-
* * * * *		
Favorable		11
Unfavorable		89

Obviously, most residents have had some experience with or heard something about the experience of others regarding downtown parking. All but 12 percent can rate the facilities, and their reaction is overwhelmingly negative. The over-all 89 percent unfavorable rating falls far below those given streets and highways and general speed and convenience. More than that, practically two-thirds of those with an opinion are highly critical of measures taken to date to provide adequate downtown parking.

Observation: While the majority of residents cannot get greatly exercised about the other two transportation aspects examined, they can over downtown parking. They obviously feel that more parking spaces are needed. Thus, if new freeways are built without providing for more parking, this aggravation could be exacerbated.

To show how many residents own automobiles we repeat the information shown on page 9, but also show how residents use these cars.

AUTOMOBILE OWNERSHIP IN HOUSEHOLDS

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>
	%
<u>Household owns:</u>	
One car	47
More than one car	14
<u>Household owns no cars</u>	39

PURPOSE FOR WHICH HOUSEHOLD CAR(S)  
IS (ARE) USED MOST OFTEN

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Whose Household Owns Car(s)</u>	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Whose Household Owns (A) Car(s) Who Is:</u>	
		<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%
To get to work in Washington	61	55	66
For shopping and errands in Washington	19	29	14
To get to work outside of Washington	9	6	10
For shopping and errands outside of Washington	5	5	4
For pleasure in Washington	4	4	4
For pleasure outside of Washington	2	1	2

PURPOSE FOR WHICH HOUSEHOLD CAR(S) IS USED NEXT MOST OFTEN

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>
	%
For shopping and errands in Washington	56
For pleasure in Washington	17
For shopping and errands outside of Washington	11
For pleasure outside of Washington	7
To get to work in Washington	6
To get to work outside of Washington	3
Not sure	( 6)

Primarily, residents drive their household cars to get to and from work within Washington. This holds for both whites and Negroes, but especially for Negroes. Approximately two-thirds of the Negro households owning cars use them most often for this purpose. Whites are more apt to drive mainly to shop and do errands than Negroes, but over-all shopping and errand running within the city is the second use made of Washington's cars. It is also noteworthy that one Negro household in ten owning a car uses it mainly to get to and from jobs located outside of Washington.

We return now to the transportation habits of all residents, regardless of whether or not they own cars. This next table repeats the information shown in the Demographic Profile, on how the heads of households or respondents get to work, but also does so according to the section of the city in which they live.

METHOD OF TRANSPORTATION MOST OFTEN USED  
BY RESPONDENT OR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD TO GET TO WORK

	All Washington Adult Residents Living In:				
	All Washington Adult Residents	North-west	South-west	North-east	South-east
	%	%	%	%	%
Use household car	42	51	24	39	53
Take two or more buses	12	6	13	13	17
Take one bus	11	12	13	12	8
Use car pool	6	5	9	3	6
Walk all the way	5	1	12	2	2
Taxi	1	1	2	2	1
Other means	1	2	1	1	-
Depends, varies (voluntary)	2	1	5	1	2
No one in household works	20	21	21	27	11

All Working Washington Residents Who Get To Work By:

Using Household Car or Car Pool	Using Bus
%	%

Rate Convenience And Speed As:

Favorable	61	46
Unfavorable	39	54

Cars, including car pools, are most used for commuting to work by residents in the two economic extremes of the community -- residents of the more affluent Northwest and residents of the least affluent Southeast. The secondary means of transportation -- buses -- are used by one resident in four in all sections except the Northwest. Furthermore, in the Southwest

and Northeast approximately as many have to take two buses as take one to get to work each day.

Next, we isolated all working Washington residents who use a car (or car pool) to drive to work and those who use buses and analyzed each of these two group's attitudes on the convenience and speed of getting to where they want to go in the city and within the immediate suburbs.

ATTITUDE TOWARD SPEED AND CONVENIENCE OF GETTING FROM HOME  
TO OTHER PLACES IN WASHINGTON OR IN CITY'S IMMEDIATE SUBURBS

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>	<u>All Working Washington Residents Who Get To Work:</u>	
		<u>By Car</u>	<u>By Bus or Buses</u>
	%	%	%
Favorable	54	61	46
Unfavorable	46	39	54

Observation: It is clear that dissatisfaction with the ease and speed of getting around their city comes heavily from people forced to take buses to work. In contrast, those who drive to their jobs are quite satisfied with the present situation.

One of the reasons for this becomes evident when we examine how long it takes for people to get to their jobs according to the means of transportation they use.

TIME REQUIRED TO GET TO WORK

	<u>All Employed Washington Adult Residents</u>
	%
15 minutes and less	25
16 to 25 minutes	22
26 to 30 minutes	19
31 to 45 minutes	19
More than 45 minutes	15

All Washington Adult Residents Whose  
Means Of Transportation To Work Is:

	<u>Private Car or Car Pool</u>	<u>One Bus</u>	<u>Two or More Buses</u>
	%	%	%
15 minutes and less	30	10	-
16 to 25 minutes	27	12	15
26 to 30 minutes	18	37	6
31 to 45 minutes	19	19	27
More than 45 minutes	6	22	52

Better than half (57 percent) of those driving, comprising 48 percent of all residents, get to their place of employment within 25 minutes. On the other hand 78 percent of those taking a bus are forced to ride 26 minutes or longer to reach their jobs and 52 percent of those taking two buses or more face a journey of more than 45 minutes.

Observation: All of this shows that it is people who use public transportation daily to go to work who are least satisfied with Washington's transportation system. If it is decided, therefore, to build new freeways, then optimum use should be made of them by the city's bus service. This would be one way of providing a significant proportion of Washington's working population with easier and faster transportation.

Leaving present methods of transportation used by residents, we asked them to think in general terms of their personal needs and the needs of other people who live and work in the District. Then we asked them to tell us what they felt was the most needed improvement in the city -- more freeways, a new rapid rail or subway system, or more downtown parking facilities.

MOST NEEDED TRANSPORTATION IMPROVEMENT

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents:</u>		<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided In</u>	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided Out</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%	%
New rapid rail or subway system	45	52	64	48
More freeways	21	25	21	26
More downtown parking facilities	20	23	15	26
Not sure	14	-	( 7)	(16)

Residents, having an opinion, opt by better than two to one for the rapid rail system with almost equal numbers selecting freeways and parking facilities. The overwhelming demand for this Metro system comes from both blacks and whites, but more blacks than whites feel parking and freeways are most important and fewer give top priority to Metro.

Then we asked residents which of these three improvements they felt was least needed.



LEAST NEEDED TRANSPORTATION IMPROVEMENT

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents:</u>		<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided In</u>	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided Out</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%	%
More freeways	37	50	56	49
More downtown parking facilities	28	37	32	37
New rapid rail or subway system	10	13	12	14
Not sure	25	-	(19)	(26)

Whether they are white or black, residents give new freeways the lowest priority, but whites are more inclined to do so than Negroes. In sum, the previous two tables show that residents (both black and white) feel the greatest transportation need is for a rapid rail system, that second priority should go to improving downtown parking, and freeways are given the third spot.

We then reminded residents that plans had been approved for the Metro rail transit system to run between the suburbs and downtown Washington, and asked them how frequently they planned to use this system once it was built.

ANTICIPATED USE OF METRO RAPID TRANSIT SYSTEM

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents:</u>		<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Live In:</u>			
	<u>With Undecided In</u>	<u>With Undecided Out</u>	<u>North-west</u>	<u>South-west</u>	<u>North-east</u>	<u>South-east</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Almost daily	21	31	23	26	41	39
At least twice a week	7	10	14	10	11	5
At least once a week	10	14	19	15	9	9
At least once a month	9	13	12	19	11	11
Less often	22	32	32	30	28	36
Not sure	31	-	( 9)	(29)	(51)	(35)
* * * * *						
Once a week or more of often	55	56	51	61	53	
Less than once a week	45	44	49	39	47	

Observation: Although anticipated use may be higher than actual and although respondents were not given a map showing the Metro routes, it is evident from these findings that the Metro system will be heavily utilized.

Many (31 percent) are probably not sufficiently familiar with the routes to state how often they would use Metro, but of those who feel they are familiar with plans, 55 percent say they will use the system once a week or more often, and nearly a third will use it daily. Heaviest daily use will be made of it by Northeastern and Southeastern residents while a more scattered but regular patronage will come from Northwestern residents. Even in the Southwest 51 percent of those able to state how frequently they will use Metro say it will be at least once a week. The greatest uncertainty or perhaps lack of knowledge about the system is displayed by Northeastern residents of whom more than half cannot state how often they will use it.

In general, then, it is our conclusion that there is no great enthusiasm for transportation in the District of Columbia but neither is there any considerable amount of serious concern. A majority favor the Metro system and a majority favor more freeways. More favor the former than the latter. There is considerable complaint about the inadequacy of downtown parking. Negroes are more likely to favor freeways than whites but there is no evidence of anything like racial polarization on this matter.

Knowledge of New Freeway Rroposals And  
General Attitude Toward New Freeways.

Residents were asked early in our interview whether they had heard or read anything about the possibility of or plans for building new freeways or highways over the next few years in the City of Washington.

KNOWLEDGE OF POSSIBILITIES OF OR PLANS FOR  
BUILDING NEW FREEWAYS IN THE CITY

	All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:		
	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%
Have heard or read about them	63	83	57
Have not heard or read about them	29	14	34
Not sure	8	3	9

	All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:			
	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>	<u>Upper And Upper-Middle Income</u>	<u>Middle Income</u>	<u>Low Income</u>
	%	%	%	%
Have heard or read about them	63	81	61	46
Have not heard or read about them	29	18	28	45
Not sure	8	1	11	9

	All Washington Adult Residents Residing In:				
	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>	<u>North-west</u>	<u>South-west</u>	<u>North-east</u>	<u>South-east</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Have heard or read about them	63	87	58	60	46
Have not heard or read about them	29	9	34	30	44
Not sure	8	4	8	10	10

Over-all knowledge is rather high. Better than three out of five residents have heard or read something about freeway plans or proposals. Knowledge, however, while extremely high among whites is a great deal lower among Negroes of whom a large minority say either that they are not sure or that they have heard or read nothing about new freeways. Degree of awareness also follows up and down the socio-economic ladder with a huge majority of the well-to-do indicating knowledge and fewer than half of the people in the lower strata showing some familiarity with freeway plans or proposals. The area analysis shows the identical pattern and reflects the district economic characteristics of residents in each of these four parts of the city.

