

THE PEOPLE BEYOND 12TH STREET



**A Survey of Attitudes
of Detroit Negroes
After the Riot of 1967**

*Sponsored by the Detroit Urban League
Co-ordinated by the Detroit Free Press.*

How Survey Was Organized

A happy coincidence was responsible for the production of this unusual survey following the tragic Detroit riot of July, 1967.

The Detroit Free Press had brought in Phil Meyer from its Washington Bureau to help report and cover the story. Meyer had only a few weeks previously returned from a year at Harvard University, where he had been studying social science research methods. He quickly saw in the riot an opportunity to put his own personal concern and the knowledge that he had attained at Harvard to work on a survey. He provided an outline for such a survey to Executive Editor Derick J. Daniels and Managing Editor Frank Angelo of the Detroit Free Press.

Adding to the coincidences, in the midst of the strife, the League's Board had held an extraordinary meeting at which it authorized Executive Director Francis A. Kornegay to use a fund for a survey. Angelo informed Kornegay about the plan and told him that the Free Press would make Meyer available to the Urban League to co-ordinate and direct the project if he wished. Kornegay quickly accepted, and within minutes the project was under way.

Meyer was given full co-operation by the Urban League in helping him to recruit interviewers and in

helping to train them after they were hired, with an orientation conducted by Executive Director Kornegay.

The net result was that less than a month after the Detroit riot the community was provided with a scientifically accurate study to give guidance in its efforts to restore tranquility.

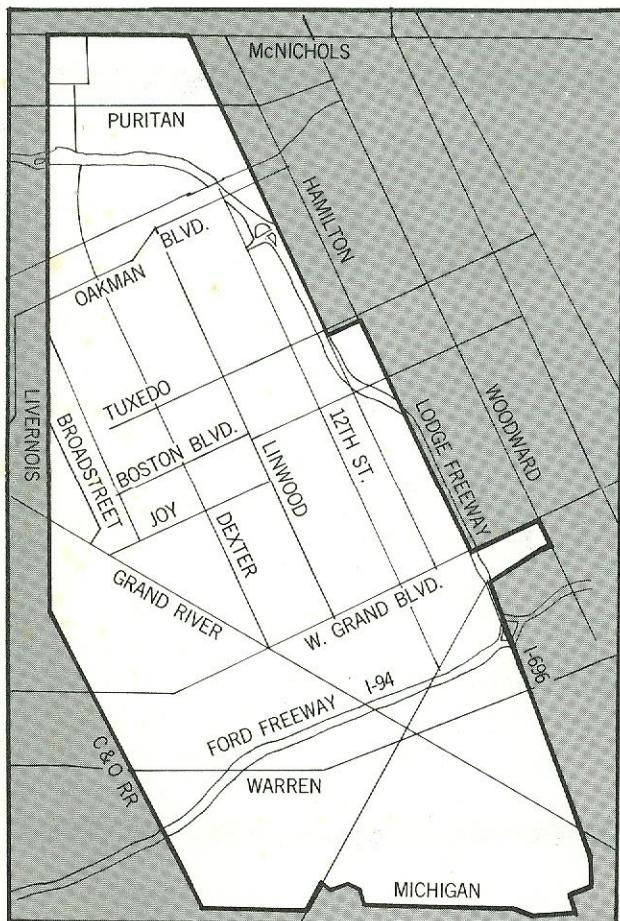
The Urban League was quick to make the results available to the New Detroit Committee, which was established to co-ordinate post-riot projects, and to other people involved in this area of human relations.

This concern is further emphasized by this report which has been put together to meet an unusual number of requests which has come to the Detroit Urban League from all over the country. It is obvious that this survey is going to be used by students of race relations for years to come.

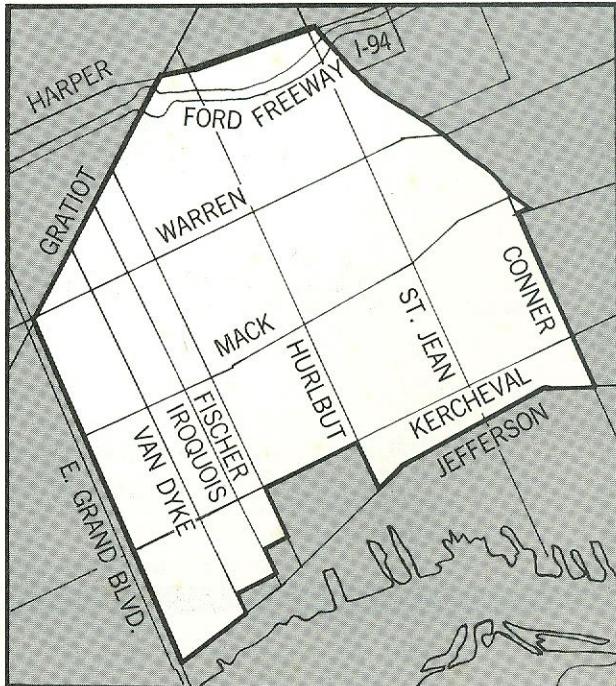
Francis A. Kornegay
Executive Director, Detroit Urban League

