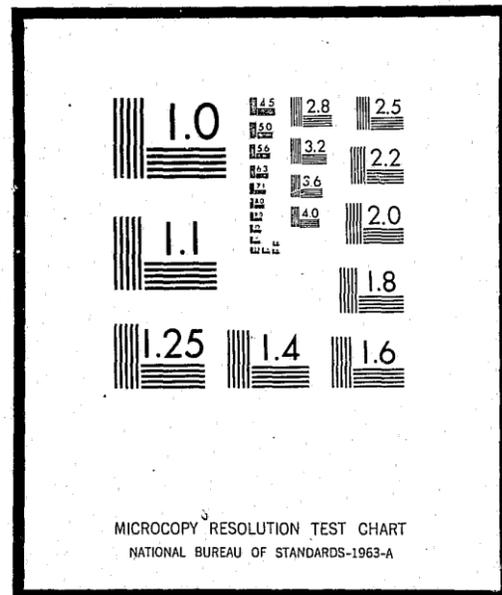# NCJRS

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Tom Albrecht

Supplemental Studies for

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders

FOREWORD

On March 1, 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders issued its report. In it we said that three supplemental studies were being conducted under the Commission's auspices. The text of those three studies is contained in this volume. The studies were conducted independently of the Commission and of each other by research groups at the University of Michigan, the Johns Hopkins University and Columbia University.

The reports which follow are the work of their authors. This publication does not indicate specific indorsement of the positions or findings of the authors by the members or the staff of the Commission.

Grants from the Ford Foundation made possible the first two of the reports which appear in this volume. We are deeply indebted to the Foundation and to its president, Mr. McGeorge Bundy, for the quick and generous response to the Commission's request for assistance.

OTTO KERNER, *Chairman*
JOHN V. LINDSAY, *Vice Chairman*

JULY 1968.

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON CIVIL DISORDERS

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Racial Attitudes
in
Fifteen American Cities

by
Angus Campbell
Howard Schuman

SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER
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THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

June 1968

PREFACE

No research enterprise begins in total ignorance of the problem to be studied; earlier work always provides some guidelines to the development of new inquiry. Two major sets of studies exercised an important influence on the survey we are now reporting. The surveys carried out by Louis Harris and reported in *Newsweek* magazine in 1963 and 1965 were the first large-scale national investigations of Negro attitudes in the United States and they deserve recognition as pioneer efforts in this area. Mr. Harris also kindly furnished us with additional unpublished data from these surveys. The second work from which we have benefited greatly was a series of reports from the "Los Angeles Riot Study," coordinated by Nathan E. Cohen of the University of California, Los Angeles, and written by a number of social scientists including Raymond J. Murphy and James M. Watson, T. M. Tomlinson and David O. Sears, and Richard T. Morris and Vincent Jeffries. We have used or adapted some questions from both the *Newsweek* and the Los Angeles studies in our questionnaire.

Other important recent work in the area of racial attitudes on which we have drawn directly comes from writings by Nathan S. Caplan and Jeffery M. Paige, Robert L. Crain, Garry T. Marx, Philip Meyer, and Thomas F. Pettigrew. A great deal of other work in the general area of race, of course, has influenced us more indirectly.

The survey reported here drew on the ideas and technical skills of a large number of individuals and organizations. In the construction of the questionnaire, Eve Weinberg and Paul Sheatsley of the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago and Charles F. Cannell, John Scott, and Joan Scheffler of the Survey Research Center provided much valuable advice. Useful suggestions came from early discussions with Nathan Caplan, Mark Chesler, Jean Converse, Edgar Epps, Patricia Gurin, James House, Irwin Katz, Albert J. Reiss, Jr., and Peter H. Rossi. Roger Waldman, representing the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, was most helpful.

The design of the survey sample was under the general direction of Irene Hess and Leslie Kish of the Sampling Section of the Survey Research Center. Seymour Sudman of the National Opinion Research Center supervised the sampling in the 10 cities in which NORC took interviews.

Nearly 500 interviewers and interviewer supervisors worked intensively in 15 cities to carry out the field work of this study. They constituted the major link between the people in the cities and the statistical tables reported here. Without their skill and diligence such a study could not have been undertaken. The Detroit and Chicago interviewers provided additional help in pretesting and advising on early drafts of the questionnaires. Interviewing done through the Survey Research Center was under

Summary

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

This is a preliminary report of a survey of the perceptions and attitudes of more than 5,000 Negroes and whites in 15 major American cities. In each city a cross-section of the population of each race, ages 16 to 69, was interviewed in early 1968. For the present report the results for all 15 cities have been combined. Suburban white samples were also drawn around two of the cities in order to study city vs. suburban differences in attitude. The present report, written within a few weeks of the end of data collection, is published at this time in order to provide early results relevant to the purposes of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders; more detailed analysis and integration of the results will be reported at a later point.

CHAPTER II.

BLACK VIEWS OF RACIAL ISSUES

Racial Integration and Black Separatism

Ten questions were asked about Negro preferences for separate or integrated activities in such areas as schools, stores, and informal friendship. "Separatism" appeals to from five percent to eighteen percent of the Negro sample, depending on the question, with the largest appeal involving black ownership of stores and black administration of schools in Negro neighborhoods, and the smallest appeal the rejection of whites as friends or in other informal contacts. Even on questions having the largest appeal, however, more than three-quarters of the Negro sample indicate a clear preference for integration. Moreover, the reasons given by respondents for their choices suggest that the desire for integration is not simply a practical wish for better material facilities, but represents a commitment to principles of non-discrimination and racial harmony.

Although there can be little doubt from these data about the current preferences of the great majority of Negro teenagers and adults on these matters, there remain problems in estimating the present importance and future growth of the relatively small percentage who indicate a separatist leaning. In present numbers, as against percentages, their size is by no means small: the sample findings translate into approximately 200,000 Negroes living in these 15 cities who take an extreme separatist position, and well over half a million who show at least sympathy with the use of racial criteria in making some specific institutional policy choices. These numbers are based on an estimated total of 3,330,000 Negroes ages 16 to 69 in these 15 cities in early 1968.

How active or important a role such individuals are capable of playing today is more uncertain. Men are consistently somewhat more separatist then women, which in terms of ordinary leadership roles indicates that the movement is likely to be more influential than numbers alone would indicate. There seems in our sample to be no clear relation of separatism to education, which suggests that such individuals are not concentrated among either the most or the least influential groups in the Negro community; the spread over educational levels may be to their advantage, since it gives both leadership potential and ties to the least well-off segments of the community.

Projections of these data to the future are not possible in any rigorous way. There is a clear trend for younger people, especially among men, to be more

separatist in thinking, but several different interpretations can be placed on this finding. At one extreme, we could assume that the young represent the trend of the future and infer a rate of change or even a rate of acceleration from age trends. The most extreme rate of acceleration inferred from such trends would project a complete change to separatism among 16 to 19 year olds within a decade; a projection of the present rate of change would suggest a move toward separatism by about a third of the teenagers in a decade; a still more conservative projection of age trends, which discounts sharp rises among the youngest people in the sample, points to only a very slight increase in separatist thought even among teenagers at the end of another decade. Finally, evidence presented in a later chapter (Chapter V) suggests that such age trends may, in fact, be more a reflection of levels of maturity than a sign of long-term social change, and that therefore there is little reason to expect any significant future movement toward greater belief in separatism. In sum, our data allow one to work out various possibilities, but not to choose among them. Such a choice will require follow-up studies at later points in time.

Pluralism

There is a strong trend in the data that is related to, but different from and much stronger than, "separatism." It concerns the positive cultural identity and achievements of Negroes, rather than their political or social separation from whites. The finding appears most strikingly in the endorsement by 42 percent of the Negro sample of the statement: "Negro school children should study an African language." Two out of five Negroes thus subscribe to an emphasis on "black consciousness" that was almost unthought of a few years ago. The absence of an age trend on this item and a slight inverse relation between approval of it and amount of education suggest that the desire for more recognition of Negro culture is a long-standing and widely felt need within the Negro community. The difference between the 10 percent or so respondents who support the separatist proposals discussed earlier and the over 40 percent who support this example of Afro-American cultural interest indicates that attempts to emphasize black consciousness *without* rejection of whites may have wide potential appeal among Negroes. A substantial number of Negroes want *both* integration and black identity.

Sources of Dissatisfaction

Partial or complete approval of spokesmen identified with separatism is several times greater than is support for separatism itself. This is probably because the discontent these spokesmen express about race relations is approved even where their preferred separatist solutions are rejected or ignored.

A major source of discontent lies in the continued perception by many Negroes of racial discrimination. Although as noted in Chapter III, 19 out of 20 whites are opposed in principle to racial discrimination in employment, a third of the Negro sample believe they have experienced such discrimination—most of them within the past ten years. About 70 percent of the Negro sample feel discrimination is serious enough so that more than a few Negroes miss out on good jobs and housing because of it. At the same time, it is important to realize that not all Negroes perceive discrimination as a severe problem: about one out of four tend to de-emphasize its current significance.

Perceptions of job and housing discrimination are not strongly associated with age, although they tend to be somewhat lower among the oldest age groups. If there is any age trend here, it is for the middle range to perceive most discrimination, with the peak coming in the 30 to 39 age category. Men report more personal experience than women with employment discrimination, but otherwise there are no differences by sex.

In addition to concrete acts of discrimination, Negro perceptions of white attitudes and feelings are important. These perceptions are polarized: about a third of the Negro sample see most whites as well-intentioned, nearly a third see whites as clearly hostile and repressive, and a third see whites as simply indifferent to the situation of the Negro. Age and sex trends on this and related items are not great, but if anything younger Negroes are more likely to perceive hostility from whites than are older Negroes.

Although most Negroes consider discrimination and hostility to be serious problems, this does not mean that the problems are seen as insuperable. On the contrary, nearly four out of five Negroes interviewed believe it possible to get ahead "in spite of prejudice and discrimination." This faith in success through hard work is strongest among male college graduates. The opposite belief, that no matter how hard a Negro works he cannot succeed in America, is strongest among the less educated, and especially among those with less than 12 years of education in the 20 to 40 year age cohort.

CHAPTER III.

WHITE BELIEFS ABOUT NEGROES

This review of white attitudes begins by showing the extent to which white respondents perceive the existence of serious racial discrimination. About one-fifth of the white sample believe that many Negroes miss out on good jobs because of discrimination, as against two-fifths of the Negro sample who hold that same belief. With regard to housing, however, the corresponding percentages are within a few points of each other.

Thus, racial perceptions of the extent of discrimination in *housing* are not far apart, but whites tend to see discrimination in *employment* as less pervasive a fact of life than do Negroes.

White respondents show little tendency to deny more general tension between Negroes and whites. Two-thirds say they believe that "many" whites dislike Negroes, and even more feel that many Negroes dislike whites. The two viewpoints are highly related in the sense that white respondents who perceive racial hostility at all tend to perceive it coming from each race toward the other.

White respondents were asked whether the inferior employment, education, and housing Negroes have is due mainly to discrimination or mainly to "something about Negroes themselves." There is a strong tendency to blame these conditions on Negroes themselves, with primary emphasis on presumed lack of ambition and industriousness. These characteristics are apparently not seen as innate, however, since almost all whites believe that "changes in the Negro are possible." The dichotomy of "innate" versus "environmental" cause is probably unfamiliar to much of the general population, which may operate more on the basis of an implicit theory of free will than of one or another type of determinism.

Age differences were examined for each of the above questions, and there is consistent evidence that younger people are more likely to perceive the existence of discrimination and to believe that it hampers Negro advancement. There does not seem to be a sharp reversal at any particular age level, but rather a long-term shift away from traditional beliefs and toward greater sensitiveness to the difficulties experienced by Negroes in America. There are no differences by sex in this area of the questionnaire.

Integration and Segregation

Support for *principles* of non-discrimination in housing is strong but not overwhelming in the white sample. Support for non-discrimination in employment *is* overwhelming, with 95 percent of the white sample taking this view. Support for *laws* to prevent discrimination is less strong in both areas, but follows a similar increase from housing to employment: the white sample is split nearly 50-50 on open-housing legislation, but two-thirds are in favor of similar legislation in the area of employment. Personal feelings toward having Negroes either as neighbors or as work supervisors yielded much the same results: half the white sample report that the former would not bother them at all, but better than four-fifths report the same about employment. In general, resistance to equal treatment—in principle, in law, and in personal attitude—is negligible in the area of employment, but it is fairly

substantial, approaching half the sample, in the area of housing.

Much the same relation to age appears here as on questions about extent of discrimination: younger people are more willing to support equal treatment than are older people, with the shift a clear one but hardly radical in degree. There is also a consistent trend for men to be slightly more receptive to equal treatment than are women, a trend which seems to occur mainly on questions that concern housing and informal contacts.

Proposals for Action

There is majority support in the white sample for government action to provide full employment, better education, and improved housing in parts of cities where they are now lacking. The support is appreciably stronger for improving education than it is in the other two areas. None of these questions put in terms of a concern for Negroes, but an additional question focused on similar programs specifically for Negroes, as hypothetically recommended by government officials to prevent riots, receives the backing of two-thirds of the white population. Support for such programs declines somewhat but remains at a majority level even when the proviso is added for a ten percent rise in personal taxes to pay the costs. Younger people are more in favor of government action in all these areas than are older people. There is little evidence of a difference by sex.

The Influence of Formal Education

The number of years of education attained by white respondents has a complex but important relation to many of the questions reviewed in this chapter. For older persons, there is little relation between education and opinions on such issues as open housing. But for persons in their 20's and 30's—the generation that reached maturity in the years following World War II—there is a sharp rise among the college educated in support for equal treatment in all aspects of housing. This finding is consistent with other information suggesting that the colleges themselves became a center of change in ideas about race during and after the 1940's, and that the primary and secondary schools of the nation did not share in this intellectual transformation.

The White Suburbs

While the analysis discussed thus far concerns white respondents living in these 15 cities, results for white suburban residents around Cleveland and Detroit were also reviewed. In general, most white city *versus* white suburban differences are small and probably due to chance sampling error. There does *not* seem

to be a "suburban view on race" that is generally different from that held by white city residents, However, there is a reliable difference on one subject: residents of the two suburban areas are somewhat more opposed than whites in the city to open housing laws, and they show greater reluctance to having a Negro family live next door. These latter differences are small, but they are unlikely to be due to chance.

CHAPTER IV.
A COMPARISON OF WHITE AND BLACK ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES IN THE CITY

This chapter compares Negro and white attitudes on a series of identical questions asked in interviews with both races.

Public Services

Five questions were asked identically of both races about the adequacy of city services in the respondents' own neighborhoods. On each question, Negroes show more dissatisfaction than whites. The difference in satisfaction is greatest with regard to whether adequate "police protection" is provided for the neighborhood. The difference is least on the quality of local public schools. Intermediate are questions on parks, recreation centers, and garbage collection.

Negroes are also more apt than whites to feel that their neighborhood gets worse services than do most other parts of their city, although for both races it is only a minority who perceive this type of inequity. One of the few questions in the study which does not show a difference by race concerns perceptions of the readiness of city officials to respond to a complaint by a private citizen. More than one-third of both Negro and white respondents doubt that they would get action in such a case, but there is no difference by race in the extent of these doubts.

There is little systematic difference by age groups on these questions about public services. A small but probably reliable trend occurs, especially among whites, for women to be more dissatisfied with such services than men.

Government Effort

A series of questions on the sincerity of efforts of government officials to solve urban problems shows Negroes consistently more critical than whites. Both races are also more critical of efforts at the state level of government and less of those at the city level, with federal efforts falling in between.

The Police

At the level of personal experience, Negroes are more likely than whites to report that police have failed to come quickly when called, have shown disrespectful treatment, have carried out searches without good reason, and have used physical brutality. Some of the percentages are small—only four percent of the Negro sample and one percent of the white sample report direct experience with unnecessary use of police force—but the differences by race are quite consistent. The percentage of people who *believe* these things happen in their neighborhood (whether or not they have personally experienced them) is considerably greater, especially among Negroes. One-third or more of the Negro population in the 15 cities believe that the police employ unnecessary force, unnecessary searches, and disrespectful treatment, while another quarter indicate that they do not know whether these things occur or not.

Among both races, younger people are more likely to report and perceive police malpractice than are older people. On all items involving police excesses, men report direct experience more often than do women. Major dissatisfaction, whether warranted or not, is thus concentrated among young males.

Stores and Merchants

There is more complaint by Negroes than by whites about the pricing and quality of goods sold in neighborhood stores. No differences by sex or age occur for either race. Disrespectful treatment in local stores seems not to be a serious problem for either race, but is mentioned somewhat more often by younger Negroes than by any other group.

The White Suburbs

Suburban whites are more satisfied with all their public services than are whites in the cities and much more satisfied than are Negroes. This is especially true with regard to the police. Only on questions concerning neighborhood stores do differences between city and suburban whites disappear.

CHAPTER V.
THE USES OF VIOLENCE

The Nature of the Riots

Negroes and whites do not perceive the riots in the same terms. Most Negroes see the riots partly or wholly as spontaneous protests against unfair conditions, economic deprivation, or a combination of the two. They recommend removing these causes as the main way of preventing future riots. Only a very small percentage of the Negro population define the riots as essentially criminal actions to be suppressed by police force. These people tend to come disproportionately from the older age categories of the Negro population. There is little difference by sex or education.

The white population in the 15 cities is more divided on the nature of the riots. A large segment, roughly a third on several questions, takes a viewpoint similar to that of most Negroes, viewing the disturbances as protests against real grievances, which should be handled by removing the causes for grievance. Approximately another third see the riots in very different terms, however, emphasizing their criminal or conspiratorial character, their origin in a few men of radical or criminal leaning, and the need to meet them with police power. The balance of the white population in the 15 cities mix both views in various combinations. Men are slightly more inclined to condemn the riots totally than are women. Larger differences occur by education and age, with the definition of the riots as protests against grievances more likely to appear among younger and especially among better educated respondents, a phenomenon noted in more detail in Chapter III. Suburban white perceptions of the riots are essentially indistinguishable from those of city whites.

White perceptions of the riots are in many cases not sharply separated from perceptions of other actions by Negroes. A third of the white city population does not differentiate between riots and various forms of nonviolent Negro protest, and a quarter of the white population is opposed even to "orderly marches" on the part of Negroes wishing to protest discrimination.

Advocates of Violence

The proportion of the Negro sample that appears to see violence as a usable tactic varies from six percent to fifteen percent on three hypothetical questions. Responses to the three questions are strongly associated, despite differences in question format and specific subject matter. This fact, plus follow-up questions that show violence to be seen as a matter of focused destruction rather than personal looting, indicates the self-conscious and probably ideological nature of such responses. It does not, however, demonstrate that all or even most people who take part in large-scale looting are motivated in this way. Very few individuals state in advance that they intend to loot, presumably because they do not wish to admit this or because they are unable to predict their own behavior in a situation where looting becomes quasi-legitimate.

Two percent of the total Negro sample report having actually taken part in a riot. The distribution by individual cities is generally consistent with variations in the extent of rioting that occurred in these 15 cities during 1967. Self-reported riot participation rises to four percent in those four of the 15 cities that were classified by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders as having had "major riots" in 1967. The percentage is based on total cities, and cannot be directly compared with earlier studies that sampled only sections classified as "riot areas" within a city.

Although self-reported riot participation is associated with degree of severity of past rioting by city, hypothetical use of violence shows no such association.

Persons who accept violence as a general strategy for the future are found as frequently, on the average, in cities that did not have serious riots in or before 1967 as in cities that had such riots—a finding consistent with the fact that several so-called nonriot cities experienced serious rioting in the spring of 1968.

Despite the lack of association across cities between actual and hypothetical participation in rioting, the two measures are substantially associated for individuals. In particular, individuals who report actual riot participation are nearly seven times more likely than "non-participants" to say they would join a *future* riot. This, plus analysis of the correlates of the two types of measures, indicates that reports of actual participation and reports of intended participation come largely from the same kinds of individuals.

The Background of Black Advocates of Violence

Correlates of both hypothetical and actual use of violence are consistent with those reported in previous studies: advocacy of violence is associated with a variety of grievances and ideological beliefs; it is not related in any simple fashion to educational level, occupational level, or their combination; and it is most frequent among younger people and among men. The last mentioned finding of a higher propensity to violence among young Negro males can be interpreted as a sign of changing views in the generation of Negroes entering adulthood, just as was suggested for other age-related beliefs discussed in earlier chapters. However, two pieces of evidence indicate that, at least in part, we are dealing with a different phenomenon, one related to a stage of life rather than to a trend of change over generations. One type of evidence is that youth is *also* related to increased reliance on active use of legal channels to rectify grievances. The other type of evidence is discussed below.

The Potential White Rioter

A question on propensity to use counterriot violence against Negroes who riot was asked of the white sample. The percentage of whites who say they would engage in such vigilante activity is nearly as great (5 percent) as the percentage of Negroes who say they would join a riot (8 percent). If translated into population terms the numbers of Negroes and whites involved are almost identical because the white population is larger in the 15 cities. A more important finding is that the highest propensity to violence among whites is found among young males—exactly as is the case for Negroes. Since there is little evidence that advocacy of violence is increasing among whites—in fact, it is negatively related to education for whites, suggesting that it may well decrease in the long run—this raises doubts as to how much the comparable increase among young Negroes is a result of long-term social change. Both

phenomena may be more a reflection of desires to exhibit manly daring in a situation where it seems legitimate or indeed heroic. It is interesting to note that the sex-age relations here are similar to those for involvement in serious automobile accidents.

This does not mean that support for the use of violence by Negroes lacks a perceived justification. Results presented earlier in Chapter V indicate that those Ne-groes who advocate violence are more likely to justify it in many ways, and moreover that almost the entire Negro population define the riots as genuine protests. An additional question discussed in Chapter V adds further support to this view: more than half of those Negroes who say they will *not* join a riot also indicate that they sympathize with the aims and the frustrations of Negroes who do join in.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has documented in full detail the racial disorders which occurred in American cities in the several years prior to its publication. In summarizing what happened and why it happened it speaks of race prejudice and racism among the white population and frustration, dissatisfaction, and hostility among Negroes. It calls for a program of national action which will require from every American "new attitudes, new understanding, and, above all, new will."

The purpose of the study reported in these pages was to supplement and extend the findings of the National Commission's investigation. It deals specifically with the attitudes, experiences, perceptions, and expectations of the white and black people living in 15 major cities. It does not attempt to reconstruct the disturbances which had occurred in some of these cities or to provide new information regarding incidents of a racial character since the previous report. It is concerned exclusively with what might be termed as the "human meaning" of the current confrontation of the races in American cities.

This study was initiated by the National Advisory Commission and was conducted by the Survey Research Center of The University of Michigan. The general objectives and design of the study were determined in a series of conferences between members of the professional staff of the Commission and the Center; the detailed design and actual conduct of the study were the responsibility of the Center, as was the preparation of this report. The Center was assisted in the extensive field work of the study by the National

Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, the Public Opinion Laboratory of The University of Wisconsin, and the Institute for Survey Research of Temple University. The entire study was financed by a grant from The Ford Foundation to The University of Michigan.

Since the major purpose of this study was to provide reliable information concerning the prevalence and distribution of the attitudes and understanding of racial problems held by the general Negro and white population in certain large northern cities, the appropriate research method was that of the sample survey. The successive steps in the procedure of this study were as follows:

a. With the advice of the National Advisory Commission, the Center selected 15 cities to be the focus of the study. They were Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Gary, Milwaukee, Newark, New York (Brooklyn only), Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C.

b. By means of a rigorous procedure of selection known as probability sampling, a list of addresses was drawn from the total number of addresses within the city limits of each of these cities. These addresses were designed to result in a representative sample of the white and the Negro populations in each of these cities, totaling in each case between 150 and 200 individuals from each race. To provide some indication of white attitudes outside city limits, samples (white only) were drawn from the suburban areas of two cities, Cleveland and Detroit.

c. With the advice of the National Advisory Commission and a number of colleagues within the social sciences, the Center developed a questionnaire containing over a hundred questions designed to produce the desired information. Separate forms were developed for Negroes and whites, with about 50 percent of the questions common to both. These

questionnaires were extensively pretested before the actual survey began.

d. Interviews based on these standardized questionnaires were carried out between early January and late March, 1968, in the designated households in the 15 cities and the two suburban areas.[*] Individuals between the ages of 16 and 69 within these households were eligible for interviewing; one adult was interviewed in each household and one minor in those households where they were present.[2] The interview with white respondents averaged about 60 minutes in length and that with Negro respondents approximately 75 minutes. The interviews were carried out by the trained interviewers of the Survey Research Center and its collaborating organizations.[3] A total of 5,759 interviews were completed, 2,582 with white city respondents and 2,814 with Negro city respondents. An additional 363 white interviews came from the suburban areas.[4]

e. All the completed questionnaire forms were assembled in the offices of the Survey Research Center where they were subjected to a process of content analysis which converted the verbal material of the interviews into numbers which can be read by a computer. This process took place during April and part of May. Quantitative results for this report became available at the end of May.[5]

It must be emphasized that the present report is a very preliminary statement of the findings that will eventually flow from this study. In order to provide an early report within the time requirements of the National Advisory Commission we have had to restrict ourselves in good part to the presentation of what are commonly called "marginals," showing the distribution of the responses of the Negro and white samples to the various questions of the interview. This provides the reader with a sense of the general distribution of attitudes and perceptions within the white and Negro populations but it leaves many important questions unanswered. Our report tells very little, for example, about the social location of the basic attitudes with which the study is concerned. We have not yet been able to analyze the data to show where in the population attitudes of hostility, apprehension, conciliation, or indifference are located. We have been able to present some of our data within separate age categories in order to show the presence or absence of generational differences, but there are many other analyses of this kind that must wait until later publication.

As the study progresses there will be great attention given to the interrelations of the various measures which the questionnaire provides. We will be concerned, for example, with the extent to which the attitudes which we have measured form coherent patterns and how those patterns are related to earlier experience and to current behavior. The most important insights which emerge from an interview survey typically come from correlational analysis of this kind. Unfortunately, very little analysis at this level can be included in this report.

An important limitation of the present report is the absence of any detailed reference to the characteristics

*Numbers refer to more detailed methodological notes in Appendix A.

of the individual cities on which the study was based. The study was specifically designed to provide a comparison of riot cities with nonriot cities, border cities (Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Washington) with cities farther north, cities having Negro mayors with those having white mayors, and, insofar as our limited samples permitted, the comparison of each individual city with each of the others. It is apparent that much attention must be given to these intercity comparisons and it is anticipated that subsequent publications will be concerned with these comparisons. In the present report we have pooled the data from the 15 cities, weighting them according to the size of the city they represent, and the findings presented refer to the total white and Negro populations of these 15 cities between the ages of 16 and 69. The two suburban areas are combined and presented as a separate unit.

It is well to keep in mind in interpreting the present report two limitations of the survey research method. Sample surveys typically treat each respondent as having equal weight and in the aggregation of the interviews from several thousand respondents each contributes equally to the total. In other words, the survey is, in fact, a plebiscite; when we ask in our survey whether the respondent favors or opposes an open housing law we are taking what is sometimes called a "straw vote." This procedure has the great strength of revealing the total distribution of attitudes and it is also able to show how these attitudes differ in different segments of the population. The survey may reflect very poorly, however, the actual impact of public attitudes in the political arena, especially in those not infrequent cases when leadership attitudes do not coincide very closely with mass attitudes. Social influence is not distributed equally in the population and the survey method does not provide a very dependable measure of the total pressure of public attitudes. The National Advisory Commission has initiated an independent study of community leaders in the 15 cities on which the present study was based and this should provide important additional information regarding the total problem of race relations in these cities. The present study will eventually sort out of its total sample those individuals whose educational or occupational status suggests that they may exercise more than average social influence and compare their attitudes and points of view to those of less prominent position, but this is not primarily a study of leadership.

The second limitation of sample surveys which the reader must remember is the fact that we can never be sure that the data obtained from any part of a total population will correspond exactly to what would have been obtained if we had obtained data from the total. When the procedures of probability sampling are followed, however, it is possible to estimate the limits of the errors which may be expected as the re-

sult of taking a sample rather than a whole. In general the size of this "sampling error" varies according to the square root of the actual number of cases making up the sample. In other words, the precision of the data increases as the size of the sample increases but in less than direct proportion to this increase. In the full report which will ultimately be published from this study there will appear a detailed statement of the sampling procedure and the sampling errors. As a rough guide in using the present report the reader is advised to regard as statistically insignificant—that is, quite possibly due to chance—any difference of four percentage points or less when comparing data from the total white and Negro samples, any difference of five percentage points or less when comparing data from men and women within either the white or Negro samples, and any difference of fifteen percentage points or less when comparing different age categories within the sample of white or Negro men or women. These limits are smaller when comparisons of percentages at the extremes of the range 0 percent to 100 percent are considered. Differences which go beyond these limits may be regarded as significant; that is to say, if the sampling were to be extended to include the entire population of the cities in question the results in high probability would show differences in

the same direction as those found in the smaller sample. We have followed a somewhat more refined but similar set of standards in interpreting group differences in the text of this report.[6]

A preliminary report of this kind cannot hope to answer all or even many of the questions which the reader would like to have answered. The subject of our study is an extraordinarily complicated one and it is not likely that our final report will prove very conclusive. It is obvious that race relations in the United States are in a state of change. We understand this change rather poorly because until very recently there has been very little research on racial problems, especially broad-scale research which would permit a comparative study of the Negro and white populations. We will not really understand the nature of interracial contact and conflict and the change in the patterns of relations between the races which we are experiencing in our society until we establish a longitudinal program of research which will follow these changes through time. The study reported here has many limitations but it does make available a substantial collection of information which should help illuminate the situation in which we presently find ourselves and should provide a baseline against which future measurements can be compared.

Chapter 2
Black Views of Racial Issues

A group of Negro college students at a major northern university in May, 1968, demanded the provision of separate dormitory accommodations. To some ears it sounded like a call for segregation by race, another example of recent repudiations by some Negroes of the goal of integration. In the first section of this chapter we will describe the extent to which integration remains a goal of black Americans in the 15 cities we studied. We will also examine the *meaning* attached by Negroes to integration in such concrete contexts as schools. The second section attempts to look for possible signs of change in our data, so that we do not too quickly impose a static view on what is obviously a volatile period in American racial history. In the third section we present fragmentary but interesting evidence on a type of change in Negro aspirations that is not really located on a simple separatist-integrationist dimension. The fourth section turns to an account of the appeal militant leaders have to nonseparatist followers. Negro perceptions of discrimination and prejudice are described and a preliminary attempt is made to locate these in terms of the dimensions of age and education. The chapter ends with a brief consideration of some of the main strategies adopted by Negroes in confronting obstacles perceived as due to white racial attitudes and practices.

RACIAL INTEGRATION AND BLACK SEPARATISM

We did not ask many general questions about the desirability of integration, but posed the issue concretely in terms of several specific areas of life. For example, the following table (Table II–a) gives the results of a question concerned with residential integration.

TABLE II-a*

"Would you personally prefer to live in a neighborhood with all Negroes, mostly Negroes, mostly whites, or a neighborhood that is mixed half and half?"

[In percent]

	Negro		
	Men	Women	Total
All Negro	7	8	8
Mostly Negro	7	4	5
Mostly white	1	1	1
Mixed half and half	47	48	48
Makes no difference	37	37	37
Don't know	1	2	1
	100	100	100

*See Appendix B for notes on the format of this and other tables.

Nearly half the Negro sample indicate a preference for a mixed neighborhood and another third claim that the racial character of the neighborhood makes no difference to them. Only one Negro respondent out of eight in our sample favors residential separation. The

overwhelming majority prefer "integration" either in the positive sense of "racial balance" or in the non-discriminatory sense of race being irrelevant to decisions about neighborhood.

These percentages must not be taken too literally: they are influenced not only by general attitudes toward integration or separation, but by the particular subject matter of the question, in this case, residence, and by peculiarities of wording. A better idea of the range of answers to questions on integration and separation is provided in Table II-b, which lists all the questions we included within this area broadly defined. The questions are ordered in terms of the percentage giving an answer that seems in a "separatist" direction—that is, show some rejection of whites or some preference for racial exclusiveness.

TABLE II-b

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES FAVORING SEPARATIST RESPONSE TO EACH OF TEN QUESTIONS

	Men	Women	Total
Believe stores in "a Negro neighborhood should be owned and run by Negroes"	21	15	18
Believe school with mostly Negro children should have Negro principal	17	12	14
Prefer to live in all Negro or mostly Negro neighborhood	14	12	13
Believe school with mostly Negro children should have mostly Negro teachers	13	7	10
Agree that "Negroes should have nothing to do with whites if they can help it"	11	8	9
Believe whites should be discouraged from taking part in civil rights organizations	9	6	8
Prefer own child to go to all or mostly Negro school	7	6	6
Believe close friendship between Negroes and whites is impossible	6	5	6
Agree that "there should be a separate black nation here"	7	4	6
Prefer child to have only Negro friends, not white friends too	6	4	5

The findings from this table are clear-cut. When Negro respondents are asked whether they wish their children to have only Negro friends, they reject this possibility by 19 to 1. When asked whether they favor "a separate black nation here" (the exact location unspecified), they again reject this by 19 to 1. Both in their personal lives and on issues concerning public institutions, Negroes in these 15 cities oppose black separatism by an overwhelming margin. The largest support for racial exclusiveness turns on the ownership by Negroes of stores in a Negro neighborhood, which is supported by nearly one out of five members of the sample; yet even on this highly publicized current issue, four out of five respondents refuse to introduce race as a criterion for ownership or control.

It may be argued that responses implying integration are chosen largely for pragmatic reasons. As reported in Chapter IV, Negroes tend to perceive neighborhood services in white or mixed residential areas as better than those in largely Negro areas. White businessmen may be seen as having capital to maintain a wider range of merchandise. White schools may be regarded as having the benefit of better facilities or less crowded conditions. Because of such real social and

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economic differences, Negroes might lean toward "mixed" or "white" responses for purely practical reasons.

In order to explore this issue, we asked respondents to explain their answers to several of the questions given in Table II-b. The results of two such follow-up inquiries are shown in Tables II-c and II-d. They point in two directions. First, a sizable proportion of the Negro sample do, in fact, mention a "practical" reason for preferring mixed schools and mixed neighborhoods—24 percent in the former case and 14 percent in the latter. But second, as large or an even larger proportion give a more purely integrationist response (30 percent for schools and 18 percent for neighborhoods) which emphasizes the desirability of Negroes and whites learning "to get along with each other." To these latter integrationist respondents, we should add the more than a third of the sample who claimed that race should not make any difference at all, since such people can hardly be seen as individuals who would favor racial exclusiveness. The results then indicate that a majority of Negro respondents not only favor integration, but that they do so because of either a commitment to racial harmony or a conviction that racial considerations should be transcended entirely.

TABLE II-c

"Why do you feel that way?" (Follow-up Question to Preference for Racial Composition of School)

[In percent]

	Negro		
	Men	Women	Total
Type of Explanation Given by Those Preferring "Mixed" Schools:			
Mixed schools have better facilities (e.g., "teachers take more time in a mixed school")	24	25	24
Learn to get along with each other (e.g., "kids should grow up together and learn to get along")	30	29	30
Other (e.g., "race shouldn't be that important")	6	6	6
Inapplicable—Already said race should not make any difference—not asked follow-up question	30	29	30
Prefer Negro school	7	6	6
Don't know	3	5	4
	100	100	100

TABLE II-d

"Why do you feel that way?" (Follow-up Question to Preference for Racial Composition of Neighborhood)

[In percent]

	Negro		
	Men	Women	Total
Type of Explanation Given by Those Preferring "Mixed" Neighborhood:			
Mixed neighborhood has better services (e.g., "schools are better")	5	4	4
Mixed neighborhood better place to live (e.g., "less crime," "quieter")	9	12	10
Learn to get along with each other (e.g., "we should learn to live together")	18	17	18
Other (e.g., "race should not make any difference in choosing a place to live")	9	8	9
Inapplicable—Already said race should not make any difference—not asked follow-up question	37	37	37
Prefer Negro neighborhood	14	12	13
Don't know	8	10	9
	100	100	100

The desire for better school and neighborhood facilities and a belief in integration as an end in itself are, of course, not mutually exclusive. The high percentage of Negroes (95 percent) in Table II-b who would like their children to have white as well as Negro friends suggests that many respondents who mention "practical facilities" to other questions are not intending to rule out an interest in integration for its own sake. On the other hand, results to be presented in Chapter IV indicate that Negroes in these 15 cities have many specific dissatisfactions about their cities that have little to do directly with issues of integration.

It is also worth noting that even responses which suggest an apparent desire for "black power" may in reality reflect a somewhat different concern. Although 14 percent of the Negro sample believe a mostly Negro school should have a Negro principal, only a tiny proportion explain this in terms of black control of black institutions. Most speak in terms of the better understanding Negro principals will have of Negro children, or their superior ability to work closely with the parents of their pupils. And, of course, despite these quite practical reasons for wanting Negro principals in all-Negro schools, *most* Negroes in our sample do *not* believe that race should enter into the selection process.

In summary, it is clear that in early 1968 the major commitment of the great majority of the Negro population in these 15 cities was not to racial exclusiveness insofar as this meant personal rejection of whites or an emphasis on racial considerations in running community institutions. Negroes hold strongly, perhaps more strongly than any other element in the American population, to a belief in nondiscrimination and racial harmony.

WINDS OF CHANGE?

The conclusions of the previous section do not provide much support for the sense of radical change that comes from listening to new and more militant voices from the black community. One possibility is that these new leaders have no following. However, another possibility is that our data reflect well enough the inertia of opinion in this large urban Negro population, but not at all well the potentiality for change growing rapidly within it. In this section we will attempt to look hard at the data both for signs of such growth and for the importance of what change may already have occurred. This will require a somewhat more speculative orientation than we follow in most other parts of this report.

First, it is reasonable to argue that the small percentage of separatist thinking that does appear in the preceding tables deserves to be taken seriously in its own right. Small percents can represent large numbers of people. In this study, one percent of the Negro sample stands for approximately 33,000 people, ages 16

to 69, in the 15 cities in which we interviewed. A finding of 10 percent represents 330,000, or nearly one-third of a million persons. (This counts only Negroes in the 15 cities, there being an unknown but undoubtedly large number of individuals with similar beliefs in other American cities.) Thus when we say that six percent of the sample advocates the formation of a separate black nation, we are implying that some 200,000 Negroes in these 15 cities feel so little a part of American society that they favor withdrawing allegiance from the United States and in some sense establishing a separate national entity.

Unlike election polls where it is usually correct to focus on majority or at least plurality figures, "small" percentages in this study must not be disregarded as unimportant. In a formal election six percent of the vote means little, but in a campaign to change minds and influence policies, six percent of a population can represent a considerable force. This is particularly true when the six percent represents deviation from a traditional position, since it is likely that many of those who hold to the majority position do so with little thought or commitment. To deviate from a very widely held norm probably requires more conviction than to hold to it, and if we could estimate this extra factor and weight it into the results we might well find the force behind black nationalism to be considerably greater than its numbers suggest. Finally, the high degree of residential and general social segregation in these cities promotes communication and association among such individuals, and provides them with easy access to just the audience they wish to reach.

In addition to appreciating the absolute size and strength of separatist opinion, there is the equally important question of how fast it is growing, if indeed it is growing at all. A single survey, however, is like a single photograph, and there is no direct way it can measure recent rates of change, let alone predict with precision future rates. There is no past survey of this 15-city population with which we can closely compare our present results, and we must rely on age as an indirect indication of change. We make the assumption that what change there is in the long-term goal of integration is likely to occur most rapidly among the young. It was a relatively young minister, Martin Luther King, who at the age of 27 led the Montgomery bus boycott in 1957. College students were the main participants in the "sit-ins" of the early 1960's. Today, as we near the end of the decade, it appears to be black youth in colleges and black youth on ghetto streets who are least satisfied with America as it is, or perhaps even as their parents wish it to be. This fits the common assumption that the young are less conservative in the generic sense of the word: satisfaction with the currently traditional ways of doing things. If the youth in

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our sample show more separatist thinking than the older men and women, one can interpret this as a sign of change, using the shape and steepness of the age curve as a rough measure of the rate of change.

The use of age as an indicator in this way has definite problems. One is the difficulty of separating the trend movement in which we are interested from youthful rebellions that have no lasting effect but subside into middle-aged acceptance. Nor, on the other hand, can we be sure that the "rate of change" one estimates by comparing young and old is itself unchanging; if the rate accelerates, young children coming of "interview age" will differ more from their teenage fellows than the latter do from present adults. More generally, the projection of present trends to describe the future is full of risk, since unforeseen events—an assassination, a war, a major racial clash—can always alter the direction or speed of change. The following discussion must be read with these reservations in mind.

Five of the ten questions discussed earlier were selected as conceptually closest to "separatism," and the relation of each to age is shown in Table II-e. The overall trend seems clear: younger people are somewhat more accepting of separatist beliefs than are older people. The trend is more consistent for men than for women, with the latter showing little perceptible change on the more extreme items (defined as those with the smallest percentage of separatist response for the sample as a whole). There is also one quite consistent reversal of the main trend: the oldest males "double-back" and are much more separatist than would be expected from the primary direction of change. We suspect this involves an irrelevant artifact, but cannot explore the problem in the present report.