Residents who claimed knowledge were next asked to tell us in their own words everything that they had heard or read about the proposed new freeways.

INFORMATION HEARD OR READ ABOUT PROPOSED NEW FREEWAYS

	All Washington Adult Residents Who Have Heard Or Read About Pro- posed Freeways	All Washington Adult Residents Who Have Heard Or Read About Proposed Freeways Who Are:	
		White	Negro
	%	%	%
<u>Positive</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>14</u>
Freeways will ease congestion, traffic problems	8	7	8
Freeways are needed	4	3	4
Would help residents get to and and from suburbs	2	6	1
Would help city grow in size	1	3	1
<u>Neutral</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>74</u>
Have heard of freeway plans, that's all	13	6	17
Have heard of freeway controversy	12	16	11
There are alternate plans, various proposals	12	11	12
Many people will be displaced, relocated	9	6	10
Freeway will pass nearby or through this area	6	7	5
Supposed to relieve congestion, regulate traffic	4	4	3
Have heard of plan for North Central Freeway	4	1	5
Hear that Congressional money was blocked	3	3	3
I am not interested	3	6	2
Have heard of one plan to the suburbs	3	-	4
Have heard of extention of inner loop for city	2	1	2
Have heard of freeway across Three Sisters Bridge	1	4	-
<u>Negative</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>21</u>
Will cause dislocation of homes, displacement of people	9	13	8
Am opposed to new freeways	5	11	2
Would benefit only suburbanites	3	3	3
Need subways more than freeways	3	7	2
Freeways will cause more congestion, hurt the city	3	10	-
Freeways are being forced on Negroes by white interests	3	-	4
Freeways will go through this area, don't like it	2	3	2

INFORMATION HEARD OR READ ABOUT PROPOSED  
NEW FREEWAYS - Cont'd.

	All Washington Adult Residents Who Have Heard Or Read About Pro- posed Freeways	All Washington Adult Residents Who Have Heard Or Read About Proposed Freeways Who Are:	
		<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%
<u>Have Heard Or Read About Freeways, But Can't Say Specifically What Have Heard Or Read</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>17</u>
Positive	13	14	13
Neutral	63	50	68
Negative	24	36	19

Most comments given take no sides in the controversy. Rather, people making these neutral remarks are most inclined to say rather generally that they have merely heard about plans, heard about the controversy, or that various plans are being considered. Others say that people would be displaced by freeways but do not indicate that this is necessarily bad.

Of the balance of information given by residents, more is negative than positive by a two-to-one margin, and these unfavorable reactions come more from whites than from Negroes. Regardless of race, the most frequently stated negative is the feeling that too many people will be displaced while the heaviest positive is that traffic congestion will be relieved.

Observation: Attitudes expressed here by residents who believe they know something about proposals for new freeways show that opinion has not polarized on this question. Nevertheless, knowledge tends to make people more unfavorable than favorable toward new freeways, and this tendency is stronger among knowledgeable whites than among knowledgeable blacks.

Residents who showed some awareness of freeway plans were asked where they received most of their information on the subject.

SOURCE OF MOST INFORMATION ON FREEWAYS

	All Washington Adult Residents Who Have Heard About Freeways	All Washington Adult Residents Who Have Heard About Freeways And Who Are:	
		<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%
Newspapers	36	50	30
Friends, relatives, neighbors	34	29	36
Television	18	12	20
Radio	7	4	8
Organizations	3	4	3
Other	2	1	3



Newspapers and friends, relatives, or neighbors are almost equally important sources of information citywide. Among white residents, however, by far the chief source is newspapers while among Negroes information is derived more from friends, relatives, and neighbors than from the daily press. Television, widely watched by most residents, (as we shall see), ranks a poor third.

This is surprising because when we turn our attention to all residents again we find that approximately four out of five watch television at least four to five times a week.

TELEVISION VIEWING HABITS

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
		<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
		%	%
Watch 4 to 5 times a week	78	72	80
Watch less than 4 to 5 times a week	22	28	20

TELEVISION STATIONS WATCHED MOST OFTEN

<u>Television Station Watched Most</u>	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
		<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
		%	%
WRC - Channel 4	24	39	21
WTOP - Channel 9	24	15	26
WMAL - Channel 7	20	10	23
WTTG - Channel 5	14	3	16
WETA - Channel 26	1	3	-
Not sure	17	30	14

Channels 4 and 9 are watched most often by all residents, but Channel 4 is most favored by whites while Channel 9 holds a favored position among Negroes. Channel 7, while it seems to do rather poorly with whites, is tuned in more frequently by Negroes than Channel 4, the white residents' favorite.

Observation: If it is desired to spread more information about freeways to Washington's residents, then it seems that television should be used much more than it is today as a medium.

Regardless of whether or not residents said they had heard anything about the proposed new freeways, we asked all respondents to rate the idea of building new freeways in the city.

RATING OF IDEA OF BUILDING NEW FREEWAYS IN CITY

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents:</u>		<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
	<u>With Undecided In</u>	<u>With Undecided Out</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%	%
Excellent idea	20	23.0	17	27
Pretty good idea	26	30.5	27	32
Only fair idea	14	16.0	20	16
Poor idea	26	30.5	36	28
Not sure	14	-	(11)	(15)
* * * * *				
Favorable		53.5	44	56
Unfavorable		46.5	56	44
<u>Weighted</u>				
Favorable		50	40	53
Unfavorable		50	60	47

The concept of new freeways receives a slightly favorable 53.5 percent rating. Residents who feel it is a poor idea, however, outnumber those who say it is an excellent one by 30.5 to 23.0 percent. If we utilize the more sophisticated manner of appraising this rating by applying double weights to each of these extremes, the rating falls to the break-even point of 50 - 50. Without weighting, whites and Negroes exhibit meaningful differences in their attitudes toward the proposal with whites giving it a 56 percent unfavorable and blacks a 56 percent favorable rating.

Observation: This is the first reading so far in this report that we have on its major question and it reveals that residents are almost equally divided with slightly more support for the concept of new freeways than against it. It also indicates that Negroes are more inclined to favor at least the idea of new freeways than whites.

After having people rate this idea, we next asked them to state first all the major advantages they thought could be gained by them and people such as themselves from the construction of new freeways in the city, and then all the disadvantages. Their responses to these questions produce this profile for new freeways.

NEW FREEWAYS PROFILE

	All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:		
	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%
<u>Advantages</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>71</u>
Would provide faster transportation	21	19	21
Will relieve congestion on local streets	13	14	13
Will help to get to work faster	12	7	13
Will provide easier transportation	5	5	5
Will make it quicker to get to and from downtown area	5	8	4
Will be safer, cut down on traffic accidents, make streets safer	3	2	3
Will make it easier to get to work	3	-	4
Will make it easier to shop	2	-	3
Will make it easier to get to and from suburban jobs	2	1	2
Will make shopping in suburbs easier	1	-	1
Will help city grow and prosper	1	1	1
Like the idea, they are needed	1	1	1
<u>Disadvantages</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>121</u>	<u>81</u>
Will displace too many people, destroy homes	46	38	49
Will cause more congestion	5	12	4
Will be hazardous, too many cars going too fast	4	-	5
Will take away city's charm	4	12	1
Property values will be depreciated	4	1	5
Will cause more air pollution, smoke	3	10	1
Will change the area, chop it up	3	8	2
City people need subways (rapid transit) more than they need freeways	3	10	1
Don't need them, have enough roads now	2	1	2
Will increase taxes	2	6	1
The construction will be a mess	2	4	1
Will only benefit suburbanites, not city people	2	4	2
Will destroy local businesses	2	4	1
Will be too noisy	1	1	1
Will reroute local traffic	1	-	1
If they'd improve bus service, wouldn't need them	1	1	1
Won't benefit me, don't own car	1	1	1
Creates parking problems	1	4	1
Dislike the idea	1	4	1

\* \* \* \* \*

NEW FREEWAYS PROFILE - Cont'd.

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
		<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Unable To Give Advantages Or Disadvantages Of New Freeways</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>
Favorable	44	32	47
Unfavorable	56	68	53

All but 11 percent of the city's residents have at least something to say about the relative advantages and disadvantages of new freeways. Of all the remarks made 44 percent are favorable and 56 are unfavorable giving new freeways a slightly unfavorable profile. White residents see more disadvantages than Negroes and their profile of freeways is heavily negative at 68 percent while the profile given by blacks is only slightly so (53 percent negative).

Observation: In contemplating this we would urge the reader to minimize the over-all relationship of positive to negative remarks. White people are more negative. We think it also can be assumed that they are more articulate. This at least helps explain the greater number of negative remarks.

There are three basic advantages of new freeways according to residents of both races: 1) Faster transportation generally. 2) Relief of congestion on local streets. 3) Faster transportation to work (particularly among Negroes). Next comes ease of transportation to work, to shop, and to get downtown.

The one major and completely dominant perceived disadvantage as seen by residents, both black and white but especially black, is that freeways will displace too many people and destroy too many homes. Of all the drawbacks stated more than half are stated in these terms. Among Negroes 58 percent of the objections involve this relocation problem. The ratio is lower among whites, but it is still the primary perceived disadvantage. Whites, however, also tend to feel that freeways will cause more congestion, destroy the city's charm, and cause pollution while few Negroes speak of these disadvantages. Furthermore, whites rather than Negroes say that city people need subways more than they need freeways.