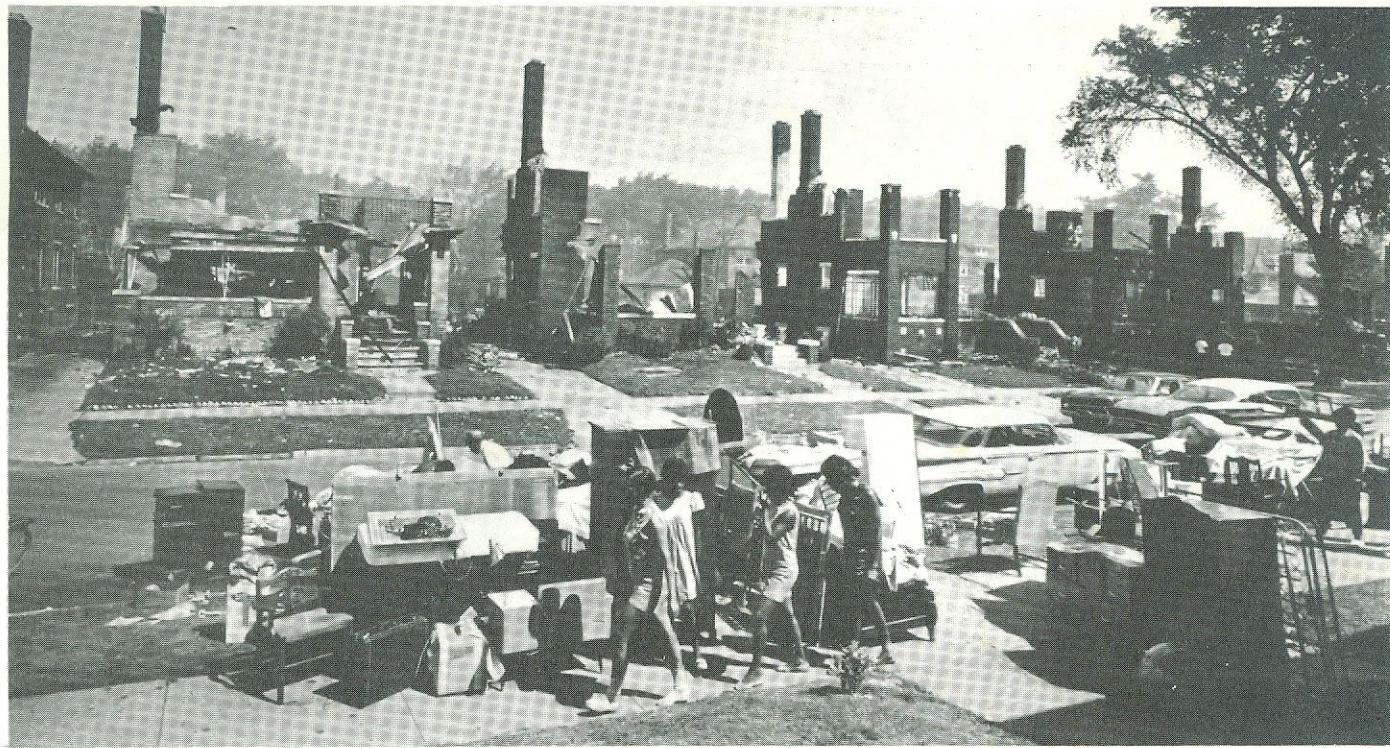
Frank Angelo
Managing Editor, Detroit Free Press
Member, Board of Directors,
Detroit Urban League

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Where Survey Was Conducted.





Details of Survey Organization

The survey of attitudes among Negroes in the riot area was sponsored by the Detroit Urban League with funds donated by the Schiffman Foundation, the Campbell-Ewald Foundation, Henry Ford II, Detroit Edison Co., and Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Co.

Interviews were taken from a random probability sample of 437 Negroes living in the main riot areas of East and West Detroit. Dr. Nathan Caplan and Dr. John P. Robinson of the University of Michigan assisted in writing the questionnaire and designing the sampling procedure. Additional advice was provided by Dr. Donald Warren, Wayne State University. The sample was designed to insure every Negro 15 years old or older an equal

chance of being included.

All of the interviewers were Negroes. Most were school teachers. They were recruited through the Urban League and Hazel Trumbull of the Detroit public schools. Interviews were taken between Aug. 5 and Aug. 12.

An IBM 360/40 computer, programmed by Mrs. Judith Goldberg, was used to cross-tabulate the responses and test their relationships for statistical significance.

The Urban League has agreed to make the compiled data available to any individual or organization interested in further study. More detailed analysis is being conducted by faculty members at Michigan and Wayne State.



Philip Meyer, who directed the Urban League study and wrote the stories on these pages, is a member of the Washington Bureau of the Free Press. He joined the Knight Newspapers in 1958 after doing graduate work and teaching American government at the University of North Carolina. He has just completed a year as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, where he studied quantitative research methods in the social sciences.

Survey Figures on

What Causes Rioting?

What causes rioting? The following tables are arranged to show at a glance how the proportion of rioters varies within key categories. To interpret it, make comparisons across the rows. For example, 28 percent of those born in Detroit were rioters—more than twice as many as in any other residence category. Responses in the don't-know categories and no-answer categories have been left out, so that all columns total 100 percent.

1. How long have you lived in Detroit?

	Less than One year	Less than Five yrs.	More than Five yrs.	Born in Detroit
Rioters	12.5	12	12	28
Non-rioters	87.5	88	88	72
	100	100	100	100

2. Where were you brought up as a child?

	South	North
Rioters	8	25
Non-rioters	92	75
	100	100

3. Sex.

	Male	Female
Rioters	22	12
Non-rioters	78	88
	100	100

4. Age.

	15-24	25-35	36-50	Over 50
Rioters	35	15	9	5
Non-rioters	65	85	91	95
	100	100	100	100

5. Education.

	Less than High School	High School Graduate	College
Rioters	18	15	18
Non-rioters	82	85	82
	100	100	100

6. Have you been unemployed for as long as a month or more over the last two years?

	Yes	No
Rioters	21	10
Non-rioters	79	90
	100	100

7. Are most of the unhappy things in peoples' lives due to bad luck or due to the mistakes they make?

	Bad Luck	Mistakes
Rioters	12.5	16
Non-rioters	87.5	84
	100	100

8. Civil rights groups which have both Negro and white leaders could do better without the whites. True or false?

	True	False
Rioters	22	13
Non-rioters	78	87
	100	100

9. Are insults and lack of respect commonly used by police against Negroes in riot areas?

	Yes	No
Rioters	22	12.5
Non-rioters	78	87.5
	100	100

10. Have insults and lack of respect been used by police against you?

	Yes	No
Rioters	37	12
Non-rioters	63	88
	100	100

11. In the next five years, do you think the attitude of white people about Negro rights will get better, worse, or stay about the same?