TABLE II-e

PERCENTAGE IN EACH AGE CATEGORY SHOWING SEPARATIST THINKING ON FIVE QUESTIONS

	16-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
Negro men						
Believe stores in "a Negro neighborhood should be owned and run by Negroes"	28	23	20	18	14	18
Believe school with mostly Negro children should have mostly Negro teachers	22	15	13	6	5	15
Agree that "Negroes should have nothing to do with whites if they can help it"	18	14	6	12	4	13
Believe whites should be discouraged from taking part in civil rights organizations	19	12	8	6	3	5
Agree that "there should be a separate black nation here"	11	10	5	5	4	10
Negro women						
Believe stores in "a Negro neighborhood should be owned and run by Negroes"	18	16	16	15	13	8
Believe school with mostly Negro children should have mostly Negro teachers	11	9	6	5	5	12
Agree that "Negroes should have nothing to do with whites if they can help it"	11	7	7	8	5	7
Believe whites should be discouraged from taking part in civil rights organizations	11	7	7	5	7	3
Agree that "there should be a separate black nation here"	9	3	2	6	4	3

Table II-f presents broad age trends in conjunction with educational groupings. The latter show little relation to separatist response, but the age differences continue to hold within almost all educational groups. There is a hint in the table, which will need further investigation, that institutional self-rule appeals to more educated Negroes, while wholesale rejection of whites appeals to the less educated.

In general, then, younger Negroes do assert separatist beliefs more strongly than do older Negroes. If one ignores the oldest age group (60–69) as artifactual, the change between the 50 to 59 group and the 16 to 19 represents at least a doubling of percent separatist thinking for women and a tripling for men. If the 60 to 69 cohort is included, as caution dictates, the increase is about .50 over the total age span contained in the table. The largest jump is from individuals in their 20s to the 16 to 19 category.

If we were to assume that the younger people will hold to their beliefs, then in a little more than a generation separatism would rise noticeably over the whole population. Even then, however, it would remain a distinctly minority position within the Negro community. Instead of being represented by five or ten percent of the Negro population, it would characterize 15 or at most 20 percent of the adult Negroes in these 15 cities. The majority would still have to be described as "integrationist" in goal and sentiment.

It would be possible to project more dramatic change in Negro opinion if one introduced one or both of two additional assumptions. For example, if we assumed that the rate of change for maturing age groups continued for those cohorts entering the adult population, rather than remaining at the level we have observed in this survey, there would obviously be a long-term increment in separatist thinking. Thus we would have to assume that the attitudes of the new generation entering the 16 to 19 year-old category departed even further from the general average of the total Negro population than the present 16 to 19 year-old group does. Our data showing the rate of change from one age group to the next might be interpreted as suggesting some such increment but the evidence could only be taken as inferential and does not demonstrate the validity of the assumption in question.

TABLE II-f

PERCENTAGE IN EACH AGE AND EDUCATION GROUP SHOWING SEPARATIST THINKING
[Results for Negro men and women averaged]

	Age 16–19*	Age 20-39					Age 40-69				
		8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate
Believe stores in "a Negro neighborhood should be owned and run by Negroes"	22	19	18	18	20	30	16	13	13	17	13
Believe school with mostly Negro children should have mostly Negro teachers	16	8	11	10	10	20	10	4	5	5	3
Agree that "Negroes should have nothing to do with whites if they can help it"	14	18	11	6	6	0	14	5	5	5	4
Believe whites should be discouraged from taking part in civil rights organizations	15	14	7	8	11	10	5	5	5	5	5
Agree that "there should be a separate black nation here"	10	8	5	6	2	4	8	3	2	5	0

* This group combines all educational categories.

A second assumption which might be considered would project an increase in separatist opinion in those age cohorts where such thought is now least popular, the older generations. If separatist thinking increases among the young and is "taken up" by popular leaders and the influential mass media, one might assume that it would diffuse in some degree into the larger Negro population.[1] To the extent that this diffusion was successful the separatist position might change from the clearly deviant one it is today to one of far greater influence.

We must emphasize again, however, that these speculations go far beyond what our data tell us. Even the age trends on which much of this speculation is based are not as steep or consistent as many readers might have expected. In fact, sharper age differences are reported in Chapter V on another subject (the use of violence) but evidence is also presented there that casts doubt on how much the differences represent long-term shifts in orientation; they seem at least as much to represent youthful boldness, much of which may not persist with maturation.[2]

At this point, then, it is useful to reiterate the main findings presented earlier in the chapter. Most Negroes of all age groups today reject separatist thinking both in the political and in the personal sense. Commitment to the values of nondiscrimination and racial harmony are paramount for Negroes in these 15 cities.

[1] There are some indications of such a shift in some sections of the Negro press. For example, the *Michigan Chronicle*, the major Negro newspaper for Detroit, has changed in tone since the 1967 riot. The word "black" has been substituted for "Negro," a regular column of commentary by a leading militant spokesman has been added, and more regular coverage is given to groups advocating separation. Much of the change, however, fits better the type of cultural shift discussed in our next section, rather than being fully separatist.

[2] It should be noted that our sample does not represent college students living on campuses and thus misses an important body of young, educated opinion. This may have some effect when we break the sample by age and education, but it is too small to influence major trends appreciably. We also do not represent current military personnel, whose thinking is probably a good deal closer to the modal character of the present results.

PLURALISM: AN ALTERNATE PATH

"Black separatism," both as preached and as practiced, actually has two distinguishable clearly aspects. One side is largely political and social, calling for black control of institutions that serve the black population and for concentration of all informal social relationships within the black community. We have already seen that this program has relatively little support at present within the Negro population of these 15 cities. The other aspect of the program is cultural in the sociological sense of the term and attempts to encourage the growth of a positive black identity, a realization of the significance of black achievement, both in Africa and in America, and a desire to contribute to the development of the black community. We find in our data some important evidence that this cultural emphasis has wide appeal within the urban Negro population.[3]

The results of four questions that point in this direction are presented in Table II-g.[4] It is perhaps no surprise to learn that 96 percent of the sample affirm that "Negroes should take more pride in Negro history," or that nearly as many agree "there should be more Negro business, banks, and stores." But it is striking indeed that 42 percent of this sample believe "Negro school children should study an African language." Unfortunately, we had no other question that so clearly taps positive identification with a black heritage without at the same time implying rejection of whites. But the support for this single proposition, which a few years ago was scarcely discussed by most Negroes and still seems exotic and impractical to most white ears, is so impressive that it suggests a considerable potential for the growth of black cultural identity in America.

[3] An excellent discussion of the distinction made here appears in Milton Gordon's *Assimilation in American Life,* New York: Oxford Press, 1964.

[4] Unfortunately all four items are of an agree/disagree type and worded in the same direction, thus allowing for "response set" effects. They are almost the only such items of this type in the questionnaire. It appears from internal evidence in the questionnaire that such effects may be raising marginal percentages here by about five percent.

It also suggests that the more frequently voiced demand for more Negro history in public schools probably has very broad support in the Negro population.

TABLE II-g
PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES APPROVING EACH OF FOUR POSITIVE CULTURAL IDENTITY STATEMENTS

	Men	Women	Total
"Negroes should take more pride in Negro history"	96	96	96
"There should be more Negro business, banks, and stores"	95	92	94
"Negroes should shop in Negro owned stores whenever possible"	70	69	70
"Negro school children should study an African language"	46	38	42

The gap between the 42 percent agreement with this item and the 9 percent agreement reported earlier with the item "Negroes should not have anything to do with whites if they can help it" (Table II-b) is a good indication of the difference in appeal between programs emphasizing positive cultural identity and programs espousing rigid social separation. The positive character of this interest in having children study African languages is further brought out by some of the explanations respondents gave for agreeing with the item: [5]

"Since all races have a language of their own it would be good if we had one too. Italians, Germans, Jews have one, why not us?"

TABLE II-h
"Negro school children should study an African language"
[Percentages for men and women averaged]

	Age 16–19*	Age 20–39					Age 40–69				
		8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate
Approve	44	54	41	39	43	28	43	44	38	33	33
Disapprove	46	33	47	46	44	61	37	38	51	49	42
Don't know**	8	7	11	12	12	9	17	17	10	18	24
Other	2	6	1	3	1	2	3	1	1	0	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*This group combines all educational categories.
**The "don't know" category is quite large and probably of substantive importance in indicating uncertainty, hence it has been distinguished from other miscellaneous responses.

There is one other finding in Table II-g that is of interest but also somewhat puzzling. Over two-thirds of the sample agree with the statement that "Negroes should shop in Negro owned stores whenever possible." This was intended as an indicator of separatism and

[5] For each closed question in the interview we obtained from a random subsample of about 50 interviewees an explanation of why their responses were chosen. The method used is described in H. Schuman, "The Random Probe: A Technique for Evaluating the Validity of Closed Questions," *American Sociological Review, 31*, 2 (April, 1966), pp. 218–222.

The majority of the explanations are in fact universalistic, offering a reason that is very much in keeping with general American values:

"I feel they should study all languages."

"They teach every other language, an African language could be taught too."

And a few responses carry a negative edge:

"In school you are only taught the white man's language. You are not taught the Negro native language."

The proposal thus has appeal to many segments of the Negro population.

Results of the African language item by age and education are shown in Table II-h. They indicate a slight trend for agreement to be associated with *lower* education, but no consistent relation to age. This is somewhat puzzling and suggests that the item represents not so much a new idea, but more an appeal to rather long-standing needs within the Negro community. Its greater attraction to the less-educated may also indicate that its importance is mostly symbolic, since those least able to add such an extra language burden to their education are most willing to approve a proposal to do so. It may also indicate that the item appeals especially to those in the Negro community who are furthest from having achieved a middle-class American way of life. The item also has one of the highest "don't know" percentages of any question in the interview; while not surprising, the exact meaning of this will have to be clarified through further analysis.

might well have been listed in Table II-b. The percentage agreement, however, is so far out of line with any question in the separatism set that we feel it was understood by many people in a way different than intended. Note, for example, that in Table II-b, 80 percent of the sample rejected giving Negroes the exclusive right to own stores in Negro areas. Our assumption is borne out by explanations of those who indicated agreement. They talk for the most part in terms of offering positive support for the struggling Negro businessman who is trying to make a success of his business. They seldom relate this to not patronizing

white-owned stores. Perhaps having just earlier indicated their agreement that "there should be more Negro business, banks, and stores," the need to patronize such stores to make them successful was especially salient to respondents. In any case, we interpret the result here as more an emphasis on promoting positive Negro achievement than on separatism or rejection of whites, though it obviously is a somewhat ambiguous item.

In summary, this section suggests strongly the value of further study of the interest of urban Negroes in positive racial symbols of achievement and identity, without confounding this interest with more social or political issues involving separatism. As in the case of religious and ethnic groups in America, there seems to be wide support for cultural individuality *within* a larger interracial social structure. Such affirmation of black identity is in keeping with American pluralism and should not be termed "separatism." It does, however, contain a source from which leaders advocating separatism can draw, especially if there is wide disillusionment with the possibility of making integration work in social and political contexts.

SOURCES OF DISSATISFACTION

The rise of angry and militant black leaders, like the outbursts of urban rioting, are not only disturbing to many white Americans, but puzzling as well. Considering the improvements for Negroes over the past 15 years—visible in Supreme Court decisions, in civil rights legislation, in appointments to high offices, and perhaps most of all in the appearance for the first time of black faces in restaurants and airplanes, on television and movie screens—why aren't black Americans more satisfied? Why, indeed, are they not gratified by the enormous progress that has occurred in race relations during and since what a distinguished author referred to as "a revolutionary decade, 1954 to 1964," one that the "most far-seeing of men standing at the beginning of the period, would have been quite unlikely to predict. . . ." [6]

The following that "black nationalist" spokesmen have can easily be exaggerated, of course. In our survey, as in all previous studies we know of, their popular support is much less than that for the NAACP or for the late Dr. Martin Luther King (Table II-i). Nevertheless, the at least partial support they have is not small, particularly when one considers that the militant figures mentioned in Table II-i were hardly known at all several years ago. Stokely Carmichael's "stand" is

[6] Anthony Lewis and The New York Times, *Portrait of a Decade: The Second American Revolution*, New York, Bantam Books, 1965.

approved or partly approved by 35 percent of the sample, the same percentage that show clear disapproval. H. Rap Brown wins less support, but nevertheless more than a quarter of the sample gives general or partial approval to what he "stands for," and slightly less than half the sample disapproves. The names of both men seem to be slightly better known than the name of Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP.

TABLE II-i
"Now I want to read you a list of people active in civil rights. For each one, please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of what the person stands for, or don't know enough about him to say?"
[In percent]

	Negro		
	Men	Women	Total
STOKELY CARMICHAEL			
Approve	18	10	14
Partly approve and partly disapprove	24	17	21
Disapprove	34	36	35
Don't know	24	37	30
	100	100	100
MARTIN LUTHER KING			
Approve	70	74	72
Partly approve and partly disapprove	22	16	19
Disapprove	5	4	5
Don't know	3	6	4
	100	100	100
ROY WILKINS			
Approve	54	46	50
Partly approve and partly disapprove	13	11	12
Disapprove	4	2	3
Don't know	29	41	35
	100	100	100
H. RAP BROWN			
Approve	17	10	14
Partly approve and partly disapprove	14	12	13
Disapprove	46	44	45
Don't know	23	34	28
	100	100	100
HOW ABOUT THE NAACP?			
Approve	77	74	75
Partly approve and partly disapprove	12	10	11
Disapprove	3	3	3
Don't know	8	13	11
	100	100	100

Approval or partial approval for a man does not necessarily mean approval for his specific programs—the connections are frequently hazy to the average respondent. We have already seen that there is little support for black separatism as a political movement. In Chapter V we will show that support for violence is somewhat greater, but still quite limited in percentage terms. The main attraction that men like H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael have to the wider Negro community is probably their emphasis on the serious difficulties Negroes face and the vociferous attribution of these difficulties to white America.

Our interest here lies not so much in the amount of support for any particular spokesman, but rather in the extent to which *racial* conditions are seen by Ne-

grocs as cause for profound and justified criticism. We will look at this in terms of two general areas of possible criticism: first, the extent of overt discrimination that is perceived to exist today in America, and second, Negro perceptions of white racial attitudes of a more intangible nature.

1. An End to Discrimination?

We began this chapter by noting that a large proportion of the white population probably believe that much progress has been made over the last 15 years in eliminating overt racial discrimination in the United States. No single question about such change was asked of whites and we state this as an assumption of what we would find.[7] We did ask Negroes such a question, however, and the results are illuminating. The question (Table II–j) concerns the amount of progress that has been made over the past ten or fifteen years "in getting rid of racial discrimination" in America. Although a majority of the Negro sample believes that substantial progress has been made, the more striking finding is that one out of every three respondents agrees that there has not been "much real change for most Negroes" over a period that dates roughly from the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. The basic assumption of major improvement, so seemingly obvious to many white Americans, is not accepted by many black Americans.

TABLE II-j

"Some people say that over the past 10 or 15 years there has been a lot of progress in getting rid of racial discrimination. Others say that there hasn't been much real change for most Negroes over that time. Which do you agree with most?"

[In percent]

	Negro		
	Men	Women	Total
A lot of progress	63	60	62
Hasn't been much real change	34	36	35
Don't know	3	4	3
	100	100	100

One might expect denial that progress has occurred to come especially from younger people. They did not experience the more blatant forms of discrimination characteristic of America in 1950, nor did they see one type of racial segregation after another outlawed over a relatively short time. The age trends for the data provide some support for this expectation. Of teenagers, 43 percent of the males and 37 percent of the females disclaim progress, but in the 60 to 69 year old groups the percentages drop to 28 and 26 percent, respectively. The age trend is smooth for men, but somewhat irregular for women. Among younger peo-

[7] In Chapter III we do discuss in some detail white beliefs about *current* levels of discrimination.

ple (ages 20 to 39), the more educated of both sexes recognize more change; there is little relation of education to perception of change for persons over 40. Taken together these results suggest that those who are older and those who have more education are better able to recognize the broad movement of events of the last decade and a half. Negroes too young to have personally experienced the break-up of many traditional racial patterns and those with less general awareness of recent history (or perhaps simply lower incomes, a correlate of education not yet explored) are more likely to deny that meaningful change has occurred.

But these effects are only moderate. Even among the oldest and among the best educated, a quarter still report that there has not been much real change for most Negroes. They do this apparently because from their perspective there has indeed been little visible change, whatever may have occurred elsewhere in the country. Respondents who said "no change" explained their responses in the following way:

"We can do the same job as whites but get unequal pay. Education is different in white and colored schools."

". . . We bought this nice furniture, thought we were going to buy a house. When they found out we were Negroes they wouldn't sell to us."

"There has been some but not much. There are still a lot of jobs that Negroes can't get and there are a lot of houses that Negroes can't rent or buy."

"On the whole the prejudice of people is still the same. They are just pretending today."

The question just discussed speaks of discrimination in the abstract. Most of our inquiries in this area were more specific. Table II–k presents the results of nine questions dealing with employment. The first two questions indicate that more than a third of the Negro males in the sample claim to have *personally* experienced racial discrimination in employment. The figure is somewhat smaller for women, probably because fewer have been in the labor force. To avoid confusing recent with ancient history, we asked how long ago the last such incident had happened. For those mentioning any discrimination at all, the majority report an incident of discrimination within the past five years, and nearly three-quarters report an incident within the past ten years. We have no way, of course, to verify these reports. Even in a current situation it is often difficult to prove or disprove that job discrimination occurred. What is clear, however, is that a great many Negroes believe that discrimination not only happens, but that it has happened personally to them during the same "past ten or fifteen years" referred to in the earlier question on change.

TABLE II-k
PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES PERCEIVING DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

	Men	Women	Total
Report having been refused a job because of racial discrimination	34	25	30
Report having been refused promotion on a job because of racial discrimination	18	9	14
Believe many or some Negroes miss out on jobs today because of discrimination	72	70	71
Believe many or some Negroes miss out on promotions today because of race	68	67	68
Believe there is discrimination in hiring by the federal government	40	40	40
Believe there is discrimination in hiring by their city government	51	49	50
Believe there is discrimination in hiring in teaching	35	33	34
Believe big companies hire a few Negroes only for show purposes, to appear to be non-discriminatory	78	76	77
Believe discrimination in hiring and promotions is increasing or not changing	42	43	42

When job discrimination is asked about in more general terms, Table II–k indicates that about 70 percent of the sample believe that "many" or "some" Negroes (as against "few") miss out on good jobs because of their race. (Only about 40 percent, however, choose the term "many," rather than the vague word "some.") Approximately 40 percent of the sample believe that Negroes are discriminated against in federal employment, and the figure rises to over 50 percent when city employment is considered. The claim by some large private companies that they are looking for all the capable Negroes they can find to put into good jobs has also not made a great impression in these 15 cities: nearly 80 percent of the sample believe that such hiring is only of a token nature. There is little difference by sex on any of these questions on perceptions of extent of discrimination, unlike the reports of personal experience mentioned above.

Discriminatory personal experience in the job area is reported most frequently by persons in their 20's and 30's, and less both by teenagers and by persons over 40 and especially over 50 (Table II–l). The lower rate in the former group is presumably due to the large proportion still in school. The lack of reporting in the older groups is less easily accounted for; these people may never have attempted to get jobs in competition with whites, or may be settled in their jobs and have forgotten early instances of discrimination, or may have been less ready to define an ambiguous situation as discriminatory. However, exactly the same trends occur for all the questions on extent of job discrimination. (Age trends for two such general items are shown in Table II–l, along with the personal experience questions.) The mild curvilinear relationship that is repeated over all four questions in the table is difficult to account for. Rephrasing the explanation given above, we might hypothesize that those who are in their prime working years have the most involvement with employment and promotion and therefore the most immediate opportunity to perceive discrimination. This explanation does not seem to us wholly satisfactory, and further analysis will be required to sup-

port it or to arrive at a more adequate interpretation of the data.

TABLE II-l
AGE TRENDS AMONG NEGROES FOR FOUR QUESTIONS ON EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

[Percentages for men and women averaged.*]

	Age					
	16–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69
Have been personally discriminated against in employment	21	33	37	30	24	18
Have been personally discriminated against for promotions	4	12	17	18	12	13
Believe many Negroes miss out on good jobs because of discrimination	34	38	44	42	40	26
Believe many Negroes miss out on promotions because of discrimination	29	37	46	41	37	24

*Trends are very similar for men and women considered separately.

Most knowledgeable white Americans agree that job discrimination is still a problem in American cities, but some comfort is often taken in the belief that such discrimination is decreasing. Whatever the truth of the matter, this belief is shared by only half the Negro respondents in our sample (Table II–k above). In fact, 20 percent of the sample believe job discrimination to be on the increase, the remaining 30 percent perceiving no change at all. Education makes some difference in this case for women—the more educated see a decrease in job discrimination—but there is no such relation for men. A better understanding of this difference will require analysis using employment status, and must be reserved for later reports.

Discrimination in housing is seen in dimensions that are roughly similar to those for employment (Table II–m). We did not ask about *personal experience* in this area because much residential segregation is self-perpetuating: few Negroes seek housing in all-white areas which they think will prove inhospitable. Instead we asked whether there were "many, some, or just a few places" in the city where the respondent believed he "could *not* rent or buy a house because of racial discrimination." It should be noted that the question referred directly to the city itself and did not ask about the much more highly segregated suburban areas. Two out of five respondents believed there were many such places in their city, and another quarter felt there were "some" rather than few.

TABLE II-m
PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES PERCEIVING DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING AND OTHER AREAS

	Men	Women	Total
Believe "many" or "some" Negroes (as against "few") in this city miss out on good housing because of racial discrimination	75	76	76
Believe there are "many" places (as against "some" or "none") in this city where they could not rent or buy a house because of discrimination	42	44	43
Believe that racial discrimination in housing is increasing or not changing	54	53	54
Believe judges in this city are harder on Negroes than on whites	25	19	22
Believe "city officials" pay less attention to a request from a Negro than a white person	62	59	60

About the same proportion answered a more general question on whether Negroes "miss out on good housing" in their city because of race: 45 percent say "many" do and 30 percent that "some" do. Finally, a little over 50 percent of the sample see no decrease in residential discrimination underway at present. There are no differences by sex on any of these questions; age and education trends have not yet been studied.

Our questionnaire did not deal in detail with other social areas, for example, education. But Table II-m does sample two quite different public spheres. Judicial behavior, in theory far removed from racial bias, is seen as discriminatory by 22 percent of the sample. A much larger proportion—three out of five—expect unequal treatment when they go as citizens to make a request to "city officials." Indeed, this question produces the most widespread perception of discrimination of any item of the questionnaire.[8] Both from it and from the earlier question on employment opportunities in city government, it seems that city hall does not ordinarily represent a model of social justice in the eyes of the majority of Negroes in our sample.

Although the percentages vary depending on the particular question, in general about 40 percent to 50 percent of the Negroes interviewed emphasize the seriousness of current discrimination to as great an extent as a given question allows. (This range does not apply to questions about personal experience or about rate of change.) The other half do not by any means discount discrimination as a force acting upon Negroes, but they qualify their answers somewhat where qualification is provided. This is especially true for the quarter of the sample that take the *least* emphatic way of describing discrimination, e.g., say that there are "*few* places" in the city where they could not rent or buy a house because of race.

From a descriptive standpoint, these results may come as a surprise to readers of several viewpoints. To those who feel deeply the existence of racial discrimination in the United States, it will be surprising that half the Negro population in these 15 cities are somehow unable or unwilling to stress discrimination as an overwhelming factor in their lives. Yet clearly many Negroes either do not perceive much discrimination or deny it to be a serious problem. Indeed, had we presented our data from the opposite direction, we could have shown that about a quarter of the sample see job and housing discrimination as applying to only

8 The question on hiring of Negroes by "big companies" for high paying jobs (Table II-k) shows a higher percentage, but it is not comparable in wording to most of the other questions discussed in this section.

a few Negroes, not to "many" or even to "some." Not all black urban Americans see the world as does Stokely Carmichael, or indeed even as does a "moderate" civil rights organization such as the NAACP.

But white Americans who would like to believe that discrimination, at least in employment if not in housing, is an "out of date issue" in 1968, must face the fact that half the Negro population in 15 major cities see discriminatory treatment as a major obstacle to getting a good job, finding a good house, or even having complaints listened to by officials of one's own city. For a substantial proportion of the Negro sample, discontent can find a basis not only in economic deprivation and psychological dissatisfaction, but in the belief that basic improvement in one's condition of life is barred by overt white discrimination.

2. Black Perceptions of White Attitudes

Overt discrimination in such crucial areas as hiring is the side of racial tension in the United States easiest to condemn, easiest to legislate against, and easiest to ask survey questions about. Yet it seems clear that beyond initial decisions to employ, promote, or rent to another person, more personal actions and expressed attitudes are fundamental to black-white relations in 1968. What Negroes think whites think about Negroes (and vice versa) may in the end be as important as more clearcut issues of discrimination and economic advancement.[9]

A good introduction to this complex issue is provided by a question that lies somewhere between explicit discrimination and the subtler expression of attitudes. We chose an area of social life where "integration" has been widespread for many years in most of the 15 cities, and where at least superficially pleasant relations between Negroes and whites are clearly called for by the official norms of the situation. The question concerns politeness to customers in downtown department stores, and is shown by age categories in Table II-n. More than a quarter of the sample responded that Negro customers receive less courtesy than white customers in major stores. This feeling is a good deal stronger among younger people, where the percentage perceiving discourtesy is twice that of the oldest age category. More than one out of three Negroes

9 "Dearborn Forces Out Black Residents" was a 1968 headline in the *Michigan Chronicle* (June 15, 1968), which is seen by some 65 percent of the adult Negro population in Detroit. (Number of readers estimated by the Detroit Area Study, The University of Michigan, from data collected May, 1968.) The "force" in this case was apparently not violence or even the threat of violence, but verbal hostility and social ostracism on the part of the neighbors of the only Negro family that had been living in the city of Dearborn, a large suburb of Detroit.

in their teens and twenties expect to be the object of discourteous behavior when they shop in downtown stores. This applies equally to men and women and it applies at all educational levels.

TABLE II-n

"Do you think Negro customers who shop in the big downtown stores are treated as politely as white customers, or are they treated less politely?"

[Results for Negro men and women averaged. In percent]

	Age					
	16–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69
As politely	60	56	60	67	66	64
Less politely	35	36	30	22	23	16
Don't know	5	8	10	11	11	20
	100	100	100	100	100	100

A much more direct question about white attitudes is shown in Table II-o, having to do with perceptions of the extent to which black Americans are disliked by white Americans. One out of eight Negroes in the sample perceive a world where almost all white people dislike Negroes. (This includes one and a half percent who volunteered that *all* white people, not just almost all, dislike Negroes.) Again it is worthwhile to remind ourselves that these percentages stand for a great many people—in the present instance some 400,000 adults who face what they think of as an almost totally hostile white America. Moreover they are supported in their beliefs by another 45 percent of the sample who anticipate dislike from "many" whites, which in the context of the other alternatives probably means at least half the white population. Altogether in these 15 cities, nearly two million Negro adults from 16 to 69 see themselves as a widely disliked racial minority.

TABLE II-o

"Do you think only a few white people in (City) dislike Negroes, many dislike Negroes or almost all white people dislike Negroes?"

[In percent]

	Negro		
	Men	Women	Total
Few white people dislike Negroes	38	37	38
Many dislike Negroes	44	46	45
Almost all dislike Negroes	13	11	12
Don't know	5	6	5
	100	100	100

The word "dislike" was a compromise among several terms—distrust, fear, depreciate, hate—that might have been chosen in phrasing the above question. One specification of it may be seen in a question about whether most white people want to see Negroes get a better break, want to keep Negroes down, or don't care one way or the other (Table II-p).

TABLE II-p

"On the whole, do you think most white people in (City) want to see Negroes get a better break, or do they want to keep Negroes down, or don't they care one way or the other?"

[In percent]

	Negro		
	Men	Women	Total
Most whites want to see Negroes get a better break	30	28	29
Most whites want to keep Negroes down	28	26	27
Most whites don't care	34	34	34
Don't know	8	12	10
	100	100	100

The results of this question are more polarized than the previous one. Three Negro respondents out of ten believe most white people are basically sympathetic to Negro advancement, but nearly the same proportion believe that most whites want to keep Negroes down. Another third see whites as indifferent to the fate of Negro Americans. Note that the selection of the sympathetic response did not require a belief that whites were willing to *do* anything about improving conditions of Negroes, but only that whites "want" to see Negroes get a better break. The finding that seven out of ten Negroes reject such a statement points to a wide gulf, in Negro eyes, between black aspirations and white desire to support such aspirations.

Age and education trends for the two previous questions are somewhat complex, as shown in Table II-q. Putting together the results for both questions, we can summarize the trends as follows: Negro adults in their 20's and 30's—the generation that came of age in the years following World War II—perceive more hostility and less sympathy from whites than does the older prewar generation. The differences are not great, but they are consistent over most educational levels and for both questions. However, there is no evidence that the loss of faith in whites is increasing even more with the Negro adults of tomorrow: youth 16 to 19 answer these two questions in much the same way as does the 20 to 29 year old category. Whether they will remain at this level we have no way of knowing.[10]

There is a hint in the data that college-level education in earlier years was associated with a more optimistic view of white attitudes, but if this was indeed the case it is apparently not so with the post-World War II generation. Among the young adults college experience is not associated with a more positive view of whites. What college training does seem to do, and this is true of educational effects in the two tables more generally, is to modulate perceptions of whites, so that the respondent gives a less extreme response.

10 The teenage group presented certain special interviewing problems and it is possible that it is less representative of that cohort than is true of our other age categories.

More educated respondents are less likely to assert that all whites dislike Negroes or want to keep Negroes down, and more likely to see whites as indifferent or to recognize that there may be some genuine white support for Negroes. But education does not increase the proportion of Negroes who see *most* whites as sympathetic. These effects of education may be largely the result of greater sophistication, which makes a person less likely to choose an extreme response when a somewhat more qualified one is available.[11]

TABLE II-q.

AGE AND EDUCATION TRENDS IN NEGRO PERCEPTION OF WHITE ATTITUDES

[Results for men and women averaged. In percent]

	Age 16-19*	Age 20-39					Age 40-69				
		8th grade or less	9-11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	8th grade or less	9-11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate
QUESTION ON NUMBER OF WHITES WHO DISLIKE NEGROES											
Few white people dislike Negroes	38	28	36	33	36	38	39	39	38	49	60
Many dislike Negroes	47	42	45	51	48	53	40	45	47	42	34
Almost all dislike Negroes	12	22	11	12	9	6	11	9	8	4	5
Don't know	3	8	8	4	7	3	10	7	7	5	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
QUESTION ON WHITE STANCE TOWARD NEGRO ADVANCEMENT											
Most whites want to see Negroes get a better break	27	18	27	28	19	17	31	30	39	46	46
Most whites want to keep Negroes down	29	32	29	29	28	16	26	29	24	18	15
Most whites don't care	40	38	33	36	39	64	27	31	30	28	29
Don't know	4	12	11	7	14	3	16	10	7	8	10
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* This group combines all educational categories.

In summary, the three questions reviewed in this section provide evidence that the majority of Negroes expect little from whites other than hostility, opposition, or at best indifference. On the common-sense assumption that people who feel themselves the object of dislike will in turn feel dislike toward the perceived source, we would expect a great deal of black hostility toward whites. This return hostility might or might not be expressed openly, of course, depending upon a number of factors. We saw in the first section of this chapter that only some 10 percent of the Negro sample express open rejection of whites. At a more indirect attitudinal level we asked respondents whether they felt "they could trust Negroes more than white people, the same as white people, or less than white people." About a quarter of the sample (23 percent) indicated greater trust of Negroes than whites, while the rest reported no difference (68 percent) or claimed they trusted whites more than Negroes (7 percent). Age trends are quite similar to those just reported, but even sharper: the proportion (31 percent) of young people who trust Negroes more than whites is twice as great as the proportion (14 percent) among persons in their 60's. Figure II-a shows the trend to be generally smooth, but it is interesting to note again that the teenage group is not more extreme than the age 20 to 29 cohort. There is also a slight trend for the more educated respondents to say they trust members of both races the same.

The question on trust and the questions dealt with at the beginning of this chapter are the only ones that attempted to assess black antipathy toward whites. There is certainly evidence of such antagonism, but it is less great in these data than one would expect on the basis of the "mirror-image" assumption. It may be that our interview simply did not pick up such emotional hostility very well, but it is also possible that other factors serve to dilute the simple reciprocity implied by the assumption.

Figure II-a: **Percentages of Negroes Trusting Other Negroes More Than Whites**
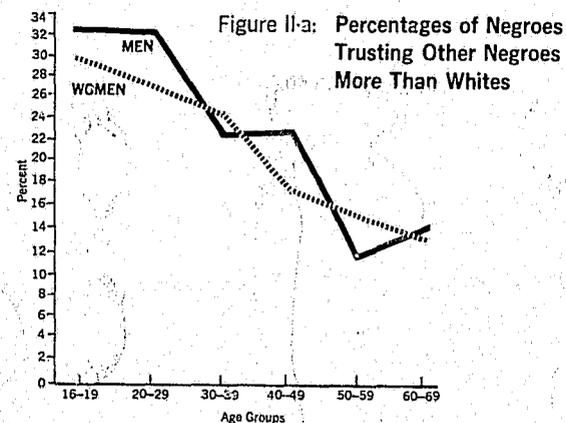
[11] Since younger Negroes are more educated, age and education tend to work against each other in this population. Youth is associated with greater perceived distance from whites, but greater education makes it more difficult to classify all whites as hostile. This suggests a "tension" which might be especially great for Negro college students in mixed university settings.

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

We have seen thus far that about half the Negro sample perceive serious problems with discrimination in areas such as employment. Roughly the same proportion expect hostility from whites at a more personal level. What then are the solutions Negroes see to racial problems in 1968?

Only a small minority, although not a trivial one in numbers, has moved very far toward separatist solutions. Most Negroes appear to have incorporated too strongly the values of equal opportunity regardless of race to change suddenly to criteria that make racial considerations a major factor in decisions. Indeed, most Negroes reject the imposition of black political control even in areas of life where Negroes clearly predominate and where other ethnic groups have often demanded and received at least informal control.

Perhaps a supporting factor here is the belief that the race of the person in control has not in itself always been of decisive importance. We asked several questions about the effects of race on treatment and discovered only limited support for the notion that replacement of whites by blacks will make any great difference to most Negroes. With regard to whether black policemen treat Negroes better than do white policemen, 73 percent of the sample could not see any difference; the rest were divided somewhat more in favor of white policemen than of Negro policemen.[12] With regard to stores in Negro neighborhoods, Negro and white owned stores are thought to be about the same in terms of fair pricing. Black storekeepers are seen as somewhat more respectful of Negro customers than are white storekeepers (15 percent to 7 percent), but nonetheless 70 percent of the sample feel there is no difference by race.

The one question that does suggest some faith in the benefits of substituting black for white control asked whether the election of Negro mayors in Cleveland and Gary would make things better, worse, or not make any difference. More than three-fifths of the sample expected an improvement in those two cities. There is some reason to wonder, however, whether this response does not reflect less the race of the mayor and more the knowledge or suggestion that he is a crusader for Negro rights. A white political leader with such a reputation might well draw as large an indication of support. If this is the case, it indicates considerable

[12] The above results do not mean lack of support for more Negroes in the police force. In the "pretest" to this study we found almost unanimous support for the idea of there being more Negro policemen. But the reasons had to do largely with jobs—the more Negroes who can get jobs as police the better—and not with the effect of having Negro policemen on the fairness of law enforcement. Perhaps the explanations would have been different if we had asked the question about higher ranking police officers or about a Negro police commissioner.

backing for political action in traditional spheres, rather than a strong leaning toward black leadership as such.

Our study did uncover unexpectedly strong support for a kind of cultural pluralism, symbolized by the study of Negro history and of African languages. This seems to turn not so much on the rejection of whites as on the acceptance of things black. It involves a commitment to the development of Negro identity as a valid basis for cultural life within a larger interracial and if possible integrated society. Such a movement from race to ethnicity may help Negroes in a number of ways, but it does not promise quick relief to problems of perceived discrimination and unfair treatment.

There would seem to be two directions which point toward a solution, and Negroes appear to have a commitment to both. One is to work within the system through individual advancement, trusting that it is possible by effort to overcome all barriers. A question concerned with the validity of this approach—that a young Negro who works hard enough "can usually get ahead in this country in spite of prejudice and discrimination"—finds nearly four out of five Negroes (78 percent) in agreement. Faith in the system then is very strong, being held even by many who perceive a great deal of discrimination.

An analysis by age and education reveals clear regularities which have, by now, familiar and contradictory implications. The results are presented separately by sex in Table II-r, since they show some differences in clarity if not in trend. Education has a clear *positive* association with belief that a Negro can get ahead in America despite prejudice and discrimination. The relation is sharpest for men in their 20's and 30's, where the belief in individual accomplishment is held by 93 percent of the college graduates but only 68 percent of those with grade school education. We cannot, of course, tell what is cause and what is effect here—whether the more ambitious go on with their education, or whether those obtaining more education gain more confidence, or whether there is a third factor such as ability that underlies both, or finally whether some mix of all of these occurs.

The age trends are more complex and also less certain. But it appears that for men these age differences are concentrated largely among the less educated: there is little difference by age for those with 12 or more years of education, but among those who failed to complete high school, the younger men are more willing to attribute lack of success to prejudice and discrimination than are the older men. The teenage male group in this instance, unlike other cases discussed earlier, continues the general age trend—that is, is even more inclined to see failure to get ahead as caused by racial injustice. Among women, younger people at all levels of education are more inclined to blame the system for failure to get ahead.

TABLE II-r

"If a young Negro works hard enough, do you think he or she can usually get ahead in this country in spite of prejudice and discrimination, or that he doesn't have much chance no matter how hard he works?"

[In percent]

	Negro men										
	Age 16-19*	Age 20-39					Age 40-60				
		8th grade or less	9-11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	8th grade or less	9-11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate
Can get ahead	72	68	75	82	81	93	79	83	81	85	91
Doesn't have much chance	26	27	24	15	16	7	19	16	14	15	6
Don't know	2	5	1	3	3	0	2	1	5	0	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Negro women										
Can get ahead	76	72	72	79	76	72	74	80	80	93	89
Doesn't have much chance	18	22	25	18	18	13	20	18	18	4	4
Don't know	6	6	3	3	6	15	6	2	2	3	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* This group combines all educational categories.

The age and education trends taken together suggest that for males a belief in the value of individual initiative and in the possibility of individual achievement continues to reinforce the person who manages to go through school. The more he gets ahead, the more he thinks he should be able to get ahead. But what is often called the school drop-out lacks the possibility of achievement, and apparently in a growing proportion of cases he believes that it is society that is at fault, not he himself.

When a belief in individual accomplishment fails, to what can an individual turn? He can try to reform the system or he can try to destroy it. Reform actions were not well covered in our questionnaire, and we have at present little to report about types of individuals who attempt to change the system in important but specific ways. We did include substantial material on the urban riots, and we shall review much of it in Chapter V. This approach may seem to focus solely on attempts to destroy the American system, yet as we will see, the riot itself is viewed by most Negroes not as an attempt to destroy America, but as a loud protest, the culmination of many protests, calling for reform rather than revolution.

Chapter 3
White Beliefs About Negroes

Although the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders observes in its opening paragraphs that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white," the fact is, of course, that these two societies have existed, separate and unequal, in this country for over three hundred years. The long period of slavery set a pattern of division which remains in modified form a century later.

One of the results of this separation is a barrier of psychological distance between the races which makes it difficult for either race to form an accurate picture of the other and makes it easy for each to develop misunderstanding, apprehension, and mistrust. The preceding chapter has reviewed the perceptions and attitudes of Negroes regarding whites; we now examine the beliefs and attitudes the white population holds toward Negroes.

WHITE BELIEFS REGARDING NEGROES

Although the relative disadvantage of Negroes in virtually every economic, educational, social, and political aspect of American life has been documented many times over it cannot be assumed that these facts are fully comprehended by the white population. Several questions were asked of the white respondents of our survey specifically intended to reveal their perceptions of the status of Negroes and their appreciation of the presence of racial discrimination. The first of these had to do with job opportunities; do white people believe discrimination against Negroes in the work situation is prevalent or relatively infrequent (Table III-a)?

TABLE III-a

"Do you think that in (Central City) many, some, or only a few Negroes miss out on jobs and promotions because of racial discrimination?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Many	23	20	22
Some	33	35	34
Only a few	25	26	26
None	12	13	12
Don't know or not ascertained	7	6	6
	100	100	100

As we see, about one-fifth of the white sample expressed the belief that many Negroes suffer from discrimination in the job situation and an additional third agreed that this was the case for "some" Negroes. Perhaps more impressive is the fact that nearly four out of ten white people apparently believe that few if any Negroes are subject to discrimination in hiring or promotions. One white respondent in eight specifically denied the presence of any such discrimination even though this option was not given in the alternatives presented in the question.

A somewhat stronger sense of the special problems Negroes face was found when we directed our question toward discrimination in housing. In this case two-thirds of the white sample agreed that "many" or "some" Negroes have difficulties in renting or buying houses from white owners (Table III-b).

TABLE III-b

"Do you think that in (Central City) many, some, or only a few Negroes miss out on good housing because white owners won't rent or sell to them?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Many	38	38	38
Some	30	29	30
Only a few	21	22	22
None	4	5	4
Don't know	7	6	6
	100	100	100

A rather different distribution appeared when we asked our white respondents about the treatment they thought Negroes received from the police. Only a small fraction of our white sample accepted without reservation the suggestion that Negroes might be more subject to rough treatment and disrespect from the police than white people and over half of them rejected it as probably or unqualifiedly untrue (Table III-c). As we will see later, when we asked our white and Negro samples whether they had actually experienced disrespect or rough treatment from police, Negroes were far more likely to report such incidents. It is apparent, however, that many of our white respondents do not want to accept this implied reflection on the even-handedness of American justice.