Observation: When people verbalize their opinions about new freeways they are more apt to state disadvantages than advantages, but the margin between the two is not great except among white residents. Negro residents are a great deal more inclined to feel that they will personally benefit from the construction of new freeways, and the one reason forcing many to feel otherwise is the problem of displacement and relocation.

Attitudes Toward Specific Plans for Freeways  
and the Question of Freeways or No Freeways.

In this section we come face to face with residents' opinions on two specific freeway proposals and the question of whether or not they want any new freeways built in the city.

To introduce the first proposal we explained to respondents that, generally speaking, two different proposals have been suggested for the construction of new freeways in Washington. We went on to say that the first one would build new freeways to connect different points within the city, but would not connect directly to major suburban highways. Its purpose, we stated, would be to improve bus and automobile transportation within Washington. At this point, we handed residents a map labeled "Plan A" and explained that this map showed the freeway routes under this proposal with the proposed new routes shown in green and the present freeways in red. (A copy of this map is included as Appendix B to this report).

At the same time we pointed out the approximate location of their home on this map. Then we asked them to look it over, and tell us whether they tended to approve or disapprove of this plan.

ATTITUDE TOWARD NEW FREEWAY PLAN WHICH DOES NOT  
CONNECT DIRECTLY TO SUBURBAN HIGHWAYS (PLAN A)

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents:</u>		<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided In</u>	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided Out</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Approve	42	56	62	54
Disapprove	33	44	38	46
Not sure	25	-	(29)	(23)



Approval of this limited freeway plan (referred to as Plan A) is registered by 9 percent more than disapprove of it, and one resident in four cannot take a position on the question. Of those with an opinion a majority, albeit a small one, supports this type of freeway program. To put it another way, if all the presently undecided residents eventually make up their minds according to the pattern set by decided residents, the Plan A program would receive support from a slight majority of the community. A great deal more support comes from white than from Negro residents for these strictly internal routes. In fact, Negroes give it lukewarm support at best.

We next asked residents to tell us why they felt as they did about this plan.

REASONS FOR APPROVING OR DISAPPROVING OF NEW FREEWAY PLAN  
WHICH DOES NOT CONNECT DIRECTLY WITH  
SUBURBAN HIGHWAYS (PLAN A)

	All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:		
	All Washington Adult Residents	White	Negro
	%	%	%
<u>Reasons For Approving</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>39</u>
Will provide faster transportation	11	6	12
Will provide efficient traffic control, and solve traffic problems, less congestion	8	8	8
Will provide easier transportation	6	5	6
Will provide faster transportation within city	4	5	4
Will make it easier to get to work	3	5	3
Will provide faster transportation in and out of city	2	4	2
Will cause less relocation of homes	2	5	1
Need more and better roads	2	4	1
Would help in this area, easy to get to and from freeways proposed in this plan	1	1	1
Would result in safer driving	1	1	1
<u>Reasons For Disapproving</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>52</u>
Will destroy homes and displace people	17	13	18
This plan doesn't solve existing problems	5	8	4
This plan won't benefit me	4	1	5
Subways and other public transportation will do the job better	4	6	4
Will disrupt, commercialize, and destroy property values in nice neighborhoods	4	3	4
Freeways will increase traffic in city, won't solve traffic congestion problems	3	6	3
Don't need freeways, should utilize existing roads	3	5	3
Will only benefit people from suburbs	2	2	2
Will breed more traffic, more dirt, and smoke	1	1	1
Would increase taxes	1	-	2
Would not help people in this area	1	-	2
Dangerous for children	1	-	2
Would displace too many Negroes, benefit whites only	1	1	1
Don't like the plan	1	1	1

\* \* \* \* \*

REASONS FOR APPROVING OR DISAPPROVING OF NEW  
FREEWAY PLAN WHICH DOES NOT CONNECT DIRECTLY  
WITH SUBURBAN HIGHWAYS (PLAN A) - Cont'd.

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
		<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Either Not Sure Whether Approve Or Disapprove Or Could Give No Reason</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>25</u>
Approval	45	48	43
Disapproval	55	52	57

Observation: Again we find that anti-freeway people are the most vocal. Although over-all approval is given to this plan, reasons given for disapproving outnumber those given for approving of it. These reasons, both pro and con, are much the same as the positive and negative comments given when residents express what they know about proposed freeways generally. Negroes, especially, cite faster transportation as the major reason for approving of Plan A, and ease of getting around the city and less congestion are supporting arguments. Opposition to Plan A is based primarily on the fear that homes will be destroyed and people forced to find new ones. Some also say that this plan will not solve the city's transportation problems, and it is significant that only one percent of the Negroes claim that these suggested routes would displace too many Negroes and are designed for the benefit of whites only.

While still showing them the map of Plan A, we asked residents, no matter how they felt about it, how often they thought they would use these proposed new routes by bus or car if they were built.

ANTICIPATED USE OF FREEWAYS PROPOSED IN PLAN A

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents:</u>		<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
	<u>With Undecided In</u>	<u>With Undecided Out</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%	%
<u>Would Use:</u>				
Almost daily	19	27	14	31
At least twice a week	9	13	15	13
At least once a week	7	10	5	11
At least once a month	6	8	11	7
Less often	30	42	55	38
Not sure	29	-	(23)	(31)
* * * * *				
At least once a week or more often		50	34	55
Less than once a week		50	66	45

Referring back to page 23, it is evident that anticipated use of these new internal routes would be less than that for the Metro system, but not a great deal less. Negroes more than whites would use the freeways, especially on a daily basis. Indeed, white usage would be extremely limited despite our finding that whites favor this plan more than do Negroes.

Next, we turned residents' attention to a second proposed plan for the construction of new freeways. This one, we explained, would build the same freeways as the first one, but would also build two additional ones to connect city freeways with major highways running into suburban Maryland and Virginia. We went on to say that this plan's purpose would be to improve bus and automobile transportation for people within the city, and also to improve bus and automobile transportation for people who wanted to reach the suburbs or come into the city.

As done with Plan A, we handed respondents a map of Plan B (see Appendix C), explained the green and red lines, and located the approximate position of their home on the map. Then we asked them whether they tended to approve or disapprove of this proposal.

ATTITUDE TOWARD NEW FREEWAY PLAN WHICH WOULD HAVE ALL NEW  
 FREEWAYS PROPOSED IN PLAN A AND ALSO HAVE TWO  
 ADDITIONAL FREEWAYS TO CONNECT WITH  
 SUBURBAN HIGHWAYS (PLAN B)

	All Washington Adult Residents:		All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:	
	<u>With Undecided In</u>	<u>With Undecided Out</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%	%
Approve	46	59	57	59
Disapprove	32	41	43	41
Not sure	22	-	(20)	(22)

More residents approve (4 percent more) of this suburban access plan than approve of the more limited Plan A, and one percent fewer disapprove of it. This gives approval of Plan B a 14 point margin over disapproval. Of those with an opinion, nearly three out of five residents support this expanded program. Whites and blacks give it almost equal support, but whites are more favorable to the limited program while blacks give more support to this expanded one.

REASONS FOR APPROVING OR DISAPPROVING OF NEW FREEWAY PLAN WHICH  
WOULD HAVE ALL NEW FREEWAYS PROPOSED IN PLAN A AND ALSO  
HAVE TWO ADDITIONAL FREEWAYS TO CONNECT WITH  
SUBURBAN HIGHWAYS (PLAN B)

	All Washington Adult Residents	All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:	
		White	Negro
	%	%	%
<u>Reasons For Approving</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>53</u>
Would be faster route to and from suburbs in Virginia and Maryland	14	20	13
Will provide faster transportation	10	11	9
Will provide faster transportation in and out of city	8	2	9
Would be convenient to where I live, I would use it	5	1	6
Will provide faster transportation to work	4	2	4
This plan is better, it solves more problems	4	7	4
Will ease congestion	3	-	4
Will speed up traffic in the city	2	2	2
Would make travel safer, fewer accidents	1	-	1
This plan would not condemn property in my neighborhood	1	1	1
<u>Reasons For Disapproving</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>42</u>
Would cause dislocation of homes, dis- placement of people	18	20	17
Would benefit suburbanites only	6	4	6
Will increase local congestion, increase parking problems	5	12	3
Have enough super-highways, don't need more roads	4	8	3
This plan is inconvenient for me, wouldn't use it	4	2	4
Need subways, not freeways	3	7	2
Don't like this plan	3	5	3
Taxes would go up	2	1	2
Would increase noise and air pollution	1	-	2
<u>Either Not Sure Whether Approve Or Disapprove Or Could Give No Reason</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>20</u>
Approval	53	44	56
Disapproval	47	56	44

\* \* \* \* \*

Less verbal opposition exists for Plan B than for Plan A especially among Negro residents. Whites, however, more than blacks approve of Plan B because it provides for faster routes to the suburbs while Negroes tend to like it because not only would it give them faster transportation but also it would be convenient to their homes.

In disapproving of it, residents express some feeling that it would benefit suburbanites solely and white residents especially cite increased downtown parking problems should this plan be constructed. Nevertheless, major opposition still comes from residents who fear displacement of people.

ANTICIPATED USE OF FREEWAYS PROPOSED IN PLAN B

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents:</u>		<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
	<u>With Undecided In</u>	<u>With Undecided Out</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%	%
<u>Would Use:</u>				
Almost daily	17	25	11	30
At least twice a week	11	16	10	19
At least once a week	7	11	9	12
At least once a month	8	12	16	10
Less often	24	36	54	29
Not sure	33	-	(25)	(36)
* * * * *				
At least once a week or more often		52	30	61
Less than once a week		48	70	39



Slightly more Washington residents would make at least weekly use of the Plan B routes than would of those proposed in Plan A. Quite a few more Negroes would -- especially on a twice weekly basis, but fewer whites would do so. The daily usage of freeways proposed in both plans would be approximately the same.