	Better	Worse	Same
Rioters	14	25	14
Non-rioters	86	75	86
	100	100	100

12. Do you feel that Negroes have more to gain or more to lose by resorting to violence in the civil rights movement?

	More to Gain	More to Lose
Rioters	25	14
Non-rioters	75	86
	100	100

13. If the United States got into a big world war today, would you personally feel this country was worth fighting for?

	Yes	No
Rioters	32	13
Non-rioters	68	87
	100	100

14. Racial discrimination is here to stay for a long time. True or false?

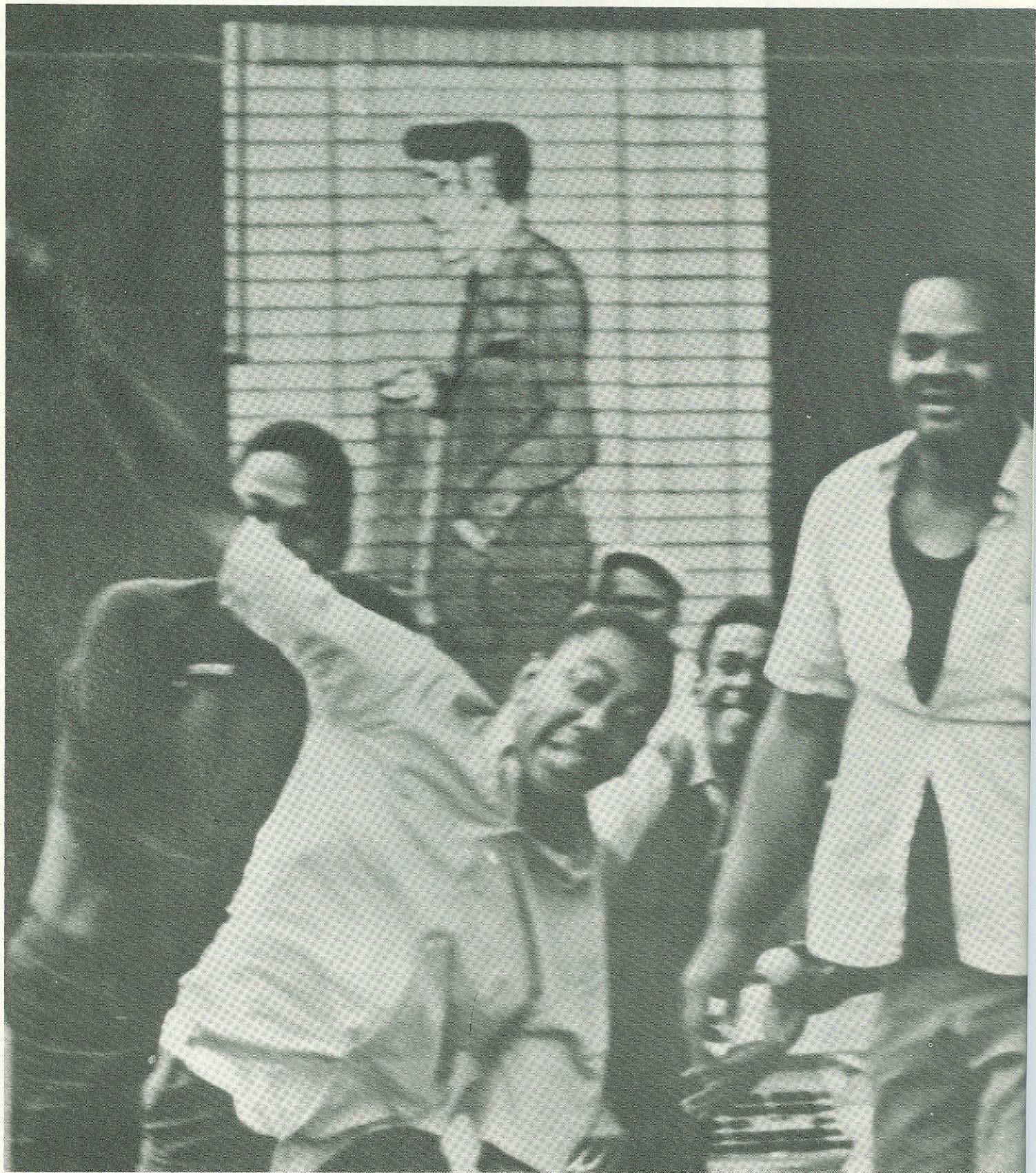
	True	False
Rioters	16	14
Non-rioters	84	86
	100	100

15. Who do you think are nicer, Negroes or whites?

	Negroes	Whites	About the Same
Rioters	25	21	10
Non-rioters	75	79	90
	100	100	100

The Rioter;

What Sets Him Apart.



Rioters are different. They stand in sharp contrast to the majority of Detroit Negroes who did not participate in last month's violence and who feel that violence can only hurt the civil rights movement.

Though small in numbers, the admitted rioters in the Urban League survey represent a bitter reservoir of resentment and black racism.

Their attitudes are typified by the 16-year-old girl who told the interviewer: "I hate to see people looking different from me. I like my own kind."

Their feelings are expressed less vehemently by the 25-year-old man who said: "Negroes have been angels. If people have been oppressed and kicked around like my people and haven't rebelled yet, they deserve medals."

Both of these young people were looters. The most striking feature of the riot-prone group in the survey is its youth.

Fifty-nine percent of the rioters were between 15 and 24 years old. Only four percent were over 50. This finding bears out the impressions of persons at the scene who reported large numbers of teen-agers.

Sixty percent of the rioters were male.

They were raised in the north. Nearly half the rioters, 46 percent, were born in Detroit, compared to only 23 percent of the non-rioters who were native Detroiters.

This explodes whatever remained of the theory that race riots are caused by Southern Negroes who can't adjust to the pressures of big city life.

The rioters were more likely to have been unemployed. Fifty-six percent of rioters who were breadwinners told the interviewers they had been unemployed for at least a month during the past two years. Only 27 percent of the non-rioting breadwinners had been unemployed.

There was also a relationship between rioting and the length of unemployment. Those who had been jobless for more than a year were more than three times as likely to be rioters as those who were unemployed for only a month.

That finding fits the popular image of the rioter as someone who is at the bottom of the socio-economic barrel. But some other things in the survey do not give quite so neat a picture.

There was no relationship found between education and rioting.

Rioters were to be found in about the same proportions across all income brackets. There was no pattern to directly link rioting and low income. Those with incomes under \$2,000—and there were a lot of them, 16 percent of all those willing to reveal their income—showed no more tendency to riot than those earning \$10,000 and up.

These findings, though surprising, are consistent with a recent study of the Watts riot by sociologists at the University of California at Los Angeles.

In the Detroit study, however, one thing was found that clearly sets the riot participant apart from his fellow Negroes: a distinctive set of attitudes.

These attitudes suggest alienation: not only from whites, but from other Negroes.

One question in the survey was designed as a quick gauge of an individual's feeling of protectiveness toward others. It was:

"Suppose a bill collector came around asking where a former neighbor had moved. If you knew, would you tell him, probably tell him, or not tell him where the neighbor lived?"