TABLE III-c

"It is sometimes said that the things we have just been talking about, such as unnecessary roughness and disrespect by the police, happen more to Negroes in (Central City) than to white people. Do you think this is definitely so, probably so, probably not so, or definitely not so?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Definitely so	11	7	9
Probably so	29	28	29
Probably not so	27	33	30
Definitely not so	27	25	26
Don't know	6	7	6
	100	100	100

In order to assess the perception white people have of the relative status of Negroes in contrast to themselves, we asked our white respondents to compare their income to what they thought Negroes of the same educational achievement as themselves would have. It may have been difficult for some of our respondents to abstract from the total Negro population just those whose educational level was comparable to their own; however, most of them answered the

question (Table III-d). Nearly half of these saw themselves as better off than Negroes of comparable education; only five percent classed themselves as worse off. Since these figures would be equal if there were no difference in white perceptions of the comparative economic status of whites and Negroes of equal training, this discrepancy again reflects recognition within a part of the white population of the effects of discrimination.

TABLE III-d

"I would like you to think of Negroes who have the same education you have. As far as the present income of your family goes, do you think you are better off, worse off, or in about the same position as the average Negro with the same education?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Better off	43	41	42
About the same	45	46	46
Worse off	6	5	5
Don't know	6	8	7
	100	100	100

Finally, we confronted our white respondents with the fact that Negroes as a whole in their city have poorer jobs, education, and housing than they themselves do and asked them whether they thought these differences were primarily the result of racial discrimination or mainly due to some failure in Negroes themselves. As we see in Table III-e, the majority of our white respondents felt that Negroes themselves were responsible for their disadvantaged situation and an additional fraction believed that both discrimination and Negro inadequacies contributed to their circumstances.

TABLE III-e

"On the average, Negroes in (Central City) have worse jobs, education and housing than white people. Do you think this is due mainly to Negroes having been discriminated against, or mainly due to something about Negroes themselves?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Mainly due to discrimination	18	19	19
Mainly due to Negroes themselves	56	57	56
A mixture of both	20	17	19
Don't know	6	7	6
	100	100	100

We asked those respondents who told us they thought the deprived conditions of Negroes in their city were due mainly to failures among Negroes themselves or to a combination of such failures and racial discrimination, "What it is about Negroes themselves that makes them have worse jobs, education, and housing?" While it is not possible to present the full detail of answers which this open question evoked, it is clear that those white people who placed some or all of the responsibility for the deficiencies of Negro life on Negroes them-

selves (approximately three-quarters of the total white sample) tended to think in terms of failures of motivation among Negroes. Nearly half of them spoke of the Negro's presumed laziness, lack of ambition, or unwillingness to take advantage of opportunities. Very few made any reference to supposed innate inferiority or other inherited racial differences.

In order to pursue this latter consideration specifically we asked these same people whether they thought the inadequacies they saw in Negroes were the consequence of some inborn trait, or were characteristics which were subject to change (Table III-f). We find that only a very small proportion (six percent of the total white sample) were prepared to accept the belief common in earlier years that Negroes are subject to some inherent defect which is beyond the possibility of change.

TABLE III-f

"Do you think Negroes are just born that way and can't be changed, or that changes in the Negro are possible?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Those who felt Negro conditions are mainly or partly due to Negroes themselves:			
Negroes are born that way	7	4	6
Changes are possible	66	66	66
Don't know	3	4	3
Those who felt Negro conditions are due to discrimination or did not know what they are due to	24	26	25
	100	100	100

In responding to the question "what is it about Negroes" that explains their deprived situation and to various other questions in the interview which invited a full answer, a certain proportion of the white respondents revealed overtly hostile attitudes toward Negroes. These ranged from full-blown expressions of racial bigotry to more moderate statements of exasperation with the insistence of Negro demands for change. We cannot summarize these comments in this report; we mention them here to remind the reader that many of the opinions which are brought together in the tables of this report are held with great intensity.

Some indication of the impression white people themselves have of white attitudes toward Negroes may be obtained from the question from the interview which reads "Do you think that only a few white people in the (City) area dislike Negroes, many dislike Negroes, or almost all dislike Negroes?" About a quarter of our white respondents said they thought only a few white people dislike Negroes, nearly six in ten thought many do, and one in ten thought almost all do. The rest would not offer an opinion. We offset this question with a corresponding question regarding Negro attitudes toward whites, "How about the reverse: Do you think only a few Negroes dislike white people, many dislike

white people, or almost all dislike white people?" In this case the proportion of the white sample who thought nearly all Negroes dislike white people is about one in five, twice as large as the corresponding estimate of white opinion, and the other categories are somewhat smaller.

We cannot say precisely how these people interpreted the word "dislike" and we cannot assume that the actual distribution of white dislike of Negroes or of Negro dislike of whites corresponds to our sample's perception of them. However, it is evident from the answers to our questions that two-thirds of our white respondents sense some degree of negative feeling toward Negroes as widespread among the white population and their sense of Negro dislike of whites is if anything even stronger.

A simple cross-tabulation of the answers to the two questions reveals a substantial association between white perception of widespread dislike of Negroes among whites and their perception of widespread dislike of whites among Negroes. The relationship can be seen in the following comparisons:

Of those whites who think few white people dislike Negroes: 53 percent believe few Negroes dislike whites.
8 percent believe almost all Negroes dislike whites.

Of those whites who think almost all white people dislike Negroes: 8 percent believe few Negroes dislike whites.
67 percent believe almost all Negroes dislike whites.

It seems evident that our white respondents tend strongly to hold a rather general view of racial hostility; what they see on one side they also see on the other side. We did not ask these people to report their own degree of liking or dislike of Negroes; it seems very probable that their perceptions of much or little dislike among others reflect their own feelings in some part.

In order to assess the extent to which generational differences exist within the white population in the way they perceive and respond to these issues of race relations we have divided the men and women of the sample according to the decade of their age. The youngest age category in Table III-g contains those respondents less than 20 years old and the succeeding categories represent the succeeding decades.

The general pattern of Table III-g is clear. There is a consistent tendency for the younger age cohorts to express a stronger appreciation of the discrimination to which Negroes are subject and to accept the presumption that Negro disadvantages in jobs, education and housing are primarily the result of this discrimination. The folk belief that Negroes "are born that way and can't be changed" is accepted by very few people but by a much larger proportion of older people than younger.

TABLE III-g

WHITE BELIEFS REGARDING NEGROES AMONG AGE CATEGORIES

[In percent]

	Men by age					
	16-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
Think many Negroes miss out on jobs because of discrimination..........	36	28	24	14	18	19
Think many Negroes miss out on housing because of discrimination..	47	45	41	32	31	33
Think Negroes are definitely or probably more subject to police roughness than white people.......	55	48	48	27	36	25
Think Negro disadvantages are due mainly to discrimination..........	30	22	20	10	15	15
Think Negroes are born that way and can't be changed................	1	1	4	8	12	13

	Women by age					
Think many Negroes miss out on jobs because of discrimination..........	26	29	21	21	11	15
Think many Negroes miss out on housing because of discrimination..	49	47	45	36	31	27
Think Negroes are definitely or probably more subject to police roughness than white people.......	40	45	36	33	26	30
Think Negro disadvantages are due mainly to discrimination..........	30	28	20	11	11	22
Think Negroes are born that way and can't be changed..........	2	1	3	6	7	5

From these seven tables we may draw the following conclusions regarding prevailing white beliefs concerning the prevalence and consequences of discrimination against Negroes:

1. Although a majority of white people are prepared to admit that Negroes are handicapped by discriminatory practices in employment and housing, there is a minority of significant size which denies the existence of such practices or regards them as infrequent.

2. Most white people do not accept the suggestion that Negroes are subjected to rougher treatment by the police than are whites themselves. A quarter of the white sample specifically deny this charge.

3. While admitting the presence of discrimination white people show a strong tendency to blame the disadvantaged circumstances of Negro life on Negroes themselves. Although they do not subscribe to genetic theories of racial inferiority, they find much to criticize in the attitudes and behavior patterns they see as characteristic of Negroes and apparently feel that it is within the power of Negroes to improve their own situation.

4. These beliefs regarding racial discrimination vary systematically by age among white people. The overall distribution of beliefs is similar in the different generations but younger people are clearly more willing to agree that discrimination exists and that it has deleterious effects on Negroes. The direction of the generational differences we see in our data strongly suggests that a long-term shift is occurring in the white population away from the traditional racial attitudes of an earlier time in this country. While this appears to be a significant movement, it cannot be said that a dramatic reversal of the pattern of racial attitudes has occurred even among the youngest age group.

INTEGRATION AND SEGREGATION

The pattern of interracial relations in a society depends for the most part on the willingness of individual citizens to enter into personal contact of one kind or another with members of the other race. The patterns which have evolved in this country over the past generations are very complex and we cannot hope to represent them fully in this survey. We have limited our inquiry to a series of questions regarding white attitudes toward racial integration in housing, work, children's play, and related situations.

The issue of open housing is at present the focus of legislative attention throughout the country. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 laid down federal regulations on the sale of homes, and various states and municipalities have recently passed, rejected, or considered ordinances of a similar vein. Although it is not likely that any of these legislative acts will have any immediate effect on the housing pattern in American cities, the issue has taken on a certain symbolic importance. When we asked our white respondents their opinions on the "rights" of whites and Negroes regarding housing we found a strong majority who supported the basic principle of open housing (Table III-h).

TABLE III-h

"Which of these statements would you agree with: First, white people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods if they want to, or Second, Negroes have a right to live wherever they can afford to just like white people?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Whites have a right to keep Negroes out..................	27	32	30
Negroes have a right to live anywhere.................	64	59	62
Negroes have a right to live anywhere if they are the "right kind"..........................	3	2	2
Other.................................	3	3	3
Don't know...........................	3	4	3
	100	100	100

It is certainly not surprising that when confronted with a question implying equal rights a majority of white Americans give their verbal support. Many earlier inquiries have demonstrated the willingness of large majorities of the American public to approve statements of democratic principle of this sort.

Those respondents who expressed some degree of approval of the right of Negroes to live wherever they wish were asked a subsequent question intended to measure their willingness to convert this sentiment into a specific legal requirement (Table III-i). We now discover that a significant fraction of those who support the principle of open housing are opposed to specific legislation to prevent discrimination in housing. If we combine those who are forthrightly opposed to neighborhood integration with those who are not ready to accept laws to bring it about we find that they outnumber those who favor such laws.

On the assumption that some of these whites who favored open occupancy in principle but rejected the suggestion of laws to enforce it might have felt such laws were unnecessary, we asked this fraction of the sample (slightly over one-fifth of the total white sample) if they would favor such legislation if there were

TABLE III-i

"How about laws to prevent discrimination against Negroes in buying or renting houses and apartments? Do you favor or oppose such laws?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Favor such laws.................................	42	38	40
Oppose such laws................................	23	19	21
Undecided, don't know...........................	8	11	9
Feel whites have a right to keep Negroes out............	27	32	30
	100	100	100

"no way for Negroes to get enough good housing without such laws." Although the majority of this group maintained their opposition in the face of this contingency, a substantial number accepted the necessity of a law under these terms and their change of vote brought the division of attitude of the total sample to virtually an even balance of those favoring and opposing legislation in support of open housing.

In order to approach this complicated issue in a more specific way we asked our respondents to visualize a situation in which the first Negro family had moved into an otherwise white neighborhood. Would they favor setting a limit on the number of Negro families who might move into the neighborhood—a quota of some sort to prevent the neighborhood from changing from all white to all black. This proposal divided our white respondents very closely (Table III-j).

TABLE III-j

"Suppose there are 100 white families living in a neighborhood. One white family moves out and a Negro family moves in. Do you think it would be a good idea to have some limit on the number of Negro families that move there, or to let as many move there as want to?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
There should be some limit.......................	45	52	48
Let as many move there as want...........	44	36	40
Don't know......................................	11	12	12
	100	100	100

Nearly half of those who expressed an opinion felt there should be some limit; of these one in five specified that no additional families should be admitted and half of the remainder would limit the addition to no more than 10 percent. Of those people who felt there should be a limit but set their quota at some point higher than zero, about half felt that a limit of the kind they proposed would make them more willing to have Negro families in the neighborhood. The other half (about 16 percent of the total sample) did not feel such a quota would make any significant difference to them.

Our final inquiry in this series on housing brought the issue down to the more specific question of how the respondent would feel about having a Negro "with about the same education and income" as himself living next door. Approximately half of the sample felt this would cause them no concern at all; about one in five seemed seriously disturbed by the prospect (Table III-k). It is of interest that of the small number of white respondents who were in fact living next door to a Negro family at the time of the interview most said this caused them no concern and about one in ten said they "minded it a lot." [1]

TABLE III-k

"If a Negro family with about the same income and education as you moved next door to you, would you mind it a lot, a little, or not at all?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Mind a lot..................................	17	21	19
Mind a little...............................	25	26	25
Not at all..................................	53	44	49
There is already a Negro family next door...........	3	5	4
Don't know.................................	2	4	3
	100	100	100

From the problem of housing, our questions moved to the area of employment. We first asked whether our white respondents felt there should be preference given to white applicants in filling desirable jobs. This blunt statement of discrimination went too far for most of our sample; 95 percent of them chose the alternative that "race should not make any difference one way or the other." We then asked these people how they would feel about laws to prevent discrimination on the job. A substantial majority declared themselves in favor of such legislation, perhaps realizing that fair employment practice laws have been in force for some years (Table III-l). Nonetheless, one respondent in five declared himself opposed to such laws, a much larger number than had earlier accepted the proposal of outright discrimination in favor of hiring white job applicants.

TABLE III-l

"Do you favor or oppose laws to prevent discrimination against Negroes in job hiring and promotion?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Favor.......................................	68	66	67
Oppose......................................	20	18	19
Don't know..................................	8	12	10
Favor preference for whites...................	4	4	4
	100	100	100

[1] About one in seven of the white respondents reported in answer to another question that they or someone in their families had at one time moved from a neighborhood because Negroes were moving in.

Again bringing the issue to a question of direct personal contact we asked the white respondents how they would feel about having a "qualified Negro" as their supervisor on a job. Although there was a very small minority who thought they would find this situation difficult, the great majority of the sample classified themselves as being not at all concerned with this prospect (Table III-m).

TABLE III-m

"Suppose you had a job where your supervisor was a qualified Negro. Would you mind that a lot, a little, or not at all?"

[In percent]

| | White | | |
	Men	Women	Total
Mind a lot	4	4	4
Mind a little	7	9	8
Mind not at all	87	84	86
Don't know	2	3	2
	100	100	100

In order to assess white opinion regarding a proposal which has been put forward by some leaders of the Negro community we asked the sample of white respondents how they would feel about reserving the various kinds of service jobs in Negro neighborhoods exclusively for Negroes. This proposal drew a divided response. Although a third of the respondents were ready to agree with this suggestion, over half, especially of the men, were not (Table III-n). Apparently they saw this suggestion as a violation of the principle of equal treatment in job placement which they had earlier supported so overwhelmingly.

TABLE III-n

"Some Negro leaders think all the teachers, bus drivers, store clerks, and other employees in Negro neighborhoods should be Negroes. Would you agree with that idea or would you disagree?"

[In percent]

| | White | | |
	Men	Women	Total
Agree	30	39	34
Disagree	66	55	60
Other	0	1	1
Don't know	4	5	5
	100	100	100

One further question was asked regarding attitudes toward personal contact between the races, in this case contact among young children. Although, as we see in Table III-o, well over half of the white respondents say either that they would prefer for their children to have Negro friends or that they don't care one way or the other, there is a solid one-third of the white sample who say they would prefer for their children to have exclusively white friends. We cannot say as yet whether these people who object to interracial contact among "small children" are simply expressing

a general rejection of any form of integration or whether the prospect of contact among children holds some special threat. Our question did not specify Negro children of comparable class background and it may be that our white respondents thought in terms of a stereotype of lower-class children with rough language and manners. Or the suggestion of Negro friends may have implied the presence of Negro families in the neighborhood, a prospect which we know to be disturbing to many white people. Our survey did not inquire into the rationale behind this specific attitude although subsequent analysis of our data may help us understand it.

TABLE III-o

"If you had small children would you rather they had only white friends, or would you like to see them have Negro friends too, or wouldn't you care one way or the other?"

[In percent]

| | White | | |
	Men	Women	Total
Only white friends	30	37	33
Negro friends too	19	19	19
Don't care one way or the other	48	43	46
Don't know	3	1	2
	100	100	100

In order to assess attitudes in one additional area of urban life, an area which is becoming more significant as the Negro population of the cities increases, we asked our white respondents how they would feel about voting for a Negro for mayor in their city. This question requires the assumption that the Negro candidate is of the respondent's party and that he be a capable man and under these conditions most of the respondents felt that they would support him. There was a visible minority, however, who found this prospect unacceptable (Table III-p). When we asked the respondents in Cleveland and Gary how they had actually voted in their recently held mayorality elections a large majority reported that they had supported the white candidates, especially in Gary. These reports coincide with the evidence of racial voting in these cities obtained from precinct records.

When we again divide our sample by age categories we find that integrationist attitudes are stronger in the younger cohorts than they are in the older. This

TABLE III-p

"If a capable Negro of your own party preference was running for Mayor of (Central City), would you vote for him or not?"
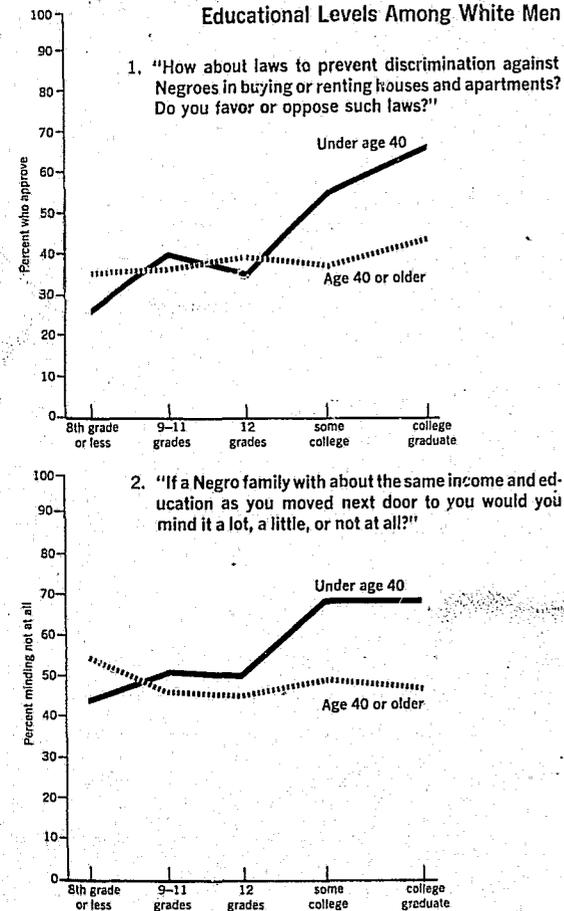
[In percent]

| | White | | |
	Men	Women	Total
Yes; if he were the better man	61	58	60
No	20	21	20
Not eligible to vote	10	10	10
Don't know	4	6	5
Live in Cleveland or Gary	5	5	5
	100	100	100

is particularly true in the question posing the principle of open housing. Differences between age groups in response to some of the other questions were not as great and there are some inconsistencies, especially among the men, but the overall pattern of Table III-q is unmistakable.

If we carry this analysis one step further by dividing our sample by both age and education simultaneously, we find a pattern which was not apparent in the simple comparison of age groups. We see that years of formal education exert an influence on racial perceptions and attitudes but it is not a simple cumulative effect and it is much stronger among younger people than among older people. We present in Figure III-a the data from two of the questions we have reviewed in this chapter; it may be seen that the pattern of findings is very similar in Parts 1 and 2 of Figure III-a.

Among people over 40 years of age, those with higher levels of education are no more or less likely to support an open housing law or to express lack of concern at having a Negro family next door than people of lower educational attainment. The picture is quite different among people age 20 through 39. Here we see that the attitudes expressed by young people

Figure III-a: Relation of Racial Attitudes to Educational Levels Among White Men

1. "How about laws to prevent discrimination against Negroes in buying or renting houses and apartments? Do you favor or oppose such laws?"

2. "If a Negro family with about the same income and education as you moved next door to you would you mind it a lot, a little, or not at all?"

whose formal education has not gone beyond high school do not differ from older people of similar educational level. But those who have gone on to college differ substantially both from less educated people of their own generation and from college-educated people of the older generation. More of them believe that there should be a law guaranteeing open housing and more of them say they are not at all disturbed at the prospect of a Negro neighbor.

The general pattern of these two figures recurs when we plot the answers to a wide variety of questions regarding perceptions, attitudes, and opinions. There are many irregularities, due in part to the small number of respondents in some of these educational categories. The educational contrasts are not always as sharp as those shown in Parts 1 and 2 of Figure III-a. In some cases the college graduates of the older generation show something of the same movement away from the prevailing attitudes of their age group as the younger college people do. But there is a persistent configuration in the data: (1) In the older generation educational level has a consistently weaker relationship to racial attitudes than it has in the younger generation, and (2) in the younger generation attitudes of people of various educational levels below college do not vary greatly but there is a strong swing among college people toward clearer recognition of racial discrimination, greater acceptance of racial integration, and stronger support of Negro civil rights.

These findings raise questions regarding the nature of social change which we will not be able to consider fully here. It appears from the data that prior to about 1945, the educational experience of white Americans in the schools had relatively little effect on their perceptions and attitudes regarding race. Great individual differences were present, of course, but these apparently developed out of family background, community norms, or personal experience and were not systematically deflected one way or the other by what these people were exposed to in school. The schools appear to have accepted without question the prevailing culture of race relations. Since World War II those white students who have gone on to college have evidently been exposed to influences which have moved their attitudes away from the traditional pattern in the directions we have observed. We cannot say whether this resulted from specific instruction regarding questions of race or from a general atmosphere of opinion in the college community but it is clear that a sizable proportion of these postwar generation college students were affected. In contrast, the high schools which our respondents attended during the postwar years seem to have been little more involved in the nation's racial problems than they were in the prewar period. Or, to be more precise, their involvement has been so peripheral that it has had relatively little influence on the racial attitudes of their graduates.

We have explored the possibilities of long-term changes in racial attitudes in the preceding chapter and we do not propose to repeat that discussion here. Our survey has shown a significant deflection in the points of view of young white college people from the prevailing attitudes of their parents' generation. As these younger cohorts move through the life cycle, replacing their elders and being followed by generations with even larger proportions of college-exposed people, the potential for massive change in the traditional pattern of white racial attitudes in this country seems great. However, this is a projection based on simple assumptions of persistence and takes no account of events which may intervene to bring about unforeseeable alteration in the pace and even the direction of this change.

The conclusions which we may draw from these questions regarding white attitudes toward these various aspects of racial integration or segregation are necessarily rather general, but they give some sense of the willingness of white people in these northern cities to accept specific patterns of racial contact.

TABLE III-q

WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD INTEGRATION AND SEGREGATION AMONG AGE CATEGORIES

[In percent]

	Men by age					
	16–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69
Believe Negroes have a right to live where they choose	70	67	68	60	65	55
Favor laws preventing discrimination in housing	49	47	45	36	38	38
Favor letting as many Negroes as want move into a neighborhood	50	48	45	37	42	41
Would not mind at all having Negro family next door	55	59	55	42	45	60
Favor laws preventing discrimination against Negroes in jobs	68	78	73	65	60	64
Would not mind at all having a Negro supervisor	89	89	85	83	88	86
Oppose idea of all-Negro employment in Negro neighborhoods	70	62	72	61	63	74
Would like to see their children have Negro friends	27	24	24	16	14	14
Would vote for a qualified Negro mayor		70	74	58	59	66

	Women by age					
Believe Negroes have a right to live where they choose	80	69	57	52	50	57
Favor laws preventing discrimination in housing	60	42	40	32	33	30
Favor letting as many Negroes as want move into a neighborhood	58	45	33	31	27	33
Would not mind at all having Negro family next door	55	46	40	42	40	48
Favor laws preventing discrimination against Negroes in jobs	78	68	70	58	66	64
Would not mind at all having a Negro supervisor	91	86	85	83	76	87
Oppose idea of all-Negro employment in Negro neighborhoods	59	58	59	49	56	53
Would like to see their children have Negro friends	30	24	18	13	18	15
Would vote for a qualified Negro mayor		67	66	65	55	57

1. When white people are asked to respond to the concept of the right of Negroes to equal treatment they come down strongly against discrimination. This is especially true in the job situation and it is true in lesser degree in the apparently more sensitive area of neighborhood integration.

2. The prospect of passing laws to protect Negro rights to equal treatment is less warmly supported by white people than the abstract right itself. Even so, a substantial majority approve of laws to ensure fair employment practices. Opinion on the desirability of an open housing law seems about evenly divided.

3. The prospect of close personal contact with Negroes in a job situation seems to disturb relatively few white people, even when a subordinate relationship to a "qualified Negro" is proposed. Living arrangements are clearly more sensitive; although half of the white sample declared themselves free of any concern about having a Negro neighbor of their own income and educational class, there were almost as many who expressed some degree of opposition to this prospect.

4. Attitudes toward various aspects of racial integration are clearly more favorable among young people than among the older generations. The differences are not extreme; they do not approach a reversal of attitudes from one generation to the next. But they indicate a movement over time away from the traditional pattern of racial segregation. An important component of this movement is contributed by those members of the below-40 generation who have attended college.

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

Our survey attempted not only to assess white attitudes toward various aspects of interracial contact but also to measure white reaction to proposals to improve the circumstances of life in the urban centers. Several questions were asked in our interviews, some suggesting general governmental programs dealing with unemployment, schools and housing, and others concerned with specific actions intended to alleviate the conditions which may have led to the urban riots.

The first of these questions dealt with the issue of full employment; do white people in the northern cities accept the proposition that the federal government has some responsibility to see to it that everyone who seeks a job should have one? The answer is that well over half of the sample accept this proposal (Table III-r). Although no reference is made to Negro unemployment in the question and we cannot assume that our respondents had Negroes in mind in answering the question, there is no doubt that such a policy would have special meaning to the urban Negro.

TABLE III-r

"Some people say that if there are not enough jobs for everyone who wants one, the government should somehow provide the extra jobs needed. Others say that the government should not do this. What is your opinion?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Government should do this	58	60	59
Government should not do this	38	35	37
Don't know	4	5	4
	100	100	100

A second question proposing governmental action to improve the quality of the public schools in depressed areas of the cities attracted even stronger support (Table III-s). The implication of the question that all schools in the city should come up to an equal standard apparently had particular appeal to our respondents.

TABLE III-s

"Some neighborhoods in and around (Central City) have public schools with better buildings and more trained teachers than others. Do you think the government should provide money to bring the poorer schools up to the standard of the better schools, or that the government shouldn't do this?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Government should do this	75	81	78
Government should not do this	19	12	15
Don't know	6	7	7
	100	100	100

The third question in this series dealt with housing and here again a majority of the white respondents accepted the proposal that the federal government take an active role in the urban problem (Table III-t).

TABLE III-t

"There are areas in cities like (Central City) where the housing is rundown and overcrowded. Some say the government should provide money to help improve the housing in such places. Others don't think the government should do this. What is your opinion?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Government should do this	58	60	59
Government should not do this	38	35	36
Don't know	4	5	5
	100	100	100

In each of these instances the white respondents favored the intervention of the federal government to help solve the difficulties of the cities. We later asked a question which summarized the content of the previous questions and specifically related the proposed governmental programs to the improvement of the conditions of urban Negroes in order "to prevent riots" (Table III-u). Two-thirds of the respondents answered this omnibus proposal favorably, a proportion very comparable to those found for the individual questions.

TABLE III-u

"If top government officials in Washington said that a program of spending more money for jobs, schools, and housing for Negroes is necessary to prevent riots, would you go along with such a program or would you oppose it?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Go long with it	64	67	66
Oppose it	32	25	28
Don't know	4	8	6
	100	100	100

We followed this question with a probe intended to compel the respondents to face the financial implications of a program of governmental assistance. Even when threatened with a tax increase of ten percent to finance the proposed program, slightly over half of the sample still were willing to support the proposal (Table III-v). This is no doubt an unrealistically high estimate of the support such a tax would actually receive in any of these cities; we intend the question merely as a measure of concern with the problem involved.

TABLE III-v

"Suppose the program increased your own taxes by ten percent—that is, if you were paying $300 last year, you would pay $330 this year, and so forth. Would you be willing in that case?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Yes, would be willing	53	53	53
No, would not be willing	10	16	13
Don't know	5	6	6
Oppose such a program	32	25	28
	100	100	100

Finally we asked the respondents to face the problem of what to do about the urban riots and to choose between the alternative of tighter police control or a greater effort to improve the condition of Negroes in the cities. The responses to this question are generally consistent with those given to the more generally phrased questions. Relatively few white respondents saw the answer to the urban problem exclusively in terms of more effective police control. For the most part the respondents felt the solution was more likely to be found in "trying harder" to improve the conditions of urban Negroes (Table III-w).

TABLE III-w

"Thinking about the next five to ten years, what do you think would be the best thing to do about the problem of riots—build up tighter police control in the Negro areas, or try harder to improve the condition of Negroes?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Tighter police control	17	15	16
Improve Negro conditions	53	56	54
Do both	28	27	28
Don't know	2	2	2
	100	100	100

Comparison of the reactions of the younger and older age groups to these proposals for action reveals the same pattern we have seen in the earlier tables. There is a consistent but not remarkable tendency

among the younger white people to give stronger support to these proposals to improve the conditions of the urban Negro than among the older generations (Table III-x).

TABLE III-x

WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD PROPOSALS FOR ACTION AMONG AGE CATEGORIES

(In percent)

	Men by age					
	16–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69
Agree that government should provide needed jobs	63	62	60	55	55	54
Agree that government should improve schools	89	83	71	72	70	69
Agree that government should improve slum housing	69	66	58	53	63	51
Would go along with program of spending to help Negroes	72	71	64	56	64	59
Willing to pay more taxes for program to help Negroes	59	55	50	42	56	54
Prefer to try harder to improve condition of Negroes	58	57	54	57	44	49
	Women by age					
Agree that government should provide needed jobs	79	59	50	55	62	68
Agree that government should improve schools	95	91	77	81	73	73
Agree that government should improve slum housing	78	65	51	57	59	58
Would go along with program of spending to help Negroes	77	74	61	66	61	63
Willing to pay more taxes for program to help Negroes	61	57	48	54	49	48
Prefer to try harder to improve condition of Negroes	71	68	55	49	46	54

These questions in our survey have in effect asked our sample of white citizens to respond to a plebiscite on several proposals regarding public action to be taken on the urban problem. We cannot be sure, of course, that the distributions of opinions we have reported would be precisely the same as those that might be obtained in a referendum vote in these cities with all the attendant political pressures that might be involved. However, two conclusions from the data we have reviewed seem firm and important.

1. There is a willingness among the white population of these northern cities to see government play a strong hand in helping bring about improvement in the conditions of the cities. This opinion is not unanimous; there is a substantial minority who oppose the suggestion of such programs. But there is a consistent majority on all these proposals who accept the necessity of governmental assistance and this approval is not reduced when the purpose of the assistance is specifically related to the needs of the Negro population and the prevention of riots.

2. The superficially simple solution to the problem of urban riots—more rigid police control of the Negro areas—is not generally seen by white urban residents as an adequate answer. The large majority of these people accept the proposition that there must be an improvement in the conditions of Negro life.

THE WHITE SUBURBS

When we compare the beliefs of white suburbanites concerning the prevalence of racial discrimination to those we have just reviewed we find no differences of any consequence. White people in the suburbs are somewhat more likely to feel they are better off economically than Negroes of similar educational status and this probably reflects the fact that their own economic situation is on the average better than that of white people within the cities. Suburban white people also differ very little from whites within the city limits in their attitudes on most aspects of racial integration and in their acceptance of the desirability of governmental programs to improve conditions within the cities. The one point at which suburban people show a special sensitivity is in the area of segregated housing. They are more likely to support the proposition that white people may properly keep Negroes out of their neighborhood if they wish and they show more resistance to the prospect of having a Negro family living next door. These differences are small, less than ten percentage points, but they are not chance.

Chapter 4

A Comparison of Black and White Attitudes and Experiences In the City

We know that large differences exist in the economic, educational, and occupational levels of white and black residents of the urban centers. We assume that these differences are reflected in the quality of life as it is experienced by members of the two racial groups. In order to compare the experiences of Negroes and whites and their attitudes toward certain aspects of their urban world we asked our two samples a series of identical questions. We see in the tables presented in this chapter at what points experiences and attitudes differ.

PUBLIC SERVICES

We begin this series with a general inquiry into some of the services which "the city is supposed to provide for your neighborhood." It is evident from Table IV–a that Negroes are less satisfied with these services than are white people although the degree of their dissatisfaction with the various services varies a good deal from one to the other. The greatest amount of complaint in *both* races concerned the park and recreation facilities provided for their children; the highest degree of satisfaction was with garbage collection. The greatest *difference* in the satisfaction levels of the two races concerned police protection. Negroes were over twice as likely as whites to classify themselves as "very dissatisfied" with the protection they receive from police in their neighborhoods. As we will see later in this chapter, the whole area of relations with the police is an aggravated one with the Negro population.

The service which evoked the least difference in the evaluations of Negro and white respondents was the public schools. Although the report of the National Advisory Commission speaks of "the hostility of Negro parents and students toward the school system" the fact is that the quality of the public schools is one of the least frequently complained-about services in our survey and the amount of complaint is not much greater among Negroes than whites. Subsequent analysis will

TABLE IV-a

"First I'd like to ask how satisfied you are with some of the main services the city is supposed to provide for your neighborhood. What about the quality of the public schools in this neighborhood—are you generally satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?"

[In percent]

	Quality of public schools				Parks and playgrounds for children			
	Negro		White		Negro		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Generally satisfied	43	42	52	44	31	29	54	45
Somewhat dissatisfied	21	23	13	16	27	24	19	22
Very dissatisfied	15	14	9	9	26	28	18	18
Don't know	21	21	26	31	16	19	9	15
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

[In percent]

	Sports and recreation centers for teenagers				Police protection			
	Negro		White		Negro		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Generally satisfied	26	21	37	29	48	45	66	69
Somewhat dissatisfied	20	20	21	20	20	20	19	17
Very dissatisfied	31	29	22	20	27	25	12	9
Don't know	23	30	20	31	5	10	3	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

[In percent]

	Garbage collection			
	Negro		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Generally satisfied	69	66	83	78
Somewhat dissatisfied	12	15	8	9
Very dissatisfied	15	16	7	9
Don't know	4	3	2	4
	100	100	100	100

tell us more about the kinds of people in both races who find the schools satisfactory or unsatisfactory and may permit us to infer the reasons for the lack of difference we find in these preliminary data.

A summary question, asking the respondents to compare the services their neighborhood receives to those of the rest of the city, reveals the fact that a majority of both races feel their neighborhood is treated about the same as the others but Negroes are considerably more likely than whites to feel their neighborhoods get poorer than average service (Table IV-b). We have no way of knowing whether there were, in fact, objective differences between the services offered in these neighborhoods but it is clear that white people are more likely to think their service better than average rather than worse and Negroes are more likely to think their service is worse than average.

On the other hand the races differ very little in their feeling that if they complained about poor service they could get the appropriate city officials to do something about it (Table IV-c). When we extend this question by asking if the respondent himself "had ever called a city official with a complaint about poor service" we find that about three out of ten said they had

and this proportion was virtually the same for both races.

TABLE IV-b

"Thinking about city services like schools, parks, and garbage collection, do you think your neighborhood gets better, about the same, or worse service than most other parts of the city?"

[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Better	12	9	11	17	19	18
About the same	59	62	60	66	64	65
Worse	22	21	22	7	8	7
Don't know	7	8	8	10	9	10
	100	100	100	100	100	100

It is puzzling that we find so little difference between the races in their sense of confidence in their ability to get their city officials to respond to a complaint. Considering the fact that Negroes express greater dissatisfaction with every public service our interview proposed and that 60 percent of them say they do not expect to receive equal treatment from city officials, it would not have been surprising to find them less confident that their complaints regarding these services would be successful. The fact that the same proportions of whites and Negroes report having registered such a

complaint raises additional complexities. Since white people are generally more satisfied with the services in their neighborhoods we would assume they would have less reason to complain than Negroes. It may be, however, that whites are quicker to complain about such grievances as they have and thus their incidence of complaint is equal to that of Negroes although objectively Negroes may have more to complain about.

TABLE IV-c

"If you have a serious complaint about poor service by the city, do you think you can get city officials to do something about it if you call them?"

[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	48	47	48	44	48	46
No	37	34	35	39	33	36
Don't know	15	19	17	17	19	18
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Have you ever called a city official with a complaint about poor service?"

[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	27	28	27	30	28	29
No	71	71	71	68	71	70
Don't know	2	1	2	2	1	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

The differences between generations in attitudes expressed in response to these questions are small and inconsistent. It cannot be said from these data that dissatisfactions with these specific city services vary by age in any significant way in either race.

GOVERNMENTAL EFFORT

These questions regarding specific public services led to a series asking the respondent's evaluation of the effort being made by various governmental levels "to solve the main problems of the city." Similar questions were asked concerning the mayor of the city, the state government, and the federal government in Washington (Table IV-d).

The city mayor received the most favorable response from both racial groups and the state government the least favorable. Negroes were consistently less satisfied with the efforts of all three governmental levels than whites, especially of their city mayor. The attitudes of Negroes toward their city government are more polarized than white attitudes. Nearly half of the Negro sample feel their mayor is "trying as hard as he can" but a quarter say he is "not trying hard at all." White attitudes are far more positive.

Somewhat larger racial differences are found when we ask specifically about the federal antipoverty programs and in this case Negro attitudes are more favorable than white.

say they know of these programs; 10 percent of the white sample report that someone in their family had taken part in one of them and over 25 percent of the Negroes. Negroes were clearly more willing to offer the opinion that the antipoverty program was doing a "good job" than were whites (Table IV-e). Negroes have more direct personal experience with the various poverty programs and their reactions to them are more favorable than those of white people who are more

TABLE IV-d

"Do you think the Mayor of (Central City) is trying as hard as he can to solve the main problems of the city or that he is not doing all he could to solve these problems?" (IF NOT DOING ALL HE COULD) "Do you think he is trying fairly hard to solve these problems or not hard at all?"

[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Trying as hard as he can	48	45	47	64	66	65
Fairly hard	19	19	19	16	17	16
Not hard at all	25	24	24	14	11	13
Don't know	8	12	10	6	6	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"How about the state government? Do you think they are trying as hard as they can to solve the main problems of cities like (Central City), or that they are not doing all they could to solve these problems?" (IF NOT DOING ALL THEY COULD) "Do you think they are trying fairly hard to solve these problems or not hard at all?"

[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Trying as hard as they can	34	31	33	39	44	41
Fairly hard	21	23	22	23	23	23
Not hard at all	34	30	32	29	21	25
Don't know	11	16	13	9	12	11
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"How about the federal government in Washington? Do you think they are trying as hard as they can to solve the main problems of cities like (Central City), or that they are not doing all they could to solve these problems?" (IF NOT DOING ALL THEY COULD) "Do you think they are trying fairly hard to solve these problems or not hard at all?"

[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Trying as hard as they can	42	36	39	51	50	51
Fairly hard	25	24	25	19	23	21
Not hard at all	26	25	25	24	18	21
Don't know	7	15	11	6	9	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE IV-e

"In general do you think the antipoverty program is doing a good job, a fair job, or a poor job?"

[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Good job	34	41	38	16	18	17
Fair job	38	37	37	35	41	38
Poor job	11	6	9	30	17	24
Don't know	8	7	7	10	13	11
Haven't heard of antipoverty program	9	9	9	9	11	10
	100	100	100	100	100	100

likely to have formed their opinions on what they have heard or read through the mass media.

In this series of questions as in the preceding one there are no significant generational differences in either race.

THE POLICE

In view of the importance of the police in the complicated social problems of the cities, our survey invested a considerable segment of the questionnaire in exploring the experiences of our Negro and white respondents with the police of their community. Our data make it clear that this is an area of urban life which looks quite different to white and Negro citizens.

We began this series with a question dealing with what we thought would be the most common complaint that might be offered concerning the police: they do not come quickly when they are called. We asked our respondents first whether they thought this happened to people in their neighborhood, then whether it had ever happened to them personally, and finally whether it had happened to anyone they knew. As Table IV-f demonstrates, Negroes are far more

TABLE IV-f
"Now I want to talk about some complaints people have made about the (Central City) police. First, some people say the police don't come quickly when you call them for help. Do you think this happens to people in this neighborhood?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	51	52	51	29	24	27
No	36	31	34	58	62	60
Don't know	13	17	15	13	14	13
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Has it ever happened to you?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	24	26	25	16	13	15
No	39	42	40	25	24	24
Don't know	1	0	1	1	1	1
Don't think it happens in their neighborhood	36	31	34	58	62	60
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Has it happened to anyone you know?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	31	35	33	18	15	17
No	27	30	28	20	20	20
Don't know	6	4	5	4	3	3
Don't think it happens in their neighborhood	36	31	34	58	62	60
	100	100	100	100	100	100

likely than whites to feel that people in their neighborhood do not receive prompt police service, one in four of them report they have experienced poor service themselves (compared to about three-fifths as many whites) and they are twice as likely as whites to say they know people to whom this has happened.

The second question dealt with the incidence of the show of disrespect or use of insulting language by the police. The racial differences in response to this inquiry are even more pronounced (Table IV-g). While relatively few white people felt this sort of thing happened in their neighborhood and even fewer reported it had happened to them or to people they know, substantial numbers of Negroes, especially men, thought it happened in their neighborhoods and many of these reported that they had experienced such treatment themselves.