Observation: So far we have seen that although neither proposed plan receives an overwhelming mandate from the people most (of those with an opinion) approve of both. Support for the expanded plan which would lead directly to suburban highways receives greater support than that for the restricted proposal mainly because a significant number of residents like the idea of being able to reach these suburbs easier and faster. No great division of opinion exists either pro or con between blacks and whites, but blacks would use the routes proposed in both plans more often than other residents, and they also are the strongest supporters of free-ways connected to the suburbs.

We next put the major question to Washington residents by giving them a choice between adopting new freeways as proposed by Plans A, B, or similar plans and building no new freeways. We believe this question is of pivotal importance.

CHOICE BETWEEN BUILDING NEW FREEWAYS AS PROPOSED BY  
PLANS A AND B OR SIMILAR PLANS AND  
BUILDING NO NEW FREEWAYS

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents:</u>		<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided In</u>	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided Out</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%	%
New freeways as proposed by Plan A, B, or a similar plan	50	58	54	60
No new freeways	36	42	46	40
Not sure	14	-	(10)	(16)

Exactly half of the city's residents choose some sort of plan for new freeways, and the margin of support (14 points) is the same as the margin of approval over disapproval for Plan B. In this case, however, fewer residents are undecided (14 compared to 22 percent). The net result, however, is similar. Nearly three out of five endorse freeways and this sentiment is more heavily expressed by Negroes than by whites.

The reasons residents give for making their choice on this question are practically the same as they give for either approving or disapproving of the two specific plans.

REASONS FOR CHOOSING NEW FREEWAYS, AS PROPOSED BY PLAN A  
OR PLAN B, OR CHOOSING NO NEW FREEWAYS

	All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:		
	All Washington Adult Residents	White	Negro
	%	%	%
<u>Reasons For New Freeways</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>65</u>
Will provide faster transportation	17	10	19
Will relieve congestion on local streets	14	11	15
Will provide easier transportation	9	8	10
Will provide safer transportation	5	4	5
Like the idea, they're needed, need better roads	5	6	4
Will help city grow and prosper	4	10	2
Will make it easier to get to work	3	1	3
Will make it faster to get to work	3	1	3
It will be quicker to get to and from downtown	3	4	3
Will give employment to people	2	2	1
<u>Reasons Against Any New Freeways</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>48</u>
Will displace too many people, destroy too many homes, cause financial hardship	18	13	19
Don't need them, have enough roads now	4	4	4
Will increase taxes	4	2	5
City people need subways	4	10	2
Will cause more congestion	3	10	1
Will only benefit suburbanites, not city people	3	2	3
Will be hazardous, too many cars going too fast	2	1	3
Will cause more smoke and air pollution	2	7	1
Will change this area, chop it up	2	5	1
Will take away city's charm and beauty	2	6	1
Will hurt Negroes, take away their homes and businesses	2	-	2
Dislike the idea of more freeways	2	4	1
They will be too noisy	1	2	1
If they'd improve bus service, wouldn't need more freeways	1	1	1
Won't benefit me	1	-	1
Will destroy local business	1	4	1
Should use money for other things	1	4	1

\* \* \* \* \*

<u>Either Not Sure Whether For Or Against New Freeways Or Could Give No Reason</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>22</u>
For New Freeways	55	43	58
Against New Freeways	45	57	42

The most vocal opposition to new freeways comes from white residents while the exact opposite is true among Negroes. In total, however, more residents can express reasons for having than for not having new freeway construction in the city.

A major question to be answered by this survey was whether increased knowledge about the proposed new freeways tended to make city residents more or less favorable toward them. To answer this we analyzed opinion for and against freeways in general and for and against Plans A and B according to whether or not residents had heard or read anything about the proposed new construction. (See page 25).

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KNOWLEDGE OF NEW FREEWAYS AND  
OPPOSITION TO OR SUPPORT OF THEM

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents</u>	<u>All Washington Residents Who:</u>	
		<u>Have Heard Or Read About New Freeways</u>	<u>Either Not Sure Or Have Not Heard Or Read About New Freeways</u>
	%	%	%
<u>Choose:</u>			
Plan A, B, or similar plan for new free- ways	58	56	63
No new freeways	42	44	37
Not sure	(14)	(10)	(21)
Approve of Plan A	56	50	83
Disapprove of Plan A	44	50	17
Not sure	(25)	(23)	(27)
Approve of Plan B	59	56	83
Disapprove of Plan B	41	44	17
Not sure	(22)	(18)	(27)

Of those having knowledge, 56 percent support new freeways. Of those lacking knowledge, 63 percent do so. In other words, the more a person has heard about new freeways the more he or she tends to be against them. The same pattern becomes even more distinct when we look at those who either support or oppose the two specific plans. Residents claiming knowledge either split evenly or nearly evenly between approval and disapproval of each plan while those saying they had heard or read nothing about the new freeways give both plans their overwhelming endorsement.

The voluntary responses residents gave in expressing their knowledge of proposed freeway plans and the reasons given for either opposing or supporting freeways in general or the two specific plans submitted have shown that the major reason people want more freeways is that they will provide faster, easier transportation in and out of Washington and will relieve local congestion. The prime reason given by those opposing freeways is that they will destroy homes and force people to move elsewhere.

To check further on why Washington residents feel as they do about this controversy we prepared two cards -- one listing eleven arguments for new freeway construction and the other listing fourteen arguments against such construction. We alternated between respondents as to which card was presented first.

Let us look at the results from the favorable arguments first. Each one of the eleven arguments was read to respondents as they followed on the card, and for each the respondent was asked whether he or she tended to strongly agree with it, slightly agree with it, slightly disagree with it, or strongly disagree with it. Then we asked respondents to look over the entire list and select the two arguments they felt were most convincing or most important to them and their family.

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH MAJOR ARGUMENTS FOR NEW FREEWAYS

	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who:</u>				
		<u>With Undecided In</u>			<u>With Undecided Out</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	<u>Weighted</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	
"New freeways will make it easier and faster for most city residents to get around Washington"	36	68	20	12	77	23
"New freeways will relieve the congestion on local streets making these streets safer and healthier places on which to live"	18	60	28	12	69	31
"New freeways will make it easier and faster for city and for suburban residents to get in and out of the city"	18	78	12	10	88	12
"Displaced residents will be provided with opportunities to obtain equal if not better housing"	16	41	36	23	51	49
"Since city buses will use the new freeways, bus transportation will be a great deal faster"	16	65	19	16	78	22
"New freeways will take some people's homes, but we must be concerned with what is best for the majority of the city's residents"	12	48	35	17	58	42
"New freeways will enable many people who need them most to get to new jobs now available in the suburbs"	11	65	23	12	74	26
"The Metro Rapid Transit System will help, but there still are many people who will not be able to use it and must get to work by either bus or car"	10	70	16	14	82	18

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH MAJOR ARGUMENTS FOR NEW FREEWAYS - Cont'd.

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing</u>	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who:</u>				
		<u>With Undecided In</u>			<u>With Undecided Out</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	<u>Weighted</u>	
	%	%	%	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
"Unless new freeways are built, business and government offices will leave the city and cause increased unemployment"	3	29	53	18	33	67
"Unless new freeways are built, the city will decay, forcing an increase in taxes"	3	25	52	23	31	69
"Unless new freeways are built, the city will decay, lose tax revenue, and will be unable to improve schools, hospitals, and other public services"	3	29	47	24	35	65

The first column on this table shows the percentage of residents selecting each argument as convincing, and the arguments are ranked in this order. In the next three columns, we have combined the slightly and strongly agree and disagree responses. Then in the final two columns, we have given double weight to the intense or strong disagreement or agreement answers and removed the undecided responses. Thus, this analysis gives us a reading on how important each argument is to residents and how receptive or unreceptive they are to it.

Let us evaluate both attitudes on each argument.

<u>Degree of Importance</u>	<u>Intensity of Agreement or Disagreement</u>
<u>Highly Important</u>	
Faster and easier transportation for residents around the city itself	Strong agreement
<u>Important</u>	
Relieve congestion, make local streets safer and healthier	Moderately strong agreement
Easier and faster for city and suburban residents to get in and out of city	Extremely strong agreement
Displaced persons will be provided with equal if not better housing	Almost as much disagreement as agreement
Bus transportation will be faster	Strong agreement
<u>Only Moderately Important</u>	
Some people's homes will be taken, but concern must be with what is best for the majority	Mild agreement
People who need them most will be able to get to jobs in the suburbs	Strong agreement
Metro system will help, but many will still have to get to work by car or bus	Extremely strong agreement
<u>Unimportant</u>	
Increased unemployment because government and businesses will be forced to leave city	Moderately strong disagreement
City will decay forcing taxes to increase	Moderately strong disagreement
City will decay and will be unable to improve schools, hospitals, and other public services	Moderately strong disagreement



By combining the factors of importance with degree of agreement it can be readily seen that residents feel that the best arguments for new freeways are:

1. Faster and easier transportation for residents within the city.
2. Faster and easier transportation for residents and suburbanites to get in and out of the city.
3. Bus transportation will be faster.
4. Congestion will be relieved on local streets making them safer and healthier places on which to live.

It is also most evident that the economic arguments -- unemployment, high taxes, and rundown services cut little ice with Washington residents.

Next we analyzed degree of receptiveness of each argument among white and among Negro residents.