The majority of Detroit Negroes—77 percent—gave the conventional, normal answer. They would not tell

on their neighbors. But those who would tell were twice as likely to be rioters as those who would not.

Here is a significant indicator that rioters tend to be angry with people around them—including other Negroes. Outwardly, they may be sociable. Rioters are more likely to visit the neighbors often than are non-rioters. But inwardly, they feel no sense of protection for others.

In their alienation, the rioters display some similarity to hippies. Both feel that the world is wrong, and they want to set themselves apart from it. But hippies accept their share of the world's guilt while rioters project it. The hippie hands you a flower and says, "Peace." The rioter shouts, "Get Whitey," and throws a rock.

Like hippies, rioters profess to shun the American dream. Whether they mean it is something else. The survey probed for this point and brought up conflicting answers.

Negroes in the survey were asked: "If the United States got into a big world war today would you personally feel this country was worth fighting for?"

Among all Negroes, 67 percent said this country is worth fighting for and only 15 percent said it isn't—reassuring evidence that the Negro community at large is not rebellious.

But there was a significantly different response from the rioters. Of those who had opinions, 84 percent of the non-rioters but only 66 percent of the rioters would consider their country worth fighting for.

Younger Negroes, rioters and non-rioters alike, tended to be highly vocal on this point.

"I think the United States is on its last leg, and I don't intend to fight for something that isn't worth preserving, and this country's ideals are not worth preserving," said a 19-year-old girl.

A 21-year-old Vietnam veteran, who described himself as "very active" in the rioting, disagreed. He would fight again for the U.S. because "we have some kind of freedom. If communists were here, there would be no freedom at all."

Among Vietnam veterans, the survey turned up an uncertain, disturbing note. Three veterans of the current fighting were in the sample, and two of them said they were "very active" rioters.

Statistically, such a finding is meaningless. But it does offer a reminder that there are special frustrations for the returning Negro veteran.

In the Army, he achieves equality and possibly even distinction, and then he returns home to resume his old second-class citizenship. But this time it is different. He has known a more fulfilling existence and he has learned the heady feeling of difficulty overcome through hard work and effort.

Is such a person a potential rioter? The level of riot participation among the veterans in the survey suggests that he is. And there is some confirming evidence elsewhere in the survey.

Two questions were designed to measure the extent to which Detroit Negroes accept the traditional American belief that people with ability and drive get ahead and that people who are unsuccessful in the conventional sense should blame their own mistakes.

Seventy-one percent of the Negroes in the sample believe that the unhappy things in peoples' lives are due to their own mistakes. Sixty-nine percent believe that ability is more important in getting ahead than in being in the right place at the right time. These are not the answers of people who have turned their back on the

American dream and they contradict the picture of hopelessness in ghetto life that is so often painted.

And what of the rioters? Surprisingly, they do not differ significantly from the rest of the Negro community in this respect. What difference there is shows that rioters lean even more strongly toward these traditional American beliefs than the non-rioters.

It appears that the rioter, then, is someone who does not let the anger he feels for the society around him prevent him from accepting the responsibility for his own fate. He believes he can overcome his disadvantages. Rioting may be one way to do it. Or rioting may be a protest against the difficulty of overcoming disadvantage in a society that still discriminates against Negroes. The rioters themselves are not sure.

Everyone interviewed was asked whether he felt Negroes had more to gain or more to lose by resorting to violence in the civil rights movement. Rioters were evenly divided on this issue: 40 percent said Negroes would gain, 40 percent said lose, 10 percent were not sure.

There was also division of opinion on this issue among non-rioters, although most — 56 percent — said Negroes had more to lose from violence. The other 44 percent of the non-rioters was equally divided between those who thought Negroes would gain and those who weren't sure.

Looking at these figures another way, 19 percent of those who thought Negroes had more to gain from violence were rioters; only nine percent who thought there was more to lose were rioters—a two-to-one difference.

That rioters would be more likely to see potential gains from rioting seems obvious. What is not so obvious is exactly what sort of gains they were seeking.

Many possible grievances were explored in the survey. The ones that were associated most strongly with rioting were of a notably short term nature: Gripes against the local businessmen, mistreatment by police, lack of jobs, dirty neighborhoods, lack of recreation facilities.

The long-term goals ascribed to the Negro—color-blind treatment by employers, desegregated housing—are not the special goals of the rioters. Interviewers probed for awareness of discrimination in jobs by asking: "If you were employed to do the same work as a white person, do you feel you would likely get less pay, about the same pay, or more pay?"

Most—58 percent—said they would get the same pay. Rioters were slightly more inclined to believe they would get less pay, but the difference was statistically insignificant.

On the question of housing, there was a highly significant difference—but in a direction that will surprise anyone who thinks that people riot because they want a home in a white suburb.

"Would you rather live," people were asked, "in a neighborhood with only Negro families or in a neighborhood that had both Negro and white families?"

Most Negroes — rioters and non-rioters alike — said they would prefer an integrated neighborhood. But the rioters were significantly less likely to express this preference than were non-rioters.

A preference for segregation—a preference that deviates from the majority opinion in the Negro community—proved to be one of the strongest factors associated with riot activity.

Partly this reflects the fact that so many young people were rioters. Racial awareness and a preference for avoiding whites were somewhat stronger among the

younger generation, which tends to rebel against what it calls the "Uncle Tom" stance of its elders. Youth is by no means the entire explanation, however.

A series of questions was asked to determine to what extent Detroit Negroes tend to think in terms of racial stereotypes. Persons interviewed were asked whether they thought Negroes or whites were smarter, better behaved, braver, nicer, and more dependable.

Most replied that Negroes and whites were about the same on all of these factors—with one exception. Fifty-three percent said Negroes are braver.

While most Negroes reject most of the stereotypes and tend to think of the races as about equal, there is a strong tendency for rioters to accept the stereotypes and to believe that Negroes and whites are unequal.

Those who saw such differences tended to be twice as likely to be rioters as those who did not. Oddly, it made little or no difference whether they considered whites or Negroes to be superior. Most were like the looter who said, "All black is beautiful." But even those who thought whites superior were more likely to be rioters. Stereotyped thinking, regardless of its direction is the key factor. Opposite extremists travel full circle and end by being alike.