The third question asked if the police "frisk or search people without a good reason" and the same pattern of racial differences emerges (Table IV-h). This is not an experience which occurs to many white people and they do not think it happens in their

TABLE IV-g
"Some people say the police don't show respect for people and use insulting language. Do you think this happens to people in this neighborhood?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	43	33	38	17	14	16
No	38	41	39	75	75	75
Don't know	19	26	23	8	11	9
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Has it ever happened to you?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	20	10	15	9	5	7
No	40	49	45	15	19	17
Don't know	2	0	1	1	1	1
Don't think it happens in their neighborhood	38	41	39	75	75	75
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Has it happened to anyone you know?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	28	23	26	12	9	11
No	29	34	32	11	13	12
Don't know	5	2	3	2	3	2
Don't think it happens in their neighborhood	38	41	39	75	75	75
	100	100	100	100	100	100

neighborhoods. Three times as many Negroes do believe it happens in their neighborhoods and report that it has happened to them personally.

TABLE IV-h
"Some people say the police frisk or search people without good reason. Do you think this happens to people in this neighborhood?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	42	30	36	12	9	11
No	41	40	41	78	75	76
Don't know	17	30	23	10	16	13
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Has it ever happened to you?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	22	3	13	6	1	4
No	36	55	45	16	24	20
Don't know	1	2	1	0	0	0
Don't think it happens in their neighborhood	41	40	41	78	75	76
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Has it happened to anyone you know?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	28	20	24	8	6	7
No	28	36	32	12	17	14
Don't know	3	4	3	2	2	2
Don't think it happens in their neighborhood	41	40	41	78	75	75
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Finally, we asked a direct question about "police brutality"—do the police rough up people unnecessarily when they are arresting them or afterwards? Over a third of the Negro respondents reported this happened in their neighborhoods, while 10 percent of whites so reported (Table IV-i). Much smaller numbers of both races reported that they had experienced unnecessary roughness themselves but Negroes were four times more likely to report such treatment. Far more Negroes than whites report knowing someone who had been roughed up by the police. The great discrepancy which we find between the numbers of Negroes who say they were themselves unnecessarily frisked or roughed up and the numbers who testify that they know someone to whom this has happened reflects the manner in which reports of such incidents travel through the Negro community.

Reports of unfavorable experiences with the police are clearly more numerous among the younger members of both racial groups than among their elders (Table IV-j). Younger people are more likely to

think police offenses occur in their neighborhoods, to report that offenses have been committed against them personally, and to know other people against whom they have been committed. As we see in Table IV-j, abrasive relations with the police are not only a racial problem in these northern cities, they are also a problem of youth. Negro young people are much more likely to complain of police offenses than the older generations of their race, especially of those police actions which involve bodily contact. However, the same age trend, about equally pronounced, is found in the white population. These findings are consistent, of course, with police records of the age characteristics of arrestees of both races.

TABLE IV-i
"Some people say the police rough up people unnecessarily when they are arresting them or afterwards. Do you think this happens to people in this neighborhood?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	37	32	35	10	9	10
No	42	41	41	80	76	78
Don't know	21	27	24	10	15	12
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Has it ever happened to you?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	7	1	4	2	0	1
No	50	56	53	18	23	20
Don't know	1	2	2	0	1	1
Don't think it happens in their neighborhood	42	41	41	80	76	78
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Has it happened to anyone you know?"
[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	27	20	24	7	6	7
No	28	35	32	11	15	13
Don't know	3	4	3	2	3	2
Don't think it happens in their neighborhood	42	41	41	80	76	78
	100	100	100	100	100	100

STORES AND MERCHANTS

One further area of everyday experience was explored in the interview, shopping in neighborhood stores. According to the report of the National Commission, "There are significant reasons to believe that poor households generally pay higher prices for the food they buy and receive lower quality food." When we compare the opinions of white and Negro respondents regarding their experience in the stores in their

TABLE IV-j

COMPLAINTS ABOUT POLICE BEHAVIOR AMONG AGE CATEGORIES

[Results for men and women combined. In percent]

	White					
	16-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
Police don't come quickly						
Believe this happens in their neighborhood	35	32	29	24	24	16
Say it has happened to them	20	16	16	16	11	10
Say it has happened to people they know	27	19	17	15	12	9
Police use insulting language						
Believe this happens in their neighborhood	24	24	14	13	9	8
Say it has happened to them	14	11	7	3	6	3
Say it has happened to people they know	22	19	11	7	4	3
Police frisk and search without good reason						
Believe this happens in their neighborhood	25	15	7	9	7	4
Say it has happened to them	12	5	2	2	1	1
Say it has happened to people they know	21	10	3	5	3	2
Police rough up people unnecessarily						
Believe this happens in their neighborhood	25	13	7	5	6	3
Say it has happened to them	3	1	3	0	1	0
Say it has happened to people they know	18	12	6	4	3	1

	Negro					
	16-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
Police don't come quickly						
Believe this happens in their neighborhood	64	51	50	52	43	48
Say it has happened to them	27	22	24	28	20	21
Say it has happened to people they know	44	33	32	32	27	28
Police use insulting language						
Believe this happens in their neighborhood	55	45	37	36	26	24
Say it has happened to them	24	19	14	15	7	5
Say it has happened to people they know	43	32	24	21	15	10
Police frisk and search without good reason						
Believe this happens in their neighborhood	51	43	33	32	28	24
Say it has happened to them	22	18	11	9	4	8
Say it has happened to people they know	42	30	23	18	17	9
Police rough up people unnecessarily						
Believe this happens in their neighborhood	49	43	33	30	26	20
Say it has happened to them	8	7	3	2	4	1
Say it has happened to people they know	38	32	23	17	15	9

neighborhood we find substantial differences (Table IV–k).

Negroes are nearly three times as likely to say they are "often" overcharged in their neighborhood stores than are whites. White people are far more likely to say they are never overcharged. Complaints about being sold spoiled goods are less frequent in both races but complaints of this kind were also more frequently made by Negroes than whites. It is noteworthy that despite these racial differences in frequency of complaint about prices and quality there is not a very significant difference between Negroes and whites in the experience of being "treated disrespectfully" by the personnel of the local stores in which they shop. Negroes are a little more likely to report treatment of this kind but neither group finds this as common an experience as being charged unfair prices or being sold poor quality goods. This provides an interesting contrast to the data presented in Chapter II in which a much greater proportion of the Negro sample offer the opinion that Negro customers are not treated as politely as whites in the "large downtown stores." This difference may simply reflect the differences in question wording but it also suggests that the proprietors of stores in Negro neighborhoods may have come to believe that to remain in business they must treat their black customers with respect.

There is little generational difference in either race in their reported experience of being overcharged or of being sold inferior produce. Young people of both races, however, are more sensitive about being treated disrespectfully in the stores than are older people.

THE WHITE SUBURBS

White people living in the suburbs of Cleveland and Detroit are distinguished by the high level of satisfaction they express with the various public services they receive in their communities. They are particularly well satisfied with their police protection, clearly more so than white residents of the cities and very much more so than urban Negroes. They also give their public schools high marks, again much higher than the ratings given the city schools by either whites or Negroes. The differences in degree of satisfaction with other services are less pronounced but they are all in the same direction; suburbanites generally feel well taken care of.

Suburban people also feel more confident than people in the cities in their ability to get a complaint regarding services taken care of. Although they do not report having called a city official about poor service much oftener than either whites or Negroes in the cities, most of them believe they would get service if they did call.

TABLE IV-k

"Here are some complaints you hear sometimes about stores and merchants. Would you tell me if these things ever happen to you when you shop in stores in or near this neighborhood. Do you think you are unfairly overcharged for goods often, sometimes, rarely, or never?"

[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Often	22	26	24	8	10	9
Sometimes	32	32	32	20	27	24
Rarely	14	14	14	24	21	22
Never	25	21	23	45	40	43
Don't shop in neighborhood stores	7	7	7	3	2	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"Do you think you are sold spoiled or inferior goods often, sometimes, rarely, or never?"

[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Often	13	12	13	1	2	1
Sometimes	28	30	29	14	16	15
Rarely	18	16	17	30	26	28
Never	34	35	34	52	54	53
Don't shop in neighborhood stores	7	7	7	3	2	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100

"In such stores are you treated disrespectfully often, sometimes, rarely, or never?"

[In percent]

	Negro			White		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Often	3	4	3	1	2	2
Sometimes	13	12	13	6	6	6
Rarely	12	12	12	18	11	14
Never	65	65	65	71	80	75
Don't shop in neighborhood stores	7	7	7	3	2	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Relations with the police are clearly different in the suburbs than they are in the cities. White suburbanites are only about half as likely as white people in the cities to complain of the various police shortcomings we have discussed in this chapter and, of course, very much less likely than Negroes. They rarely report unpleasant experiences with the police, especially those involving physical contact. The difference in probability of a white man in the suburbs as compared to a Negro in the city reporting having been frisked

unnecessarily or roughed up by the police is in the order of ten to one.

For white people suburban life seems very similar in one respect to life in the cities: experience with local stores and merchants does not seem to differ much across the city line. Among white people the number of complaints about overcharging, inferior goods, and disrespectful treatment are about the same in both locations. As we have seen Negroes in the cities are much more likely to object to high prices and poor quality but not much more frequently to incidents of disrespect.

SUMMARY

The most general summary statement that might be made from these comparisons of white and Negro experiences is that they conform to expectations. It was our original assumption that as a group Negroes would find more to criticize than white people in the various public and private services they receive and this has been consistently documented by our survey results. The specific findings may be summarized as follows:

1. The most sensitive area touched by our survey questions is that of relations with the police. Negroes are less satisfied than whites with the protection they receive from the police and they are much more likely to report unfavorable experiences in their personal contact with the police.

2. Negroes express more dissatisfaction with public services in their neighborhoods than whites. However, some services generally thought to be sources of much dissatisfaction among Negroes turn out to be less disturbing and to distinguish less between Negro and white respondents than was expected. Complaints about the quality of public schools and about garbage collection, for example, do not show a very strong racial pattern.

3. Both Negro and white respondents are more likely to report their city's mayor as "trying hard to solve" the problems of the cities than so describe either the federal government or the state government. Negroes are less satisfied than whites with governmental performance at all three levels. The antipoverty programs of the federal government are widely known to both races but more widely participated in and more favorably perceived by Negroes than by white people.

4. There is a good deal of complaint by Negroes concerning the prices they pay in their neighborhood stores and the quality of the goods they buy but considerably less reference to disrespectful treatment by local merchants.

5. Although there is no significant pattern of generational change in attitudes toward the various city services about which we inquired, the quality of relations with the police is clearly associated with age. Young people perceive the police less favorably and report more unpleasant contacts with them than do their elders. This is true of both races.

Chapter 5

The Uses of Violence

This chapter deals with Negro and white beliefs about, and involvement in, the riots that have occurred in Detroit, Newark, and many other American cities. We begin with a comparison of Negro and white perceptions of the causes and character of the riots. Identical questions were asked of both Negroes and whites and the results reveal a number of differences between the two samples. We next attempt to describe those respondents who indicate a willingness to participate in rioting or other related forms of violence. This second section replicates findings of earlier studies carried out by other investigators in Los Angeles, Detroit and Newark, with some extensions made possible by additional questions, a comparative framework, and larger sample sizes. The chapter ends with a brief look at advocacy of violence within the white population.

THE NATURE OF THE RIOTS

The differences between Negro and white definitions of the riots, perceptions of cause, and prescriptions for prevention are shown in the series of questions presented in Tables V–a to V–e. The first question asked each respondent to characterize the riots as "mainly a protest by Negroes against unfair conditions" or "mainly a way of looting and things like that." White men are fairly evenly split between viewing the riots as a protest and viewing them as largely criminal in nature, while white women choose protest rather than looting

by two to one. Negroes were *not* so split: 58 percent regard the riots as mainly a protest and another 28 percent characterize them as partly a protest. Only 10 percent of the Negro sample saw the riots as mainly a matter of looting and similar offenses.

TABLE V-a

"Some people say these disturbances are mainly a protest by Negroes against unfair conditions. Others say they are mainly a way of looting and things like that. Which of these seems more correct to you?"

(In percent)

	Negro		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Mainly protest	56	59	38	48
Mainly looting	9	10	33	24
50/50 mixture	30	25	25	24
Don't know	5	6	4	4
	100	100	100	100

The main *cause* of the riots (see Table V–b) according to spontaneous responses by nearly half the black sample lies in, or is associated with, u̶n̶ ̶ ̶'r treatment of Negroes by whites. For example:

"Want to be treated like a human being."

"Unfairness to the Negro. The Negro has been pushed back for years. They are tired of being pushed around. They want better things in life just like the whites."

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"Mostly Negroes want more in life and want to be treated the same as whites. Some of them have just as much sense and education as whites and want to be respected just as much as they [whites] respect another one of their own . . . ."

Specific grievances often follow responses such as the above, particularly in the areas of employment and housing, but it is worth noting that they are frequently linked to words like "unjust" and "unfair" and sometimes to mention of "lack of respect." The phrases "want to be treated like anyone else" and "want to be treated the same as whites" recur frequently. A number of other specific grievance-type causes are also mentioned, such as police brutality, but in each instance by a relatively small part of the sample.[1]

TABLE V-b

"What do you think was the main cause of these disturbances?"

[In percent]

Most frequent types of spontaneous response*	Negro		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Discrimination, unfair treatment	49	48	22	27
Unemployment	23	22	13	13
Inferior jobs	13	10	5	5
Bad housing	23	20	15	15
Poor education	10	9	7	9
Poverty	10	8	11	9
Police brutality	10	4	2	1
Black Power or other "radicals"	4	5	26	21
Looters and other undesirables	11	11	34	34
Communists	0	0	8	5

*Each mention to this question was coded separately, and since some people mentioned more than one cause, the percentages do not add to 100. Only reasons mentioned by at least 10 percent of a group are presented here, except for the response "Communist" which is slightly under this limit.

Whites offer the same causes of the riots as do Negroes, but with only about half the frequency. On the other hand, while few Negroes perceive the riots as caused by "leaders"—black nationalist, Communist, or any other type—nearly a quarter of the white sample cite radical leaders as a major cause. Similarly, only one out of ten Negroes lay blame for the riots on criminal or other undesirable elements, but one out of three whites see this factor as important.

Since whites emphasize the role of radical leaders and of criminally inclined participants, it is not surprising that many believe the riots were "planned in advance" (Table V-c): nearly half hold unequivocally to this belief and another third believe there was some planning. A much smaller proportion of Negroes (18 percent) see the riots as generally planned in advance, another third see some planning, but a third believe there was no planning at all.

[1] We have shown earlier (Chapter IV) that direct questions on police practices indicate considerable resentment by Negroes and it is probable that specific questions relating police actions to the riots would have elicited more frequent perceptions of a causal link. But it seems clear that when Negroes are asked to think of the *main* cause of rioting, they more often think of general white treatment of Negroes and of specific economic areas.

TABLE V-c

"Do you think the large disturbances like those in Detroit and Newark were planned in advance, or that there was some planning but not much, or weren't they planned at all?"

[In percent]

	Negro		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Planned in advance	16	20	47	50
Some planning but not much	37	34	37	34
Not planned at all	38	30	12	10
Don't know	9	16	4	6
	100	100	100	100

A general "open-ended" question shown in Table V-d on the most important means to prevent future riots suggests a clear difference in focus by race. More than half of the Negro sample spontaneously mention improvement of social and economic conditions as the first solution, with more and better jobs the most frequently offered specific recommendation. Only one-fifth of the white sample think immediately in terms of such social and economic changes. On the other hand, nearly half the white sample call first for stronger police control, as against only one out of ten Negroes in the sample who mention police control as their first answer. As shown earlier (Table III-w), when the long-term alternatives of police control *versus* improvement of Negro conditions are posed bluntly, a majority of white respondents choose the latter and another quarter say that *both* are needed. Likewise, some white respondents qualify their spontaneous first mention of police control shown in Table V-d by indicating support for economic improvements as well. The difference between races seems more one of salience and focus of attention than absolute opposition.

Finally, the long-term effects of the riots are viewed in very different ways by Negroes and whites (Table V-e). Most whites (64 percent) believe the riots have hurt the cause of Negro rights and few believe they have helped. But a third of the black sample think that the riots have aided the Negro cause in America, while only a quarter think the riots have been mainly harmful in effect.

TABLE V-d

"What do you think is the most important thing the city government in (Central City) could do to keep a disturbance like the one in Detroit from breaking out here?"

[In percent]

First type of response mentioned	Negro		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Better employment	26	24	11	9
End discrimination	14	15	2	3
Better housing	8	8	4	4
Other social and economic improvements	7	5	4	3
Better police treatment	6	1	0	1
Improve communications between Negroes and whites; show Negroes whites care	12	13	10	13
More black control of institutions	0	0	0	0
More police control	9	8	51	42
Can't do anything, have already tried everything	3	5	8	8
Don't know	15	21	10	17
	100	100	100	100

TABLE V-e

"On the whole, do you think the disturbances have helped or hurt the cause of Negro rights, or would you say they haven't made much difference?"

[In percent]

	Negro		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Helped	37	30	13	14
Hurt	22	24	69	59
Helped and hurt equally	12	11	7	7
Made no difference	21	28	9	17
Don't know	8	7	2	3
	100	100	100	100

"Why do you feel that way?"

[In percent]

	Negro		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
First reason given:				
Helped:				
Tangible gains (e.g., more jobs)	19	20	8	8
Whites understand Negroes' problems better	14	10	8	8
Show of Negro power	9	5	2	1
Hurt:				
Destruction, injury	8	8	2	3
Increased anti-Negro sentiments	16	19	64	54
Made no difference:				
No tangible gain	19	23	5	12
Negroes are still not satisfied	0	1	7	10
Don't know	15	14	4	4
	100	100	100	100

The reasons offered by Negroes for the belief that riots *help* are primarily in terms of tangible gains in the very same areas mentioned in response to questions about causes and prevention. About 20 percent of the Negro sample believe that in one way or another the riots have stimulated action to solve the major problems confronting Negroes. For example:

"They are making attempts to give us better jobs and respect."

". . . they are trying to make it so it won't occur again . . . helping Negro to start up retail business . . . trying to get more Negro national guardsmen."

"They are getting better jobs and better housing and better schools. That's what they were fighting for."

A smaller proportion of Negro respondents (11 percent) believe that the riots have awakened the average white person to an understanding of Negro problems in America, a perception shared by almost the same proportion of white respondents. Finally, a small number of Negro respondents (7 percent) evince special pride in the demonstration of black courage and power that they see in the riots.

Negroes who see harm in the riots speak primarily in terms of the destruction and violence. White respondents, on the other hand, give overwhelming emphasis to anti-Negro sentiments aroused or stimulated by the riots. For example, white respondents reply in such terms as:

". . . it hurt because they got more people bitter . . . it's getting us a little more scared . . . Everyone is scared, you're scared to open your door now."

". . . they are doing harm to their real cause, as people forget the real thing and remember the wrong things they have done and stop helping them."

"Because of the vandalism and taking other people's property. This hurt them very much . . . People have bad opinions of them when they read about these things."

Sixty percent of the white sample report the rise in such anti-Negro sentiments, but only 18 percent of the Negroes mention this as an unfavorable consequence of the riots. Indeed, nearly as many black respondents perceive an increase in white understanding of Negro problems because of the riots as perceive an increase in white hostility.

Suburban white results have not been presented in Tables V-a to V-e but in general they are very similar to white city results. For example, where 33 percent of white city males see the riots as "mainly a way of looting and things like that," 35 percent of white suburban males choose that response; comparable figures for white females are 24 percent and 27 percent. As another example, more police control is mentioned first as the most important way to prevent riots by 51 percent of white city males as against 54 percent of suburban males, and by 42 percent of white city females as against 43 percent of suburban females. From a descriptive standpoint, city whites and suburban whites seem to perceive the riots in very much the same terms.

The findings presented thus far in this section add up to quite different—although not opposite—Negro and white perspectives on the causes, consequences, and prevention of urban riots in America. A solid, and at points overwhelming, majority of Negroes in these 15 cities see the riots as largely spontaneous black protests against unfair treatment, economic deprivation, or a combination of the two. The main way to prevent future riots is, in this view, to remove the underlying causes. Moreover, more Negroes think the riots helped in this direction than think the riots were harmful, although the division is close.

Only about 10 percent of the Negro sample dissent clearly from this viewpoint and consider the riots criminal activity to be suppressed primarily by police control. Tables V-a to V-e indicate little sex difference for Negroes in this respect. The tables presented below allow analysis by age and education of three questions already discussed. Table V-f does not indicate any clear educational difference among Negroes with regard to perception of the riots as mainly protest or mainly looting, but does suggest a generally consistent trend by age, with a greater proportion of younger

people than of older people seeing the riot as a form of protest. The age trend is supported by the results in Table V–g, which deals with whether the riots helped or hurt the cause of Negro rights. In this case there also appears to be a slight relation to education, with the *more* educated tending to perceive good coming out of the riots, especially among Negroes in their 20's and 30's. These results taken together suggest that, for the present at least, Negroes who take a wholly negative view of the riots represent the viewpoint of an older generation.

The white sample as a whole differs considerably from the black sample on the riots, but it does *not* present simply a mirror image of the nearly universal Negro definition. If that were the case, the white sample would hold an almost unanimous view of the riots as conspiratorial or criminal in nature, and as responding only to police control. Instead, we find white respondents distributed over a range of positions and outlooks. This makes it more difficult, however, to describe them in summary fashion in this report. About a third of the white sample seem committed to a view of the riots close to that of most Negroes, namely, as protests against real economic and social grievances, protests that should be met by constructive attempts to remove these grievances. About a third see the riots as largely unjustified but conspiratorial assaults on law and order led by criminal, demagogic, or other undesirable elements, assaults that should be met first of all

by firm police action. The remaining third or so of the white sample consists of people who combine both views more or less equally, as well as people who have no clear opinions on the matter.

A major purpose of later reports will be to describe and understand better these white divisions in perception. For the present, we can note from Tables V–a to V–e that men appear slightly more inclined than women to regard the riots as mainly "looting" and to favor primarily police control. Table V–h below indicates a strong trend, especially among younger persons, for the *more* educated to perceive the riots as mainly protests rather than as mainly looting. Age differences are somewhat less consistent and strong, but youth apparently has the same effect as greater education in making the riots seem to be purposive protests rather than simply episodes of mass criminal activity. Thus age trends for white city respondents are similiar to those for Negroes. Indeed, a comparison of Tables V–f and V–h reveals that among teenagers and also among college graduates at older age levels, about the same proportion of whites and Negroes perceive the riots as protests. The young and the better educated of both races converge in their perceptions of the basic character of the riots.

Where white perceptions of the riots are in wholly negative terms, this is most obviously interpretable as opposition to violence, looting, and destruction. This is

TABLE V-h

"Some people say these disturbances are mainly a protest by Negroes against unfair conditions. Others say they are mainly a way of looting and things like that. Which of these seems more correct to you?"

BY WHITE AGE AND EDUCATION CATEGORIES (RESULTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN AVERAGED) In Percent

	Age 16–19*	Age 20–39					Age 40–69				
		8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate
Mainly protest	62	30	32	48	56	60	32	36	35	41	49
Mainly looting	17	44	33	25	16	13	38	37	36	30	15
50/50 mixture	18	22	34	26	28	21	21	23	27	22	26
Don't know	3	4	1	1	0	6	9	4	2	7	10
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* This group combines all educational categories.

no doubt correct, but it is well to recognize also that a substantial proportion of the white sample is opposed to *non*-violent protest actions by Negroes as well as to violence. More than a quarter of the white sample (23 percent of the men, 32 percent of the women) believe Negroes are not justified in using "*orderly marches* to protest against racial discrimination" and more than two-thirds believe that "sit-in" protests are unjustified (tables not shown). Thus a substantial proportion of the white sample is against *any* active protest by Negroes.

Indeed, to a rather large segment of the white population the attempt to distinguish "violent" from "nonviolent" demonstration is not very meaningful, as Table V–i indicates. Thus a third of the white population is so repelled by the idea of active Negro protest that it cannot or does not wish to distinguish between nonviolent demonstrations and riots. The response "no real difference" is explained by white respondents in terms such as the following:

"They're still just looking for aggravation. They're *looking* for trouble. They're just out looking to see what they can stir up, just hoping to aggravate people on the opposite side. That's all."

"Even the peaceful ones get into big fights usually and a bunch go to jail before it is over."

"Just plotting up a riot."

"All I know is it's a mess. They are troublemakers."

TABLE V-i

"Some Negro leaders are talking about having nonviolent marches and demonstrations in several cities in 1968 to protest lack of opportunities for Negroes. Do you think such demonstrations are different from the riots, or that there is no real difference?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Nonviolent demonstrations differ from riots	63	56	60
No real difference	32	38	35
Don't know	5	6	5
	100	100	100

In general, then, fully a third of the white population sees riots as simply the inevitable consequence of, if not the same as, the type of protests Negroes have engaged in from the late 1950's onwards. This helps explain why, not infrequently, white respondents join the names of Martin Luther King and H. Rap Brown as though they stood for exactly the same thing.

ADVOCATES OF VIOLENCE

Although the great majority of Negroes in this sample define the riots as spontaneous protests against real grievances, only a relatively small number say they would take part in a riot or similar violent action. A somewhat larger number—but still very much a minority—indicate positive approval of violence as a possible strategy for gaining Negro rights. *Most* Negroes in the 15 city sample, though they speak in terms that would seem to justify the riots, reject violence both as a general strategy and as an approach they would be willing to take part in themselves. *Riots are justified by most Negroes, but they are not recommended.*

Our findings in this area come from four questions that approached the use of violence from different directions, in different forms, and at different points in the interview. The question shown in Table V–j was quite general and impersonal: about one out of six Negroes gave the response pointing toward violence, the highest such choice on any of the questions to be presented. It is difficult, however, to interpret the item alone because of the qualified nature of the phrase "be ready to use violence." Nonviolent protests receive much greater support, and while there is also some uncertainty as to how respondents interpret this phrase, both responses together suggest that for a majority of Negroes in these 15 cities, hope for change rests with protest of one form or another, not with legislative action or legal enforcement.

A second question in this area did not specifically offer an option of violence, but presented a discriminatory situation in open-ended form and asked the respondent to suggest his own solution:

"Suppose there is a white storekeeper in a Negro neighborhood. He hires white clerks but refuses to

TABLE V-f

"Some people say these disturbances are mainly a protest by Negroes against unfair conditions. Others say they are mainly a way of looting and things like that. Which of these seems more correct to you?"

BY NEGRO AGE AND EDUCATION CATEGORIES (RESULTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN AVERAGED) In percent

	Age 16–19*	Age 20–39					Age 40–69				
		8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate
Mainly protest	60	65	56	65	69	61	43	56	61	60	33
Mainly looting	11	5	10	5	4	4	12	10	13	9	13
50/50 mixture	25	21	26	27	24	35	30	27	23	30	54
Don't know	4	9	8	3	3	0	15	7	3	1	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*This group combines all educational categories.

TABLE V-g

"On the whole, do you think the disturbances have helped or hurt the cause of Negro rights, or would you say they haven't made much difference?"

BY NEGRO AGE AND EDUCATION CATEGORIES (RESULTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN AVERAGED) In percent

	Age 16–19*	Age 20–39					Age 40–69				
		8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate
Helped	36	33	33	39	40	67	24	24	34	36	28
Hurt	24	28	21	19	14	9	28	27	31	19	24
Helped and hurt equally	9	8	9	14	17	1	10	10	10	19	37
Haven't made much difference	25	25	29	23	16	18	24	31	19	24	9
Don't know	6	6	8	5	13	5	14	8	6	2	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* This group combines all educational categories.

hire any Negro clerks. Talking with him about the matter does no good. What do you think Negroes in the neighborhood should do to change the situation?"

No matter what the respondent answered the first time, he was then asked a follow-up question:

"What if that didn't work, what should they do then?"

TABLE V-j

"As you see it, what's the best way for Negroes to try to gain their rights—use laws and persuasion, use nonviolent protests, or be ready to use violence?"

[In percent]

	Negro		
	Men	Women	Total
Laws and persuasion	39	39	39
Nonviolent protests	34	42	38
Be ready to use violence	20	10	15
Don't know	7	9	8
	100	100	100

The categories into which responses have been coded are shown in Table V-k, ordered as far as practical from complete passivity to outright use of violence. Very few Negro respondents are willing to ignore such discrimination or rely on a mild protest such as a petition. Furthermore, despite the fact that the storekeeper's alleged behavior is probably illegal, only four percent initially suggest attempts to enlist government action—a finding consistent with the National Commission's conclusion that although "almost all cities had some sort of formal grievance mechanism for handling citizen complaints, this typically was regarded by Negroes as ineffective and was generally ignored" (*Report of The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, p. 4) The most obvious answer to the question for the nonviolently oriented person who wishes to do something is use of a boycott, and indeed three-quarters of the sample gave this as their first response. Only a very small percentage (two percent) of persons initially suggest out-and-out violence, usually in the form of burning the store.

The follow-up question postulated a more frustrating situation—the previous action "didn't work"—and as might be expected the percentage of people turning to violence shows an increase, although it still remains a relatively small proportion of the total sample. It might have risen higher, however, in another type of situation, for in the present case a large number of respondents adhered to the boycott response, noting quite logically that with community support a boycott in the situation described "just has to work." It cannot be argued, however, that the level of frustration simulated by the follow-up question inevitably results in a turn toward violence, since Table V-k shows that appeals for government help *also* rises from the initial to the follow-up question.

TABLE V-k
Original and followup question about storekeeper incident
[In percent]

	Negro					
	Original question			Follow-up question		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Do nothing; do nothing else	3	5	4	9	8	8
Gather a petition	1	2	2	3	2	2
Appeal to government (e.g., court, Civil Rights Commission)	4	4	4	9	10	10
Appeal to Negro organization (e.g., NAACP)	1	0	1	1	1	1
Open a cooperative or community store	1	1	1	2	2	2
Boycott the store	76	70	73	47	43	45
Nonviolent demonstration (e.g., picket, a march)	6	8	7	8	7	8
Get him out (implying violence but ambiguous)	2	3	2	2	2	2
Use violence (e.g., burn the store down)	3	2	2	7	5	6
Don't know	3	5	5	12	20	16
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Our third type of question dealing with possible violence referred to a hypothetical riot and asked the respondent if he himself would probably participate in it (Table V-l). The proportion of persons saying they would join a riot is of the same order of magnitude as the proportion saying they would use violence in the follow-up question on the storekeeper reported previously. It is also interesting to observe that the proportion of about eight percent riot participants that we obtain to these two *hypothetical* questions is not far from the percentages of self-reported *actual* rioters obtained in previous studies of Los Angeles (4.5 percent to 17 percent, depending on criterion) and Detroit (11 percent) riot areas.[2] It is also important to note that about as many people say they would attempt to *stop* a riot as say they would join one, and of course that the great majority of people in the sample choose neither action but instead say they would try to avoid a riot altogether. The "don't know" percentage to this question is also high relative to most other questions, and probably indicates either genuine uncertainty or an understandable reluctance to speak frankly to the interviewer on this particular subject.

TABLE V-l
"If a disturbance like the one in Detroit or Newark last summer broke out here, do you think you would join in, or would you try to stop it, or would you stay away from it?"
[In percent]

	Negro		
	Men	Women	Total
Join in the riot	11	6	8
Try to stop it	11	7	9
Stay away	70	83	76
Don't know*	7	4	6
Other	1	0	1
	100	100	100

* "Don't know" responses to this question are separated from the residual "Other" category because they are fairly frequent and probably reflect genuine uncertainty rather than lack of understanding.

[2] On Los Angeles, see Raymond J. Murphy and James M. Watson, *The Structure of Discontent*, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of California, Los Angeles, 1967. On Detroit, see the Commission's *report*, p. 331.

Individuals who said they would join in a riot were asked a series of follow-up questions about the type of action they would be willing to take in such a riot. Perhaps the most important finding of Table V-m is the fact that slightly *more* people anticipate taking actions such as burning stores than anticipate looting ("taking things from such stores"). Yet pictures and accounts of actual riots strongly suggest that a far greater proportion of people engage in looting than in such deliberate destruction as arson.[3]

TABLE V-m
FIVE FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS FOR THOSE WHO SAID THEY WOULD JOIN IN A RIOT
[In percent]

	Negro*		
	Men	Women	Total
Would be "one of the first to get into it," rather than "wait until it was already going strong"	4	1	2
Would "be likely to break windows of stores that treat Negroes unfairly"	4	2	3
Would "be likely to take things from such stores"	2	1	2
Would "be likely to burn such stores"	3	2	2
Would be likely to use other violence (e.g., "destroy anything the white man owns in the Negro community")	4	1	2

* Percentages are of the total Negro sample for each sex separately and for both sexes averaged. However, these follow-up questions were asked only of respondents who said they would "join in a riot." The maximum value a percentage in this table can take is the male, female, or total value, respectively, of the "join in" response reported in Table V-l. For example, 11 percent of Negro men said they would join in a riot, and a little more than a third of these (four percent of all Negro men) said they would be "one of the first to get into it."

The resolution of this difference may lie in the fact that our hypothetical riot question, although worded as a prediction of probabilities of action, in fact probably taps ideologically-based intentions. "Burning a store" is a way of expressing conscious hostilities; looting is more apt to involve personal aggrandizement in a situation where this suddenly becomes easy and seemingly legitimate. The "looter" in many cases probably assumes this role as a result of the total situation; insofar as he may feel tempted in this direction beforehand, he is less likely to think it legitimate or want to admit it to an interviewer. The "burner" knows more clearly in advance of his intention, feels it legitimate in terms of his own values (rather than merely the immediate situation), and is thus able to discuss it more openly with an interviewer. An extreme example of this distinction is given in the Commission's *Report* (pp. 52–53):

[3] Arrest data compiled by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders also show that "the great majority of those arrested during the disorders were generally charged with a crime related to looting or curfew violations" (*Report*, p. 76). In fact, less than half of one percent of the charges brought against arrestees in 19 riot cities were in connection with arson (*Report*, p. 334).

When a friend called to tell him about the riot on 12th Street, E. G. went there expecting "a true revolt," but was disappointed as soon as he saw the looting begin: "I wanted to see the people really rise up in revolt. When I saw the first person coming out of the store with things in his arms, I really got sick to my stomach and wanted to go home. Rebellion against the white suppressors is one thing, but one measly pair of shoes or some food completely ruins the whole concept."

E. G. was standing in a crowd, watching firemen work, when Fire Chief Alvin Wall called out for help from the spectators. E. G. responded. His reasoning was: "No matter what color someone is, whether they are green or pink or blue, I'd help them if they were in trouble. That's all there is to it."

He worked with the firemen for four days, the only Negro in an all-white crew.

Further evidence for the self-conscious character of the choice of violence in response to the three hypothetical questions we have discussed thus far comes from their high interrelations. Although they differ considerably in specific content and format, Table V-n shows that the choice of violence on one is strongly associated with the choice of violence on another. There thus appears to be a small portion of the Negro population that is willing and perhaps eager to characterize itself in favor of violence as a way of solving racial problems in America.

We turn now to the last of the four questions asked about violence, this one not a hypothetical inquiry but a question about actual participation in past riots (see Table V-o).

The total of two percent self-reported participants is smaller than the figures given to any of the hypothetical questions, presumably because actual riot participation can only have occurred to any substantial degree in cities that had had large-scale riots before March 31, 1968 (the end of our interviewing period). Evidence for this interpretation emerges clearly when we look at the results for the 15 cities following the classification presented in the Commission's *Report* for riots occurring in 1967 [4] (see Table V-p).

Although the differences are small here, the trend is quite consistent with the expectation that the greater the riot, the more people who should report actual involvement. The fact that some people report participation even in cities classified as having no riots in 1967 is probably due to the generality of the question and of the term "riot." Figures for the major riot cities are

[4] Both the Commission's classification and this survey took place before the April, 1968, riots in Baltimore, Washington, and several other cities on this list.

TABLE V-n

INTERRELATIONS OF THREE HYPOTHETICAL QUESTIONS ON VIOLENCE *

[In percent]

		"As you see it, what's the best way for Negroes to try to gain their rights—use laws and persuasion, use nonviolent protests, or be ready to use violence?"	
		Laws and persuasion, nonviolent protests	Be ready to use violence
"If a disturbance like the one in Detroit or Newark last summer broke out here, do you think you would join in, or would you try to stop it, or would you stay away from it?"	Would join in	6	29
	Would try to stop it, or would stay away	94	71
		100 (2158)	100 (442)
"Suppose there is a white storekeeper in a Negro neighborhood. He hires white clerks but refuses to hire any Negro clerks. Talking with him about the matter does no good. What do you think Negroes in the neighborhood should do to change the situation? What if that didn't work, what should they do then?"	Method involving violence (to follow-up question)	4	30
	Other methods (to follow-up question)	96	70
		100 (1924)	100 (439)

		"If a disturbance like the one in Detroit or Newark last summer broke out here, do you think you would join in, or would you try to stop it, or would you stay away from it?"	
		Would join in	Would try to stop it, or would stay away
"Suppose there is a white storekeeper in a Negro neighborhood. He hires white clerks but refuses to hire any Negro clerks. Talking with him about the matter does no good. What do you think Negroes in the neighborhood should do to change the situation? What if that didn't work, what should they do then?"	Method involving violence (to follow-up question)	31	6
	Other methods (to follow-up question)	69	94
		100 (251)	100 (2073)

*These cross-tabulations were run before weighting procedures used elsewhere in the report were available. In addition, "don't know," "other," and "not ascertained" responses are omitted here. Percentages may change slightly in later reports when weighting is used, but relationships should not change appreciably. The decision as to direction of percentaging was based on the item about "the best way for Negroes to gain their rights"; this is a more general question which should shape action but is not a commitment to personal action. The percentages in this case tell us what proportion of each philosophically defined group says it will act in terms of its beliefs, though, of course, exceptions can be explained logically as well as attributed to "error."

Symmetric measures of association for the three subtables, calculated from raw frequencies, are:

Q=.72, .90, and .75, respectively;
Φ=.29, .36, and .28, respectively.

smaller than those reported in previous studies, but this is to be expected since the present survey covered entire cities rather than specific "riot areas." (Not every city falls just where expected, but discussion of more detailed individual city differences must be deferred until later reports.)

What relation is there between self-reported actual riot participation and hypothetical riot participation? At the city level there appears to be no association, since city levels of hypothetical participation show

TABLE V-o

'Have you ever taken part in a violent protest like a riot or a rebellion—I don't need the details, but just whether you did take part and how long ago?"

[In percent]

	Men	Women	Total
Yes	3	1	2
No	96	98	97
Don't know	1	1	1
	100	100	100

TABLE V-p

RELATION OF SERIOUSNESS OF 1967 CITY DISORDERS TO PERCENTAGE OF SELF-REPORTED PARTICIPANTS IN ACTUAL RIOTS*

	Percentage of self-reported rioters
Cities having major riots (Cincinnati, Detroit, Milwaukee, Newark)	3.9 (based on 843 interviews)
Cities having serious riots (Boston, San Francisco)	2.7 (based on 258 interviews)
Cities having minor riots (Brooklyn, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Washington)	1.9 (based on 1,290 interviews)
Cities classified as having no riots (Baltimore, Gary)	1.3 (based on 432 interviews)

*The classification of cities is from the "Report of the National Commission on Civil Disorders", p. 65 and pp. 323-324. The classification was based on a review by the National Commission of all recorded disorders which occurred during the first nine months of 1967. The percentage of self-reported rioters for each level of seriousness is the mean of the percentage for the cities at that level, based on answers in the present survey to the question in Table V-o. The number of interviews used at each level is shown in parentheses. A small number of cases (9) used in these calculations were omitted in all other tables, accounting for the total N here of 2,823.

little or no relation to the Commission's 1967 classification (see Table V-q).[5]

[5] The rank order correlation between actual and hypothetical participation, using the 15 separate city percentages as units, is (Spearman) = −.04.

TABLE V-q

RELATION OF SERIOUSNESS OF 1967 CITY DISORDERS TO PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS WILLING TO JOIN A FUTURE RIOT*

	Percentage indicating they would join in a future riot
Cities having major riots (Cincinnati, Detroit, Milwaukee, Newark)	8.5 (based on 843 interviews)
Cities having serious riots (Boston, San Francisco)	11.6 (based on 258 interviews)
Cities having minor riots (Brooklyn, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Washington)	8.2 (based on 1,290 interviews)
Cities classified as having no riots (Baltimore, Gary)	13.0 (based on 432 interviews)

*The classification of cities is the same used in Table V-p above. The percentages are averaged for the cities at a given level, based on replies to the question shown in Table V-l.

Despite this lack of relation at the *city* level, however, there is a strong association at the *individual* level (Table V-r). Of those who report having participated in an actual riot, 61 percent say, in effect, that they would do so again. Of those who report never having participated in an actual riot, only nine percent say they would do so given the opportunity. Nearly as strong associations hold between self-reported actual riot participation and the other two questions discussed earlier that concern the use of violence. In general, people who report actual riot participation also tend to report a willingness to use violence in future situations involving racial issues.

TABLE V-r

RELATION OF SELF-REPORTED PARTICIPATION IN AN ACTUAL RIOT TO WILLINGNESS TO JOIN A FUTURE RIOT*

[In percent]

	Participated in an actual riot	
Probable participation in a hypothetical riot	Yes	No
Would join in	61	9
Would try to stop it, or would stay away	39	91
	100 (62)	100 (2,715)

*The same considerations mentioned in the footnote to Table V-n apply here. Q for the above table is .89 and Φ is .26.

We pointed earlier to evidence that persons who say they would take part in a hypothetical riot are probably more representative of the self-conscious and purposeful rioter than of the more casual or situationally determined looter. The associations we have just examined suggest that the same may be true of self-reported actual rioters. That is, surveys of actual riot participation may also tend to represent and describe most adequately the more self-conscious and probably ideological riot participants, but underrepresent others who may join for reasons they are less willing to discuss with an interviewer. This possible bias toward one type of riot participant rather than

another should be kept in mind in later sections of this chapter.