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH MAJOR ARGUMENTS FOR NEW FREEWAYS

	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing	All White Washington Adult Residents Who:			All Negro Washington Adult Residents Who:		
		With Undecided In			With Undecided Out		
		Agree	Dis- agree	Not Sure	Agree	Dis- agree	Not Sure
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
"New freeways will make it easier and faster for most city residents to get around Washington"	36	67	33	(11)	81	19	(13)
"New freeways will relieve the congestion on local streets making these streets safer and healthier places on which to live"	18	52	48	(11)	74	26	(13)
"New freeways will make it easier and faster for city and for suburban residents to get in and out of the city"	18	81	19	(12)	88	12	(10)
"Displaced residents will be provided with opportunities to obtain equal if not better housing"	16	56	44	(27)	50	50	(22)
"Since city buses will use the new freeways, bus transportation will be a great deal faster"	16	68	32	(18)	81	19	(16)
"New freeways will take some people's homes, but we must be concerned with what is best for the majority of the city's residents"	12	55	45	(19)	57	43	(16)
"New freeways will enable many people who need them most to get to new jobs now available in the suburbs"	11	58	42	(17)	79	21	(11)
"The Metro Rapid Transit System will help, but there still are many people who will not be able to use it and must get to work by either bus or car"	10	70	30	(12)	85	15	(15)

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH MAJOR ARGUMENTS FOR NEW FREEWAYS - Cont'd.

	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing	All White Washington Adult Residents Who:			All Negro Washington Adult Residents Who:		
		With Undecided In			With Undecided Out		
		Agree	Dis- agree	Not Sure	Agree	Dis- agree	Not Sure
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
"Unless new freeways are built, business and government offices will leave the city and cause increased unemployment"	3	31	69	(14)	36	64	(19)
"Unless new freeways are built, the city will decay, forcing an increase in taxes"	3	21	79	(20)	35	65	(24)
"Unless new freeways are built, the city will decay, lose tax revenue, and will be unable to improve schools, hospitals, and other public services"	3	27	73	(20)	37	63	(24)

The best reasons for supporting new freeways according to Negroes are:

1. Faster and easier transportation for residents within the city.
2. Faster and easier transportation for residents and suburbanites to get in and out of the city.
3. Bus transportation will be faster.
4. Congestion will be relieved on local streets.

Whites, a great deal less than Negroes, see validity in the argument that local congestion will be relieved. Also they are less likely to subscribe to the idea that freeways mean faster internal transportation and improved bus service. These two arguments therefore play a secondary role among whites to the major reason they would support freeways -- easier access to the suburbs.

Finally, whites give little support to the hypothesis that new freeways mean new suburban jobs for the people who need them, while Negroes find this most relevant. It thus becomes an important secondary reason for their support of new freeways, which they believe will lead to more and better jobs.

The major arguments against new freeways were presented and analyzed in the same manner as those for freeways.

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH MAJOR ARGUMENTS AGAINST NEW FREEWAYS

	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who:</u>				
		<u>With Undecided In</u>			<u>With Undecided Out</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	<u>Weighted</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	
"New freeways will destroy too many homes and ruin too many neighborhoods"	30	61	25	14	73	27
"Homeowners displaced by freeways won't receive high enough prices for their homes to enable them to buy another house equally as good"	24	61	22	17	79	21
"The people who will benefit most from new freeways live in the suburbs and not in the city"	16	64	26	10	75	25
"Residents who will be displaced by the freeways will not be able to buy or rent the kind of housing they need"	15	58	24	18	72	28
"No new freeways should be built because they are only white men's roads through black men's homes"	10	35	48	17	44	56
"New freeways will increase air pollution"	9	52	29	19	65	35
"There won't be enough downtown parking to take care of all the cars which would use new freeways"	8	62	24	14	76	24
"New freeways will tend to destroy the beauty and unique characteristics of Washington"	7	44	41	15	53	47

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH MAJOR ARGUMENTS AGAINST NEW FREEWAYS - Cont'd.

	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who:</u>				
		<u>With Undecided In</u>			<u>With Undecided Out</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	<u>Weighted Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	
"New freeways will not be needed once the Metro Rapid Transit System is built"	6	35	42	23	49	51
"No new freeways should be built because they only encourage more people to drive their cars instead of using public means of transportation"	6	40	44	16	49	51
"New freeways will create more noise in residential neighborhoods than we have now"	4	51	36	13	61	39
"Highway planners and supporters of more freeways tend to be heartless and don't care about people"	3	40	39	21	54	46
"New freeways may help business and government interests, but they will only hurt working people"	3	28	52	20	38	62
"New freeways will hurt rather than help promote the prosperity of downtown business"	3	32	48	20	40	60

The reaction here to arguments against freeways confirms the spontaneous expressions residents recorded earlier in this report.

<u>Degree of Importance</u>	<u>Intensity of Agreement or Disagreement</u>
<u>Highly Important</u>	
Will destroy homes and ruin too many neighborhoods	Strong agreement
Displaced residents will not receive enough for their homes to enable them to buy equally good ones	Strong agreement
<u>Important</u>	
Suburbanites rather than city residents will benefit most from new freeways	Strong agreement
Displaced residents will be unable to buy or rent the kind of housing they need	Strong agreement
<u>Only Moderately Important</u>	
Freeways are white men's roads through black men's homes	Mild disagreement
Will increase air pollution	Moderately strong agreement
Downtown parking will be inadequate	Strong agreement
<u>Rather Unimportant</u>	
Will destroy beauty and unique characteristics of city	Almost as much disagreement as agreement
Will not be needed because of Metro system	Slightly more disagreement than agreement
Will encourage too many people to drive their cars	Slightly more disagreement than agreement
<u>Unimportant</u>	
Will create more noise	Moderately strong agreement
Highway planners are heartless	Slightly more agreement than disagreement
Help business and government, but not working people	Moderately strong disagreement
Hurt rather than help downtown economy	Moderately strong disagreement

Observation: Again we find that the overriding reason for opposing new freeways is that they will throw people out of their homes and break up neighborhoods; that the people so displaced will not be reimbursed sufficiently for their houses to enable them to buy as good a home; and that in general displaced people will be unable to find decent housing. These

feelings are coupled with grave suspicions on the part of many (as shown on page 51) that displaced families will be given opportunities to get housing equal to or better than that which they have now. Moreover, as also noted on page 51, a sizable proportion of all residents do not subscribe to the idea that a few must make sacrifices so that the majority can benefit.

Indeed, practically all opposition to new freeways hinges on these feelings that it is unjust and arbitrary to force people from their homes without stronger guarantees that they will be able to find as good if not better new homes within the city. In addition, residents attach importance to and strongly agree with the concept that new freeways will primarily help suburbanites. This attitude serves to support their aggravation over the displacement of city residents. Although more disagree than agree with the "white men's roads through black men's homes" theme, the significant number who subscribe to this fit into the same picture.

The other arguments against freeways are relatively unimportant to residents as a whole, and again the economic ones are furthest down the list.



AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH MAJOR ARGUMENTS AGAINST NEW FREEWAYS

	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing	All White Washington Adult Residents Who:			All Negro Washington Adult Residents Who:		
		<u>Weighted</u>		Not Sure	<u>Weighted</u>		Not Sure
		Agree	Dis- agree		Agree	Dis- agree	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
"New freeways will destroy too many homes and ruin too many neighborhoods"	30	69	31	(20)	74	26	(13)
"Homeowners displaced by freeways won't receive high enough prices for their homes to enable them to buy another house equally as good"	24	74	26	(27)	80	20	(13)
"The people who will benefit most from new freeways live in the suburbs and not in the city"	16	81	19	(16)	75	25	( 8)
"Residents who will be displaced by the freeways will not be able to buy or rent the kind of housing they need"	15	70	30	(26)	74	26	(15)
"No new freeways should be built because they are only white men's roads through black men's homes"	10	31	69	(25)	47	53	(14)
"New freeways will increase air pollution"	9	65	35	(16)	66	34	(21)
"There won't be enough downtown parking to take care of all the cars which would use new freeways"	8	79	21	(13)	75	25	(14)
"New freeways will tend to destroy the beauty and unique characteristics of Washington"	7	69	31	(16)	49	51	(14)
"New freeways will not be needed once the Metro Rapid Transit System is built"	6	52	48	(23)	48	52	(23)

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH MAJOR ARGUMENTS AGAINST NEW FREEWAYS - Cont'd.

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing</u>	<u>All White Washington Adult Residents Who:</u>			<u>All Negro Washington Adult Residents Who:</u>		
		<u>Weighted</u>		<u>Not Sure</u>	<u>Weighted</u>		<u>Not Sure</u>
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis- agree</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
"No new freeways should be built because they only encourage more people to drive their cars instead of using public means of transportation"	6	44	56	(19)	50	50	(15)
"New freeways will create more noise in residential neighborhoods than we have now"	4	65	35	(13)	60	40	(13)
"Highway planners and supporters of more freeways tend to be heartless and don't care about people"	3	54	46	(26)	54	46	(20)
"New freeways may help business and government interests, but they will only hurt working people"	3	30	70	(21)	40	60	(19)
"New freeways will hurt rather than help promote the prosperity of downtown business"	3	40	60	(24)	40	60	(20)

Observation: All of the relocation and displacement of people arguments are highly receptive to both blacks and whites, but it should come as no surprise that Negroes, who would probably be most affected, also feel most intensely about these problems. Nevertheless, whites are more likely than blacks to feel that the chief benefactors would be suburban residents although, as might be expected, Negroes are more apt to agree with the "white men's roads through black men's homes" proposition.

The only other major differences between the opinions of whites and Negroes appear among the less important arguments. Fears that freeways will destroy Washington's beauty come primarily from whites while blacks more than whites feel that freeways will help business and government but hurt working people.

Preference Between Limited And Suburban-Access Plans For Freeways

Near the very end of our interview and after respondents had been able to give and respond to all major arguments for and against freeways, we again took out the maps of Plan A and Plan B and handed both to residents. We asked them to assume that it was definitely decided to build new freeways and that they had a choice between Plan A., which would not connect directly to the suburbs, and Plan B, which would connect to the suburbs. Then we asked them to look over the maps again and to state their preference between the two plans.