The survey used another measure of racial attitude, testing for the amount of sympathy for black nationalist doctrine. Negroes were asked if they agreed or disagreed with this statement: "Civil rights groups which have both Negro and white leaders would do better without the whites."

Overall, the response was overwhelmingly negative. Twenty percent agreed, 65 percent disagreed, and 15 percent did not know. Among those who agreed that civil rights groups should get rid of the whites, there was a higher proportion of rioters—almost two to one.

These, then are the rioters: Young people, raised in the North, with little concern for their fellowmen and a frustration in meeting near-term goals—people susceptible to the black nationalist philosophy that the law and order of a white-built society is not worth preserving.

In contrast, look at Detroit's Negro community as a whole:

Only 10 percent of the Negroes in the survey believe their situation is getting worse. Fifty-one percent say they are better off than they were three years ago.

Despite the many consumer grievances—explored in detail elsewhere in this section—most Negroes think most businessmen give them a fair shake. The response to questions on other kinds of complaints shows that there are problems but they are not overwhelming. Most are optimistic about the future.

"Jobs are opening up, and we're beginning to work together," said a 51-year-old father.

"It wasn't a racial riot, but just a crazy mess," said an 82-year-old man on the west side.

These are the voices of the older generation which is now in the majority. The young people are not quite so optimistic, though fully half of the persons in the 15-24 age group believe that white attitudes toward Negroes will improve.

"I've talked to a lot of white girls," said a Negro career girl, "and I think that they understand Negroes and see no differences. Eventually the rest will come along, too."

This is the Negro beyond Twelfth St. He represents the majority. The problem now is to reach the riot-prone minority and move them, with the rest of the community, into the future beyond Twelfth St.

Police brutality	57
Overcrowded living conditions	55
Poor housing	54
Lack of jobs	45
Poverty	44
Dirty neighborhoods	44
Anger with local business people	43
Too much drinking	40
Broken political promises	39
Failure of parents to control children	39

THESE NUMBERS tell the percentage of Negroes interviewed who thought the possible riot causes listed had a great deal to do with the disturbance.

Which Grievances Contributed?

What caused the riot?

Discontent, obviously. But the question of what specific complaints would encourage a group of people enough to make them want to throw rocks, break windows, loot, and set fires is not so easy. The survey provides some clues.

The 437 Negroes in the sample were read a list of 23 grievances and asked by the Negro interviewers to tell which problems had a great deal, something, or nothing at all to do with the riot.

BASED ON the items which

got the most response of "a great deal," the main riot causes as perceived by the Negro community are police brutality, overcrowded living conditions, poor housing, lack of jobs, poverty, and anger with business people—in that order.

Rioters, singled out for special analysis, chose the same top six causes, though not in the same order. Overcrowded living conditions, not police brutality, led their list.

And the rioters were angrier. Each of their main complaints were made more frequently by 17 to 23 percentage points than in the group as a whole.

One of the problems which has been discussed as a partial cause of Negro problems—poor public transportation which makes it hard for them to get to work—ranked next to last.

In the total sample, only seven percent listed poor transportation as having a great deal to do with the riot. Among the rioters, the number with this complaint was even smaller: Six percent.

THERE WAS agreement among rioters and the group as a whole on the lowest item on the list: Anger with firemen. Only two percent said

this had a great deal to do with the riot—an indication that the week of lighting fires, false alarms, and sniping at firemen did not reflect any animosity toward the firemen themselves.

On only a few items were rioters less likely to have complaints than the total group. One was "teen-agers," probably a reflection of the fact that so many of the rioters were teen-agers themselves. "The failure of parents to control their children," also drew a significantly lower response from the rioting group.

Rioters were less likely than others to view black nationalism as a riot cause—though a majority of the group as a whole believes that black nationalists had at least something to do with it.

Rioters were also significantly less ready to accept the theory that too much drinking had a lot to do with the riot. While forty percent of the group scored this factor as important, only 34 percent of the rioters did so.

The conventional liberal idea that rioting is caused by a lack of adequate welfare services was not given very much weight by the majority of Negroes in the survey. Even the riot group ranked this complaint near the bottom of the list with only 28 percent crediting it "a great deal" as a riot cause. The response suggests that the ghetto is crying out for new and imaginative solutions to its problems.

	UNFAIR	FAIR
Grocery stores	54	39
Loan offices	48	17
Real estate	47	16
Home improvement	47	14
Furniture stores	40	29
Insurance	39	35
Car dealers	36	20
Automobile repair	36	23

MOST NEGROES who gave opinions believe that most local businessmen treat them fairly. But there are a few exceptions. This table shows targets of the most complaints, giving the percentage of the number surveyed who considered each business fair or unfair.

Mental Attitude of Police Is Called Part of Brutality

Police brutality, considered by most Negroes the main cause of rioting, is more—and less—than arbitrary rousting and frisking and beatings in the night.

It is an attitude—a state of mind found in police individually and collectively. Viewed through Negro eyes, the policeman who gives a white man a friendly wave and ignores a Negro is expressing a hostile racial attitude.

The Negro also notices that law enforcement in his neighborhood is different from that in the white areas. Prostitution and other nuisances are allowed to flourish where he lives. Crimes by Negroes against other Negroes are treated as less important than

crimes involving whites.

"Police are rude and mean," said a 20-year-old lower West Side resident, "and they don't show up when they're needed."

This broad interpretation of the much-used term, "police brutality," may explain a glaring discrepancy in the survey responses: Fifty-seven percent of the Negroes in the riot areas think police brutality had a great deal to do with the riot and another 25 percent think it had something to do with it.

* * *

THAT'S 82 percent who believe in police brutality. And yet, when read a list of specific police malpractices, no more than 35 percent of those interviewed agree that any

one of them was commonly used.

Even fewer said that they themselves had been the victims of police malpractice.

The question asked was, "Please tell me whether any of the following kinds of bad treatment are commonly used by police against Negroes in this area." And the percentages giving positive answers were:

Three practices drew affirmative replies from more than 40 percent of those questioned: insults or lack of respect; stopping and searching cars unnecessarily; and unnecessary personal frisking and searching.

Sixteen percent said they had themselves been the victim of insulting, disrespectful police behavior.

On the surface, this looks bad for the police. Compared to data in the UCLA study of the Watts riot, it looks relatively good.