But while we must recognize the distinctiveness of those who openly advocate violence as a way of solving racial problems, it is equally important to recall that they are not by any means a group standing sharply against or wholly apart from the dominant mood of the larger Negro population in these 15 cities. This is clear from the opening section of this chapter on the meaning riots have to Negro respondents. It is made even clearer by the question and results shown in Table V-s. The question was asked of all respondents who said they would *not* join in a riot if one occurred in their city. The table indicates that the one out of twelve Negroes who say they would join in a riot have the sympathy of another five out of ten. Less than a quarter of the Negro sample voice a definitely unsympathetic attitude toward rioters.

TABLE V-s

"Even if you didn't join in [a riot] would you feel in sympathy with Negroes who did choose to join, or would you feel unsympathetic toward them?"

[In percent]

	Negroes		
	Men	Women	Total
Sympathetic	50	57	54
Unsympathetic	23	26	24
(Inapplicable: willing to join in)	11	6	8
Other, don't know, not ascertained	16	11	14
	100	100	100

Some examples of what people meant by "sympathetic" come from our set of special probes:

"Because they were fighting for what they believe in—justice."

"Because we have been mistreated. What they were revolting against was unjust. I just don't like their ways."

"Because the colored man has got to fight for his rights in this country."

"I don't think they should do these things but I sympathize with them because of how they feel about things. They don't want to do it but they feel something should be done."

These and other similar responses make it clear that many people who are unwilling to commit themselves in an interview to active participation in a riot, nonetheless feel solidarity with those who do take part. They may disagree with, or be unwilling to risk, the method used by the rioter, but they define his goals as just, identify with these goals, and indeed often admire him for standing up for justice. In this sense, the small proportion of Negroes who participate in a riot are able, at least for the present, to count on a much wider context of moral and perhaps more tangible support from the black community. The rioter does not stand alone.

Support is not universal, to be sure, and the quarter of the sample who do not sympathize with rioters

represent a sizable opposition within the Negro community. These people say such things as:

"Well, in my opinion, it just doesn't help to do these things. It's not right in any way."

"Actually I don't believe violence accomplishes much of anything. I would feel unsympathetic because as adults we should be able to settle things without violence . . . I feel that man can be made to understand the problems at hand. There would be no need for violence."
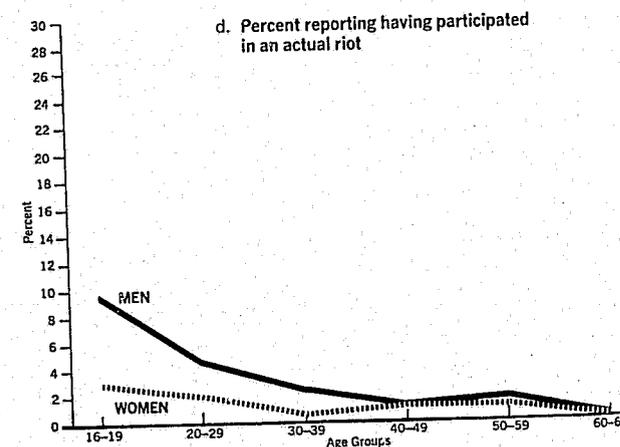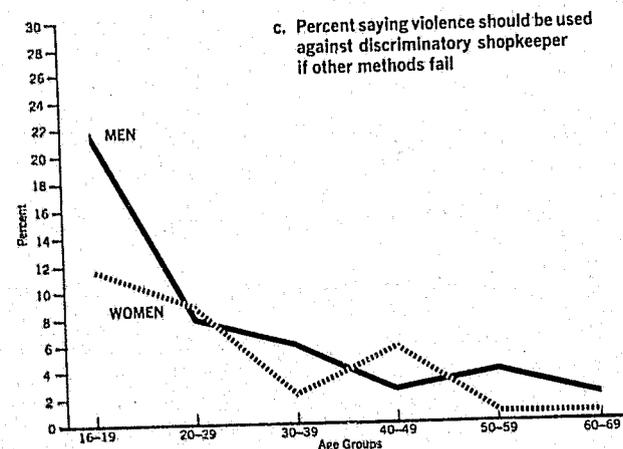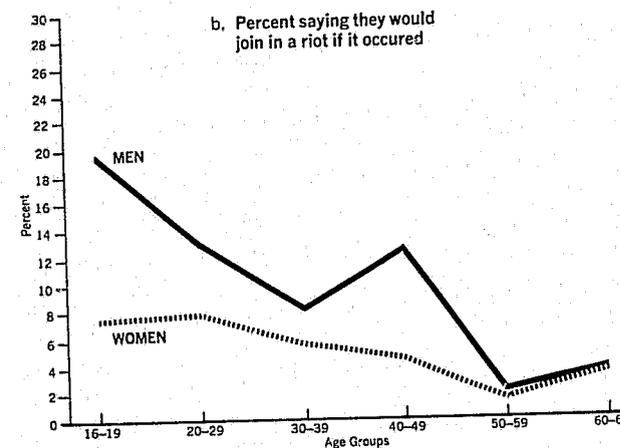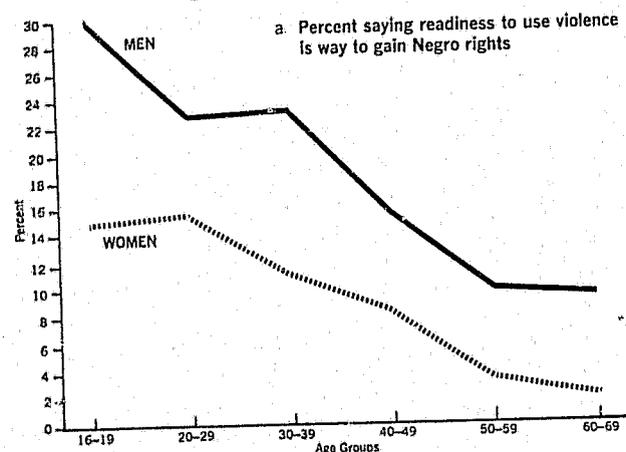
"Because they disturbed a lot of property, and people were not helped that way."

Whether this group grows or shrinks in size, prestige, and conviction may well be an important factor in the future of urban riots in this country.

Figures V-a to V-d: Relation of Age to Four Questions on Advocacy of Violence

a. Percent saying readiness to use violence is way to gain Negro rights

b. Percent saying they would join in a riot if it occured

c. Percent saying violence should be used against discriminatory shopkeeper if other methods fail

d. Percent reporting having participated in an actual riot

We noted earlier that the question involving a discriminatory storekeeper in a Negro residential area shows both a turn toward violence and a turn toward seeking government help when frustration is built into the situation. It is interesting to note that recourse to the government, like recourse to violence (and unlike other tactics), shows an inverse relation to age (see Figure V-e). Thus younger Negroes are not only more

THE BACKGROUND OF BLACK ADVOCATES OF VIOLENCE

Studies reviewed in 'the Commission's *Report* indicate that self-reported rioters are usually young and tend to be males. Our data for both hypothetical and actual participation show similar results (Figures V-a to V-d). General levels of response vary by question but the age and sex trends are quite clear. Advocacy of violence is several times more likely among young people than among old and the decline is a fairly even one over the years, although sharpest from the teenage male group to men in their 20's. Favorability toward violence is about twice as great among men as among women on all four questions.

apt to use illegitimate means, they are more willing to use legal means as well. This suggests that clear and effective legal action against perceived discrimination might appeal strongly to young people.

The relation of education to advocacy of violence within broad age categories is shown in Table V-t. Although age continues to show consistent and rather substantial effects at each educational level, no clear

Figure V-e: Relation of Age to Appeal for Government Intervention
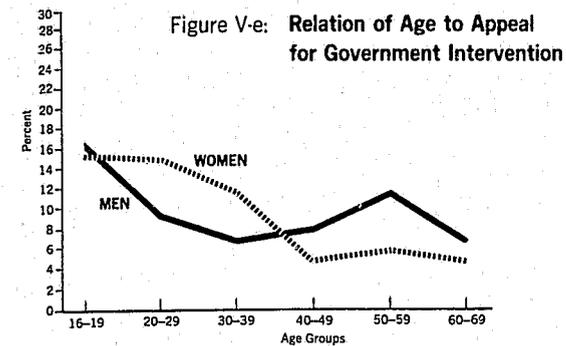
relation emerges between advocacy of violence and amount of schooling. There is no evidence in Table V-t that any particular level of educational attainment either promotes advocacy of violence or moderates such advocacy where it would otherwise exist. Since education in turn is fairly closely related to income and occupational status, these results suggest that neither of the latter socioeconomic indicators taken alone will explain very much of the data on advocacy of violence.

Later analysis using differences among several socioeconomic variables may prove more helpful. Speculations by social scientists suggest, for example, that it may not be the absolute level of a man's education, income, or occupation that is important in creating dissatisfactions which in turn lead him toward violence, but rather the relations among these several factors. For example, men who attain high school or college educations but cannot find jobs of an expected status or income may become especially bitter. We plan to test these and other more complex models as rigorously as possible in later reports, but for the present we must note that preliminary analyses are not promising for an approach focused solely on economic or related personal status factors. For example, simultaneous controls for education and occupation within age groups produce little evidence that individuals with a high school diploma but an unskilled job are more or less likely to want to join a riot (or to sympathize with rioters) than persons of the same education located in skilled

or in white-collar occupations.[6] Advocacy of violence appears to be surprisingly *unrelated* to measures of current socioeconomic achievement.

A wide range of perceptions, experiences, and attitudes, on the other hand, are associated with advocacy of violence. A sample of questions used elsewhere in this report are cross-tabulated in Table V–u with the hypothetical question about what the respondent would do and feel if a riot occurred in his city. The results suggest that those willing to riot tend to be high on dissatisfaction and also tend to attribute the source of dissatisfaction to whites. We cannot disentangle cause and effect in these relations, but clearly advocacy of violence is linked to a rationale that would seem to the individual riot proponent to justify violence and give it purpose.

At the same time it is important to note that many of the differences in Table V–u are small between those who say they would join a riot and those saying they would not. Looked at another way, Table V–u indicates that those who plan to join a riot include substantial porportions who are satisfied with their housing (59 percent), report no personal experience with job discrimination (57 percent), have had white friends (63 percent), and believe that race should *not* be a criterion in selecting a principal for a largely Negro school (70 percent). Thus the connection of intention to join a riot to other attitudes is far from complete at this point and we still have much to learn from the data before a more coherent picture can be presented of those who advocate violence.

THE POTENTIAL WHITE RIOTER

The attention focused on the recent urban riots easily leads one to forget that most *interracial* violence in American history has been directed toward Negroes by whites, rather than the reverse. Whether in the form

[6] There is a slight trend for adults intending to join a riot to hold lower status jobs when education is controlled, a trend suggested also in the Commission's *Report* (p. 36). In addition our small sample (N=18) of teenage males who are both out of school and unemployed show about half inclined toward violence. These data will be presented fully in later reports.

TABLE V-t

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES ADVOCATING VIOLENCE ON EACH OF FOUR QUESTIONS BY AGE AND EDUCATION (RESULTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN AVERAGED)*

[In percent]

	Age 16–19**	Age 20–39					Age 40–69				
		8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate
Be ready to use violence to gain rights	22	19	16	17	24	24	9	11	7	14	1
Would use violence against discriminatory storekeeper if other methods failed	16	5	6	5	12	4	3	3	2	6	0
Would probably join in a riot	13	11	10	8	8	9	7	6	3	4	6
Report having actually participated in a riot	8	5	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0

* The four questions and codes are given in full in Tables V–j, V–k, V–l, and V–o. Each percentage is based on the N for that particular age-education group; for example 19 percent of the Negro respondents ages 20 to 39 and with schooling of eight years or less gave the answer "be ready to use violence" to the question shown in Table V–j.
** This group combines all educational categories.

	Join in	Stay away but sympathetic to rioters	Try to stop it	Stay away and unsympathetic to rioters
	(N=258)	(N=1220)	(N=228)	(N=591)
Dissatisfied with housing they presently have.....	41	32	30	29
Report they personally have been refused a job because of discrimination........	43	34	37	21
Believe many Negroes miss out on jobs today because of their race....	60	45	42	31
Believe black policemen treat Negroes better than do white policemen..	14	8	9	6
Have never had white friends............	37	32	22	29
Think schools with mostly Negro children should have Negro principals...	30	17	13	11

* Each percentage is based on the N shown for that column and only one alternative s shown for each question: for example, of the 258 respondents who said they would join in a riot if it occurred, 41 percent answered a question on satisfaction with one's own housing by saying they were dissatisfied. The results in this table are based on unweighted data, as described above in the footnote to Table V-n. Residual categories of response (don't know, other, not ascertained) are omitted from calculations of percentages.

of individual lynchings, mob terrorism, or quasi-legal local government actions, it is only within the last few years that such violence against Negroes has decreased substantially. That it is not gone completely is clear from incidents that sometimes occur when a Negro family first moves into a previously all-white neighborhood.

Our questionnaire did not explore the possibilities of white violence in detail. We did include one question, however, that uncovers some of the potential for violence by whites lying just beneath the surface. The question we used (see Table V-v) has a number of limitations, for example, the invidious meaning the word "rioting" has for most whites. Moreover, in some communities it is much easier for whites than for Negroes to express strong racial hostility *indirectly* by relying on "authorities," and so this choice is not necessarily as "legal" as its sounds. Despite these limitations, the results presented below are illuminating.

TABLE V-v

"Some people say that if Negroes riot in (Central City) next summer, maybe whites should do some rioting against them. Others say such matters should be left entirely to the authorities to handle. What do you think?"

[In percent]

	White		
	Men	Women	Total
Whites should do some rioting.................	8	3	5
Leave it to authorities.................	90	95	93
Don't know.................	2	2	2
	100	100	100

The total percentage (five percent) for white propensity to violence on this question is not high, but it is nonetheless almost two-thirds the size of the comparable figure obtained with the hypothetical question on riot participation asked of Negroes (see Table V-l). Indeed, when translated into population terms, the absolute number of people of each race would be about the same, since there are nearly twice as many whites as Negroes in the 15 cities we sampled. Moreover, the figures given thus far are for city whites only: four percent of the suburban sample (5.5 percent men and 2.7 percent women) also accept the question's suggestion of counter-rioting against Negroes.

The results by sex for this question are very similar to those reported earlier for Negroes: the proportion of white men advocating violence is about twice that of white women. Age breaks by decade (not presented here) do not show a consistent relation between age and the advocacy of counter-riots by whites. However, there is one striking relation to age, especially when combined with sex, that is very similar for Negroes and whites: advocacy of violence is much more common among teenage males than among any other age-sex combination. When the white sample is divided on age by decade (males 16–19, males 20–29, males 30–39, etc.), 21 percent of the teenage males advocate a counter-riot, while no more than seven percent of any other age-sex combination do so. In fact, the figure of 21 percent for white male teenagers on the counter-riot question is essentially the same as the figure of 19.5 percent (see Figure V–b) obtained for black male teenagers on the question about joining a future riot.

Thus what at first might have been taken as a racial phenomenon somehow peculiar to young Negro males seems now to be explicable more easily in terms of a conception of teenage masculine daring that has little to do with race. The riot figure drops off more sharply by age for white males than for Negroes, but this may be due at least in part to the fact that white males in their 20's more easily and more quickly find a stable occupational role than is presently true for Negro males of the same age.

There is one respect in which the Negro and white "riot results" are less similar, namely, their relation to education. Table V–w suggests some relation of education to white propensity to riot, while Table V–t earlier showed no such trend for Negroes. It may be that this difference is due to ideological factors which make it more acceptable at present for educated Negroes to entertain violence as a strategy for change than for educated whites. It is also possible that here too in part similar mechanisms yet to be uncovered are at work for both Negroes and whites, but that differences in level of education obscure the similarity. These and other analytic issues will have to be deferred to later

reports. It seems clear, however, from the results already presented in this section that research which focuses solely on black tendencies toward violence, without similar consideraiton of white tendencies, may lead one to miss characteristics which are common to most Americans, if not indeed to men everywhere.

	Age 16–19 *	Age 20–39					Age 40–69				
		8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate
Whites should do some rioting....................	12	10	10	6	1	0	4	6	5	1	1
Leave it to the authorities....................	88	88	84	92	.98	92	93	92	94	94	95
Don't know....................	0	2	6	2	1	8	3	2	1	5	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* This group combines all educational categories.

Chapter 6
Conclusions

The severe time pressures under which this report has been prepared preclude the possibility of any extended commentary on the findings we have presented in the preceding chapters. We hope in due course to provide a fuller interpretation of these data with the aid of more intensive analysis than we have been able to undertake at this point. For the moment we confine ourselves to the three comments which follow.

THE NEGRO PROTEST

Part of what our survey has shown regarding the attitudes of Negroes in the 15 Northern cities of our sample may seem obvious to most readers of this report. Certainly no one is surprised to discover that most Negroes in these cities feel they are discriminated against in housing, employment, promotions, and nearly every other phase of life of which we asked. Or that Negroes are less satisfied than white people with the services they receive from public agencies. Or that Negroes are far more likely than white people to report unpleasant experiences with the police. Not all Negroes feel the same about these matters, as our analysis made clear, but the general picture conforms to what one would expect from a knowledge of the pattern of race relations within which urban Negroes live.

What has not been so clear is how the Negro community is reacting to and participating in the outbursts of protest which have taken place in black America in the last few months and years. The statements of various Negro leaders have received wide circulation in the mass media and the violent activity of some fraction of the black population in the urban disorders is obvious. But it is very difficult to infer from these dramatic statements and events what is in the minds of Negroes of different background and status who make up the diverse black community in these cities.

The most apparent fact that emerges from the data we have assembled is that the Negro mass is far less revolutionary in its outlook than its more militant spokesmen. This disparity is probably present in every situation of rapid social change and it is not surprising to find it here. While there is no doubt that Negroes want change and some of them are prepared to do desperate things to bring it about, the changes they have in mind are essentially conservative in nature. The great majority do not propose to withdraw from America; they want equal status in it. They do not talk of tearing down the economic and political institutions of the nation; they seek to share equally in the benefits. The majority—but in this case no longer the *great* majority—are not despondent and without hope for the future; they see "real progress" over the last decade and real hope for the future. They are pressing for an end to the indignities and disadvantages which the traditional American racial pattern has held for them, but this is the only sense in which the objectives this majority has can be considered revolutionary.

Yet there are other signs in these data that require attention. There is a large minority—a full third of this urban sample—that does *not* believe "real progress" has been made for most Negroes over the decade and a half since the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision. There is an even larger proportion

who believe discrimination in employment and housing are major facts of life for Negroes today—facts of life that are not getting much better. Whether they are correct or incorrect in their beliefs, these discontented people make up a third of our sample and, in numerical terms, more than a million teenage and adult Negroes in these 15 major cities.

Largely contained within this third is a much smaller group of individuals who see violence as necessary to right injustices they believe are the lot of the Negro in America. This group is small but not trivial in numbers. More important, these individuals have the sympathy and perhaps to some extent the support of the larger minority discussed above. The most important fact about those inclined toward violence is that they are not an isolated band of deviants condemned by almost all other Negroes, but are linked to a much larger group by a common definition of the problems that beset the Negro in America.

The use of violence as a form of protest has special meaning for Negroes at this point in history. The sudden outbreak of mass violence in the inner cities of the nation probably astonished the black population almost as much as it did the white. But their reaction to it has been very different. As we have seen, few white people regard such behavior as justifiable, many regard the riots as primarily looting expeditions rather than protests, and most believe the riots have hurt the cause of Negro rights. Most Negroes see the riots as mainly a protest, partly or wholly justified, and they are more likely to think them helpful to the Negro cause than hurtful.

This is not to say that all Negroes support the most radical group. There are many as aghast at the idea of violence as any middle-class white person. There is indeed a large number of Negroes who deny that discrimination is a serious issue at all and who feel that racial problems in America are exaggerated. We must be careful not to try to force Negro opinion into a single mold.

The word "protest" is a key one. The term "riot" is commonly used by whites and by most Negroes, but many of the latter when asked do not like its connotation and choose a more purposive term like "revolt" or "revolution." Yet revolutionary terminology, as we emphasized earlier, is misleading when one considers the meaning that most Negroes attach to the disturbances. Like the Montgomery bus boycott, the sit-ins, and the marches on Washington, to most Negroes the justification of the riots lies in their character as dramatic protests against racial injustice. They are louder and they are more dangerous, but their purpose is much the same.

We must mention one other significant note in these data. There seems to exist in the Negro community a desire for cultural identity that is neither violent nor separatist in character. It expresses itself in the desire for knowledge of Negro history, in an interest in African culture and language, and in the concern to be openly and proudly black. While it may sometimes occur in forms that seem impractical, on the whole it appears to be a positive impulse toward racial identity which may in the long run contribute substantially to a more genuinely equal relationship between the races.

WHITE RACISM

The report of the National Advisory Commission identifies "white racism" as essentially responsible for the explosive situation which now exists in our major cities. It is, the report says, "the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans" that is the fundamental factor underlying current racial unrest.

We have reviewed in the preceding chapters of this report a rather extensive collection of data regarding the attitudes and behavior of white Americans, assembled in what has been perhaps the most extensive study of its kind ever carried out. We have indeed revealed much evidence of white dislike and resentment of Negroes, much white support of segregated social patterns, much white resistance to equal rights in housing, and much white unwillingness to admit the facts of racial discrimination. But we have also demonstrated an essential fact which is often lost sight of in general descriptions of white Americans or the American society. There is no universal pattern of racial conduct among white people in this country; there is on the contrary a fundamental and perhaps growing schism between those whose basic orientation toward Negroes is positive and those whose attitudes and behavior are negative.

There is no doubt in our minds that the National Commission was accurate in stating in reference to the ghetto and by inference to the larger Negro situation, "White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it." Racial segregation and an ideology of racial superiority have been part of the American culture for generations and in some sense every white American is implicated in this aspect of the American way of life. But broad culture patterns, especially those in transition, provide a poor basis of prediction of the behavior of any specific individual within the society. Individuals differ and when a certain critical number differ from the traditional pattern then the pattern itself must change.

These individual differences appear in many forms in the answers our white respondents gave to our questions. It will require a major analytical work to discover the extent to which the attitudes and behaviors they report form a coherent pattern. Can these various expressions of belief and value be organized along a single dimension or do they divide into separate dimensions which do not correlate well with each other? It is possible, for example, that we will find one pattern of attitudes toward various aspects of the principle of equal rights and another having to do with willingness to accept direct personal contact. These two scales may or may not have a close relationship to each other. A white person who is strong for the *principle* of open housing may not want his child to play with black children. We will turn immediately in our forthcoming analysis to the determination of the structure of these attitudes.

We do not expect to develop a statistical device which will permit us to announce that this or that proportion of the white population is racist or prejudiced. Even if our measuring instruments were much more accurate than they are, we would not expect to produce such a result because we do not believe the population is in fact divided neatly into such categories. Racial prejudice is not a matter of either-or but of more-or-less, and our objective will be to place each of our white respondents in his proper position on each of the scales of racial attitudes which emerge from our analysis.

We will not attempt to anticipate what our later analyses will reveal. The descriptive information we have reviewed seems to make clear that most white people have some sense of the problems in the cities and are looking for solutions. Opinion is divided between reliance on traditional methods of police control and dependence on new forms of governmental intervention to change the conditions of inner city life. We are not able to assess precisely the strength of these two points of view in the white community or as yet to locate those points in white society where these contrasting views are strongest. It appears that in the winter of 1968 white people in these Northern cities were disturbed about the inner-city problem, resentful of Negro violence, and in some degree hostile toward Negroes generally. But they were not inclined to take to the streets themselves and they looked to the various agencies of government to do something. The future course of change in their mood, as well as that of the Negro inhabitants of these cities, will no doubt depend in large part on what action is taken by those public and private agencies which are now being called upon to provide leadership in a situation which has become very difficult for both races.

FUTURE REPORTS

We have emphasized numerous times the preliminary character of the present report because we are acutely aware of how much analysis and reflection these 5,759 interviews deserve and demand before the underlying patterns in them will become reasonably clear. In attempting to provide some results at this early date, we have also raised many problems for ourselves and for the careful reader. Solution of these will involve not only going deeper in any single direction, but also connecting more meaningfully some of the social types we have begun to sketch in different sections of these chapters. Two or three examples will suffice. Our results on who in the Negro population feels most aggrieved and our findings (and those of others) on who is most willing to use violence are not entirely consistent. We think there is more to learn on this from the data and that a more intelligible connection can be made. Among whites the gap between holding principles and favoring concrete steps to apply these principles to the real social world needs more consideration. Among both races, we expect differences between types of cities, and between cities and suburbs, to refocus some of the results presented here on the total samples.

Finally, we have seen at several points the value of comparing Negro and white responses to similar types of questions. Sometimes, as in the case of the potential for rioting, there turn out to be surprising and yet commonsensical similarities. Sometimes, as in the study of educational effects, there are important differences by race which must be explained within a larger theoretical framework. One of the major strengths of this study is that it focuses neither on the "Negro problem" nor on the "white problem," but on the common human problems that arise out of race relations in America. The past and future destinies of black and white Americans are interwoven, and our understanding must ultimately take as focal this relationship itself. Our future reports will attempt to do this.

Appendix A

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

1. *Field period:* Interviewing began on January 6, and ended March 31, in all places except the Cleveland suburbs. The latter extended from late March through April 30. The main race-related event that occurred from January through March was the publication of the Commission's main report at the beginning of March. Four respondents, all white and three of them suburban, mentioned the Commission's report. The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King occurred in early April and was followed by civil disturbances in a number of cities. No disturbance occurred in Cleveland, however, and our preliminary impression is that the Cleveland suburban results were not greatly affected by these events. We will consider such possible effects in later reports.

2. *Sampling procedure:* All persons 16 to 69 years of age in a selected household were listed by the interviewer. Where only one person in the household was eligible, he or she was interviewed in half the cases and not in the other half. Where two persons were eligible, as occurs in most households consisting of a married couple with children under 16 years of age, one was selected for interview. Where there were three or more eligible persons in a household, one or two were selected in such a way as to represent children over 15 as well as adults. All selections were made objectively by the interviewer using specially prepared selection tables. These procedures, plus further weighting carried out in the course of computer analysis, produced final samples that are representative of the Negro, white, and suburban populations, respectively, as described in Chapter I above and Note 3 below.

3. *Interviewers:* Negro respondents were interviewed by Negro interviewers and white respondents by white interviewers.

4. *The populations covered:* Each city was defined in terms of its 1960 corporate limits. The two suburban areas were defined as the towns and unincorporated areas surrounding and oriented toward Cleveland and Detroit, respectively. It is important to keep in mind certain parts of the population that were *not* included in the sample:

a. No dormitories, military barracks, or public residential institutions (e.g., prisons) were sampled. This means, for example, that we did not sample persons who were *currently* college students or members of the armed services, except insofar as they were at that time living in private dwelling units.

b. We did not sample persons who were living in cities but had no fixed residence, did not admit to a fixed residence, or lived in certain types of boarding houses. The main practical problem here concerns Negro males, who tend to be underrepresented by about 10 percent even in complete census counts (*Current Population Reports,* Series P–25, No. 310, 1965). In the combined 15 city sample, our ratios of males to females are .71 for Negroes and .80 for whites. Only part of this asymmetry can be due to differences in the populations (e.g., males away in the armed services, different mortality rates). Part of the problem involves locating males at all, and part involves completing interviews with those who are located and eligible (see Note 3c below).

Since within the general population, ages 16 to 69, there is good reason to believe that the true sex ratio for Negroes is at least close to .90 and for whites well above .90 (*Current Population Reports,* Series P–25, No. 385, 1968, U.S. Bureau of the Census), we have not given total percentages based on a simple combining of males and females. In most cases we have presented results separately by sex. *Wherever we have presented totals these have been constructed by averaging the separate male and female totals.* This would seem to provide a better estimate of what a complete census enumeration would obtain than a simple combining of all cases. In later reports we will attempt more precise ways of dealing with this problem.

c. No matter how carefully a survey is carried out, not everyone who is eligible is actually interviewed. The two main sources of such "nonresponse" are refusals (persons unwilling to be interviewed) and "not-at-homes" (persons away from home when the interviewer calls, even with repeated callbacks). Ordinarily about 15 to 20 percent of a national target sample is missed for such reasons and it is important to determine to what extent this makes sample estimates differ from the values that would be obtained if interviews were completed with the entire target sample.

In the present study, preliminary calculations of response rates from our 32 samples (Negro and white from each of 15 cities, plus two suburban) range from 55 to 92 percent, with a mean of 74 percent for Negroes, 68 percent for whites in cities, and 80 percent for whites in suburbs. These rates are somewhat lower than the conventionally accepted 80 to 85 percent. This is partly explicable because city response rates

are, in fact, usually lower than overall national rates, and partly because the large size and narrow time limits of this survey made it impractical to reach a more desirable level.

An analysis of the Negro sample has been carried out to determine what effects nonresponse has on results presented here. This has been done by using the four cities in which Negro response rates are highest and comparing the background characteristics and attitudes of respondents interviewed on the first call, on the second call, and on subsequent calls. The results indicate moderate effects in expected directions: those interviewed on later calls were more often males, more often employed, and more often in their 20's and 30's. Despite this difference, there seem to be no "systematic differences in attitudes between those respondents interviewed on first calls, second calls, and those interviewed on later calls" (Methodological Report No. 2, Project 45975, June 3, 1968, Survey Research Center). There are a few scattered differences, some of which are sensible in terms of the kinds of respondents missed on the first call, but there is no overall trend such that, for example, Negroes interviewed on later calls are more *or* less militant than those interviewed on the first call.

A similar study of white respondents is now being carried out and preliminary results point in the same direction. Both analyses will be presented in detail in later reports.

5. *Minor errors:* In the course of transforming nearly a quarter of a million question responses to machine-readable form, minor clerical errors must be expected. Some time is required to locate and correct these, and while much of this process was completed before this report, some few errors no doubt remain which will eventually be corrected. Thus, some table values in later reports of this study may differ slightly (probably by no more than one percent in all instances) from those presented here. Such inconsistencies between printed values are unfortunate, but they are of no substantive importance and will not affect conclusions.

6. *Subsample sizes:* Most of the results presented in this report are in terms of sex, age, and occasionally education groups. The N's (number of cases) for each of these main subsamples are shown below. They are not repeated for each table in the report, but may be referred to here. However, the reader should keep in mind that because of the use of a complex sampling design and especially because of the weighting of city samples to provide an overall 15 city population, the N's do not have the meaning they would in simple random sampling. As a conservative rule, the reader wishing to calculate estimates of standard error can think of the actual number of cases shown in the following tables as about double their effective value. That is, an N of 200 cases in the table should be treated as though it stood for only 100 cases.

Although suburban data are presented in detailed breaks for comparative purposes, in the body of the report they are broken only by sex. The number of cases is too small for finer division to be useful for present purposes.

Sample sizes for groupings not in the following tables but discussed in this report are indicated where needed in tables.

SAMPLE SIZES BY AGE IN DECADES

	Age						
	16–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69	Total*
Negro men	163	259	239	234	158	118	1,171
Negro women	199	408	399	314	190	133	1,643
White city men	122	232	187	199	217	185	1,143
White city women	150	299	215	287	276	212	1,439
White suburban men	20	46	26	44	31	13	180
White suburban women	23	44	39	45	24	13	188

*The age of one white city man was not ascertained.

SAMPLE SIZES BY AGE AND EDUCATION

	Age 16–19*	Age 20–39					Age 40–69					Total**
		8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	8th grade or less	9–11 grades	12 grades	Some college	College graduate	
Negro men	163	51	174	169	76	28	244	117	86	47	16	1171
Negro women	199	62	284	329	101	31	246	188	135	48	19	1643
White city men	122	25	73	144	91	86	175	134	143	67	82	1143
White city women	150	30	96	223	85	80	197	181	270	75	51	1438
White surburban men	20	4	12	26	19	11	13	24	23	16	12	180
White surburban women	23	4	20	41	13	5	7	23	34	11	7	188

*This group includes all educational categories.
**The age of one white city man, the education of one Negro woman, and the education of one white city woman were not ascertained.

Appendix B

FORMAT OF TABLES*

1. Quotation marks indicate that a question is printed here exactly as asked of respondents. In the case of "closed questions," such as the one in Table II–a, the respondent chose among alternatives offered him, and the categories that define the rows for such a table are mainly those contained in the original question. (Note that in Table II–a the category "makes no difference" was given with high frequency, even though not read aloud to respondents. It was, however, printed in the questionnaire.) In the case of "open questions," the question did not include alternatives; a respondent's words were recorded *verbatim* and later classified or coded into the categories shown in the table, e.g., Table II–c.

2. The percentages by sex given in most tables are based on the total number of cases (reweighted) for men and women, respectively, shown in Appendix A, note 5. "Total" percentages are averages of the separate percentages for men and women, as described in Appendix A, note 3b.

3. The category "don't know" will appear in most tables. It includes mainly respondents who replied "I don't know" to a question, but also respondents who gave idiosyncratic answers that could not usefully be coded in separate categories, and occasional cases where an interviewer erroneously omitted asking a question.

4. When a question contains either the term (City) or (Central City) in capital letters and within parentheses, the interviewer substituted in the actual name of the city (e.g., Boston).

Between White and Black
The Faces of American Institutions in the Ghetto

by

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Preface

The faces of American institutions in the urban ghettos of our nation are the faces of the men and women whose jobs are to provide services in the ghetto and to hire ghetto residents. This volume reports on a study of the attitudes and experiences of six such occupational groups from fifteen American cities. The essential stuff of the study are personal interviews with policemen, educators, social workers, merchants, political party workers, and major employers. With the exception of the employers, almost all work in the ghetto deals mainly with Negroes as clients, students, customers and citizens. Their attitudes and experiences are important because it is by watching these faces that the residents of our urban ghettoes learn what are the images that central American institutions hold of American Negroes.

The conduct of large scale sample surveys requires the close cooperation of many individuals. The authors of this report designed the study, wrote the questionnaires, and wrote this report. The idea of the study was born in early December 1967 in consultations with the staff of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. David Ginsburg, Director, and Victor Palmieri, Associate Director, encouraged the two senior members of the research staff to develop partly-formed hunches into more precise plans and helped to persuade the Ford Foundation to provide the funds for the study.

The Ford Foundation provided a generous amount to underwrite the costs of the research. We gratefully acknowledge the quickness with which the Foundation acted and the generosity of the grant.

The interviews in each of the fifteen cities were collected by Audits and Surveys, Inc., of New York, a firm which specializes in the conduct of sample surveys. The staff of Audits and Surveys, and particularly Mr. Richard Hess, helped to put the questionnaires into their final forms, instructed their national staff of interviewers in how to conduct the survey, and carried out the data collection task in a conscientious and highly professional fashion. This was not the easiest of all interviewing tasks and heroic efforts were needed at times to adhere to the tight time schedules involved.

We are particularly indebted to the interviewers who collected our data. From their comments on the questionnaires, we know that the interviews were often conducted under very trying conditions.

Without the skillful and graciously cooperative Mrs. Nancy Karweit, it is doubtful that the research staff could have produced this report from data which were only received early in June. Mrs. Karweit's handling of the tabulating task can only be described as close to achieving the impossible.

We are also indebted to Mrs. Shirley Sult, Mrs. Ethella Reynolds and Mrs. Barbara Curtin, who typed this manuscript at record-breaking speed and managed to make sense out of the many-times-crossed-out drafts we gave them. Mrs. Sult particularly performed the largest portion of the task.

Finally, we are indebted to the men and women who answered our questionnaires and who showed by their conscientious cooperation a willingness to probe their inner selves and to reveal their views and conceptions on what may be the most serious problem facing our nation today.

An Overview of Findings

This is a study of the interface between central community institutions and urban ghettos, of the men and women who do the actual policing of the ghetto, teach and administer its schools, provide public welfare, own and manage its retail stores, run its political organizations, and hire its residents. These are the men and women who actually deliver the services of central institutions to the ghetto. Most of them work in the ghetto, although a few also live there.

These are critical persons in the formation of urban Negroes' asesssments of how their community views them. The tone, style, and content of their activities communicate to the ghetto resident what the rest of the community intends, whether accurately or inaccurately rendered. This process of communication provides the rationale for our study, and is the basis for the assumption that a study of attitudes held by and professional practices used by persons in these occupations are relevant to an understanding of the civil disorders which have occurred in the last few years.

This study was conducted in fifteen cities throughout the nation. The cities were picked because they ranged widely in the severity of civil disorders during the Summer of 1967. Some of the cities studied, notably Detroit and Newark, suffered very heavily; others, like Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and St. Louis, had only minor disorders in 1967 (although they were not to go unscathed in the Spring of 1968). In each city, we interviewed samples of policemen, educators, social workers, merchants, political party workers, and the personnel officers of major employers. With the exception of the employers, the men and women interviewed were all chosen because their jobs involved direct contact mainly with ghetto residents.

The interviews were concerned mainly with the images our respondents held of the Negroes in their cities in general, and as clients, customers, students, potential employees, etc. The interviews also touched upon their views of the central problems of their communities and upon the ways in which they pursued their occupational duties.

THE MAIN FINDINGS

The main findings of the study can be summarized as follows:

First, although our respondents were aware that their cities faced severe problems of housing, education, poverty, crime, and unemployment, *their views can be characterized as optimistic denials of the full seriousness of the position of urban Negroes in their cities. More than half felt that Negroes were being treated in their cities on a par with whites.* While conceding that Negroes were worse off with respect to housing and employment, they thought Negroes were as well off or better off than whites with respect to education, medical care, treatment by the police and public officials, and even with respect to recreation. More than three out of four felt that the position of Negroes had improved over he past five years. Furthermore, two out of five felt that Negroes were pushing too hard toward equality.

Secondly, our respondents' explanations of why civil disorders were occurring showed a contradictory pattern of reasons. On the one hand, *they were very willing to concede that important sources of civil disorders lay in the basic conditions of ghetto life*—poverty, unemployment, poor housing. On the other hand, *they gave a much more important role to militants and*

"agitation" than the Commission's Report was able to find was actually the case. As consequences of the riots, they saw a shifting of public opinion in a direction unfavorable to Negro causes, although most felt that some actions had been taken by city officials to meet Negro demands and grievances.

Thirdly, there were considerable differences among the six occupational groups. *Police, merchants, and employers generally took positions on most issues which strongly denied that there was inequality for Negroes in their city, which tended to blame riots on agitators, and which held unfavorable images of the Negro population.* In contrast, *educators, social workers, and political workers took opposite stands, recognizing inequality and accepting an environmental rather than instigational theory of riot causation.* For example, only twenty-one percent of the police thought that Negroes were treated generally more poorly than other groups in the city in contrast to seventy-one percent of the educators.

Fourthly, *there were few striking differences between cities which had had riots in 1967 and those which had not.* Riot cities respondents tended to think racial tensions in their cities were higher than those from non-riot cities. The quality of public leadership was rated higher in non-riot cities. But these were not strong tendencies and just as likely to be consequences of civil disorders as antecedents.

FINDINGS CONCERNING SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Each of the six occupational groups was questioned in some detail concerning the special problems experienced on their jobs in dealing with ghetto residents. These findings basically support the main generalizations outlined above and in addition provide some understanding of why the occupational groups differ from each other.

THE POLICE IN THE GHETTO

The police in the ghetto believe they have a harder lot than their colleagues working in other areas of the city. However, they are not dissatisfied with being policemen or with their colleagues or superiors. They are dissatisfied with the support the police get from the larger community and with wages and other working conditions.

As indicated above, the police were convinced that Negroes had achieved parity with whites in their communities and that a great deal of progress had been made in the conditions of life in the ghetto. They were more likely to subscribe to the view that agitation caused the riots of last summer than the view which saw the riots as responses to the general social conditions of the ghetto.

The police saw the people in the ghetto, particularly adolescents and young adults, as hostile and uncooperative. Only one in three believe Negroes regard policemen as friends, as compared to the three out of four who believe whites are friendly.

In the course of their work, the police have gotten to know merchants and other businessmen in the ghetto, but not very many of the residents. They were unlikely to know who were leaders among Negro adults or young people, or to know very many of the ordinary residents of the areas they patrolled.

In short, the police see themselves as outsiders in the ghetto, surrounded by an indifferent and hostile population. They tend to deny the legitimacy of Negro demands for equality, believing that equality has been mainly achieved.

TEACHERS

On the whole, teachers hold a more sympathetic view of the plight of the populations they serve, believing there is some distance to go toward racial equality and toward the eradication of the major social problems of the slums. They think providing quality education is a serious problem, but that there has also been considerable progress toward achieving that happy state in their cities.

The teachers and administrators see nothing particularly wrong with their schools, believing them to be at least average or better compared to other schools in their cities. They also see the parents of their pupils as cooperative and supportive.

If there is a problem in the ghetto schools, it lies within the pupils. They come to the schools, say the teachers, with poor preparation and poor backing for educational achievement from their communities. In short, our teachers tend to subscribe to the cultural deprivation "theory" as an explanation for the poor performance of ghetto students, almost to the exclusion of any explanations which would call into question either the quality of the schools they work in or their colleagues' teaching competence.

RETAIL MERCHANTS

The most heterogeneous of the six occupational groups studied, the retail merchants, tend to be older, less well educated and more likely to be immigrants from abroad. Their businesses are small, employing few workers besides their owners or managers.

The problems of doing retail business in the ghetto are many, according to our respondents. The merchants are most concerned about theft and pilferage and believe that their customers have to be watched carefully. They are also not very happy with their employees, half of whom are Negroes. Surprisingly, the merchants do not view ghetto residents as hostile towards merchants.