PREFERENCE BETWEEN PLAN A AND PLAN B  
FOR PROPOSED NEW FREEWAYS

	All Washington Adult Residents:		All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:	
	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided In</u>	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided Out</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%	%
Plan A	22	35	35	34
Plan B	41	65	65	66
Not sure	37	-	(28)	(38)

Observation: Nearly two out of five residents are unable to state a preference, but among those holding an opinion Plan B or the expanded routes to the suburbs are favored by an almost two-to-one margin. If new freeways are to be built, the expanded plan would receive a great deal more community support than the one limited to serving internal Washington. Moreover, this support comes equally from both Negroes and whites. In other words, the feeling prevails that if Washington is to build new freeways, then the full job should be done to make it generally easier for both city and suburban residents to get in and out of the District. Moreover, as seen, Negroes particularly, believe that easier and faster access to the Maryland and Virginia suburbs will mean more and better jobs.

Preference Among Subgroups For Plans A Or B

To determine which subgroups constituting Washington's adult population are most likely to support either of the proposed plans, we analyzed preferences for the plans within each of these groups.

KEY GROUP ANALYSIS PLAN A OR PLAN B

All Washington Adult Residents Choosing:

	<u>Freeway Plan A</u>	<u>Freeway Plan B</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Over-all</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>(37)</u>
<u>Sex</u>			
Male (47)	37	63	(27)
Female (53)	30	70	(46)
<u>Age</u>			
21-34 years (32)	38	62	(29)
35-49 years (34)	30	70	(37)
50-64 years (25)	29	71	(47)
65 and over (9)	48	52	(40)
<u>Socio-Economic Level</u>			
Upper and upper-middle (24)	39	61	(43)
Middle (53)	28	72	(29)
Lower (23)	49	51	(48)
<u>Annual Family Income</u>			
\$3,000 and under (13)	42	58	(52)
\$3,100 to \$5,000 (20)	34	66	(49)
\$5,100 to \$7,500 (25)	38	62	(28)
\$7,600 to \$10,000 (16)	23	77	(33)
\$10,100 to \$15,000 (10)	30	70	(15)
Over \$15,000 (12)	38	62	(38)
Refused (4)	**	**	(**)
<u>Occupation</u>			
Business, professional and small business (9)	45	55	(40)
White-collar (32)	26	74	(30)
Blue-collar (37)	35	65	(33)
Retired, widow (15)	46	54	(52)
Unemployed, student (4)	**	**	(**)
Housewife (3)	**	**	(**)
<u>Employed By</u>			
Federal government (30)	36	64	(33)
Private business or organization (40)	31	69	(31)
<u>Union Affiliation</u>			
Union household (16)	41	59	(26)
Nonunion household (84)	32	68	(39)

KEY GROUP ANALYSIS PLAN A OR PLAN B - Cont'd.

All Washington Adult Residents Choosing:

	<u>Freeway Plan A</u>	<u>Freeway Plan B</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	%	%	%
<u>Over-all</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>(37)</u>
<u>Location Of Employment</u>			
Washington, D.C. (58)	32	68	(32)
Virginia Suburbs (8)	30	70	(26)
Maryland Suburbs (13)	32	68	(30)
Retired/Not employed (21)	48	52	(53)
<u>Method Of Getting To Work</u>			
Car (48)	31	69	(28)
One bus (11)	45	55	(36)
Two or more buses (12)	30	70	(39)
<u>Time Required To Get To Work</u> <u>(Employed Only)</u>			
15 minutes and less (25)	30	70	(37)
16 minutes to 25 minutes (22)	25	75	(32)
26 to 30 minutes (19)	29	71	(31)
31 to 45 minutes (19)	35	65	(29)
46 minutes and more (15)	41	59	(31)
<u>Car Ownership</u>			
Own one car (46)	35	65	(32)
Own two or more cars (14)	41	59	(35)
Do not own car (40)	31	69	(44)
<u>Race</u>			
White (23)	35	65	(38)
Negro (77)	34	66	(37)
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (68)	30	70	(33)
Catholic (17)	39	61	(39)
Jewish (2)	**	**	(**)
<u>Protestant Denomination</u>			
Baptist (41)	25	75	(34)
Methodist (11)	31	69	(42)
<u>Length Of Residence In Washington</u>			
Less than 2 years (7)*	35	65	(39)
2 to 10 years (18)	37	63	(39)
10 to 20 years (16)	26	74	(27)
Over 20 years (59)	36	64	(39)

KEY GROUP ANALYSIS PLAN A OR PLAN B - Cont'd.

All Washington Adult Residents Choosing:

	<u>Freeway Plan A</u>	<u>Freeway Plan B</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Over-all</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>(37)</u>
<u>Came To Washington Within Last Twenty</u>			
<u>Years From (41)</u>			
Southern states (24)	30	70	(37)
Elsewhere (17)	35	65	(33)
<u>Owner/Renter</u>			
Own home (45)	35	65	(41)
Rent home (55)	35	65	(33)
<u>Type Of Dwelling</u>			
One-family house (56)	32	68	(36)
Apartment and multi-family house (44)	38	62	(39)
<u>Political Affiliation</u>			
Republican (8)*	26	74	(23)
Democrat (60)	37	63	(40)
Independent (4)	**	**	(**)
Not registered (28)	33	67	(36)
<u>Area</u>			
Northwest (24)	28	72	(30)
Southwest (28)	39	61	(30)
Northeast (23)	31	69	(60)
Southeast (25)	37	63	(31)
<u>Rating Convenience Of Getting Around</u>			
<u>Washington And Suburbs</u>			
Favorable (41)	32	68	(35)
Unfavorable (44)	38	62	(37)
<u>Rating Of Downtown Parking Facilities</u>			
Favorable (10)	54	46	(40)
Unfavorable (68)	32	68	(34)
<u>Anticipated Use Of Metro Rapid Transit</u>			
Once a week or more (38)	36	64	(30)
Less than once a week (31)	29	71	(29)

\*Base too small for statistical reliability

\*\*Base too small for statistical analysis

The over-all preferences between the two plans are shown across the top of this table after undecided residents have been removed. Then the preferences within each subgroup are shown going down the page. The bracketed figure by each subgroup title repeats the information given on Page 8 and shows that group's percentage of the total city population.

By comparing subgroup preferences with over-all choices, those groups which give particular support to either Plan A or Plan B can be readily identified. For instance, 65 percent of all adult residents support Plan B, but 63 percent of all men and 70 percent of all women do so. Thus it is clear that women more than men want a freeway plan which will lead directly to the suburbs.

Using this analysis method, here are the major supporters for each of the two plans:

Especially Strong for Plan B

Women

Residents between 35 and 64 years old

Middle socio-economic strata

Families with incomes of between 7,600 and 15,00 dollars

White-collar families

Families whose head of household is employed by private business

Nonunion families

People who work generally, but especially those who work in Virginia

People who drive to work or take two or more buses

Residents who take under 30 minutes to get to work

Residents who do not own cars

Protestants

Baptists

Residents who moved to Washington within the past 20 years  
from Southern states

People who live in one-family houses

Registered Republicans

Residents of the Northwest and Northeast

Residents who rate convenience of getting around Washington and to  
suburbs favorably

Residents who rate parking facilities unfavorably

Residents who anticipate rather infrequent use of Metro system



Especially Strong for Plan A

- Over 65 years old
- Lower and upper socio-economic strata
- Under 3,000 dollar incomes or over 15,000 dollar incomes
- Business, professional, small business and retired families
- Union families
- People who take one bus to work
- People who take 45 minutes or more to get to work
- Families who own two cars
- Residents of Southwest
- Residents who rate downtown parking favorably

Observation: Generally speaking, this analysis shows that Plan B derives most of its support from middle income white-collar working people, both black and white, who live in the Northeastern and Northwestern parts of the city. By the same token, major support for the more restricted plan comes from older, retired or business and professional people who are either rather affluent or poverty-stricken, and who tend to live in the Southwestern area of the District.

Freeways or No Freeways -- Second Time Asked

Also at the end of our interview, and after we had asked for a choice between Plans A and B, we again asked residents to tell us which they favored -- new city freeways according to plans shown in Maps A or B or according to plans somewhat similar to these or no new city freeways. At this juncture our respondents had been subjected to the main arguments for and against freeways.

PREFERENCE BETWEEN NEW FREEWAYS, AS PROPOSED  
 IN PLANS A AND B, OR SIMILAR PLANS, AND NO  
 NEW FREEWAYS (SECOND TIME ASKED)

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents:</u>		<u>All Washington Adult Residents Who Are:</u>	
	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided In</u>	<u>With Unde-</u> <u>cided Out</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
	%	%	%	%
New freeways as proposed by Plan A, B, or a similar plan	45	57	49	59
No new freeways	34	43	51	41
Not sure	21	-	(20)	(21)

Observation: After all the arguments have been given on either side of this question, there is still more support for new freeways than for no freeways. A comparison, however, between this table and that appearing on Page 46 when the question was first asked shows that 7 percent more of the residents became undecided after they had heard all arguments; that supporters of freeways fall 5 percent; and that opposition to freeways falls 2 percent. In other words, the more a resident hears the arguments the more hesitant he or she becomes, and although more desert the ranks of freeway supporters than leave the ranks of the opposition, the remaining majority still favor new freeway construction. Moreover, Negroes hold steadier to this position than whites and in the end favor new freeways by a three-to-two margin while whites are almost evenly divided.

In other words, after the smoke has cleared a slight majority of Washington's residents want new freeways and if they are to be built they strongly favor doing a complete job and connecting these freeways to suburban highways.

To make this latter point even clearer we analyzed residents' choices between the two plans against how they stated their positions for the second time on freeways generally.