In that study, twice as many Negroes—79 percent of the men and 64 percent of the women—accused police of insulting, disrespectful behavior. Thirty-four percent of the men and 13 percent of the women said it had happened to them.

* * *

NEVERTHELESS, the Detroit Negroes who believe that police misbehavior caused this city's riot have some strong evidence behind them. The data show that Negroes who believed that police were insulting and disrespectful to Negroes in general were nearly twice as likely to be rioters. And those who felt that this disrespect had happened to them were almost four times as likely to riot.

Significantly, the relationship between police insults and rioting was stronger than that between any of the other malpractices and rioting. It is the little things that irritate.

Some of the association between police behavior and rioting can be explained by the youth of the rioters. Young people are more likely to be on the streets at night and are more likely to get into trouble. Nearly three-fourths of the people who said they themselves had been mistreated were 35 and under.

The fact that a majority of Negroes in the survey did not respond affirmatively to any of the specific complaints suggests that it was mainly coincidence that caused the riot to be sparked by a police incident—a chance coming together of combustible ingredients.

* * *

SUCH A possibility was suggested more than two years ago by Rep. John Conyers, whose 1st District includes the riot area. Speaking at a winter meeting on race relations at Wayne State University, he said:

"The fact that we passed through the long, hot summer without incident isn't a measure of our success. That just means that the wrong citizen and the wrong policeman didn't happen to get together."

Last July 23, they did.



Negroes Believe U.S. Is Best Help

Detroit Negroes are unhappy with the administration in Washington. But an Urban League survey of their attitudes also reveals that, despite this disenchantment, they continue to look to the federal government as their best source of help.

Big-city Negroes voted overwhelmingly, almost unanimously, for President Johnson in 1964. Detroit Negroes were no exception. Not a single person questioned in the survey said he had supported Goldwater.

* * *

BUT WHEN they talk about the future, Negro voters in Detroit become less certain.

Only 45 percent say they have definitely decided to vote Democratic in the 1968 presidential election.

They are not swinging to the Republican side in any significant numbers. Three percent say they plan to vote with the

GOP and 42 percent are undecided. The rest will still be under age at election time.

"Most of the undecided group will probably settle in their usual pattern and vote Democratic in the end," said a political scientist who reviewed the data. "But the size of the undecided group indicates that there is a lot of dissatisfaction today."

* * *

THE TRICKLE of Detroit Negro voters to the GOP side is most noticeable among younger people. Seven percent of the Negro voters under 25 are now planning to vote Republican. Only 34 percent of the younger group expects to vote Democratic, leaving a sizable 59 percent majority undecided.

If they are unhappy with Washington, however, Detroit Negroes feel even less friendly toward Lansing and city hall.

The 437 persons interviewed were asked whether federal, state, or local government could best help the Negro. Among those who chose one or

the other, the responses were:

	Pct.
Federal	69
State	11
Local	20

However, a majority of all those interviewed (61 percent) was unable to name any level of government as the best source of help. The arguments in Washington about whether rat control is a federal or local problem are largely lost on the people involved. Help, not where it comes from, is the issue.

* * *

THE MOST ambitious and best publicized programs to end Negro poverty spring from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in Washington.

Yet only a small number of Negroes in the riot area has been knowingly touched by them.

Thirteen percent of those asked said they or members of their families had been involved with neighborhood Community Action Centers. Fourteen percent said someone in the family had been involved in a Head Start project

for preschool children.

Ten percent mentioned involvement with the Job Corps and eight percent listed the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

* * *

THERE WAS very little in the data to suggest any relationship between involvement with OEO programs and riot participation. Those involved with the Neighborhood Youth Corps were slightly less likely to be rioters, while those involved with the Job Corps showed a somewhat greater disposition toward rioting than the rest of the population.

This difference is mainly explained by the age factor. The Job Corps is for young people, and young people are more likely to riot.

There was a tendency—not statistically significant because of the small number of cases—for Negroes who looked to state and local governments for help to be more disposed toward rioting.

This is consistent with the theory that unfulfilled promises by the federal government have increased Negro tensions.





Most City Negroes Think Riot Could Happen Again

Most Detroit Negroes believe that there could be another riot.

They view the possibility of more violence with a curious mixture of regret and anticipation.

Eighty-four percent of those queried in the Urban League survey said that a riot like the one that began a month ago could happen again. Only four percent said it could not happen.

Among those who told the Negro interviewers that they took part in last month's riot, the consensus was even greater — 94 percent said it could happen again.

"Next year there will be the same reasons for a riot," said a mother who is raising a large family on an income of less than \$7,500 a year. "They will not be worked out in one year."

* * *

"**LOOK HOW** long it has taken us to get this far," said a 20-year-old college girl. "This situation cannot be hurried."

Few want another riot. Only 24 percent believe that Negroes have more to gain than lose by resorting to violence. Not even a majority of the admitted rioters believes

there is more to gain.

But even those who think the long-term effects of violence are likely to be bad see some compensating benefits.

"Something good will come out of this disturbance," said a man of 73.

"They know we mean business now," said a 31-year-old West Side resident. "They'll do better. If they don't, this could happen again."

The survey indicates that one of the keys to whether a Negro will join a riot is what changes he expects in white attitudes over the next few years.

Those who believe that attitudes of white people toward Negroes will get worse are three times as likely to be rioters as those who believe white attitudes will improve.

* * *

PART OF the gloomy outlook among Negroes stems from a belief that the riot has hardened anti-Negro attitudes among whites and that this in turn could lead to more rioting.

"The white people aren't going to change their opinions easily," said a 41-year-old father. "If Negro needs are not recognized, there may be another riot this year or next summer."

What can be done to prevent a new episode of violence?

The vast majority of Negroes who stayed out of the rioting are in clear agreement on one point: If trouble starts again, the police ought to be firmer.

Though it seems inconsistent with the belief among Negroes that police brutality was the leading cause of the riot, 81 percent of non-rioters with opinions on the subject believe that the police should have been tougher once the trouble began.

Eleven percent thought the police should have shot looters. Seventy percent thought they should have been more firm than they were but without shooting.

* * *

EVEN admitted rioters, perhaps contrite in the aftermath of the violence, now say that the police should have been firmer. Nine percent say they should have shot at looters and 51 percent wish they had been more firm short of shooting.

Only 14 percent of the rioters and seven percent of the non-rioters said the police should have been more gentle.

Even as it awaits the possibility of another riot, the Negro community seems to be saying: Please, don't let it happen again.