Like the police, merchants do not view the Negroes as particularly poorly off. They were impressed by the strides made by the Negro population and think that equality has been fairly well achieved in their communities.

In cities that have had riots, merchants whose stores were not touched claimed good community relations as the reason, but those whose stores were damaged felt that the damage was not directed particularly at their stores but rather against stores in general. According to their views, they were more the victims of circumstances than the targets of retaliation.

Our attempts to learn about the business practices of ghetto merchants brought to light an unequivocal story. Most of the merchants studied were in businesses which do not ordinarily extend credit, and credit when extended did not carry with it extraordinary interest charges. Nor were the merchants subscribers to merchandizing policies which could be labelled as exploitative, although a small minority upheld a view which could be summarized as *caveat emptor*.

In short, according to merchants interviewed, doing business in the ghetto is running small enterprises with customers who are untrustworthy and inclined to steal and pilfer. The retail merchants believe that Negroes are not badly off and are somewhat puzzled about why they were singled out as targets during the civil disorders.

WELFARE WORKERS

The tasks of a case worker in a public welfare agency are often more clerical than professional social work, as taught in the best of social work schools. Case workers handle typical case loads of more than a hundred clients whom they visit, so they say, on the average of once a month. Welfare workers are young, mainly female, and migrants to the city. They appear to be transients holding this job only in transition to parenthood or some other profession.

Welfare workers are apparently not very attached to their agencies or their positions. Their major problems are seen as the red tape of the welfare agencies and the lack of funds to support their clients. Their sympathies with their clients are strong. Social workers are more apt to define the position of the Negro as falling short of equality and are most critical of the conditions of housing, poverty, and social disorganization in the ghetto. Negro and white social workers mainly agree on this view.

There is an element of paternalism in their views of their clients: they believe their mission is to teach middle class ways as much as to help their clients help themselves. Other groups in the city see social workers as leaders in the struggle for equal rights for Negroes, but the social work rank and file is not particularly active.

POLITICAL PARTY WORKERS

We interviewed political party officials in each of the ghettos of the fifteen cities in our sample. These are the men and women on the lowest political echelons, who serve as precinct workers, run for minor elective posts, and head up local political clubs. They are all Negro and the most militant of the groups we interviewed.

Their perceptions of the problems of their cities and of their constituents was that of a deep crisis in which poverty, unemployment, and poor housing characterized the city, and in which the condition of Negroes was still deeply deprived and not improving fast enough.

Like other political workers, they handled a great many requests from their contituents but felt relatively impotent to obtain real help. They also saw their constituents as rejecting the present set of politicians, having little faith in their elected representatives but at the same time being politically agitated and active. Political workers believe that young people especially are angry and inclined toward greater militancy. In a sense, the political workers forsee that they will soon be replaced in the ghetto by organizations which will serve their constituents more adequately and provide the organizational framework for militancy which is presently lacking.

THE EMPLOYERS

The major employers in each of the fifteen cities are represented by their personnel officers or other persons empowered to set personnel policies within their organizations. These men do not work in the ghetto; rather they are the men who regulate the economic gates and set the thresholds for employment in the fifteen cities.

The personnel officers apparently are not deeply prejudiced men. They do not directly deprive Negroes through actions designed to accomplish that end. Theirs is more a position of optimistic denial, believing that the main social problems that plague the ghetto are not very serious and that Negroes are making considerable gains towards equality in their cities. They even believe that the major employers in their cities are major leaders in the fight for more equality for Negroes! The personnel officers do not think the problem of unemployment in their cities is particularly serious: indeed, they consider both air pollution and traffic to be more important. Nor do they think that Negroes are treated poorly. Rather, they consider that Negroes are being treated as well as anyone else of the same income level.

In their personnel hiring policies, personnel officers do not typically engage in practices which explicitly exclude Negroes; many of the men interviewed claimed

that their firms were making special efforts to recruit Negroes. But, because of the channels of recruitment they were using, Negroes were being systematically overlooked. For example, white collar workers were recruited through private employment agencies rather than public. All grades of workers were being recruited by asking for referrals from present employees. Negroes tend to be left out of both systems, having few white friends and using state employment services more than the private ones.

IMPLICATIONS

Our findings strongly suggest that the delivery system of the central institutions of our local communities serve the ghetto poorly and are insensitive to the objectively discriminated-against position of urban Negroes. If these are the faces that American institutions present to the ghetto, then the alienation of the ghetto from the main community is scarcely to be wondered at.

Community economic systems, both at the point of delivery of commodities and at the point of hiring workers, seem particularly to present a stance of denying that the ghetto is really any different than other areas, except perhaps poorer and certainly more troublesome.

The police in the ghetto see themselves as an embattled and harassed group, surrounded by many hostile elements in the precincts in which they work. Nor do they apparently understand why Negroes are resentful, denying that they are discriminated against. They are most likely to believe that the riots are caused by agitators rather than by social conditions.

Educators are more sympathetic to the plight of urban Negroes but their view of education in the ghetto leaves little room for criticism of the schools and places a lot of the onus of poor performance on the characteristics of the pupils. The "theory" of cultural deprivation

has provided the educators with a position which deflects attention away from educational institutions and personnel towards the population being served.

Welfare workers and political party workers are the most sympathetic. But they are not the most critical of the occupations we studied. Most welfare workers are just passing through their jobs on their ways to better destinations. Their way of delivering welfare services is not as important as the resources which they are able to deliver: hence welfare case workers are most critical of their departments and of the level of support afforded by the large community. But case workers are probably the least important of the groups we studied.

Political party workers know the ghettos better than the other occupational groups studied, because ghetto residents are their customers and neighbors, and because they are Negroes themselves. Their sense of alienation from the institutions in which they function is perhaps as strong as that of the social workers for the welfare departments. Party workers see their efforts on behalf of their constituents as almost futile, see the residents as skeptical of political leaders and traditional parties. At the same time, they recognize that some political ferment is beginning in the ghetto, as yet without definite organizational outlet.

The men and women who are the faces of central local community institutions are not fanatical racists, nor are they particularly prejudiced persons. Some are apparently quite concerned over the problems of the ghetto and desire more signs of improvement in the position of Negroes in their cities. But, the main tenor of the interviews with the six occupational groups is one of optimistic denial: there are problems; progress has been made; Negroes want too much and want it to happen too fast; and besides they are fairly close to as much equality as they deserve right now.

Chapter 1

Purpose of Study and Methods Employed

How do we experience a city? If we are visitors, we see what is placed along the main highways. We may be impressed by the massive downtown monuments to the headquarters of businesses and municipal government. We may admire its skyline or its hills, or the beauty of its architecture. We may see the inside of a few of its homes, some of the offices and plants, and a few of its hotels and restaurants. Rarely does a visitor see a city the way a resident does, nor does he ordinarily experience its central institutions.

To a native, his city may be mainly his home, and the routes he takes to work, shop, play and visit. Unless he works downtown, he may see the city center only on special trips to shop or take in a downtown movie. He may have more contact with the city as an organized entity than the casual visitor, but the contacts are mainly with the peripheral manifestations of central institutions. His children go to the neighborhood schools, and he may have met and known some of the local school teachers. Most citizens meet the police in their function as traffic regulators and sometimes see their local precinct policemen enforcing other types of regulations. The city political life is ordinarily a newspaper game, although his neighborhood will have party officials and perhaps a representative on the city council. The organized economic life of the city is experienced directly through the retail merchants with whom he deals and with the employers with whom he contracts for his labor.

The leading institutions of a city have a front line point of contact with its residents in the form of those persons who deal with citizens as clients, customers, or employers. It is the patrolman and his precinct superiors who are the police force, as far as direct citizen contact is concerned. Similarly it is the school teacher and principal who constitute the visible and tangible manifestations of public education. It is the retail merchant and his employees who represent business. And it is the personnel officer who is the point of contact for employers.

On the reasonable supposition that the Negro residents of our large urban centers mainly experience the major institutions of their cities through their contacts with such personnel, this study was undertaken in order to determine what kinds of attitudes and practices are being delivered by the upfront personnel of central local institutions. It was further hypothesized that the quality and tone of encounters between Negroes and these persons had some strong bearing on the course of civil disorders. We note, for example, that the main targets of destruction during civil disorders have been retail merchants and that considerable hostility has been displayed toward the police. Of course, part of the reason that these two groups have been targets lies in their functions and easy accessibility. After all, the police function to maintain order and hence represent obvious antagonists in the case of disorder. Similarly, merchants are accessible and symbols of white exploi-

tation, if not actually exploitative in fact. But there is more to the story than function and accessibility: there are local institutions which have not been targets of civil disorders. Schools and churches have gone untouched in the civil disorders. And in some cities, retail stores have been hit selectively. Nor have social work agencies and welfare departments, with few exceptions, been the targets for direct hostility.

The frontline personnel we have selected for study come from a sample of fifteen cities. The cities were selected in December 1967 on the basis of their experiences during the long hot summer of 1967. They were selected to represent a range of severity of experienced civil disorders during that summer, as follows:

A. High severity of disorders in 1967
    Newark
    Detroit
    Milwaukee
    Cincinnati
    Boston
B. No disorders in 1967 but disorders earlier
    Brooklyn, N.Y. (Bedford Stuyvesant)
    Cleveland
    Chicago
    San Francisco
    Philadelphia
C. No disorders in 1967 or earlier
    Washington, D.C.
    Baltimore
    Gary, Indiana
    Pittsburgh
    St. Louis

The selection of particular cities and their classification into three levels of severity is subject to some arbitrariness. For example, no city in the Deep South has been included, mainly on the grounds that regional differences in severity were probably due to factors other than those we wanted to investigate. Or, it is questionable whether Milwaukee should be classified as a city with a high level of disorder, since the main events of 1967 were demonstrations by Negroes rather than destructive riots: in any event the actions in Milwaukee drew national attention, and it is this fact which led to this city's inclusion in the study. Many other cities could have been included in the middle category as having experienced disorders prior to 1967: for example, Los Angeles, Rochester, N.Y., or Dayton, Ohio. Our sample of five was chosen as being as reasonable as any other sample of five.

Within each city, samples of the following personnel were chosen:

Occupational group:	Desired sample size
Police	40
Merchants	30
Social workers	20
Teachers	20
Political workers	10
Major employers	30

With the exception of major employers, all the groups chosen were from among those in their occupational group who had the closest contact with Negro areas of the city. Thus policemen were chosen from among precincts which dealt mainly with the ghetto. Retail merchants were selected from among those whose stores were located in the same areas. Social workers from the welfare departments of city and state were chosen from among those who dealt with predominantly Negro clients. Similarly, political party workers were chosen from precincts with predominantly Negro voters. Employers were represented by the personnel officers of the ten largest employers in each city plus a one-fifth sample of the next 100 largest employers, as listed by Dun & Bradstreet.

The details of sample selections are given in Appendix A.

The desired sizes of the samples of each occupational group are shown above. These numbers were set somewhat arbitrarily to represent what we thought was the importance of each group as a point of contact with the organized aspects of the cities in question. Thus our sample of police is the largest, based upon the notion that police are the most important group continuously in contact with the Negro community. Social workers and teachers were deemed to be of lesser importance, and so on.

Each of the groups were sampled and interviewed by professional interviewers on the staff of Audits & Surveys, Inc.[1] of New York, a reputable commercial research firm specializing in sample surveys. Samples of personnel from municipal agencies were selected with the cooperation and help of agency officials. In most of the cities we found the police, welfare departments, and the public school systems to be extremely cooperative and helpful. In three cities—Milwaukee, Chicago, and Boston—the police departments refused to cooperate. In another city, Detroit, cooperation was promised, but at this writing Audits & Surveys interviewers have yet to complete interviews with either social workers or policemen. We expect that in later reports from these data some of the gaps that presently exist will be filled in.[2]

Interviews with merchants, employers and political workers in each of the fifteen cities did not require clearance with some central office, and hence complete fulfillment of our sampling plans was possible with respect to those three occupational groups.

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[1] We are particularly indebted to the zeal and energy of Mr. Richard Hess of Audits & Surveys, Inc., who supervised the collection of these data, as well as to his staff of professional interviewers.

[2] Although very difficult and expensive, we are trying to obtain interviews with both Chicago and Boston police by interviewing police in their homes or other places at off-duty times.

Interviewing was started early in March 1968 and was mainly completed before the April 1968 civil disorders sparked by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. With momentum lost by this interruption, interviewing has continued through May 1968. At this writing (early June 1968) some cleanup interviewing is still going on.

Copies of the interview schedules used are contained in Appendix B. Each of the occupational groups had its own schedule tailored to the distinctive features of that occupational group. A core of questions common to all interviews probed into topics of a more general nature (to be found in the first ten pages and last four pages of each schedule).

These were personal interviews with a professional interviewer asking each of the questions and writing down replies given by each respondent. Typically the interviews ran about an hour in length, although some merchants who interrupted the interviewing session to wait on customers took as long as three and four hours to complete the interview.

This report is a preliminary one in two senses. First of all, we anticipate that additional data will be coming in which will more thoroughly cover the fifteen cities, and which will be incorporated into a more intensive analysis of these and other data which were also collected.[3] Secondly, the data presented here became available in usable form for the first time early in June 1968. In the short time available, it has been possible only to present data in relatively gross form. For example, we will be able to show that the occupational groups are quite different in their interpretations of civil disorders, but we will not be able to show whether these differences are associated primarily with the occupational activities of each group or to the considerable differences in educational attainment of the personnel involved.

Separate data on any one of the fifteen cities will not be shown in this report. The samples from each of the

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[3] In addition to the data presented here, two other sets of data on the fifteen cities were also collected. Howard Schuman and Angus Campbell of the Survey Research Center (University of Michigan) in this volume present data obtained from samples of Negroes and whites from each of the cities. The Johns Hopkins research group has also collected interviews of a more qualitative nature with public officials, civic leaders, and leaders of Negro organizations in each city. The qualitative interviews were concerned with the nature of relationships between the leadership of each community and their Negro communities. The qualitative interviews covered a number of specific topics under this broad heading, and the preparation of these data for analysis required more time than was available for the writing of this report.

cities are too small to be handled without more sophisticated techniques than can be used in the time available to write this report. In addition, public agencies were promised by the research team that the responses of their personnel would not be identified in such a fashion that their particular agencies could be singled out. Future reports on these data will contain information on specific cities but without positive identification.

The report which follows is organized into two main sections: Section I is concerned with an overall characterization of the groups being studied. Its chapters are based upon the parts of each schedule which are common to each of the five occupational groups, the chapter headings being fairly good guides to the content of the chapters. Occupational and community differences will be noted where they are particularly striking, but not systematically.

Section II is concerned with analyses of each occupational group considered separately. The chapters are based on the special parts of the questionnaires directly concerned with the peculiar occupational experiences of each group.

Appendix A contains details of the sampling procedures followed by a description of the background characteristics of respondents (e.g. educational attainment, age, income, etc.). The technically interested reader may find it rewarding to turn to this appendix before plunging into the body of the report. Appendix B contains copies of the questionnaires used in the survey. Question numbers (e.g. Q.1. Core) used in the text refer to the numbering of items on the questionnaires.

This report contains the first sounding of our data. It is designed to provide an overall picture of the people who man the echelons of our major institutions which come into contact with the Negro residents of our cities. Although this is an important aspect of our study, it is not the main purpose to which the report is to be written in the future is oriented. Our main aim was to explain differences among cities in the severity of the disorders which occurred in 1967. The cities selected were chosen to represent slices along a continuum from very severe to no disorders at all. Of course, the civil disorders of 1968, following Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination, has effectively changed the meaning of our initial selection of cities. Although the main purpose of our more intensive analysis remains the same, namely to investigate city differences, we will have to consider not only the events of 1967, but also those of 1968, leading to a more complex definition of civil disorders. We aim and hope to produce a final analysis of these data by the end of 1968.

Chapter 2

Views on Urban Problems

Even the slightest attention to the mass media provides one with the impression that our cities are facing a set of crises common to all. Our cities' problems are in the headlines of daily newspapers, fill the pages of both popular and "serious" magazines, provide the materials for television and radio specials, and even now are raw timber for major planks in the platforms of political parties in this presidential year.

Between the objective existence of a social problem and its recognition in popular attention may intervene a time lag of years, the length of which seems dependent on how serious the problem is and how many of the public are directly affected. For example, there can be little doubt that air pollution has been with us for some decades, but it took the stinging smogs of Los Angeles and the tragedies of Danamora, Pennsylvania to bring about widespread public concern. Similarly high unemployment rates among urban Negroes have been with us for some time, but it was not until the drama of the War on Poverty that the plight of the urban poor became a widely recognized social problem.

The widespread perception that a social problem exists depends largely on two elements: first, the objective nature of the problem determines whether it is one which strikes directly at large numbers of individuals or one which is confined to relatively few. For example, those who are unemployed and whose friends and relatives are unemployed know something is wrong,

but if the unemployment is not widespread its direct apprehension may be limited mainly to those directly affected. Secondly, a major role must be given to public officials, civic leaders and the media of communications. The major actors in the public arena help to define a problem, draw attention to it, and, by transforming a social problem into an issue, bring the public decision-making machinery into play.

The men and women we have interviewed in this study have a perspective on urban social problems which is more extensive than that of the general public, and yet they are not in a position to transform an objective condition into a widely recognized social problem. In short, because their occupations bring them into contact with the city (and particularly with residents of Negro ghettos) in an intensive way, their direct knowledge of the existence of social problems can be expected to be greater and more intimate. But, because they are located on the lower echelons of public agencies, run smaller businesses, or are middle management in large-scale business enterprises, their access to the media of communication is hardly greater than that of the average resident.

Their perspectives on the problems of their cities are therefore of some special interest because they are in some ways in a better position to know what is going on than many other residents of the city. At the same time, their perspectives are interesting in another sense.

Because they are in the front lines of the delivery systems of urban services, these perspectives are an index of the stance and spirit in which such services are rendered. Hence, as we examine in this chapter how our respondents view their communities, our interest in their responses is from two perspectives: first, their views can be considered to be more informed than that of the ordinary resident; secondly, their views also tell us something about the postures rank and file members of central community institutions take towards their clients, customers, and employees.

Each interview started with a question asking the respondent to cite what he thought to be the "two or three major problems facing your city?" The array of answers given is shown in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.1

MAJOR PROBLEMS FACING CITY

[Q 1—Core]

[In percent]

	Proportion citing problem
I. Physical aspects	49.3
Housing and urban renewal	39.1
Traffic and street lighting	7.8
Other: Pollution, sanitation, etc.	2.4
II. Social and economic aspects	152.9
Poverty and unemployment	37.9
Provision of quality education	25.2
Racial tensions	23.3
Crime and juvenile delinquency	21.9
Welfare and recreation	11.4
Integration	10.3
Riots and civil disorders	9.9
Business conditions	6.5
Other: Moral decay, disrespect for law and order, family disorganization	6.5
III. Political aspects	30.8
Taxes	9.2
Inadequate leadership	7.2
Police	4.9
Community apathy	4.6
Law enforcement and courts	3.8
Other: Corruption, etc.	1.1
100 percent equals	(1953)

NOTE: Since respondents could cite up to three problems, percentages add up to considerably more than 100%.

Note that there are no surprises in Table 2.1. The problems cited are those which are widely recognized to be seriously affecting most of our major cities. No new as yet widely unrecognized problems were cited. What may be of some interest is the relative emphasis given to one rather than another problem. Respondents gave prominent place both to problems of housing and poverty, each being cited by almost four out of five persons interviewed. Education, racial tensions, and crime and juvenile delinquency were next in order of mention, each being cited by between one in five and one in four.

Far down on the list (in terms of frequency of men-

tion) were problems of integration, highway and traffic control, and taxes, each being mentioned by about one in ten. Also included among this group of problems was the category "riots and civil disorders", mentioned by ten percent of the respondents. Considering that one third of the cities studies had experienced very serious disorders in the summer previous to interviewing, and that three of the cities were about to experience serious levels of disorder shortly after the interviewing was over, riots and civil disorders did not achieve a very high level of salience.

Given the full array of cited problems, our respondents are focussing on underlying long-range problems rather than immediate symptoms. Or at least such an interpretation is in line with the relative emphasis put upon riots and civil disorders as compared with housing and poverty.

Each occupation studied provides a slightly different perspective, as the results in Table 2.2 indicate. Crime and juvenile delinquency appear particularly important to both police and merchants, who cite this problem more frequently than any other groups and more frequently than any other problem. As one might anticipate, poverty and unemployment is important to social workers, but, less expectably, also to political workers: more than half of each group cite poverty and unemployment as a major problem. Educators (almost half) are concerned about the quality of education, and education receives relatively high levels of mentions from political workers and employers as well.

TABLE 2.2

MAJOR PROBLEMS FACING CITY AS CITED BY FIVE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

[Q 1—Core]

[In percent]

Problem cited	Occupational Group					
	Police	Educators	Social workers	Political workers	Merchants	Employers
Housing and urban renewal	36	55	57	55	29	38
Traffic and lighting	7	3	5	2	5	18
Other physical	2	2	8	4	2	4
	45	57	70	61	37	60
Poverty, unemployment	29	45	58	64	27	36
Quality education	17	44	28	32	16	28
Racial tensions	24	33	19	11	21	24
Crime and delinquency	36	8	10	17	35	11
Welfare and recreation	10	12	17	16	8	11
Integration	10	19	12	18	6	8
Riots and civil disorders	14	6	7	5	10	12
Business conditions	4	6	8	3	7	12
Other social problems	13	14	4	7	8	9
	154	187	163	173	138	151
Taxes	10	4	5	4	8	17
Inadequate leadership	5	7	12	14	6	7
Police	4	3	1	7	10	3
Community apathy	8	5	4	4	2	5
Law and courts	9	0	0	1	8	1
Other political	0	2	2	2	2	1
	36	21	24	32	36	42
100 percent equals	(437)	(273)	(264)	(103)	(442)	(434)

Educators, social workers, and political workers are particularly likely to cite housing problems, with the merchants least likely to do so (with about half the mentions of the former groups).

Among the lesser problems, taxes appear especially salient to the employers and the policemen. Riots and civil disorder are important to the police, merchants, and employers. Political leadership appears more important to the social workers and the political workers.

Another important way to view the perceptions of major problems is to divide the respondents according to whether they live in a city which experienced severe riots in 1967, mild riots in 1967 (or riots prior to 1967), and those which had no riots up to 1968. This categorization is shown in Table 2.3.

TABLE 2.3

MAJOR PROBLEMS AS CITED IN RIOT AND NON-RIOT CITIES

[Q 1—Core]

[In percent]

Problems cited	City type		
	Riot	Medium riot	Non-riot
Housing and urban renewal	39	39	39
Traffic and street lighting	6	9	8
Other physical problems	1	4	1
Total	46	52	48
Poverty, unemployment	34	36	42
Quality education	27	25	23
Racial tensions	27	23	19
Crime and delinquency	14	21	30
Welfare and recreation	9	8	11
Integration	8	12	11
Riots and civil disorders	13	9	8
Business conditions	5	7	8
Other social problems	9	8	9
Total	146	149	161
Taxes	11	8	8
Inadequate leadership	10	7	9
Police	4	6	4
Community apathy	18	6	4
Law and courts	1	3	3
Other political problems	1	1	2
Total	45	31	30

"Riot" cities include: Newark, Detroit, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and Boston.
"Medium Riot" cities: Brooklyn, N.Y. (Bedford Stuyvesant), Cleveland, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia.
"Non-Riot" cities: Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Gary, Pittsburgh, St. Louis.

The most outstanding characteristic of Table 2.3 is that there are fewer differences among groups of cities than there were among the occupational groups. The major problems are cited with about equal frequency by the respondents in each city type. Only some of the minor themes show systematic variation from city type to city type. For example, crime and juvenile delinquency is cited more and more frequently as one considers riot cities, medium-riot, and non-riot cities with the proportion being more than twice as high in the latter type as compared with the first type (30% as compared with 14%). Similarly, racial tensions and political problems are cited with greater frequency in riot as compared with non-riot cities.

By and large, the cities in our sample have much the same problems, as seen through the eyes of our respondents.[1] Poor housing, poverty and unemployment, the provision of quality education are major problems all over.

Perhaps the major differences among types of cities lies in what has been accomplished in meeting these major problems. In order to tap this aspect, we asked each respondent to cite the "major improvements" over the "last few years". The results are shown in Table 2.4 for the three types of cities and for all cities combined.

TABLE 2.4

MAJOR IMPROVEMENTS CITED IN CITY TYPES

[Q 2—Core]

[In percent]

Improvements cited	Type of city			
	Riot	Medium riot	Non-riot	All cities combined
No improvements	15	18	12	15
Worsening of conditions	4	6	4	4
	19	24	16	19
Housing and urban renewal	38	36	25	33
Highways and lighting	13	12	12	12
Other physical improvements	1	2	3	2
	52	50	40	47
Poverty and unemployment	24	20	25	23
Education	14	15	17	15
Welfare and recreation	12	7	12	11
Racial tensions	4	5	5	5
Integration	2	4	10	6
Crime and delinquency	1	2	3	2
Business conditions	3	1	2	2
Riots and civil disorders	1	0	1	1
Other social problems	0	0	1	0
	57	54	77	65
Inadequate leadership	7	8	13	10
Community apathy	5	6	4	5
Police	1	4	3	1
Taxes	0	1	0	1
Laws and courts	1	1	1	1
	14	20	21	18

The improvements perceived tend to be in the same areas in which there are problems. Although about one in five respondents claim either that no improvements have been made or even that a worsening of conditions has occurred, the remainder of the replies indicate that improvements have been made in housing, meeting the problems of poverty and unemployment, and in education, welfare, and recreation. Note that the citations of improvements are lower than the citation of problems. Our respondents tended to cite more problems than improvements, and the levels of improvements are

[1] As we shall see further on in this chapter, there are significant differences among individual cities which are obscured by grouping them as we have in Table 2.3. Since our purpose here is to see what particularly differentiates those which have had severe riots from those which have not, individual city variation within types of cities is not particularly important or illuminating.

uniformly lower than the levels of problems. An extreme example is shown by crime and juvenile delinquency, cited by twenty-two percent of the respondents as a problem with only two percent claiming improvements have been made. Another extreme example is racial tensions, where the proportion citing this as a problem were twenty-three percent and those who see improvement were only five percent.

The differences among types of cities are not very striking or systematic. Thus respondents from riot cities claim that the housing situation has improved more frequently than those in non-riot cities. However, non-riot city respondents were considerably more likely to claim improvements in social and economic respects and in the political life of the cities involved.[2]

We turn now to another measure of urban problems as seen by the respondents. Rather than let each person interviewed bring up the two or three problems most salient to him, these measures came from a series of identical questions asking about ten common problems, obtaining ratings of how serious each problem was in his city. The advantage of this measure lies in its uniform coverage of a series of topics.

The results for the sample as a whole are shown in Table 2.5. The ten topics are arranged roughly in the order of decreasing perceived seriousness, from top to bottom. Thus we see that seven out of ten respondents rated the control of crime as a very serious problem, at the one extreme, with only one out of five rating corruption of public officials as serious, at the other extreme.

Note that the rank order of problems resulting from this procedure is quite different from that considered in the earlier parts of this chapter. For example, control of

TABLE 2.5

SERIOUSNESS OF SELECTED PROBLEMS FACED BY CITY

[Q3—Core]

[In Percent]

| Problem | Proportion rating problem as | | | | |
	Very serious	Somewhat serious	Slightly serious	Not at all	Don't know and no answer
Control of crime	71	23	4	2	0
Preventing violence and other civil disorder	55	24	13	6	2
Race relations	52	28	13	6	1
Providing quality education	45	22	14	16	3
Finding tax funds for municipal services	42	25	15	12	6
Unemployment	36	27	18	17	2
Air pollution	33	29	22	12	4
Lack of recreation facilities	31	24	21	21	3
Traffic and highways	27	28	25	20	0
Corruption of public officials	19	17	20	33	11

[2] Differences among occupational groups will not be shown here mainly because the patterning of differences tends to parallel the patterning of problems. Thus social workers tend to see improvements in unemployment and poverty, educators improvements in education, and political workers improvements in political leadership.

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crime ranked very far behind housing, unemployment, and race relations in Table 2.1, while in Table 2.5 it is regarded as a very serious problem by more respondents than any other problem rated. It is difficult to interpret these differences without detailed analysis, but the variation is consistent with the idea that the control of crime is considered very serious in its own terms but not as critical a problem as unemployment. Thus it becomes more important to make progress on clearing up unemployment even if it is less of a serious problem *as unemployment* (i.e. unemployment rates could be much higher) because employment is more of a critical area than crime control.[3] Similar statements could be made about the other problems rated in Table 2.5. Note that the problems rated as very serious by half or more of the respondents consist of crime control, the prevention of violence and civil disorders, and race relations.

Considerable variations can be found among the six occupational groups in the kinds of urban problems which they view as very serious, as is shown in Table 2.6. Educators, social workers and political party workers have given higher ratings of seriousness to most of the problems than police, merchants, and employers. More than half of the latter groups have given ratings of very serious to only two problems, control of crime and preventing disorder, while the educators, social workers, and political workers, have given percentages of very serious ratings of over fifty percent to those problems and in addition to race relations, education, and unemployment.

Looked at from another view point, the police, merchants and employers seem to consider only crime and civil disorders very serious while the educators, social workers, and political workers also express concern

TABLE 2.6

SERIOUSNESS OF SELECTED URBAN PROBLEMS IN FIVE OCCUPATIONS

[Q3—Core]

[In percent]

| Problem | Proportion rating problem very serious among | | | | | |
	Police	Educators	Social Workers	Political Workers	Merchants	Employers
Crime	74	66	61	67	83	64
Preventing disorder	50	58	53	52	65	50
Race relations	45	65	62	57	49	46
Education	34	54	62	68	43	35
Tax funds	43	55	40	47	33	41
Unemployment	25	53	62	58	30	21
Air pollution	34	40	34	38	31	26
Recreation	25	37	43	66	37	11
Traffic	28	22	22	36	25	31
Corruption	14	19	22	28	29	9

[3] Some degree of confidence in the meaning of these ratings can be gleaned from looking at individual city differences for problems in which it is known that the cities differ in an objective sense. Thus, the seriousness of air pollution is highest in Gary, Indiana and least in San Francisco, a reflection of objective circumstances easily seen by persons who have visited both places.

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cern over unemployment, race relations, and education. In part this pattern may represent the fact that social workers, educators, and political party workers are closer to individual members of the ghetto in roles where social problems have a considerably easier time to show themselves.

Table 2.7 shows variations among city types. Clear patternings show up only with respect to two problem areas, race relations and civil disorders. Respondents from riot cities are much more likely to consider both problems very serious as compared to non-riot cities, with the medium riot cities standing somewhere in between the extremes.

TABLE 2.7

SERIOUSNESS OF URBAN PROBLEMS BY CITY TYPES

[Q3-Core]

[In percent]

| Problem | Proportion rating problem very serious in | | |
	Riot cities	Medium riot	Non-riot cities
Control of crime	74	68	70
Preventing violence and other civil disorder	65	58	44
Race relations	60	58	38
Providing quality education	44	50	41
Finding tax funds	44	37	44
Unemployment	32	43	33
Air pollution	23	40	34
Lack of recreation facilities	32	29	32
Traffic and highways	22	28	29
Corruption of public officials	18	19	20

The regular pattern of differences with respect to these two problems—race relations and civil disorders—that appears in Table 2.7 raises in a more dramatic form a question of interpretation which has been present in previous tables and which will remain open throughout the present report. The problem is whether or not the patterning discerned is an antecedent of rioting or a consequence. Thus it is plausible that in cities where the relations between the races had deteriorated far enough that our respondents were both aware of difficulties and rated them as serious are likely to be cities in which riots were to occur. It is equally plausible that in cities which had riots respondents would be especially aware that race relations were tense and strained. Similarly it seems equally plausible that the occurrence of riots leads to a higher rating of the seriousness of riots as to entertain the converse. Indeed, a stronger case can probably be made for the former interpretation as against the latter.

This problem of interpretation will come up with particular force whenever we deal with areas of attitude and opinion which are closely related to relations between the races and with civil disorders. Areas which are more remote from the riots themselves—e.g. unemployment rates, air pollution, etc.—are less open to equivocal interpretation, but as we shall see, the

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differences among types of cities (as in Table 2.7) that ordinarily appear will be in areas closely related to the civil disorders themselves. Indeed, in Table 2.7 the only set of strong systematic inter-city differences are the two identified earlier. Other problems either show no strong differences or patterns which are not easily related to whether or not riots occurred in the cities studied.

One of the leading ideas behind the design of this study was that the quality of public leadership had much to do with the outbreak of civil disorders in that city and the course of events which led to a potential disorder becoming large or remaining small. We hypothesized that a city whose civic and political leaders were in communication with Negro organizations, and who were regarded by the citizenry as responsive and sensitive to citizen needs, was less likely to have had a riot and less likely to experience a severe disorder when a riot occurred.

As part of a test of this hypothesis we made up a series of statements designed to measure how our special occupational groups characterized the officials and workers in local city government. These statements (shown in Table 2.8) were read to each respondent, who was then asked to indicate how true that statement was as applied to local government in his city. The responses are shown in Table 2.8.

Note that our respondents were neither overwhelmingly enthusiastic about their local governments nor condemnatory. For example only one out of four denied that local political leaders were imaginative, but only a little more than one out of ten thought that the statement was "completely true". Most respondents were willing to concede that local leaders were to

TABLE 2.8

PERCEIVED POLITICAL "STYLES"

[Q 27—Core]

[In percent]

Statement	Completely true	Mostly true	Somewhat true	Not true	DK & NA
"The political leaders of our city are imaginative and are always coming up with new ideas on how to meet the city's problems"	12	25	39	23	1
"This is a city which has always been the last to try new ideas like urban renewal, educational reforms and so on"	10	12	23	53	2
"One of the good things about this city is the tremendous amount of cooperation various agencies give to each other"	10	19	33	30	8
"The rank and file city employee tries his best to do his job but he gets little support from his superiors"	6	12	30	37	15
"No matter how imaginative our city officials may be, the rank and file public employees just plug away doing the same things anyhow"	8	15	30	35	12
"The average citizen can always find someone in the city government who is willing to help him solve his problem"	14	23	32	27	4

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some extent imaginative and innovative. Similarly with other statements: few saw their public officials as completely accessible (last statement in Table 2.8) and few saw them as completely inaccessible.

The only statement which seemed to attract denials from respondents concerned whether the city was lagging behind other communities in adopting new ideas. A little more than half of the respondents denied that this was the case.

In short, the portrait of the composite city described by our respondents is one in which there is some degree of imaginative leadership provided by public officials, in which city employees are neither held back in their zeal by their superiors nor hold their superiors back by bureaucratic foot dragging, and in which the average citizen has neither complete access nor is denied access.[4]

Comparing types of cities, as in Table 2.9, some weak patterns emerge in the direction of confirming the expectations described above. Non-riot cities are more likely to be rated as having political leaders who are imaginative, less likely to be considered cities lagging in innovativeness, and somewhat more likely to provide access to the average citizen.

TABLE 2.9

POLITICAL STYLES AND CITY TYPES

[Q 27—Core]

[In percent]

Statement [2]	Proportion Rating Statement as "True" [1]		
	Riot cities	Medium riot	Non-riot cities
Political leaders are imaginative	66	78	79
City last to try new ideas	53	42	40
Cooperation among city agencies	60	58	67
Rank and file tries his best	48	50	49
Rank and file plugs away	51	56	54
Average citizen can find someone to listen	67	68	72

[1] Combining "Completely true," "Mostly true," and "Somewhat true."
[2] See Table 2.8 for complete text of statement.

Providing a summary measure of how our respondents saw their cities are the answers to a question asking "how well" they thought their city was doing in

[4] Differences existed among the five occupations, although for the sake of not cluttering up this report with too many tables, we have omitted presentation of these findings. Some general statements may be made however: social workers, educators and political party workers tended to be close together in their ratings of local government, with policemen, merchants, and employers being similar to each other. The latter tended to hold a more charitable view of local government, with the social workers, educators, and political party workers being more critical.

comparison with other cities of the same size. Their answers are tabulated in Table 2.10. In the top half of that table are shown the array of responses given by the occupational groups and the totals for the combined sample. In the bottom half of the table are shown answers given by respondents in different types of cities. A little less than a third of the respondents saw their cities as doing better than average, a little more than half saw their cities as perfectly ordinary average cities, and the remaining dissidents (sixteen percent) thought their cities were doing less well than average.

TABLE 2.10

RATINGS OF HOW WELL CITY IS DOING BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AND TYPE OF CITY

[Q 4—Core]

[In percent]

Ratings	Police	Educators	Social workers	Political workers	Merchants	Employers	Combined total
I. Ratings by occupational groups							
Much better than average	36	23	23	19	24	35	28
About average	48	54	61	54	53	52	53
Less than average	14	20	15	23	17	11	16
DK & NA	2	3	1	4	6	2	3

	Riot cities	Medium riot	Nonriot cities
II. Ratings by type of city			
Much better than average	21	30	33
About average	54	53	52
Less than average	22	1^	12
DK & NA	3	3	3

Differences among occupational groups show employers and policemen as the most charitable toward their communities, with educators and political workers the least charitable, leaving social workers and merchants in the unusual situation of presenting a similar array of answers.

More interesting are the differences by city types. Respondents in riot cities were the most critical of their cities, while those in the non-riot cities produced higher proportions rating their communities as being above average. Again, we are plagued by ambiguities of interpretation: perhaps cities which have experienced serious riots in 1967 are *ipso facto* to be considered as performing less than average. However, because this question is not very directly related in content to the areas of civil disorders and race relations, we have a better argument for considering that cities whose "front-line" personnel have a sense of belonging to a community which is doing better than the average are cities in which riots were less likely to occur.

Chapter 3

Images of the Urban Negro

Our respondents deal with the Negroes in their cities in a more extensive way than the usual resident. Negroes are their clients, students, and customers. Their jobs and their places of business are located in the ghetto. Only the employers are remote physically from the ghetto, and some rarely deal with Negroes as potential or actual employees. Hence, for the majority of our respondents, special (and presumably more accurate) knowledge of the position of the Negro in their communities is more likely to have been acquired than would be the case for average citizens.

Although direct experience is an important teacher, it is not necessarily the best. The psyche perceives through a multitude of filtering screens built up out of human needs, fears and aspirations. The occupational positions of our respondents act like screens as well, filtering their apperceptions and letting through those which are somehow congenial and least threatening. Hence the views that our respondents have of the positions of the Negro portions of the populations of their cities are a compound of experiences obtained through particular occupational roles and filtered through the attitudes and values which they have brought to their situations from the past.

These views or images of the Negroes in our fifteen cities are important in two ways: first, they are related to experience, even though indirectly, and hence tell us something about the position of the Negroes in those

places. Secondly, they are the views which they bring to their occupational tasks and which determine in part the quality of services which they render to Negroes in those cities.

How difficult it is to unravel the threads of experience and attitude that are woven together to make up the patterned images of the Negro is shown dramatically in Table 3.1. Here we have tabulated the answers to the question, ". . . how well are Negroes treated in (your city)?" Surprisingly, one out of ten respondents claim that Negroes are treated "better than any other part of the population". Another one out of five believe they are treated equally. Another one out of four believe they are treated equally compared to other parts of the population of the same income. In sum more than half of the respondents believe that their city's Negroes are either treated equally or better, compared to other parts of the city's population. Conversely, less than half acknowledge the existence of discrimination against their city's Negroes.

How well do these views square with reality? There are no experts in the area of race relations who would claim that Negroes are treated equally with whites. There may be some who claim that they are discriminated against no more than others of the same educational attainment and income, but the overwhelming majority would subscribe to a view of widespread discrimination against Negroes in most, if not all, of our

TABLE 3.1

PERCEIVED TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN THREE CITY TYPES

(Q 5—Core)

[In percent]

Perceived treatment	Riot cities	Medium riot	Non-riot cities	Combined sample
Better than others	9	10	9	10
Treated Equally	20	20	23	21
Treated like others of same income	27	23	27	25
	56	53	59	56
Treated worse than others of same income	26	27	24	26
Treated worse of all groups	15	17	15	16
Don't know and no answer	3	3	1	2
100 percent equals	(585)	(685)	(678)	(1953)

cities. A majority of our respondents, then, are expressing views which run counter to generally accepted views among experts and ones which run counter to their own experiences in dealing with Negroes in the ghetto or as potential employees.

Although there are considerable differences among individual cities (which we cannot show here), there are no significant differences among cities which have had different experiences with respect to civil disorders in 1967. (See Table 3.1.)

Table 3.2 indicates that there are considerable differences among the six occupations. The police and merchants tend to deny the existence of inequality, while educators, social workers, and political workers show strong majorities who see the Negroes as discriminated against. Employers lie somewhere between the two groups of occupations. On the one hand, they are like the police and merchants in not acknowledging discrimination, but they tend to see the position of the Negro as similar to that of others in the same income bracket.

TABLE. 3.2

PERCEIVED TREATMENT OF NEGROES BY SIX OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

(Q 5—Core)

Occupation	Perceived treatment of Negroes				
	Better than others	Equally	Like Others of equal income	Worse than others of equal income	Worse than any group
Police	16	33	26	14	7
Educators	2	4	20	45	26
Social workers	1	7	20	42	28
Political workers	2	7	15	40	31
Merchants	18	32	22	14	11
Employers	6	21	36	24	11

It is hard to claim that the contacts of educators and social workers with Negroes are more intimate and intensive than those of local police and merchants. It is true that the quality of the contacts is different. The police deal with Negroes in the enforcement of law and merchants deal with them in the capacity of sellers. Both may be roles in which empathetic understanding is difficult to achieve and, even more important, empathy may be actually a stumbling block to being a good policeman or a successful merchant. Whatever the ultimate explanation may be, it is clear that the police and merchants either ignore or distort (or both) their direct experiences.