SWITCHER ANALYSIS - BETWEEN FREEWAYS  
OR NO FREEWAYS (SECOND TIME ASKED)  
AND PLAN A OR PLAN B

	All Washington Adult Residents:		All Washington Adult Residents Who Choose:		
	With Undecided In	With Undecided Out	Freeways, Plan A, B, or Similar Plan	No New Freeways	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Also Choose:</u>					
Plan A	22	35	24	27	7
Plan B	41	65	69	22	13
Not sure	37	-	7	51	80

Observation: Nearly seven out of ten who favor new construction also favor the expanded plan. Thus, it is clear that the more a resident favors new freeways the more he is also inclined to favor the suburban access plan. Better than half of the people opposing new freeways cannot decide between the two plans, but those who can decide tend to lean slightly toward the more restricted proposal. Finally, among those who cannot make a decision on the general freeway question, four out of five also cannot decide between Plans A and B, but those who can favor Plan B by better than a two-to-one margin.

All of this indicates that if the Washington community is to decide this freeway controversy, the major question to be focused upon first should be new freeways or no new freeways rather than on which plan is preferred. Once the major question is resolved, then the problem of which specific plan to adopt would seem to be easier to solve.

New Freeways or No New Freeways Subgroup Preferences

Choices between new freeways and no new freeways according to subgroups constituting Washington's adult population were analyzed in the same manner as those between Plans A and B.

KEY GROUP ANALYSIS -- NEW FREEWAYS OR NO NEW  
FREEWAYS (SECOND TIME ASKED)

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Choosing:</u>		
	<u>Proposed By Plans A Or B Or Similar Plans</u>	<u>No New Freeways</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Over-all</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>(21)</u>
<u>Sex</u>			
Male (47)	64	36	(17)
Female (53)	51	49	(24)
<u>Age</u>			
21-34 years (32)	60	40	(19)
35-49 years (34)	63	37	(27)
50-64 years (25)	54	46	(20)
65 and over (9)	37	63	( 9)
<u>Socio-Economic Level</u>			
Upper and upper-middle (24)	47	53	(23)
Middle (53)	66	34	(16)
Lower (23)	43	57	(31)
<u>Annual Family Income</u>			
\$3,000 and under (13)	51	49	(26)
\$3,100 to \$5,000 (20)	62	38	(25)
\$5,100 to \$7,500 (25)	65	35	(21)
\$7,600 to \$10,000 (16)	59	41	(20)
\$10,100 to \$15,000 (10)*	66	34	(10)
Over \$15,000 (12)	37	63	(13)
Refused (4)	**	**	(**)
<u>Occupation</u>			
Business, professional and small business (9)	43	57	(19)
White-collar (32)	64	36	(18)
Blue-collar (37)	66	34	(26)
Retired, widow (15)	34	66	(14)
Unemployed, student (4)	**	**	(**)
Housewife (3)	**	**	(**)
<u>Employed By</u>			
Federal government (30)	55	45	(19)
Private business or organization (40)	70	30	(22)
<u>Union Affiliation</u>			
Union household (16)	57	43	(15)
Nonunion household (84)	57	43	(22)

KEY GROUP ANALYSIS -- NEW FREEWAYS OR NO NEW  
FREEWAYS (SECOND TIME ASKED) - Cont'd.

	All Washington Adult Residents Choosing: New Freeways As Proposed By Plans A Or B Or Similar <u>Plans</u>		
		<u>No New Freeways</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	%	%	%
<u>Over-all</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>(21)</u>
<u>Location Of Employment</u>			
Washington, D.C. (58)	60	40	(22)
Virginia Suburbs (8)*	71	29	(23)
Maryland Suburbs (12)	68	32	(20)
Retired/Not employed (22)	40	60	(17)
<u>Method Of Getting To Work</u>			
Car (48)	57	43	(15)
One bus (11)	63	37	(29)
Two or more buses (12)	76	24	(41)
<u>Time Required To Get To Work</u> <u>(Employed Only)</u>			
15 minutes or less (25)	53	47	(20)
16 to 25 minutes (22)	61	39	(22)
26 to 30 minutes (19)	58	42	(22)
31 to 45 minutes (19)	71	29	(21)
46 minutes and more (15)	75	25	(30)
<u>Car Ownership</u>			
Own one car (46)	58	42	(14)
Own two or more cars (14)	44	56	(25)
Do not own car (40)	61	39	(27)
<u>Race</u>			
White (23)	49	51	(20)
Negro (77)	59	41	(21)
<u>Religion</u>			
Protestant (68)	59	41	(20)
Catholic (17)	56	44	(21)
Jewish (2)	**	**	(**)
<u>Protestant Denomination</u>			
Baptist (41)	60	40	(21)
Methodist (11)	54	46	(13)
<u>Length Of Residence In Washington</u>			
Less than 2 years (7)*	89	11	(32)
2 to 10 years (18)	56	44	(27)
10 to 20 years (16)	60	40	(13)
Over 20 years (59)	53	47	(20)

KEY GROUP ANALYSIS -- NEW FREEWAYS OR NO NEW  
FREEWAYS (SECOND TIME ASKED) - Cont'd.

	<u>All Washington Adult Residents Choosing:</u>		
	<u>Proposed By Plans</u>	<u>No New Freeways</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Over-all</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>(21)</u>
<u>Came To Washington Within Last Twenty Years From</u>			
Southern states (24)	73	27	(26)
Elsewhere (17)	55	45	(18)
<u>Owner/Renter</u>			
Own home (45)	42	58	(17)
Rent home (55)	70	30	(24)
<u>Type Of Dwelling</u>			
One-family house (56)	48	52	(16)
Apartment or multi-family house (44)	71	29	(27)
<u>Political Affiliation</u>			
Republican (8)*	59	41	(10)
Democrat (60)	54	46	(20)
Independent (4)	**	**	(**)
Not registered (28)	70	30	(25)
<u>Area</u>			
Northwest (24)	50	50	( 9)
Southwest (28)	54	46	(16)
Northeast (23)	52	48	(40)
Southeast (25)	72	28	(20)
<u>Rating Convenience Of Getting Around Washington And Suburbs</u>			
Favorable (51)	56	44	(20)
Unfavorable (44)	59	41	(22)
<u>Rating Washington's Roads, Street And Highway System</u>			
Favorable (40)	53	47	(22)
Unfavorable (55)	61	39	(18)
<u>Rating Of Downtown Parking Facilities</u>			
Favorable (10)*	56	44	(20)
Unfavorable (68)	54	46	(17)
<u>Anticipated Use Of Metro Rapid Transit</u>			
One a week or more often (38)	62	38	(16)
Less than once a week (31)	56	44	(14)

\*Base too small for statistical reliability

\*\*Base too small for statistical analysis

Here are the major sources of support for each point of view:

For New Freeways

Men generally  
Residents under 50 years of age  
Middle socio-economic strata (by nearly a two-to-one margin)  
Families with incomes of 3,100 to 7,500 dollars and those with incomes of 10,100 to 15,000 dollars  
Blue- and white-collar families (by nearly a two-to-one margin)  
Families whose head of household is employed by private business or organization  
People who work in the suburbs and to a lesser degree people who work in the District  
People who get to work by bus  
People who travel 16 to 25 minutes or over 31 minutes to work  
People who don't own cars  
Negroes more than whites  
Baptists  
Residents who have come to Washington within the past 20 years from southern states  
Renters and residents who live in multi-family dwellings  
Residents who are not registered to vote  
Residents of the Southeastern area  
Residents who rate the city's street and highway system unfavorably  
Heaviest anticipated users of the Metro system

Against New Freeways

Women generally  
Residents over 65  
Upper, upper-middle and lower socio-economic strata  
Families with incomes of 3,000 dollars and under and families with incomes of over 15,000 dollars  
Business, professional, small business, and retired families  
People who take 15 minutes or less to get to work  
Families who own two cars  
White residents  
Home owners  
Residents who live in one-family houses  
Residents in the Northwestern and Northeastern areas  
Residents who rate the city's street and highway system favorably

Observation: These two listings make it crystal clear that support for new freeway construction comes primarily from Washington's middle class working people who, as seen previously in these findings, feel that new freeways will provide them with faster and easier transportation to and from their jobs. On the other hand, it is a combination of more affluent business and professional people, nonworking older and retired people and the city's truly poor residents who are most strongly opposed to new freeways. Furthermore, there is a direct correlation between how residents feel about the city street and highway system and how they feel about new freeways. Those who believe the system is only fair or poor opt for new freeways and the opposite tends to hold for those

who rate it excellent or very good. Nevertheless, anticipation that they will use the Metro system rather regularly does not tend to prevent residents from supporting new freeway construction. On the contrary, these working people who will use the subway system regularly also feel that new freeways are needed. This confirms our previous finding that residents generally see little importance in and tend to disagree with the argument that new freeways will not be needed once the Metro system is built.

In sum, the greatest opposition to freeways comes from well-to-do whites and poor Negroes. The great middle class (mainly Negro) favors freeways by two to one.

#### A Final Look at the Arguments For and Against New Freeways

It has now been shown how residents line up on the freeway or no freeway controversy and on an expanded versus a limited plan for them. We have also identified the types of residents who tend to take each of these positions. Now let us recheck attitudes toward arguments, pro and con new freeways, to determine which mean most to residents taking these positions.



MOST CONVINCING ARGUMENTS FOR BUILDING NEW FREEWAYS

	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing Who:			All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing Who:		
		Choose:	Choose:	Choose:	Choose:	Choose:	Choose:
	%	Plan A	Plan B	Not Sure	Plan A, B, Or Similar Plan	No Freeways	Not Sure
		%	%	%	%	%	%
"New freeways will make it easier and faster for most city residents to get around Washington"	36	41	48	21	54	21	24
"New freeways will relieve the congestion on local streets making these streets safer and healthier places on which to live"	18	21	20	13	19	14	19
"New freeways will make it easier and faster for city and for suburban residents to get in and out of the city"	18	11	24	15	21	15	17
"Displaced residents will be provided with opportunities to obtain equal if not better housing"	16	13	15	18	12	22	15
"Since city buses will use the new freeways, but bus transportation will be a great deal faster"	16	16	20	12	22	9	16
"New freeways will take some people's homes, but we must be concerned with what is best for the majority of the city's residents"	12	7	14	12	11	14	10
"New freeways will enable many people who need them most to get to new jobs now available in the suburbs"	11	16	13	4	15	10	2

MOST CONVINCING ARGUMENTS FOR BUILDING NEW FREEWAYS - Cont'd.