As the survey has revealed, the riot was not something that had to happen. The grievances that led to it were real, but they did not create a tension so great that it could be released in no other way.

It was a temporary displacement of the existing codes of social behavior with the code of a deviant minority within a law-abiding Negro community.

The future of race relations beyond Twelfth St. does not need to belong to that small, riot-prone group.

* * *

THE PROBLEMS are not so great that people of good will of both races cannot keep the deviants under control while working to wipe out the irritating remnants of racial discrimination.

Negroes believe it can happen that way.

"Negroes are constantly making their point. Whites will stop cheating us," said a 17-year-old West Side girl.

"One by one they are letting us in," agreed a young black power advocate.

And a young Negro woman on the lower West Side gave a simple formula for preventing the next riot: "Take Negro views and wants seriously. Do something. Stop talking."

24. Civil rights groups which have both Negro and white leaders would do better without the whites.

True	20.4
False	65.0
DK, NA	14.6

25. Compared to Negroes in other northern cities, do Negroes in Detroit have better than average education, about the same amount of education, or less education?

More education	24.5
Less education	10.3
Same amount	46.2
DK	19.0

26. Compared to Negroes in other northern cities, do Negroes in Detroit have better than average income, about the same income, or less income?

More income	45.5
Less income	8.2
Same amount	30.2
DK	16.1

27. Compared to Negroes in other northern cities, do Negroes in Detroit have better jobs, about the same kinds of jobs, or worse jobs?

Better jobs	38.7
Worse jobs	7.8
Same kinds of jobs	38.9
DK	14.6

28. Would you describe yourself as having been very active, somewhat active or slightly active in the disturbance?

Very active	2.5
Somewhat active	3.0
Slightly active	6.6
(Not active—R. volunteers)	62.7
NA	25.2

29. If the United States got into a big world war today, would you personally feel this country was worth fighting for?

Worth fighting for	67.3
Not worth fighting for	15.1
DK, NA	17.6

30. Which of the following things do you think were responsible for causing the riot? I am going to read a number of things and you tell me which had a great deal to do with causing the riot, which things had something to do with causing the riot, but not a lot; and which things had nothing at all to do with causing the riot:

	A great deal	Something	Nothing at all	DK, NA
Poverty	43.5	26.3	14.0	16.2
Lack of jobs	45.3	30.4	18.3	6.0
Poor housing	53.8	29.3	10.5	6.4
Black				
Nationalism	25.9	28.1	16.2	29.8
Broken political promises	38.9	33.2	12.6	15.3
Not enough integration	21.3	34.8	31.8	12.1
Teenagers	31.6	35.5	23.1	9.8
Police brutality	56.5	24.9	10.3	8.3
Lack of strong Negro leaders	29.1	33.0	23.6	14.3
Hatred of whites	28.8	34.8	28.1	8.3
The failure of the schools	22.0	24.9	41.6	11.5
Anger with the fire department	2.3	9.2	76.9	11.6
Anger with the police	50.6	31.1	12.1	6.2
Anger with politicians	22.0	39.6	22.4	16.0
Anger with local business people	42.8	30.7	18.1	8.4
The failure of parents to control their children	38.7	28.1	25.9	7.3
The frustration of middle class Negroes	14.0	26.3	39.6	20.1
Lack of recreation facilities	31.4	29.1	30.4	9.1
Disappointment with white public officials	31.8	38.4	16.0	13.8
Disappointment with Negro public officials	18.1	38.4	28.8	14.7
Poor transportation	7.3	12.8	69.1	10.8
Dirty neighborhoods	44.2	33.2	17.8	4.8
Overcrowded living conditions	54.5	28.4	10.3	6.8
Too much drinking	40.3	26.1	23.8	9.9
Not enough welfare services	16.9	26.5	35.2	21.4

31. Which of these things, if any, did you try to do during the riot?	3.7
Stop the riot	3.7
Call the fire department	6.6
Protect own property	32.5
Help paint "Soul Brother" signs.	4.8
Help put out fires	7.1
Give sandwiches or coffee to the soldiers	9.4
Help people who were hurt or homeless	10.3

32. Which of the following, did you do?	6.6
Left the neighborhood and got out of the riot area during disturbance	6.6
Stayed at home and did not go out	44.4
Observed the disturbance from your own neighborhood (sidewalk or porch)	38.0
Went out into the area where the disturbance was taking place	13.7
Entered into broken stores	3.9
Broke windows	1.4
Picked up goods and took them home	3.9
Made fire bombs	0.5
Threw fire bombs	0.7

33. Would you rather live in a neighborhood with only Negro families or in a neighborhood that had both Negro and white families?	16.5
Negro	61.3
Negro and white	22.2

34. Are you registered to vote?	72.1
Yes	72.1
No	27.2
DK	0.7

35. Did you vote in the election for President in 1960 when Nixon and Kennedy ran?	60.4
Voted	60.4
Did not vote	26.1
DK, NA	13.5

36. Did you vote for Nixon or Kennedy?	59.0
Nixon	01.1
DK, NA	39.9
Kennedy	59.0

37. Did you vote in the election for President in 1964 when Goldwater and Johnson ran?

Voted 59.5
Did not vote 23.3
DK, NA 17.2

38. Did you vote for Goldwater or Johnson?

Goldwater 0.0
Johnson 59.0
DK, NA 41.0

39. In the next presidential election, do you think you would vote for a Republican or a Democrat?

Republican 2.7
Democrat 45.8
DK, NA 51.5

40. In the next five years, do you think the attitude of the white people about Negro rights will get better, worse, or stay about the same?

Better 56.5
Worse 8.0
Stay the same 19.5
DK, NA 16.0

41. Do you feel that Negroes have more to gain or more to lose by resorting to violence in the civil rights movement?

More to gain 24.0
More to lose 53.5
Not sure 21.5
NA 1.0

42. Do you feel a riot like the one that just occurred in Detroit could happen again or couldn't happen again? Could happen 84.0
Could not happen 4.1
DK, NA 11.9

43. Sex
Male 43.7
Female 54.7
NA 1.6

44. Age
15-24 28.6
25-35 17.2
36-50 28.8
over 50 24.7
NA 0.7

45. How much schooling have you completed?
None, less than grade school 4.8
Grade school 17.4
Some high school 31.1
High school grad. 27.7
Some college 11.2
Graduated college 1.1
Graduate work 1.1
NA 5.6

46. Are you working now?
Yes 54.5
No 44.4
DK, NA 1.1

47. (If male or breadwinner) Have you been unemployed for as long as a month or more over the last two years?