The assessment of the position of Negroes given above is a rather global one covering the treatment of Negroes in general. If we turn to rather specific types of treatments, as in Table 3.3, we see that our respondents make differentiations according to the area of life dealt with. Thus the overwhelming majority (seventy-four percent) believe that Negroes are worse off than other groups of the same income and education with respect to housing. A majority see Negroes in the same disadvantaged position with respect to employment opportunities, although more than a third believe that Negroes are just as well off or better off than others.

TABLE 3.3

PERCEIVED TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN SELECTED AREAS OF COMMUNITY LIFE

(Q 6—Core)

[In percent]

Treatment with respect to	Compared to other groups in city of same income and education, Negroes are—			
	Better off	As well off	Less well off	DK and NA
Educational opportunities	7	48	43	2
Employment opportunities	8	31	59	2
Treatment by police	9	46	37	8
Housing	4	21	74	1
Treatment by public officials	17	49	28	6
Medical care	14	54	26	6
Recreation	8	36	43	3

Negroes are seen as relatively well off with respect to medical care and treatment by public officials, with healthy majorities in both cases subscribing to the view that Negroes are at least as well off as others of the same educational attainment and income. In between lie educational opportunities, treatment by the police, and access to recreation, respondents being slightly more inclined to view the Negroes as well off in these respects than as disadvantaged.

It is not easy to reconcile these findings (in Table 3.3) with those of Table 3.1. It seems as if a majority feel that Negroes are treated equally in general, but even heavier majorities subscribe to the view that Negroes are disadvantaged with respect to housing and employment. Is it that housing and unemployment advantages are not considered to be terribly important by our respondents, or is it that they merely hold contradictory views?

If we examine the differences among occupational groups, as in Table 3.4, much the same patterning of differences observed earlier holds: police, merchants, and employers tend to view the Negroes as being better off than do educators, social workers, and political workers. Note particularly the roseate views held by

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PERCEIVED TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN THREE CITY TYPES

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[In percent]

Perceived treatment	Riot cities	Medium riot	Non-riot cities	Combined sample
Better than others	9	10	9	10
Treated Equally	20	20	23	21
Treated like others of same income	27	23	27	25
	56	53	59	56
Treated worse than others of same income	26	27	24	26
Treated worse of all groups	15	17	15	16
Don't know and no answer	3	3	1	2
100 percent equals	(585)	(685)	(678)	(1953)

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Although there are considerable differences among individual cities (which we cannot show here), there are no significant differences among cities which have had different experiences with respect to civil disorders in 1967. (See Table 3.1.)

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Occupation	Better than others	Perceived treatment of Negroes			Worse than any group
		Equally	Like Others of equal income	Worse than others of equal income	
Police	16	33	26	14	7
Educators	2	4	20	45	26
Social workers	1	7	15	42	28
Political workers	2	7	15	40	31
Merchants	18	32	22	14	11
Employers	6	21	36	24	11

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is difficult to achieve and, even more important, empathy may be actually a stumbling block to being a good policeman or a successful merchant. Whatever the ultimate explanation may be, it is clear that the police and merchants either ignore or distort (or both) their direct experiences.

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TABLE 3.3

PERCEIVED TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN SELECTED AREAS OF COMMUNITY LIFE

[Q 6—Core]

[In percent]

Treatment with respect to	Compared to other groups in city of same income and education, Negroes are—			
	Better off	As well off	Less well off	DK and NA
Educational opportunities	7	48	43	2
Employment opportunities	8	31	59	2
Treatment by police	9	46	37	8
Housing	4	21	74	1
Treatment by public officials	17	49	28	6
Medical care	14	54	26	6
Recreation	8	36	43	3

Negroes are seen as relatively well off with respect to medical care and treatment by public officials, with healthy majorities in both cases subscribing to the view that Negroes are at least as well off as others of the same educational attainment and income. In between lie educational opportunities, treatment by the police and access to recreation, respondents being slightly more inclined to view the Negroes as well off in these respects than as disadvantaged.

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If we examine the differences among occupational groups, as in Table 3.4, much the same patterning of differences observed earlier holds: police, merchants and employers tend to view the Negroes as being better off than do educators, social workers, and political workers. Note particularly the roseate views held by

the police, who see Negroes as better off than any other group with respect to every area except medical care. They are especially likely to claim (eighty-two percent) that Negroes are just as well off when it comes to treatment by the police.

TABLE 3.4

PERCEIVED TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN SELECTED AREAS BY SIX OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

[Q 6—Core]

[In percent]

With respect to	Proportion citing "better off" or "as well off"					
	Police	Educators	Social workers	Political workers	Merchants	Employers
Education	72	42	28	26	61	61
Employment	51	18	17	17	48	50
Police treatment	82	29	27	18	61	64
Housing	42	10	8	8	33	22
Public officials treatment	81	43	47	32	67	73
Medical care	72	54	59	45	75	69
Recreation	83	41	28	22	56	63

Again, no strong differences were revealed between cities which had riots in 1967 as compared with those which did not. (No table shown.) Non-riot city respondents were slightly more likely to claim that Negroes were as well off or better off with respect to treatment by public officials, but other areas of treatment showed no particular patterning.

Most respondents saw the position of Negroes as improving over the past five years. A little more than one in four felt that Negroes were "a lot better off", and almost half felt they were "generally better off". (See Table 3.5). Only a minority (sixteen percent) saw Negroes as having made no progress, and a very small proportion (six percent) saw their position as "generally worse off".

TABLE 3.5

PERCEIVED PROGRESS OF NEGROES BY TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

[Q 7—Core]

[In percent]

Compared to five years ago, Negroes are—	Riot cities	Medium riot	Non-riot cities	Combined total
A lot better off	23	26	31	27
Generally better off	48	48	48	48
About the same	15	18	14	16
Generally worse off	10	5	4	6
Don't know and no answer	4	3	3	3
100 percent equals	(585)	(685)	(678)	(1,953)

Small differences appear between riot and non-riot cities. In the latter a larger proportion felt that Negroes had made a lot of progress and in the former a larger proportion saw Negroes as generally worse off.

The patterning of differences among the six occupations is shown in Table 3.6. The police, merchants and employers see more progress than either social workers, educators, or political workers. All of the occupational groups acknowledge that some progress has been made.

TABLE 3.6

PERCEIVED PROGRESS OF NEGROES BY SIX OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

[Q 7—Core]

[In percent]

Occupational Group	Compared to five years ago, Negroes are—				
	A lot better off	Generally better off	About the same	Generally worse off	DK and NA
Police	39	43	11	5	2
Educators	11	48	27	11	3
Social workers	12	50	24	8	6
Political workers	10	56	19	14	1
Merchants	40	40	13	4	3
Employers	25	59	11	3	3

Considerably more disagreement among the six occupations is shown by attitudes towards the pace of movement towards equal treatment. An item asking whether respondents feel that "Negroes have tried to move much too fast" brought out the attitudes tabulated in Table 3.7. Forty-one percent of the respondents thought that Negroes tried to move too fast (or much too fast). A little more than one in four felt that the pace of change was just right and the same proportion felt that the pace was too slow. The differences among occupations are very dramatic. More than half of the social workers, educators, and political workers felt that the pace was too slow, as compared to around fifteen percent for police, merchants, and employers.

TABLE 3.7

ATTITUDES TOWARD RATE OF NEGRO GAINS IN SIX OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

[Q 11—Core]

Occupation	Negro gains toward Equality are—				
	Much too fast	Too fast	About right	Too slow	DK and NA
Police	31	29	23	14	3
Educators	7	15	23	51	4
Social workers	5	7	30	52	6
Political workers	2	2	39	54	3
Merchants	26	25	26	17	6
Employers	17	35	31	12	5
Combined sample	18	23	27	27	5

In short, the same occupational groups who tend to see that the Negroes in their cities are relatively well off, progressing well over the past five years, are also the same groups who feel that Negroes are pushing too fast for improving their position.

Of course, Negroes are not the only groups within the cities who are working for a larger measure of equal treatment for Negroes. In order to tap the perceptions of the roles played by major groups in each city we asked a series of questions about whether each of ten major groups were "leaders", "active", "didn't care", or were "dragging their feet" in working for "equal treatment for all citizens regardless of race or color". The respondents' answers are shown in Table 3.8.

TABLE 3.8

PERCEIVED LEADERSHIP IN WORKING FOR EQUALITY IN DIFFERENT CITY TYPES

[Q 10—Core]

[In percent]

Group	Proportion either rated as "leaders" or "active"			
	Riot cities	Medium riot	Non-riot cities	Combined sample
Major employers	69	62	68	67
Major retail businesses	69	61	65	65
Bankers	53	53	53	53
Police	63	65	69	66
Social workers	79	85	85	83
Elected public officials	77	88	86	83
Public school teachers	73	76	77	75
Homeowners	31	27	24	26
Landlords	14	17	13	15
Unions	39	48	53	47

To seven out of the ten groups, a majority of the respondents gave ratings of being either "leaders" or "active". Heavy pluralities went to social workers, public officials, and school teachers (each with seventy-five percent or more), and majority votes were cast for employers, bankers, and the police. Almost half gave an active or leadership role to trade unions, and very few votes were garnered by landlords and homeowners.

There are a few important differences between riot and non-riot cities. Labor unions are seen as much more active for equal rights in the non-riot cities. Public officials are seen as very active in medium-riot and non-riot cities. Small differences in favor of higher activity in non-riot cities are shown by the police, public school teachers, and social workers. Somewhat puzzling are the results for homeowners, who are rated as less active in the non-riot cities.

As the final set of data to be presented in this chapter, we will consider how our respondents viewed whites, Negroes, and themselves as being concerned about a number of city problems. Each respondent was asked to indicate whether he felt that each group being rated was "very disturbed", "slightly disturbed", or "not disturbed" by such social problems as "individual crime", "mass violence", etc. The results, expressed in terms of percentages reputed to be "very disturbed" are shown in Table 3.9. In this table, we show the breakdown by occupational groups. Note that there are three percentages shown for each problem for each of the occupational groups. The percentage in the upper left hand corner indicates the proportion of whites who are reputed to be very disturbed, the percentage in the middle of each box refers to Negroes, and the percentage in the lower right hand corner refers to "self", i.e. the occupational group in question. Thus, for example, we see that eighty percent of the police claim that whites are very disturbed about individual crime, as compared to fifty-six claiming the same for Negroes, and eighty-six percent citing themselves as very disturbed.

The patterning of differences throughout Table 3.9 is relatively complex. By and large, respondents claim that Negroes are less disturbed than whites about such problems as crime, mass violence, the costs of welfare programs, "black power", Negroes socializing with whites, and Negroes moving into white areas. Negroes are more concerned about competition for either blue collar or white collar jobs. With a few exceptions, respondents claim that they themselves are less disturbed than the average white resident but more disturbed than the average Negro resident.

Another way of looking at the data in Table 3.9 is to interpret the replies as indicating closeness or distance in viewpoint from two major social groupings in the city, Negroes and whites. To measure the perception of social distance involved, we have summed in the top half of Table 3.10 for each occupational group the differences in the percentages of whites, Negroes and "self" which the respondents have claimed to be very disturbed about the problem in question. In the bottom half of the table, these differences are summed for each problem area. Thus the larger the figure in a table the greater the amount of difference seen between the two groups designated in the column heading. Thus looking at the first row of the table, we see that the police perceive greater differences between whites and Negroes in how disturbed the two groups are about the eight problem areas than they see between themselves and whites and themselves and Negroes.

The top half of Table 3.10 shows the differences perceived by each of the occupational groups. By and large we can see that the figures in the first column are greater than those in the second and third columns, indicating that larger differences are perceived between Negroes and whites than between the respondents and either Negroes or whites. Index figures in the last column tend to be larger than the index numbers in the second column, indicating that the respondents generally feel closer to Negroes in their views than to whites. Finally if we look at each row we note that educators, social workers, and political workers show smaller differences between their own views and their perceptions of Negroes than either police, merchants or employers, and correspondingly large differences between their views and those of whites. The last column of Table 3.10 summarizes how different each group perceives itself to be from all groups combined. Here we note that the employers see themselves as being less different on the whole than any other group, and the political workers showing the greatest amount of difference from all others.

The bottom half of Table 3.10 indicates the amount of consensus on problem areas. Thus the figures in the first column of the table indicate that the greatest differences between whites and Negroes are seen in the areas of housing, welfare payments, and Negro political power. The least difference is seen in the areas involving competition for either blue collar or white collar jobs.

The second column summarizes the differences perceived between the respondents and Negroes. Here we see that the major areas of disagreement arise over welfare payments and mass violence.

Finally, the third column summarizes differences between the respondents and whites, where the greatest amounts of differences are generated in the areas of housing, Negro political power, Negro-white socializing, and welfare payments. Note particularly that our respondents perceive that whites in general are quite concerned about Negroes' bidding for political power, but that they themselves are not very disturbed by the problem.

Several important general tendencies have emerged from the data presented in this chapter. First of all, our respondents, as a total group, hold to views that Negroes in their cities are not very badly off. Of course, Negro housing and employment opportunities are bad,

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TABLE 3.9

PROPORTIONS VERY DISTURBED ABOUT SELECTED PROBLEMS AMONG SIX OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

[Q 12—Core]

[In percent]

Problem	Proportion Citing "Very Disturbed"																	
	Police			Educators			Social workers			Political workers			Merchants			Employers		
	W	N	S	W	N	S	W	N	S	W	N	S	W	N	S	W	N	S
Individual crime.	80	56	86	82	64	79	81	67	75	81	61	76	85	61	87	78	56	83
Mass violence.	88	61	82	92	62	77	84	60	68	88	50	65	86	57	84	80	59	80
Increased competition for blue-collar jobs.	13	23	8	33	38	23	32	33	17	43	30	25	21	24	14	9	20	7
Draining resources through welfare payments.	70	14	55	67	11	33	65	11	16	58	24	31	64	15	50	50	8	47
Negroes taking over political power.	31	5	9	44	5	7	46	5	4	67	6	14	36	5	14	14	6	5
Negroes moving into white areas.	59	5	18	73	8	8	70	10	4	73	6	7	59	7	17	48	8	6
Negroes socializing with whites.	36	4	16	38	6	1	33	8	2	33	5	4	38	6	15	22	7	7
Increased competition for professional and white-collar jobs.	15	11	4	32	21	11	26	14	7	39	16	10	19	9	8	4	12	2

NOTE: Percentages in upper left hand corner of each box refer to proportion who see whites (W) as very disturbed, percentages in the middle of the box refer to Negroes (N) and percentages in the lower right hand corner refer to the respondent himself (S).

TABLE 3.10

INDEXES OF PERCEIVED DIFFERENCES AMONG WHITES, NEGROES AND SELF IN APPRAISING SELECTED PROBLEMS

[Q 12—Core]

[In Percent]

A. Differences Across Occupations

Occupational group	Absolute sum of differences between			
	Whites and Negroes	Self and Negroes	Self and Whites	Total
Police	243	129	126	498
Educators	252	84	250	586
Social workers	232	57	251	540
Political workers	282	58	279	619
Merchants	210	117	132	459
Employers	167	103	80	350

B. Differences Across Problem Areas

Problem areas	Absolute sum of differences between			
	Whites and Negroes	Self and Negroes	Self and Whites	Total
Individual crime	122	91	27	240
Mass violence	169	107	63	339
Increased competition for blue-collar jobs	43	74	57	174
Expenses of welfare payments	291	149	141	581
Negro political power	208	25	182	415
Moving into white areas	336	34	320	690
Socializing with whites	155	33	155	343
Competition for professional and white-collar jobs	68	41	93	202

NOTE: Numbers are absolute sums of differences in percentages between designated groups (e.g. whites and Negroes) summed over an occupational group, as in the case of the first part of this table, and summed over a problem area, as in the case of the second half of the table.

but things have been improving, and for a good many respondents equality has already been achieved. Given this viewpoint, it is not surprising that many of the respondents think that Negroes have been pushing too fast towards greater equality. This set of attitudes, held by a very large proportion of our respondents, and ranging up to half of the respondents in some areas, is precisely the sort of "white racism" to which the National Advisory Commission's Report has pointed as one of the major underlying causes of the riots. It is not that our respondents are strongly and actively prejudiced and wish to push Negroes back in progress: it is rather that, as a group, they do not see very much need for additional progress toward equality.

Secondly, there are few differences among cities which mark off those which have had riots from those which have not. There are some slight tendencies for non-riot cities to have had public leadership which is somewhat more committed to additional progress for Negroes, but these are by no means strong and unequivocal.

Thirdly, there are striking differences among the six occupational groups studied. The police and merchants present a patterning of attitudes which can only be described as a denial that the position of the Negro has much room for improvement. Employers are close to the police and merchants in their attitudes and images of the Negro, but show a patterning which can easily be interpreted as a remoteness from the problem. In contrast, it is the educators, social workers and political party workers who are most aware of the disadvantaged position of the Negro.

Chapter 4
Civil Disorders: Consequences and Causation

The civil disorders of 1967 struck severely within a few of the cities in the sample studied. Newark, Detroit, and Cincinnati had civil disorders accompanied by property destruction. Boston and Milwaukee were scenes of considerable protest, but little property destruction. The other cities in the sample each had some incidents which might be regarded as civil disorders under a very liberal interpretation of that term. Indeed, hardly any major city in the country was completely free of incidents involving confrontations between groups of Negroes and law enforcement agents or whites or both.

It scarcely matters, however, whether a particular city had a riot as far as general knowledge about civil disorders is concerned. The mass media in the summer of 1967 brought the major civil disorders as close as the nearest newspaper or television set. All of our respondents knew that civil disorders had occurred in some cities and many of the respondents, because of their special occupations, had first hand knowledge about the disorders which occurred in their own cities.

This chapter is concerned with reactions to the civil disorders of the summer of 1967. Man is an explaining animal: he develops "theories" concerning the events which occur about him, attempting to account for their occurrence and to understand how they might be brought under control. The "theories" we develop are partly a function of our own experiences and partly adapted from the currently popular explanatory schemes propounded by public leaders and displayed in the media we read or listen to. The "theories" adopted or developed have their consequences: in part, they determine how we will behave in future circumstances in which the phenomenon explained occurs. In part, the "theories" are devices which serve to provide an orderly view of the world and hence serve to reduce the anxiety that arises from the ambiguity and complexity of human existence.

The "theories" our respondents have developed to explain the civil disorders are important because of the particular positions which our respondents hold. We will see that the explanations they developed are very much in line with the kinds of views they hold in general about the Negro population. Indeed, there are stronger differences among the six occupations than among different types of cities, even though the cities in question had vastly different experiences with local civil disorders.

Whether or not a city actually had a serious mass disturbance has a close bearing on whether respondents believe that a "riot or rebellion" occurred in their cities. In large part, this is a problem in definition: should the demonstrations in Milwaukee be called "riots or rebellions" as well as the events in Newark and Detroit? The ambiguity of definition can be seen in the top half of Table 4.1. Although the vast majority (eighty-three

percent) of respondents in the five riot cities told our interviewers that the "mass disturbances or disorders of last summer were serious enough to be called riots or rebellions", there were still seventeen percent who did not think so. Most of the latter respondents were residents of Milwaukee or Boston, where some question can be raised whether disturbances in those cities should be called riots, but there were also twelve individuals interviewed in Newark and Detroit who denied that the disturbances in those cities were serious enough to be called riots.

TABLE 4.1

PERCEIVED RIOT OCCURRENCE BY TYPE OF CITY

[Q 13, 14—Core]

[In percent]

A. Occurrence of civil disorders serious enough to be called riots

	Riot cities	Medium cities	Non-riot cities
Riot or rebellion occurred Summer 1967	83	26	7
Nothing of the sort occurred	17	72	91
Don't know and no answer		2	2

B. Other mass disturbances

"Were there other disturbances not large enough to be called a riot or rebellion?"

	Riot cities	Medium cities	Non-riot cities	Combined Sample
Yes	51	50	33	44
No	47	48	65	64
Don't know and no answer	2	2	2	2

NOTE: In Boston, Milwaukee, Detroit, and Newark respondents were asked, "Were the mass disturbances or disorders in this city last summer serious enough to be called riots or rebellions?" In the other cities this question was worded, "Were there any mass disturbances or disorders in this city serious enough to be called riots or rebellions?"

The opposite variety of definitional ambiguity can be seen in the responses from respondents in the non-riot cities, where seven percent thought that "riots or rebellions" had occurred. A little more than one in four of the "medium" city respondents asserted that "riots" had occurred, an interpretation that for some of the cities involved makes some sense.[1]

In the bottom half of Table 4.1 are tabulated the respondents' perceptions of whether there were "other disturbances" which occurred in their cities in 1967 but were not serious enough or large enough to be called "riots or rebellions." About half of the replies in the riot and medium-riot cities were in the affirmative, as well as one in three in the non-riot cities. Over-all, a little less than half (forty-four percent) thought that some sort of disturbance had occurred in their cities which were not enough to be called riots, but big enough to be noticed.

[1] For example, in Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Cleveland minor disturbances did occur in the Summer 1967, although none were at all close in scale to the disturbances which led the "riot" cities to be so classified.

Table 4.2 contains responses tabulated by occupational groups. Strong differences among occupational groups are not apparent in the perception of occurrence of riots. The political workers and merchants are somewhat more likely to define events as not serious enough to be called riots, and the police[2] are somewhat more likely to perceive riots.

TABLE 4.2

PERCEIVED RIOT OCCURRENCE BY SIX OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

[Q 13, 14-Core]

[In percent]

A. Occurrence of civil disorders serious enough to be called riots

1) [Respondents in Detroit, Newark, Boston, and Milwaukee]

	Police	Educators	Social workers	Political workers	Merchants	Employers
Riot or rebellion occurred Summer 1967	94	86	82	61	60	81
100 percent equals	(47)	(75)	(61)	(23)	(119)	(117)

2) [Respondents in all other cities]

	Police	Educators	Social workers	Political workers	Merchants	Employers
Riot or rebellion occurred Summer 1967	30	20	20	19	26	22
100 percent equals	(393)	(198)	(205)	(83)	(323)	(318)

B. Other Mass Disturbances

"Were there other mass disturbances not large enough to be called riots?"

	Police	Educators	Social workers	Political workers	Merchants	Employers
Yes	30	20	20	19	26	22

NOTE: Because cooperation could not be obtained in time from the police departments in Boston, Milwaukee and Detroit, the police in the first part of this table are mainly from Newark and Cincinnati. See also note on Table 4.1.

All told, about forty percent of our respondents claimed that no disturbances at all occurred in their city in 1967. The quietness of 1967, however, did not lead to optimism about the future, as Table 4.3 indicates. One in four felt that a riot was extremely likely in the future, and another one in three felt that it was somewhat likely. Three out of ten felt that it was possible but not likely, while only eight percent thought that it was not at all likely. In short, a little more than half felt that a riot was at least somewhat likely in their cities. Individual cities showed considerable variation in the expectation of riots, although these expectations did not show much relationship to whether or not the city in question had a civil disturbance in the Spring of 1968.[3]

[2] Since the cooperation of the Boston, Milwaukee, and Detroit police departments could not be obtained in time for their replies to be included, the police in riot cities are from Newark and Cincinnati. Thus two of the cities in which the events themselves were ambiguous (Milwaukee and Boston) are not included, a lack which undoubtedly brings this percentage up higher than would otherwise be the case.

[3] In cities which had disorders in 1967 and earlier, respondents were very likely to expect disorders in the future. Conversely, where disorders had not occurred, they were not expected in the future. Obviously, since Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Pittsburgh were non-riot cities in our sample and suffered severe disorders in 1968, our respondents were not very good predictors, at least for the 1968 round of riots.

TABLE 4.3

LIKELIHOOD OF RIOT IN CITIES WHICH DID NOT HAVE SUMMER 1967 RIOT

[Q 19—Core]

[In percent]

"How likely is it that a riot could occur here in (your city)?"

Extremely likely	25
Somewhat likely	33
Possible but not likely	31
Not at all likely	8
Don't know	3
100 percent equals	(843)

Turning now to those respondents who said that a mass disturbance had occurred in their communities, Table 4.4 contains their ratings of the changes which occurred as a consequence of the disturbances. Most respondents thought that something had been done to meet Negro complaints and grievances (seventy-one percent). Note that there are virtually no differences between riot and non-riot cities in this respect. In every type of city, a very heavy majority thought something had been done. Since the disturbances in the non-riot cities must have been relatively minor ones, one can scarcely credit the respondents in these cities as very reliable reporters on events occurring within them.

TABLE 4.4

CONSEQUENCES OF MASS DISTURBANCES

[Q 17—Core]

[In percent]

[Only respondents who thought that a mass disturbance had occurred in their cities]

	Riot cities	Medium riot	Non-Riot cities	Combined sample
A. Has anything been done to meet Negro complaints?				
Yes	73	70	70	71
No	19	21	15	19
Don't know	8	9	15	10
B. Have white attitudes towards Negroes changed?				
More favorable	14	17	14	15
Remained same	25	26	39	28
Less favorable	56	53	38	51
Don't know and no answer	5	4	8	6
C. Have Negro attitudes changed toward whites?				
More favorable	4	9	9	7
Remained the same	34	39	47	39
Less favorable	54	45	34	47
Don't know and no answer	8	7	10	7
D. Have attitudes of the Police toward Negroes changed?				
More favorable	14	19	26	18
Remained the same	42	47	50	46
Less favorable	39	25	14	25
Don't know and no answer	5	9	10	10
100 percent equals	(526)	(232)	(362)	----

Somewhat more discriminating patterns are shown with respect to the other ratings in Table 4.4. Thus, we see that a bare majority of the respondents feel that white attitudes have become less favorable to Negroes, and that those from riot cities are more likely to see the movement of white public opinion in the unfavorable direction. Similarly, about fifty percent feel that Negro attitudes towards whites have changed in the direction of greater unfavorability, and that the shift is strongest in riot cities (fifty four per-

cent as compared with thirty four percent). Finally, although only one in four of the respondents think that police have shifted in the unfavorable direction, stronger shifting is seen in the riot cities as compared with non-riot cities.

In short, the consequences of the disturbances, in the eyes of our respondents, has been to lessen the favorability of whites towards Negroes and vice versa, with a lesser trend of police attitudes towards the unfavorable side. As a balance to the unfavorable items, respondents see the disturbances as being somewhat effective. Most claim that something has been done to meet Negro complaints or grievances.

Why did the riots occur? To get at the sample's views, we asked two types of questions. First, we asked for the main reasons for the disturbances in their city (if they acknowledged one) or disturbances throughout the country (if they claimed their city did not suffer one). Later on in the interview we presented the respondents with a number of explanations of the riots and asked them to indicate the extent to which they subscribed to each of the views represented in the array of "popular theories".

Table 4.5 contains the reasons given spontaneously by the respondents. Note that their frame of reference in replying was mainly in terms of underlying, long-standing conditions rather than in terms of specific events or in terms of the activities of "agitators". One out of four responses was in terms of poverty and unemployment (for those who claimed their city had a civil disorder), and nearly half (forty-six percent) of those who claimed their city did not have disturbance cited poverty and unemployment as one of the main reasons for the disorders throughout the country. Hous-

TABLE 4.5

REASONS FOR MASS DISTURBANCES BY CITY TYPE

[Q 15, 18—Core]

[In percent]

Reasons for Disturbance	Respondents who claimed either riot or other mass disturbance in their city				Respondents who claimed nothing large enough to be a riot occurred
	Riot Cities	Medium Riot	Non-Riot Cities	Combined	Combined Sample
Unemployment, Poverty	25	31	26	26	46
Housing conditions	20	18	11	18	32
Unfulfilled Negro aspirations	17	16	6	15	19
Poor schools or social welfare	16	10	11	13	18
Crime, adolescent misbehavior, moral decay, lack of respect for law	27	28	41	30	17
Local agitation	9	12	8	10	9
Outside agitation	15	7	11	12	10
Agitation in general	9	9	10	9	6
Political act	5	5	6	5	6
Police brutality, incompetence	10	11	12	11	0
White provocation			6		2
Leadership failure	11	6	6	10	12
Laws, Courts	2	1	17		2
Specific event or person	6	6		8	1
100 percent equals	(505)	(356)	(229)	(1,092)	(797)

NOTE: Respondents who claimed that some sort of mass disturbance occurred in their city were asked reasons for that disturbance. Other respondents were asked what were the reasons for the disturbances that had appeared all over the country.

ing conditions, poor schools, and social welfare were also cited very frequently, especially by those who came from cities in which they claimed there was no disturbance last year. Criminality, lack of respect for law, and adolescent misbehavior were cited by thirty percent of those who experienced disturbances in their cities and by seventeen percent of the other respondents.

Note that the role played by agitation was given fairly serious levels of mention. Between one in four and three in ten of the respondents gave responses of this type as reasons for the disturbances.

It is difficult to discern any particular patterning of differences between city types. The array of reasons given by respondents from riot cities is very similar to the arrays for medium-riot and non-riot cities.

The main differences in Table 4.5 lie between those who claimed a disturbance occurred in their cities and those who claimed that no disturbance occurred. The latter were considerably more likely to give general underlying environmental conditions as their reasons, while the former tended to spread their reasons among a wider variety of responses. It appears therefore that the conventional wisdom concerning riots is one which looks at environmental and longstanding determinants. An important role in the conventional wisdom is played by the agitation of militants, but it is not the dominant theme of the reasons given.

A somewhat different view of the popular theories of riot causation is shown in the responses to a series of items which asked respondents to indicate whether they subscribed to each of six different conceptions of riot causation. The statements used and the answers given by the whole sample are shown in Table 4.6. Note that these statements cover mainly the immediate circumstances of the riots rather than long-standing conditions. The topics covered include the responsiveness of public authorities, the actions of criminal elements in the Negro population, the agitation of Negro nationalists and other militants, the role of police brutality, and finally, the general theory that Negroes are basically violent. The statements do not contain references to employment, poverty, or white attitudes towards Negroes.

The statement which received the greatest overall endorsement from the respondents is one which gives a major role to the agitation of Negro nationalists and other militants. Note that while this was a fairly popular response in the more spontaneously given responses, it was not as popular as environmental responses. More surprising was the fairly strong endorsement given to the statement concerning the role of criminal elements in the riots, not a very popular response when elicited spontaneously.

Receiving fairly widespread endorsement was the statement concerning local authorities not giving enough attention to Negro complaints and grievances.

TABLE 4.6
"THEORIES" OF RIOT CAUSATION
[Q 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26—Core]
[In percent]

"Theory" of Riot Causation	The main reason	Largely true but not the only reason	True but not a main reason	Not true at all	Don't know & no answer
"Negroes feel that their complaints are not . . . (heard) . . . by local authorities	13	39	33	15	0
". . . result of criminal element getting out of hand . . ."	18	31	34	17	0
". . . agitation of Negro nationalist or other militants . . ."	24	36	29	11	0
". . . political actions designed to obtain concessions and changes from local authorities . . ."	4	21	33	41	1
". . . provoked by police brutality . . ."	3	18	31	48	0
". . . Negroes are basically violent with little respect for laws . . ."	4	12	19	64	1

Three of the statements were strongly rejected as false by nearly half or more of the respondents. By and large, the civil disorders were not seen as politically motivated or having political goals. Nor were the riots seen as reactions to police brutality or arising out of a supposed basic violence of the Negro population.

Whether a respondent was chosen from a riot city or from a city which had no riots in 1967 apparently made little difference in the "theories" of riot causation which they were willing to endorse. But, striking differences exist among the six occupational groups, as shown in Table 4.7. Most of the differences followed what should be by this time a pattern which is very familiar to the reader. The educators, social workers, and political workers are very similar in their more sympathetic interpretation of the civil disorders, just as they were more sympathetic generally toward the plight of the urban Negroes. The police, merchants, and employers tended to be alike in attributing the riots to criminal elements, the agitation of nationalists and militants, and in denying that police brutality played a

TABLE 4.7
"THEORIES" OF RIOT CAUSATION AMONG SIX OCCUPATIONS
[Q 21 through 26—Core]
[In percent]

"Theory"	Proportions rating "theory" as "main reason" or "largely true"					
	Police	Educators	Social Workers	Political Workers	Merchants	Employers
A. Unheard Negro complaints	31	70	72	72	48	47
B. Criminal elements	69	33	27	27	65	42
C. Nationalists and militants	77	46	38	39	65	62
D. Riots as Political acts	27	26	25	20	23	24
E. Police brutality	9	33	37	53	21	11
F. Negroes basically violent	28	8	4	8	23	

major role as a reason for the eruption of disorder. On one item, the merchants and the police stand out as different from all the other groups: they have the highest levels of endorsement of the statement that Negroes are basically violent.

The major findings of this chapter are very much cut from the same cloth as the previous chapter. First of all, we learned that although our respondents by and large agreed with the ways in which we classified cities as riot and non-riot for 1967, there were still some who lived in riot cities and claimed that the disturbances there were not serious enough to be called riots. There were others living in the non-riot cities who felt that they had had riots.

Secondly, respondents saw that the consequences of the riots were to deepen the gulf of feeling between whites and Negroes and to increase the unfavorable attitudes of the police toward the Negro population. They also saw the riots as being somewhat effective in producing action directed toward doing something about Negro complaints and grievances.

Finally, the theories held by the respondents concerning the causation of the riots emphasized a combination of long-standing environmental conditions, the agitation of Negro militants and nationalists, and particular conditions of Negro life. Our respondents are perhaps more willing to concede environmental conditions as a major causative factor than the general public, but the important role they give to agitation makes their views quite different from the conclusions of the National Advisory Commission's Report.

When asked to endorse or reject a number of statements concerning the causation of the riots, the respondents tended to emphasize even more the role played by criminal elements and Negro militants in the riots. However, there were considerable differences among the six occupations. As usual, social workers, educators, and political workers tended to reject statements which were unsympathetic to the Negro community and endorse statements emphasizing that Negro complaints and grievances were not being paid attention to by local authorities and gave a more important role to police brutality than the other occupational groups.

Chapter 5

Reaction to the Commission's Report

When it became apparent that the field interviewing for this study would not begin until after the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders would be released on March 1, 1968, we saw an opportunity to study first reactions to the Report among groups who could be expected to be especially interested. Although one could hardly expect that the Report would be read by everyone in the police forces, welfare departments, public school systems, etc., of the nation, we could reasonably expect that the kinds of persons we would be interviewing would have heard at least of the Report and have formulated some assessment of its findings, no matter how tentative. Newspapers throughout the nation carried detailed stories summarizing the findings and recommendations of the Report on the weekend of March 1–3, and accounts of the Report were carried in other media as well.

Accordingly, we added to each questionnaire a brief section, probing for reactions to and awareness of the Report. At the time the questionnaires were being written, the research staff did not have a very thorough knowledge of the content of the Report, nor could we devote much space in an already overburdened questionnaire to this topic. Hence, the few questions we added necessarily tapped fairly superficial reactions to the Report.

The section of the questionnaire devoted to the Report started with asking respondents whether they were aware of the "recent announcements" of the findings and recommendations of the Commission. As one might expect from members of the occupations studied four out of five respondents claimed being aware of the Report, as shown in Table 5.1. Merchants, perhaps because of their lower educational attainment, were least likely to be aware of the Report, although even among this group three out of five claimed knowledge of the Report. The highest levels of awareness were shown by the employers and the educators, each with around nine out of ten claiming knowledge of the Report. The other occupational groups—police, social workers, and political workers—were close to the average in awareness.

TABLE 5.1
AWARENESS OF ADVISORY COMMISSION'S REPORT
[Q 12—Bkgd]
[In percent]

Aware of report?	Police	Educators	Social workers	Political workers	Merchants	Employers	Combined sample
Yes	84	88	80	76	60	90	80
No	14	10	19	23	34	9	18
Don't know and no answer	2	2	1	1	6	1	2

Among those who were aware of the Report, however, fewer considered themselves to be in agreement with the statements of the Commission (Table 5.2). Overall, three out of five expressed agreement, but the range among the six occupational groups was considerable: only about a third of the policemen expressed agreement, along with half of the merchants. Political workers were highest on agreement followed closely by educators and social workers. Employers were close to the overall average with fifty-seven percent expressing agreement. Thus, when it comes to the expression of attitudes, the patterning of differences among occupational groups follows very familiar forms. As usual, educators, social workers, and political workers show a similar distribution of attitudes, with the police and merchants presenting a contrast to the former.

TABLE 5.2

AGREEMENT WITH COMMISSION'S REPORT

[Q 13a—Bkgd]

(Only those aware of Report)

(In percent)

Agree with report?	Police	Educators	Social workers	Political workers	Merchants	Employers	Combined sample
Yes	35	86	81	91	51	57	60
No	58	15	9	1	37	30	31
Don't know and no answer	7	8	5	8	12	13	9
100 percent equals	(369)	(243)	(212)	(78)	(266)	(391)	(1953)

Agreement with the Report was lower than awareness, as we saw above. Still lower was the proportion who believed that the Report would actually affect the day-to-day lives of people in their cities (Table 5.3). Less than half (forty-six percent) believed that it would make some impact, and the remainder either are unsure (four percent) or asserted (fifty percent) that the Report would have no effect. Differences among occupational groups are not very striking, however. The police were the most pessimistic (forty percent) and social workers and educators the most optimistic (fifty-three percent and fifty-two percent respectively).

In the bottom half of Table 5.3 are contained responses to a question asking when the effects of the Commission's Report would be felt in their communities. (This question was asked only of those who felt that the Report would have some effect.) Few of the respondents who were optimistic about the Report having an effect expected that the effect would come quickly. About three in ten expected effects to be felt within a year, but the largest proportion (forty-seven percent) expected an effect to take from one to five years to appear. A very pessimistic minority (eleven percent) held to a longer time schedule of more than five years.

TABLE 5.3

EFFECT OF COMMISSION'S REPORT

[Q 13b—Bkgd]

(Only those aware of Report)

(In percent)

Will report affect people in this city?	Police	Educators	Social workers	Political workers	Merchants	Employers	Combined sample
Yes	40	52	53	48	45	45	46
No	57	44	44	48	52	50	50
Don't know and no answer	3	4	3	4	4	5	4

(Only those aware of Report and who feel Report will have effects on their city)

How soon will effects of report appear?	Police	Educators	Social workers	Political workers	Merchants	Employers	Combined sample
Less than 6 months	20	11	9	13	11	11	12
6 months to 1 year	22	19	20	10	16	20	19
1 year to 5 years	43	45	56	49	40	50	47
More than 5 years	7	9	12	16	17	13	11
Don't know and no answer	8	15	3	11	16	5	11

Perhaps having in mind the possibility that Commission recommendations concerning police practices might be put into action very quickly, policemen were most likely to anticipate an immediate (within a year) impact of the Report. Social workers were least likely to expect immediate results, perhaps bearing in mind that the Commission's recommendations bearing on their field of work would require extensive overhauling of the public welfare system.

Those who anticipated that the Report would have no effect were asked a series of questions requiring their assessment of a number of reasons why the Report would not be translated into action. From seven out of ten to more than eight out of ten thought that there was a lack of practical suggestions in the Report, that white public opinion would reject the Report, that local and Federal politicians would not act favorably on the Commission's recommendations, and that there lacked government funds to implement the programs suggested. Respondents were most pessimistic about the support of white public opinion and least pessimistic about the availability of government funds.

Educators, social workers, and political workers tended to put more of the blame for inaction on white public opinion and on local and federal politicians, while the other occupations were more likely to blame the content of the Report and white public opinion.

The Commission's Report apparently became part of our respondents' organized ways of looking at Negro-community relationships. Those who were more sympathetic to the Negro struggle for equality tended to agree with the Report's recommendations and findings and to feel that the Report would have some tangible impact on daily life in their cities. The occupational groups opposed to the Report disagreed with its con-

tent and tended to feel that the Report would make little change in their cities.

It should be borne in mind that these reactions were measured in the first few weeks after the Report had been issued. Since we did not ask whether any of the respondents had actually read the Report, we have assumed that the Report by the time of the interviewing had been read by few and that acquaintance with the Report had been acquired mainly through press and other mass media accounts. How permanent such assessments are is a matter of conjecture. Possibly, by the end of six or eight months, as more and more of our respondents read the Report itself, opinions about the Report may change. As things stand now the Report has convinced those who were already convinced and made little impact on our respondents.

Chapter 6*

Police in the Ghetto

If the policeman's lot has always been a hard one, it is especially difficult in this historical period. Police have borne the brunt of criticism from many quarters. In the wake of the several hundred riots, near-riots, and serious civil disorders,' the police have been criticized on the one hand for alleged brutality, hostility, and insensitivity; and on the other hand for their inability to contain mass violence and to bring it rapidly under control. Some of our most important civil rights are in the hands of the uniformed men of our local police forces; it is scarcely surprising that, in the struggle Negroes are waging for parity in this respect, the police should come under strong criticism.

Not only is the policeman both the guardian of and possible infringer upon individual civil rights, he is also the around-the-clock representative of authority in the ghetto. It is the policeman who is on duty twenty-four hours a day and who represents the go-between to get medical treatment, who settles marital spats, and who watches to see that you do not break regulations, make too much noise or hang out on street corners. The friction between police and the ghetto has raised enough heat to make this relationship of particular importance in understanding why civil disorders have appeared.

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the police in finer detail than was possible in the earlier chapters of this report. The police were questioned using a specially designed questionnaire, aimed at getting a statistical portrait of what the policeman's job is like in the ghetto and what his views are concerning ghetto residents.

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THE SAMPLE

Interviews with 437 policemen distributed across eleven of the fifteen cities were included in the preliminary analysis. Forty respondents in each city were selected from those precincts which contain the 1960 census tracts with the highest percentage Negro in the city. In all cities, precincts that had over fifty percent Negro residents were sampled. All those interviewed worked primarily in the Negro neighborhoods within the precincts. Five of the forty policemen occupied positions higher than patrolmen (e.g., sergeants, lieutenants) ; and one fourth were Negroes (one supervisor and nine patrolmen) in each city.