	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing Who:					
		Choose:			Choose:		
		Plan A	Plan B	Not Sure	Plan A, B, Or Similar Plan	No Freeways	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
"The Metro Rapid Transit System will help, but there still are many people who will not be able to use it and must get to work by either bus or car"	10	17	6	11	6	18	8
"Unless new freeways are built, business and government offices will leave the city and cause increased unemployment"	3	5	3	3	3	3	4
"Unless new freeways are built, the city will decay, forcing an increase in taxes"	3	2	2	3	3	2	4
"Unless new freeways are built, the city will decay, lose tax revenue, and will be unable to improve schools, hospitals, and other public services"	3	1	4	2	4	1	1

This table again shows that faster and easier transportation in order to get around Washington is the pro-freeway argument selected as most convincing by the highest number of residents (36 percent). Then looking to the right we find that 41 percent of all residents choosing Plan A feel this argument is highly convincing and 48 percent of those backing Plan B feel the same way. In other words, this argument is slightly more important to Plan B than to Plan A supporters. When we look at the next three columns to the right, however, we find that 54 percent of all residents who want new freeway construction believe this argument is highly convincing while only 21 percent of those opposing new freeways believe it is. Thus, it can be said that the more a resident believes that new freeways will provide them with an easier and faster means of traveling within their city, the more likely he or she is to support new freeways.

By comparing these differences for each major argument, another check is provided on what attitudes are motivating residents most in arriving at their decisions on the entire freeway question.

Highly Motivating Arguments for New Freeways

Faster and easier to get around Washington  
Faster bus transportation

Important Motivating Arguments for New Freeways

Will make it easier and faster for city and suburban residents to get in and out of the city  
Will relieve congestion on local streets and make them better places on which to live

Highly Motivating Argument for Plan B as Opposed to Plan A

Will make it easier and faster for city and suburban residents to get in and out of the city

Important Motivating Arguments for Plan B as Opposed to Plan A

Faster and easier to get around Washington  
Faster bus service

Observation: These findings underscore previous information showed which pro-freeway arguments residents found most important and acceptable.

MOST CONVINCING ARGUMENTS AGAINST BUILDING NEW FREEWAYS

	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing Who:					
		Choose:			Choose:		
		Plan A	Plan B	Not Sure	Plan A, B, Or Smiliar Plan	No Freeways	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
"New freeways will destroy too many homes and ruin too many neighborhoods"	30	36	24	33	21	41	30
"Homeowners displaced by freeways won't receive high enough prices for their homes to enable them to buy another house equally as good"	24	24	24	24	23	24	27
"The people who will benefit most from new freeways live in the suburbs and not in the city"	16	16	20	10	17	13	16
"Residents who will be displaced by the freeways will not be able to buy or rent the kind of housing they need"	15	17	19	8	15	19	7
"No new freeways should be built because they are only white men's roads through black men's homes"	10	6	11	12	8	14	10
"New freeways will increase air pollution"	9	8	14	4	16	4	5
"There won't be enough downtown parking to take care of all the cars which would use new freeways"	8	10	11	5	13	4	6
"New freeways will tend to destroy the beauty and unique characteristics of Washington"	7	3	10	7	9	10	1
"New freeways will not be needed once the Metro Rapid Transit System is built"	6	9	6	5	7	7	4

MOST CONVINCING ARGUMENTS AGAINST BUILDING NEW FREEWAYS - Cont'd.

	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing	All Washington Adult Residents Saying Argument Is Most Convincing Who:					
		Choose:			Choose:		
		Plan A	Plan B	Not Sure	Plan A, B, Or Similar Plan	New Freeways	Not Sure
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
"No new freeways should be built because they only encourage more people to drive their cars instead of using public means of transportation"	6	9	6	5	7	7	1
"New freeways will create more noise in residential neighborhoods than we have now"	4	2	4	4	6	2	1
"Highway planners and supporters of more freeways tend to be heartless and don't care about people"	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
"New freeways may help business and government interests, but they will only hurt working people"	3	5	4	1	5	2	2
"New freeways will hurt rather than help promote the prosperity of downtown business"	3	1	2	4	3	2	5

Using the same techniques of analysis, here are the anti-freeway arguments which are most meaningful to opponents of new construction and to proponents of Plan A.

Highly Motivating Argument Against New Freeways

The destruction of homes and the breaking up of neighborhoods.

Important Motivating Arguments Against New Freeways

Displaced persons will not be able to buy or rent the kind of housing they need.

New freeways are white men's roads through black men's homes.

Highly Motivating Argument For Plan A As Opposed To Plan B

The destruction of homes and breaking up of neighborhoods.

Mildly Motivating Arguments For Plan A As Opposed To Plan B

New freeways will not be needed when the Metro system is built.

New freeways will only encourage more people to drive their cars instead of using public means of transportation.

Observation: Here again we see that the prime force behind opposition to freeways is the feeling that they will destroy people's homes and that those affected will be unable to find decent places to live.

The Influence Of Some Of The Personalities Involved In The Freeway Controversy

As in any community, certain civic and public leaders and other spokesmen here in Washington have taken visible and vocal positions on this freeway matter. It is always questionable how much direct influence such people have on residents. To test eleven of these Washington spokesmen and leaders' influence on the community, we handed residents a list of their names. We asked respondents how often they tended to agree with positions taken or statements made on city problems by each one of the eleven.

ATTITUDE TOWARD POSITIONS TAKEN BY VARIOUS  
WASHINGTON CIVIC LEADERS

All Washington Adult Residents Stating  
Their Attitude Toward Positions Taken  
By These Leaders:

	<u>Almost Always Or Often Agree</u>	<u>Seldom Or Almost Never Agree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
	%	%	%
<u>Favorable</u>			
Thomas Fletcher	78	22	(72)
John Hechinger	75	25	(58)
Samme Abbott	71	29	(94)
Peter Craig	68	32	(95)
Elizabeth Rowe	63	37	(92)
Alan Boyd	63	37	(84)
Jackson Graham	58	42	(96)
<u>Neutral</u>			
William Natcher	52	48	(92)
Grosvenor Chapman	50	50	(96)
<u>Unfavorable</u>			
Reginald Booker	48	52	(95)
Thomas Airis	41	59	(96)

With the exception of Deputy Mayor Thomas Fletcher and former City Council Chairman John Hechinger, most residents do not know what their position would be on statements made by these public leaders. Even the positions generally taken by the Deputy Mayor and Mr. Hechinger are unknown to the majority of residents, but most with an opinion tend to agree with them.



Observation: Thus, it would seem that both men have a limited but favorable influence on residents, and that the former Council Chairman has a much wider influence than the Deputy Mayor.

The strongly anti-freeway leaders -- Samme Abbott, Peter Craig, and Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe -- have failed to make a personal stamp on the community. The same also holds for the pro-freeway advocate, General Jackson Graham, and to a lesser extent for the former Secretary of Transportation, Alan S. Boyd. Yet, the few who seem to know something about their public positions on city problems tend to agree more than disagree with them. Each of these people, however, lacks a public following.

The other four men -- Congressman Natcher, Chairman of the District Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, anti-freeway fighters Reginald Booker and Grosvenor Chapman, and Director of Highways and Transportation Thomas Airis -- all hold practically indefinable positions according to the huge majority of Washington residents. When their positions are known by residents, the Congressman and Mr. Chapman arouse practically as much opposition as support. As for Messrs. Airis and Booker, among people who feel they know where these two men stand, more disagree than agree with what they have to say.

It is clear from this examination that, with the exception of Mr. Hechinger, none of these leaders tested have had any significant influence on persuading residents to follow their lead in the freeway controversy.

Conclusions: Very briefly, we summarize the major conclusions which can be drawn from these findings.

1. Washington, D.C. residents are neither highly critical nor greatly disturbed over their transportation problems. Yet, they are anything but satisfied with the present situation. They want improvements, mainly to enable them to get to and from work faster and easier.
2. Although the community is split between two large segments on the freeway question, more residents favor than oppose the building of new freeways.
3. If freeways are built most would want an expanded network which would provide direct access to suburban highways.
4. Neither this nor the entire freeway question is a racial issue. Although there is a definite feeling by Negroes that they, more than whites, would be forced out of their homes by freeways, Negroes want new freeways more than whites.
5. Residents most strongly in favor of new freeways tend to be middle class working people (white and Negro) in white- and blue-collar families and are also inclined to be men more than women.

6. Residents who most strongly oppose new freeways tend to come from either the upper or the lower segments of the city's population. They are also the older, retired people who either do not go to work or who are professionals, small business owners, or top level businessmen.
7. The most telling arguments for new freeways are that they will provide faster and easier transportation to and from work both in the city and to the suburbs, faster, better bus transportation, and will relieve congestion on local streets. The opening up of new job opportunities to Negroes in the suburbs is also rather important to black residents.
8. The one overwhelming reason for opposing new freeways is that they will throw people out of their homes, and that these victims will be unable to find adequate and decent replacement housing.
9. On the whole, residents realize that the new Metro system cannot replace the need for new freeways.
10. The more a resident now knows about proposed plans for new freeway construction, the more likely he or she is to oppose them, but after all arguments have been aired, new freeways are still more popular than no new freeways.
11. Although residents are highly dissatisfied with downtown parking facilities, as yet the argument that new freeways will only aggravate this situation is not a major motivating factor behind opposition to freeway construction.
12. The arguments that freeways will either help or destroy the city's economy are not particularly persuasive.