Yes 19.9
No 30.9
DK, NA 49.2

48. (If yes to No. 47) For how long?

One month 2.3
2 to 3 months 5.3
4 months to year 2.5
More than year 8.0
DK, NA, inapt 81.9

49. Please look at the income ranges on this card and give me the letter corresponding to your income for a year. About how much do you earn a year?

\$2,000 or under (A) 11.4
\$2-\$5,000 (B) 17.8
\$5-\$7,500 (C) 20.6
\$7,500 to
\$10,000 (D) 15.6
\$10,000 to
\$12,500 (E) 4.8
\$12,500 to
\$15,000 (F) 1.4
\$15,000 or over (G) 1.1
NA 27.3

The following questions were added to the schedule after the first day of interviewing. Their percentages are based on a total of 360 respondents instead of the full sample of 437.

50. Which of the following sentences should be imposed on different kinds of rioters? Let's start with looters.

	Looters	Burners	Shooters
No penalty	14.7	2.8	1.4
Small fine	43.6	11.1	2.5
Jail or heavy fine	26.2	60.0	48.8
Life imprisonment	.8	11.7	32.0
DK	14.7	14.4	14.3

51. Have you or any member of your family ever been involved with any of the following federal anti-poverty programs?

Community Action
Center 13.3
Neighborhood Youth
Corps 8.3
Head Start 13.6
Upward Bound 1.7
Job Corps 10.0
Other federal anti-poverty program 8.9

52. Please tell me whether any of the following kinds of bad treatment are commonly used by police against Negroes in this area.

Insults, lack of respect 41.1
Frisking, searching unnecessarily 41.4
Stopping and searching cars unnecessarily 42.5
Unnecessary force in making arrests 33.4
Beating people up 29.4
Searching homes unnecessarily 19.2

53. Have you ever been in military service?

World War I or World War II 10.5
Korean Conflict 2.5
During war in
Vietnam .8
Peacetime service 3.1

54. Which of these, if any, have been used against you?

Insults, lack of respect 16.1
Frisking, searching unnecessarily 11.4
Stopping and searching cars unnecessarily 10.8
Unnecessary force in making arrests 5.0
Beating up 2.8
Searching homes unnecessarily 4.2

55. How did you first hear about the riot?

Saw it or heard it 18.0
Told by friends, neighbors, or family 50.3
Radio or TV 28.4
Newspapers .3
Other, DK, NA 3.0

56. When the riot began, should police have acted more firmly, including shooting looters; more firmly but without shooting; about the same; or more gently?

More firmly, including shooting 10.0
More firmly, without shooting 58.0
About the same 13.1
More gently 6.9
DK 12.0

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FROM: THE DETROIT URBAN LEAGUE
208 MACK AVENUE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48201

Frustration, Alienation Led to This City's Riot

WHO RIOTED in Detroit? Why?

On the basis of a joint Urban League-Free Press survey of nearly 500 Negroes in two of the city's worst riot areas, we can offer answers to these puzzling questions. And on the basis of these answers, we can suggest a course of action to prevent the recurrence of rioting which most Negroes say may come.

Negroes in the riot areas were interviewed by other Negroes especially selected for the task by the Urban League. The interviewers asked carefully phrased queries prepared in consultation with Wayne State and University of Michigan sociologists and survey experts. An IBM computer cross-tabulated responses and tested their statistical significance. Philip Meyer of the Free Press Washington Bureau directed the whole operation.

Who rioted in Detroit?

The analysis turned up some things everyone might have expected an analysis to turn up. Only a small percentage of the total Negro population rioted, even among those who live in the riot areas. There is a strong Negro middle class. Those with some stake in society were less inclined to burn buildings and to loot than those with no stake in society.

Younger Negroes were more prone to riot. Of those who admitted participating in the riot, twice as many were between 15 and 24 years old than any other age bracket and the next highest bracket was 24 to 35 years old.

The analysis turned up other things about the rioters which may be a little surprising. Three times as many rioters were born in the North as in the South, a statistic which undermines the view that Southern Negroes coming North have such difficulties adjusting that they are largely responsible for the rioting.

The rioters, by and large, were as well educated as the non-rioters and they also made about as much money, although there seems to have been a bit more unemployment among rioters than among non-rioters.

These characteristics, as unexpected as they may have been, blend with the reasons the rioters gave for rioting.

Why the riot?

It was not so much because of poor welfare services or poor transportation—the interviewed Negroes ranked such suggested causes at the bottom of the list—as it was

overcrowded living conditions and what the respondents called "police brutality." Police brutality ranked as the No. 1 cause.

By police brutality the Negro means something apart from beatings by policemen and those rioters who were interviewed even listed insulting treatment by policemen ahead of beatings in their chart of complaints. By insulting treatment they include such innocuous things as a friendly policeman's waving to a white man and not waving to a Negro man. They include the failure of Detroit's police department to give Negroes as much protection as they think Negroes ought to have.

So, while there is certainly nothing sophisticated about a rock smashing against a store window, there is a remarkable sophistication in the answers Negroes gave in the follow-up investigation. Our analysis indicates what some observers have been claiming all along. This is that the riots sweeping the nation's cities are rooted in deep frustrations but have many similarities to a revolution of rising expectations. Younger Negroes seeing success all about them want it faster than they've been getting it. These are Northern Negroes, native Detroiters, alienated to some extent from both Negroes and whites whom they consider to have made it.

There's an undeniable racial overlay to Detroit's riot, but more than race, class was involved. The rioters form an under-class.

This does not mean that Detroit has failed its Negro citizens altogether. It means the city has failed them to some extent. It means that while a large number of Negroes do have a stake in our society, there are others who don't and who consider present channels for advancement too narrow.

And the course of action, while tremendously difficult, becomes abundantly clear. The frustrated and the disenchanted must be given new hope.

This means that education is important but education alone isn't the answer. This means that jobs are important, but income levels alone didn't prove the crucial factor. This means that far more must be done across a broad range of activities and that a largely integrated society must become a wholly integrated society.

This means, at bottom, that if the attitudes of alienated young Negroes are to change, the attitudes of the rest of society must change.