Unfortunately, access to the policemen in some cities proved to be difficult. Even when the leadership of the department officially cooperated, seldom was it possible to draw a probability sample of policemen in the precincts sampled. Our final sample expresses the biases of police captains and other officials who often chose men to be interviewed. While we cannot determine the bias that has entered, it reasonable to assume that the selectivity operated in favor of the images police departments consciously wish to project to the public.

The entire sample of fifteen cities has not yet been completed because of official non-cooperation in several departments. This item of information, in itself, might be considered indicative of the general accessibility and openness to criticism and suggestions in police departments. Milwaukee has been particularly adament against permitting any access, while Boston, and Chicago have been quite difficult. Most other

cities gave some measure of cooperation, though often somewhat grudgingly. Few actively encouraged the study.[1]

THE POLICEMAN'S JOB

The task of a policeman, to paraphrase the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, is to protect persons and property in a manner that embodies the predominant moral values of the community he is serving. This role is one of the most difficult in the society. Furthermore, the conscientious policeman in the predominantly Negro areas of our central cities faces perhaps the greatest difficulties of all. At present the total efforts of the police departments neither effectively control crime in the ghetto nor achieve legitimacy in the eyes of many residents of the community. The policemen interviewed clearly reflected this situation. Seventy-three percent said they worked in neighborhoods where the crime rate was higher than average for the city. Almost forty-five percent listed their neighborhoods among the highest in the city in its crime rate. At the same time a majority of the respondents felt that a lack of support from other officials, from the public, from the courts, from other problems in doing and agencies were among the major problems in doing their job in the neighborhood to which they were assigned.

The police interviewed were asked to name the two or three major problems they faced. Forty-eight percent of the responses (Table 6.1) dealt with the lack of external support for the policeman. Answers to other questions confirm this assessment. Forty-two percent of the policemen considered non-cooperation from residents a very serious problem; and sixty-four percent thought lack of support from the laws and courts was very serious (Table 6.17). Likewise, almost fifty-nine percent of the policemen thought that most of the residents in the precinct where they worked either regarded policemen as enemies or were indifferent towards them (Table 6.5). As both Table 6.5 and 6.17 illustrate, Negro policemen are less likely to perceive the ghetto as hostile and non-supportive.

Police work in these neighborhoods was viewed by the majority both as harder (sixty-one percent) and more hazardous (sixty-two percent) than elsewhere in the same city (Table 6.2). However great the difficulties and hazards of the job, the police did not express a comparable overall dissatisfaction at least of a policeman. Seventy-three percent seemed at least somewhat satisfied with being a policeman, and only twenty-six percent preferred another assignment somewhere else in the city. There was no striking difference between Negroes and whites in these assessments.

[1] Further reports from this study will contain interviews with police in all cities, save Boston and Milwaukee. In both those cities, police officials ordered their men not to cooperate with our interviewers.

TABLE 6.1
WHAT POLICEMEN SEE AS THE MAJOR PROBLEMS FACING THEM IN DOING THEIR JOB IN NEGRO NEIGHBORHOODS

[Q 1—Police]

[100 percent = 622]

	Percentage of all responses given [1]
Lack of external support—public, courts, officials, and other agencies	48
Internal departmental problems in doing the job—facilities, supervision, policies	21
Crime, violence, riots, etc.	16
Racial problems—hostility, agitation	9
Living conditions of residents—unemployment, housing, schools, government services, etc.	6

[1] Each of the 437 respondents could give several answers, the first three of which were coded and used in this analysis. Individuals gave an average of 1.4 answers.

TABLE 6.2
COMPARATIVE RATINGS OF ASSIGNMENTS IN GHETTO PRECINCTS AND OVERALL SATISFACTION

[Q 2–3 Police]

	Percent
A. Harder or easier than other assignments?	61
Harder	61
About the same	30
Easier	6
Don't know and no answer	3
B. Is work safer or more hazardous than in other assignments?	
Safer	6
No difference	36
More hazardous	62
Don't know and no answer	2
C. Would you prefer working here or some other assignment?	
Prefer present assignment	47
Prefer another assignment	26
Does not matter	25
Don't know and no answer	1
D. How satisfied are you with police work?	
Very satisfied	38
Somewhat satisfied	35
Somewhat dissatisfied	21
Very dissatisfied	6
Don't know and no answer	1

The respondents were asked if they were very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with eight aspects of their work. The largest number complained about poor pay and lack of respect from citizens (Table 6.3). The policemen's assessment of the eight job aspects might best be summarized as indicating that these men are the most dissatisfied with the external rewards, only moderately dissatisfied with the immediate conditions under which they usually work, and quite satisfied with their colleagues. Such a pattern is consistent with the observation of James Q. Wilson [2] that, when there is little public respect for policemen, they tend to develop subcultural identification or "codes" in order to achieve self respect independent of civilian attitudes.

[2] "Police Morale, Reform, and Citizen Respect: The Chicago Case," David J. Bordua, Ed., The Police: Six Sociological Essays (New York, Wiley, 1967), p. 138.

TABLE 6.3
THE POLICEMAN'S SATISFACTIONS AND DISSATISFACTIONS WITH HIS JOB

[Q 33—Police]

	Dissatisfied		Satisfied		Don't know	100	No answer
	Very	Somewhat	Very	Somewhat			
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent		
The respect you get from citizens	22	32	10	33	1	(434)	3
Pay	28	26	9	36	0	(435)	2
Physical danger you often face	17	32	11	28	11	(431)	6
Resources and facilities for your job	22	27	19	31	0	(436)	1
Working conditions	13	34	11	42	0	(436)	1
Flexibility in doing your job	15	22	24	38	1	(435)	2
Other policemen with whom you work	2	12	52	33	1	(436)	1
Your supervisor	3	10	51	33	1	(432)	5

INTERNAL RESOURCES

As Table 6.1 shows, the second most frequent spontaneous complaint voiced by the policemen was of the lack of internal support for their work: manpower, facilities, supervision, etc. Twenty-one percent of the police citations of major problems were of this type. Within this category of problems, the most frequently mentioned single item was manpower. Ten percent of the policemen listed this as one of three major problems facing them.[3]

Even though the policemen felt disliked by so many citizens, and operated with inadequate facilities and support, very few mentioned low morale as a problem they faced. Only three respondents volunteered a comment about pay or morale as major problems they faced in doing their jobs. A few more, six percent (Table 6.2), reported that they were "very dissatisfied" with a policeman's job. Apparently, high morale has been maintained, at least among most of the respondents, in spite of many perceived difficulties and negative sanctions.

Another aspect of the policeman's resources is the training given him to cope with the problems he faces daily. While our information does not enable us to assess the effectiveness of comprehensiveness of police training for these difficult assignments, we can report that eighty-five percent of our respondents have had special training in riot control and prevention, and seventy-eight percent have had some training in human relations, psychology, counseling, etc. Very few policemen reported lack of training as a major problem they faced in doing their job (only seven respondents spontaneously referred to this).

When we consider some of the findings shown later on in this chapter, our respondents' feelings of satis-

[3] When asked in another context whether the control of crime and the enforcement of the law is hampered by shortage of men, cars, facilities, etc., eighty-nine percent considered this to be a problem; sixty-one percent thought it "very serious."

faction with their training can easily be brought into question.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF POLICE DEPARTMENTS

Ghetto critics of the police often charge them with being essentially "occupation" forces rather than "community protectors:" agents of external, often alien, norms and interests rather than agents of social control for the community in which they are assigned. Undoubtedly much of this charge rests on exaggeration of actions and attitudes of both sides; however, it is important that we search for indications of such large scale group conflict as opposed to isolated individual defiance of legal norms. In addition, we shall examine how the police tend to explain or justify actions that are deemed by many to be provocatively and punitively directed against a large class of people—those with black skins and little money.

From their own reporting (Table 6.3), fifty-four percent of the policemen queried were dissatisfied with the respect they receive from citizens. In fact (Table 6.4), thirty percent suggested that the average citizen in their patrol precincts held the police in some degree of contempt. The police were asked several questions about whether residents considered the police as enemies, assuming this to be a good indication of the degree to which the policemen feel like aliens in the community. Nineteen percent suggested that most people in the precinct in general look on the police as enemies (Table 6.5). While thirty-seven percent reported the people they protect as regarding police on their side, the largest portion (forty percent) perceived the residents as indifferent.

TABLE 6.4
RESPECT ACCORDED TO POLICE BY AVERAGE RESIDENT OF PRECINCT

[Q 5—Police]

	Percent
"How much respect does the average resident of this precinct have for the police?"	
A great deal of respect	12
Some respect	44
Neither respect nor contempt	11
Some contempt	20
A great deal of contempt	10
Don't know and no answer	3

When asked about the attitudes of Negroes, a higher proportion of policemen (twenty percent) felt they were viewed as enemies. Indeed, the policemen's perceptions of hostility were primarily reserved for the Negroes. Only one percent of the respondents thought most whites considered them enemies, and seventy-two percent thought whites considered them on their side.

The policemen apparently feel much more a part of the "white community" than of the "Negro commu-

nity" at least in regard to their official activities within their patrol precinct. What hostility is perceived by the police seems not to be a manifestation of racial antagonism against individual policemen. Negro policemen report the same pattern of perceived hostility that the whites report, although a consistently smaller percentage of the Negro police regard any one group of people (except whites) as antagonists (Table 6.5).

Perhaps more important to observe than the relatively low respect and cooperation between police and Negroes in general is the marked distance between police and the young generation. At a time in which juvenile crime is rapidly on the increase and complaints are loudly voiced about the lawlessness of ghetto youth, the police seem to be least in touch with the people. While it is beyond the scope of this report to analyze whether the generation and perhaps racial gaps between police and Negro youth are more an antecedent or consequent of a reported increase in antisocial and criminal behavior among that group, we can quite clearly see that police think themselves disliked more by the young than by any other segment of the population. Fifty-one percent of the policemen believe that most adolescents view them as enemies, and thirty-nine percent think most young adults share that hostility. In contrast, the elderly, the storekeepers, and the teachers are perceived as friends or at least friendly.

TABLE 6.5
[Q 6—Police]

THE POLICEMAN'S VIEW OF WHETHER THE RESIDENTS CONSIDER POLICE AS ENEMIES, FRIENDS OR ARE INDIFFERENT

	Regard police—					
	As on their side	As enemies	Indifferent	Don't know	100 percent	No answer
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent		
Residents in general	37	19	40	3	(432)	5
Most old persons in the neighborhood	94	1	5	0	(437)	....
Most storekeepers	83	0	14	0	(436)	1
Most teachers	83	1	13	2	(435)	2
Most whites	72	1	25	2	(437)	....
Most Negroes	34	29	35	2	(434)	3
Most young adults	16	39	44	1	(437)	....
Most adolescents	16	51	32	1	(436)	1

The policeman's view of whether or not the residents consider the police as enemies, by race of respondent

[Percentage responding that most regard police as enemies]

	White [1] (N=335)	Negro [1] (N=101)
The residents in general	21	11
Most old persons in the neighborhood	1	0
Most storekeepers	0	0
Most teachers	2	0
Most whites	1	2
Most Negroes	30	22
Most young adults	43	27
Most adolescents	52	46

[1] One respondent was neither white nor Negro, or was miscoded.

What lies behind this perception of hostility? The Commission's report [4] cited several surveys of the opinions of Negroes and whites about such things as police brutality and police respect, indicating that in the last two or three years a sizeable fraction of urban Negroes believe that there has been police brutality, while considerably fewer whites believe that police use unnecessary force. Although a survey of the opinion of residents would be the most appropriate measure of their view of police actions, we had to rely upon the police themselves as informants, asking how frequently they had heard certain complaints from the citizens. Six types of actions were listed and the respondents asked how frequently they had heard them—often, sometimes, seldom, or never—as complaints about police.

As we can see from Table 6.6, policemen think that residents frequently see them as brutal, annoying and inconsiderate. They sometimes hear complaints about corruption and general hostility, but seldom are charged with being too lenient. In fact only sixteen percent of the policemen "often" hear complaints that they are not tough enough, while thirty-one percent never hear these charges. In the view of the policemen themselves the residents complain frequently about the actions of the police but there is no widespread demand for a crackdown on "crime."

TABLE 6.6
COMPLAINTS POLICEMEN HEAR ABOUT THEIR ACTIONS
[Q 26—Police]
[In percent]

	Often or sometimes	Seldom or never	Don't know
Policemen are physically brutal to people on the streets	75	25	0
They give too many tickets and do not help the residents	64	35	1
They do not understand the problems of the residents	64	36	0
They are corrupt and take bribes from those with money	52	48	1
Policemen are generally hostile to the residents	52	48	0
Policemen do not adequately prevent crime because they are not tough enough	42	57	1

What truth is there to many of these complaints? What actions and attitudes of policemen might stimulate such complaints? A closer examination of the common practices of the police might indicate possible situations and types of police-resident contact that would be most likely to generate hostile feelings. Six types of activity were listed, and each respondent was asked to tell whether he was frequently, sometimes, seldom or never called upon to do each. (Table 6.7)

[4] Chapter 11, Section I.

TABLE 6.7
WHAT POLICEMEN ARE CALLED UPON TO DO
[Q 9—Police]

	Frequently	Never	100 percent	No answer
	Percent	Percent		
Intervene in domestic quarrels	94	0		(2)
Breakup loitering groups	63	1		(2)
Interrogate suspected drug users	35	6		(4)
Stop and frisk suspicious people	34	11		(2)
Search on suspicion but without a warrant	24	16		(4)
Search with a warrant	20	7		(4)

Although we cannot compare these types of activity with ones considered more supportive by those possibly affected by the actions, some conclusions are reasonable. It is clear that police quite frequently intervene in domestic quarrels and break up loitering groups. This often places them in delicate situations where they interfere with groups of people who may consider their own behaviour normal and legitimate, and at the least not a proper subject of forceful interference. The tension that may be created by indelicate actions in these circumstances is hardly helped by the frequent practice of placing the least skilled policemen in the higher crime areas.

The other activities that policemen report frequently engaging in seldom can be expected to endear them to the residents. About a third are frequently stopping people to question or frisk them, implying thereby that the person stopped is suspected of some crime or potential crime. Almost a fourth report frequently searching without a warrant, further indicating to a great number of residents that they do not merit the justification of due cause to a court.[5] More than a third frequently interrogate suspected drug users. Since the use of the less habituating drugs is considered less onerous by ghetto norms than by white middle class standards, such interrogation is easily interpreted as the imposition of alien and unjustified standards of conduct upon a powerless people. The police, then, are constantly interfering with many of the day-to-day activities of a significant portion of the residents of the neighborhood. It is quite understandable how this imposition—whether justified or not—could generate a considerable level of hostility.

Some degree of hostility can be expected to be generated by the regular surveillance activity of the police. Those who were innocent of any intended or actual wrong-doing are likely to dislike being stopped and frisked. Indeed, the probability of a person who is stopped and frisked by the police being innocent is much larger than the probability of being caught in some illegal activity. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice

[5] From the way in which the question was worded we are uncertain whether respondents referred to searching premises, searching persons, or both.

reported that, in some high crime areas only ten percent of those stopped and frisked were found to be carrying a gun, and another ten percent were found to be carrying knives. The policemen in our sample claim a higher success rate, as the evidence in Table 6.8 indicates. The median number of persons found to be "carrying something that might lead to a crime" when stopped and frisked is 5.1, according to our policemen. Furthermore, the police also claim that a median of 3.5 individuals were found to be wanted criminals or to have committed some illegal act.

TABLE 6.8
PROPORTION OF POSITIVE FINDS IN STOPPING AND FRISKING
[Q 10—Police]

Out of every 10 persons stopped	Carrying something that might lead to crime (e.g. gun, knife)	Actually turned out to be criminals you are looking for
None	percent	3	5
One	do	13	22
Two	do	10	13
Three	do	10	10
Four	do	7	10
Five	do	12	16
Six	do	8	3
Seven	do	12	6
Eight	do	11	7
Nine	do	10	5
Ten	do	3	3
100 percent equals		(366)	(344)
Median number [1]		5.1	3.5
Number responding otherwise			
Desk job		18	17
Illegal to frisk		24	26
Don't know, no answer		29	50

[1] Calculated assuming that responses "five," for example, are evenly distributed between 4.5 and 5.5.

We think it would be safe to assume that the policemen are claiming more positive results from the stop and frisk procedure than is actually the case. In any event, the majority of persons stopped are innocent of any wrong doing. If the rate of stopping and frisking in the Negro community is very high, then it would not take long for the police to antagonize a large number of residents.[6] Interestingly, there were no differences between Negro and white policemen in the reported median frequency with which suspicions were verified in frisks.

The general tenor with which the policemen reported their dealings with people in the neighborhood seemed to be a hardened Hobbesian pessimism in only a small fraction of the respondents. In dealing with suspects only ten percent suggested that the policemen

[6] It may also be the case that those policemen who do a great deal of stopping and frisking may have lower overall "take rates," even though they may apprehend more criminals in total. Hence a policy which would increase the amount of stopping and frisking bears the risk of antagonizing very large proportion of the non-criminal even though it would significantly increase the number of criminals or alleged criminals who are apprehended.

should "deal aggressively and authoritatively from the start so that the suspect knows who is in control," while eighty-nine percent agreed that they should "deal firmly from the start, but be polite until a hostile move is made by the suspect." Similarly, only eight percent felt that most people they deal with on the job respond primarily to power and force. A full forty percent thought that people respond in the end primarily to reason and respect, with few responding only to power and force. The rest (fifty-two percent) thought there were some of both kinds of people (Q 13 Police). In total, sixty percent felt that some sizable proportion of people responded only to power and force, providing some justification for its frequent use.

The typical interaction between policemen and suspect, when people are questioned and frisked, is not congenial. Only nine percent of the policemen report that people they stop are usually fully cooperative (Table 6.9). More than eighty percent admit that the usual reaction is at least a dislike of being frisked. Forty-one percent of the policemen report that they usually have to use threats or force to get the suspect to respond adequately. Eleven percent find that their suspects usually physically resist their efforts to question and frisk. Such responses from suspects would be expected from hardened criminals. But in a situation in which a majority of those stopped are neither carrying weapons nor are criminals, and in which thirty-four percent of the policemen frequently stop and frisk people, it is clear that considerable hostility is generated among many others than those directly engaged in criminal behavior. Table 6.9 illustrates that hostility is generated in stopping and frisking by police of both races. However, citizens are perceived as slightly more cooperative by Negro policemen.

TABLE 6.9
RESPONSE OF SUSPECTS WHEN THEY ARE STOPPED AND FRISKED
[Q 12—Police]

Response	Race of policemen		
	White	Negro	All police
Cooperative...........................percent..	10	8	9
Cooperative, but don't like being frisked......do....	36	48	39
Respond finally under threats and pressure..do....	30	29	30
Physically resist..........................do....	13	5	11
Don't know, don't frisk, no answer..........do....	11	10	11
100 percent equals............................	(335)	(101)	(437)

Some critics have suggested that it is easy for a policeman to get away with brutal treatment of Negroes. But, whether or not police actions are more aggressive in the Negro ghetto than elsewhere, the police seem to worry more about the restraints placed upon them there. When asked whether they worried about getting into trouble because of their mistakes or because of citizens' complaints, a sizable proportion (thirty-nine percent) expressed more anxiety about such constraint in their Negro precincts than in other sections of the city. Most saw no difference. Only six percent indicated that they need be less cautious in the Negro precinct to which they currently were assigned. Interestingly, this pattern holds for Negroes as well as whites (see Table 6.10). The complaints that bring the threat of discipline apparently do not arise primarily from racial antagonisms alone. As suggested earlier, the conflict stems more from the overall nature of the police relationship to the Negro community.

TABLE 6.10
HOW MUCH POLICEMEN WORRY ABOUT MISTAKES AND COMPLAINTS
[Q 15—Police]

Worry about mistakes, complaints from public	White	Negro	All
Worry more here than elsewhere in city...percent..	40	35	39
Worry more in most other precincts..........do....	5	11	6
Makes no difference.........................do....	53	52	54
Don't know, no answer.......................do....	2	2	1
100 percent equals..........................	(335)	(101)	(437)

The relationship between police and the Negro residents is partially characterized as extensive "anti-crime" activity by the police and many outraged complaints, sometimes leading to collective expressions, by the residents. The desire by city and police leadership for some measure of caution is understandable. The policemen on the beat, defining the precincts as high crime areas, frequently frisk people, break up loitering groups, and intervene in domestic quarrels. The residents complain about many of these activities and resent the manner in which they are carried out. Complaints of police brutality are frequently heard by the police themselves. Seventy-five percent said they "often" or "sometimes" heard them (Table 6.6). Few policemen (four percent), however, listed complaints of police brutality as major problems in doing their jobs (Q 1—Police).

TABLE 6.11
POLICE ATTITUDES TOWARDS TREATMENT OF NEGROES BY POLICE AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS
[Q 6—CORE]

Treatment of Negroes	Race of police	As well off	Less well off	Better off	Don't know, no answer	100 percent
Treatment by police	White	78		17	1	(335)
	Negro	36	57	6	2	(101)
Treatment by public officials	White	59		34	2	(335)
	Negro	39	54	5	2	(101)

Both Negro and white policemen often hear these complaints from citizens, but only the Negroes consider black-skinned people to be ill-treated by police, public officials, and the general public. Table 6.11 indicates that a majority of Negro police felt that Negroes are treated worse than others by police and public officials; only five percent of the white police believed this. Similarly, as shown in Table 6.12, sixty-two percent of the white policemen felt that Negroes are treated equally or better than any other part of the population, while only eight percent of the Negroes agreed. The pervasive feeling among white policemen that Negroes are treated equally, or even better, than whites may indicate that many feel that the Negro community has more power and privilege than it deserves, including the power to wield some restraint upon police.

TABLE 6.12
POLICEMAN'S VIEW OF HOW NEGROES ARE TREATED IN HIS CITY
[Q 5—CORE]
[Percentage of respondents agreeing with statement]

	White	Negro	Total
Treated better than any other part of the population..	20	2	16
Treated equally.............................	42	6	33
Treated as other people of the same income.........	26	24	26
Treated worse than other people of the same income..	8	38	14
Treated worse than any other part of the population..	2	26	7
Don't know or no answer......................	2	5	3

Note: 100 percent equals: white—335; Negro—101; total—437.

In summary, the complaints from ghetto residents are not considered major obstacles by most police. If a policeman feels more anxiety about these complaints in some precincts than in others, he is likely to perceive more pressure in Negro areas. Furthermore, as the preceding considerations suggest, and as later discussions will indicate, it is clear that the white policeman finds less justice in these constraints than does the Negro.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE COMMUNITY

What do the policemen think of the people in the neighborhoods where they patrol? Some earlier studies have indicated that a large fraction of white policemen working in Negro neighborhoods exhibit prejudice toward Negroes. Albert Reiss reported to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders that three out of four of the white policemen in predominantly Negro neighborhoods in one city studied exhibited some prejudicial attitudes.[7] As noted earlier (Chapter III), not many of the police, especially white, were sympathetic to Negro causes: fifty-nine percent claimed that the Negroes were moving "much too fast" or "too fast" in gaining what they feel to be equality. Seventy-three percent of the whites and twelve percent of the Negroes felt this way. Forty-nine percent of the whites expressed some chagrin about Negroes socializing with whites, and fifty-six percent were at least "slightly disturbed" with Negroes moving into white residential areas. Very few, including the Negro policemen, expressed any active support of Negro causes. Five percent of all the respondents had been active in a civil rights group during the previous two years (four percent of the whites and seven percent of the Negroes).

The images an individual holds of traits and attitudes of a group have often been used as an index of prejudice. At least, the policeman's stereotypes of the residents with whom he is working can be expected to influence the manner in which he deals with them. In assessing six characteristics, police were quite mixed. (Table 6.13.) On each characteristic a sizable fraction thought highly of the residents, but a large fraction held low opinions. Comparing positive to negative assessments, both Negro and white policemen rated the residents best on "honesty." Negroes thought somewhat better of the residents than did whites, on the average.

[7] Chapter 11, Section 1.

TABLE 6.13
ATTITUDES TOWARD RESIDENTS OF THE PRECINCT
[Q 8—Police]
[In percent]

Attribute (stated positively)	Very positive assessment		Very negative assessment		Partially true		Don't know, no answer		Total
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	
They are often friendly to outsiders	22	40	32	21	42	37	4	3	100 / 101
They look after their health very well	22	28	28	16	42	52	8	4	100 / 101
They are industrious people	16	26	28	12	53	60	2	2	99 / 100
They care very much for law and order	33	48	22	14	44	38	2	1	101 / 101
They are respectable, religious people	19	28	18	3	59	67	4	2	100 / 100
They are honest people	32	50	10	4	56	46	1	0	100 / 99
Average on six items	24	37	23	12	49	50			100

Note: N (White)=335; N(Negro)=101.

POLICE ASCRIPTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Many factors influence the collective behavior of a community, particularly the characteristics of the people themselves, the relationship they have with organizers and representatives of many outside agencies, their relationship to various government agencies—welfare, police, educational system, etc., and the economic exchange relationships they have with those who control economic resources. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, in assessing the basic causes of rioting, stressed the centuries of neglect and discrimination on the part of the white community toward their Negro neighbors. The Commission concluded that agitators and militants were not basically responsible for the outbreaks of violence; even less responsible was the general nature of the Negro community. Rather, the lack of adequate private and governmental response to the problems of unemployment, housing, deficient education, and most basically, the pervasive discrimination against Negroes in American life were seen as the root causes of the disturbances.

The policeman, who is the most visible agent of the society in maintaining law and order, sees the causes of rioting and civil disturbances quite differently. It is reasonable to expect that his viewpoint will reflect the enforcement actions and strategy which he daily uses in an attempt to minimize violence and disorder. The viewpoint he expresses appears to be one of short-run criminal control, rather than one of long-term eradication of the causes of discontent. While individual policemen differed considerably in their ascription of responsibility for the problems they face, most tended to see disorders as a result essentially of a lawless, negligent, belligerent, and criminal uprising of some elements of the Negro community.

All respondents were asked what they considered the major causes of the 1967 civil disturbances. Fifty-six percent of the reasons given (Table 6.14, categories one, forty-four percent; three, eight percent; and seven, four percent) ascribed the causes to the lawlessness, anger, disorder and agitation in the Negro community. The remaining forty-four percent of the reasons given ascribed at least some responsibility to the total society and by implication to the white community.

But, if we probe deeper, the policeman's emphasis becomes clearer. For example, the profile of responses for policemen who reported their city having a major civil disturbance in Summer, 1967, was somewhat different than that for policemen reporting no serious disturbance that Summer. Where there had been a serious disturbance, forty nine percent of the reasons given cited agitation and criminal elements—basic Negro lawlessness—while twenty-two percent of the causes given ascribed some responsibility to the failure

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TABLE 6.14
REASONS GIVEN FOR CIVIL DISTURBANCES
[Q 15 and 18—CORE]
[In percent]

Reasons	Reporting riot in 1967 in city (N=289)	Reporting no serious disturbance in city in 1967 (N=141)	All police responding (N=430)
(1) Causes attributed to faults of the Negro community—disrespect for law, crime agitation, unrest, broken families, etc.	49	33	44
(2) Causes attributed to failure of system to meet problems—unemployment, housing, poverty, welfare, schools, indifference, leadership.	22	38	27
(3) Negro anger, frustration, and unfulfilled aspirations.	7	8	8
(4) General white and official discrimination and provocation.	7	5	6
(5) Contagion—media, rumors, etc.	5	4	5
(6) Lack of interracial communication.	3	8	5
(7) Lack of adequate enforcement and control by authorities.	3	5	4
(8) Specific person or event.	4	0	2
Total responses, 100 percent equals.	(542)	(274)	(816)

of the system and the white community. In cities where policemen reported no serious disturbance that summer the frequency of reasons listed was reversed. Thirty-five percent of the responses blamed the criminal and lawless elements, while thirty-eight percent blamed the system in part.

Whether this difference is due primarily to the impact of the riots and subsequent rationalizations for police actions or whether it existed prior to the riots and might have, in part, been responsible for whether or not there was a riot cannot be known from our limited information in those interviews. However, in our judgment such a difference in police assignment of causes is primarily a result of having recently experienced a riot. Those cities in which policemen emphasized social-economic causes seemed just as likely to have had a riot in 1968 as did the other cities.

Quite significant racial differences appear, as Table 6.15 illustrates. Twice as many whites basically blame the Negro community as blame the socioeconomic system. The reverse is true for the Negro policemen. In addition, approximately three times as many Negroes as whites place the emphasis upon lack of interracial communication.

When police were more directly questioned about the causes of riots, they strongly supported the agitation, criminal element explanations as opposed to police brutality or white neglect (Table 6.16). Seventy-eight percent and sixty-nine percent, respectively, saw militant agitation and criminal elements as either the main reason or a major reason for the recent civil disturbances. Only nine percent and thirty percent, respectively, subscribed to the police brutality and unresponsiveness explanations. Table 6.16 also shows that Negro police subscribe much less than whites to the militant

and criminal explanations, and much more than whites to the police brutality and unresponsiveness explanations.

TABLE 6.15
REASONS GIVEN FOR CIVIL DISTURBANCES
[Q 15 and 18—CORE]

	(Total for all police) [1]		
	White (N=329)	Negro (N=100)	Both (N=429)
Causes attributed to faults of Negro community—disrespect for law, agitation, crime, unrest broken families, etc.	50	24	44
Causes attributed to failure of system to meet problems—unemployment, poverty, bad housing, poor schools, poor leadership from city, etc.	21	44	27
Lack of interracial communication.	3	9	5
All other reasons.	25	23	25

[1] Seven of the 437 interviewers did not give answers to these questions; the eighth was neither white nor Negro.

Note: 100 percent equals: White 609; Negro 206; both 815.

TABLE 6.16
HOW NEGRO AND WHITE POLICEMEN DIFFER IN ATTRIBUTING CAUSES TO THE RIOTS
[Q 67–72—CORE]
[Percent agreeing that cause listed is main reason or largely true]

	White (N=335)	Negro (N=101)	All Police (N=437)
Local authorities not paying sufficient attention to complaints.	24	52	30
Result of criminal element in Negro ghetto.	74	52	69
Result of militant agitation.	84	55	78
Deliberate political actions.	28	23	27
Police brutality.	4	25	9
Negroes basically violent and disrespectful.	33	11	28

While very few of the policemen considered inadequate laws or lenient courts as direct causes of riots (two percent volunteered this explanation), they quite strongly resented the restraint placed upon them by the courts and the laws. In a question asking for their major problems as policemen, fifteen percent volunteered complaints about courts and judges being too lenient. This was second only to the forty percent who gave "lack of public support" as one of the major problems they face in doing their jobs. In another question (Table 6.17) more of the policemen considered laws and courts to hamper their jobs than any of the other three problems.

TABLE 6.17
SERIOUSNESS OF FOUR PROBLEMS IN THE POLICEMAN'S JOB
[Q 16—Police]
[Percent of policemen who consider problem "Very serious" and "Not at all serious"]
(N[White]=335; N[Negro]=101)

Problem	Very serious			Not serious		
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
Noncooperation of residents.	44	32	42	10	18	12
Laws and court decisions hamper investigations and convictions.	68	50	64	5	17	8
Inadequate resources: Men, cars, facilities, etc.	61	60	61	12	10	11
Other agencies lack adequate resources.	40	57	44	13	6	12

Table 6.17 illustrates again how the races differ. Laws and courts were most frequently perceived as an obstacle by whites, but only third most frequently by Negroes. In contrast, Negroes felt most hampered by inadequate resources for themselves, and by the inadequate resources of other agencies in the city. The white police were least concerned about the supportive functions of the other agencies in dealing with community problems.

The policeman is under conflicting pressures and expectations. As Reiss [8] and Bordua point out, enforcement of the laws is separated from the outcome of an arrest. The policeman is under professional and public pressure to catch criminals and to keep public order, but the final conviction and sentencing of an offender is out of his hands, as are judgments of police brutality. It is therefore expected that the average policeman should resent occasional court rejection of his decisions, and frequent court scrutiny of his actions. Likewise, we might add to this conflicting expectation another—that enforcement is separated from prevention. Prevention of many of the situations a policeman handles rests in hands other than his own—city officials, poverty workers, employers, teachers, et al. He has at his disposal only the resources of persuasion and force. With this he must handle the results of the inadequacies of all other segments of the system.

The policeman's perception of other people who work on social problems in his neighborhood is varied. We asked whether the efforts of four types of agencies, organizations or individuals made his job easier or more difficult (Table 6.18). Consistent with their assessment of the causes or riots, the policemen rated the more militant organizations as most deleterious to law enforcement. For every one policeman who considered the civil rights and poverty organizations helpful in the long run, eight thought they were deleterious. On the other hand those workers most directly associated with the same work as the police consider themselves doing—the gang workers—are considered beneficial to the policeman's work by five policemen for every one who thinks them harmful. Policemen are much more evenly split on the benefit of poverty and welfare workers, though the poverty workers are perceived slightly more helpful. A large fraction of the respondents considered poverty and welfare workers as irrelevant to the policeman's job of law enforcement.

The Negro policemen have a greater appreciation for the functions of the various organizations (Table 6.18). The percentage of Negro police who consider all of the four types of agencies to be beneficial is approximately twice that of the white police. Consistently fewer Negroes than whites consider the agencies deleterious. In all cases, however, the Negro and white policemen agree in the way most think about

[8] Environment and Organization: A Perspective on the Police", in David Bordua, op. cit.

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TABLE 6.18

HOW THE WORK OF OTHER AGENCIES AFFECTS THE POLICEMAN'S JOB

[Q 14—Police]

(N[White]=335; N[Negro]=101)

[In percent]

Agency	Easier			More Difficult			No Difference			Don't Know			Total
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	
Gang workers	46	71	52	13	5	11	31	18	28	10	6	9	100 100 100
Poverty program workers (Headstart, VISTA, CAA, etc)	36	61	42	23	4	19	34	31	33	6	4	6	99 100 100
Welfare workers	29	36	30	20	13	18	46	46	46	5	6	6	100 101 100
SNCC, CORE, NAACP, and Poverty Rights groups [1]	6	16	8	75	39	68	10	22	13	8	22	12	99 99 100

[1] Five percent of the whites and sixteen percent of the Negroes indicated that NAACP makes their job easier, while other groups make it more difficult.

each type of organization. A larger fraction of both races think that civil rights groups make life more difficult, while the others make it easier.

POLICE PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY

The policeman's task consists primarily of the immediate enforcement of rules of law and order, and hence he is concerned with establishing a criminal-non-criminal dichotomy in his encounters with citizens. McNamara [10] observed in his study of New York police that such dichotomous stereotypes can often interfere with the policeman's ability to skillfully handle a variety of situations and different types of people in a sensitive manner. This ability partly requires an understanding of the community in which the policeman works. Such an understanding, in turn, would seem to require extensive and frequent informal and non-hostile communication with all major segments of the population with which the policeman is dealing. Not only would this communication increase the policeman's information about the neighborhood and the activities of its residents—thus minimizing mistakes and increasing surveillance of possible criminal—but such communication would tend to increase the policeman's perception and understanding of the resident's problems and concerns and activities, enabling him to avoid insensitivity in treatment of subjects. In short, in seeking the community cooperation and effectively creating a legal order, the policeman could perform best—if this argument is valid—if he is personally familiar with the adult and youth leaders, the community agency volunteers, the possible troublemakers, et al.

[10] John H. McNamara, "Uncertainties in Police Work: The Relevance of Police Recruits' Background and Training," David Bordua, op. cit.

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Our respondents, however, seem strikingly isolated from the neighborhoods in which they patrol. As noted earlier fifty-one percent of the police thought adolescents, and thirty-nine percent thought young adults, regarded police as enemies. In contrast, ninety-four percent of the police perceived storekeepers as regarding police as friends. Whether isolation has caused the hostility or hostility the isolation is beyond our scope to determine. However, it is clear that police communicate very little with the youth and a lot with the merchants. Thirty-one percent of the police do not know a single important teenage or youth leader in the neighborhood well enough to speak to him when they sees him (Table 6.19). Fifty-nine percent know five or fewer this well. On the other hand over fifty-five percent of the policemen report that they know more than twenty-five shop owners, managers, and clerks well enough to speak with them whenever they see them. Where the most communication is occurring between the police and citizens in the neighborhood is reasonably clear. Such a pattern illustrates the grounds on which policemen are often perceived as a force of occupation, stationed in the ghetto to protect the property of the white merchant.

Table 6.19 shows the policeman's priorities in the community. He makes it his business to be aware of the "continual troublemakers" and the merchants. But the community adult and youth leadership, as well as people working on eradicating the social and economic conditions that contribute to crime, are apparently considered largely irrelevant to the policeman's work of law enforcement. One would not usually expect the average patrolman to know very many organizers of crime well enough to exchange greeting on occasional meetings. But he knows as many of these as he does of teenage and youth leaders. Yet the policeman regards juveniles as presenting a particularly pressing problem. We should note that comparison and

TABLE 6.19

EXTENT OF PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH PEOPLE IN THE PRECINCT

[Q 23—Police]

Question: ". . . In your precinct, for example, about how many people among (name group) do you know well enough to speak with whenever you see them?" (N=437)

Group	None	Five or fewer	Six or more	Don't know	100 percent	No answer
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent		
Shop owners, managers, clerks	3	9	89	1	(435)	2
Residents in general	5	12	86	1	(433)	4
Continual trouble makers	6	14	84	1	(436)	1
Important adult leaders	15	49	54	2	(436)	1
People from various government and private agencies who work in the neighborhood, eg. welfare, religious, utilities	19	49	49	1	(436)	1
Organizers of unlawful activities like crime syndicates, numbers rackets, drug pushers	31	57	40	3	(434)	3
Important teenage and youth leaders	31	59	38	2	(433)	4

Note: (Answers were recorded in seven categories, which were collapsed to form the third category above. The second response category listed above is cumulative, including the first category.)

conclusions from the information on Table 6.19 must be made with caution, since there are quite different numbers of people in the neighborhood in each category considered. Thus, there are probably many more merchants than important youth leaders in any precinct. Secondly, we must note that thirteen percent of the respondents (about equal percentages for Negro and white), have desk jobs. While this would not necessarily mean that they would not be acquainted with anyone in the community, it would be expected to reduce the number of residents with whom they frequently communicate. However, what we are particularly emphasizing is the large percentage of policemen who know just a very small number, or even none, of the teenage and youth leaders and the people from other agencies.

Table 6.20 compares by race of respondent his contact with people in the neighborhood. With one exception (continual troublemakers) the white police are more isolated—as measured by the percent who have no acquaintance at all—than the Negro police.

TABLE 6.20

EXTENT OF NO PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH PEOPLE IN THE PATROL NEIGHBORHOOD

[Q 23—Police]

[Percentage of respondents admitting knowing none well enough to casually speak with]

	White (N=335)	Negro (N=101)
Shop owners, managers, clerks, etc	3	1
Residents in general	5	4
Continual troublemakers	5	6
Important adult leaders	18	7
People from various government and private agencies	22	12
Organizers of crime, et al	31	30
Important teenage and youth leaders	35	18

One of the reasons that Negro policemen have more contact with the neighborhood in which they patrol, and have a greater sympathetic understanding of its problems, is that they are much more likely to informally participate in the community than are their white colleagues. Table 6.21 lists four measures of community participation. The general level of participation is rather low. Eighty-three percent of the respondents do not live where they work; and seventy-six percent do not have relatives in the neighborhood. Only twelve percent have friends there they see "a lot" off duty. On these three measures the Negro policemen understandably rate considerably higher. But for both races, the number who have friends in the neighborhood whom they see "a lot" is smaller than the percentage of policemen who live in that neighborhood.

TABLE 6.21

NEIGHBORHOOD PARTICIPATION BY POLICEMEN

[Q 29-32—Police]

[Percentage who responded affirmatively]

	White (N=335)	Negro (N=101)	Total (N=437)
Live in same area as work	11	37	17
Any relatives live where you work	13	56	24
See friends from neighborhood socially "a lot"	6	30	12
Attend meetings in neighborhood "often" or "sometimes"	16	37	21

Even if a policeman does not live in the neighborhood, he can engender community cooperation by attending meetings of various organizations. While thirty percent reported attending meetings at least occasionally only seven percent attend "often." But policemen in general, as would be expected of lower-middle-class occupational groups, are not frequent participants in groups and organized activity outside the job. Sixteen percent do not belong to any organization, and fifty-six percent belong either to one or none (Q 6-BKGD). Their informal contact with their own residential community, aside from the neighborhood in which they work, is not very high.

Another set of questions has frequently been raised about the police department's relationship to the community. These deal with training in human relations for the individual officers, and with departmental policies that may be interpreted as discriminatory. Seventy-eight percent of the sample reported some training in human relations, psychology, counseling, law, etc. We have no way to assess the nature, extent, and effectiveness of this training.

The outward symbol of integration is a mixed patrol. Eighty-four percent of those who are on patrol report that they have patrolled with an officer of the opposite color. However, only thirty-six percent of those on a beat report travelling interracially more than "once in

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a while." The more subtle form discrimination might take is in hiring and promotion. Recently, of course, most cities have been encouraging Negroes to join the force, particularly placing them in the Negro community. When asked how likely it would be that a man of another race would take one's place if he were to change his present job, seventy-one percent reported that it would be either "very likely," or "somewhat likely." Only six percent said it would be not at all likely. While this gives no indication of promotion and assignment practices—since most of the respondents were patrolmen (eighty-three percent)—it does signify that very little effective discrimination in hiring or in general assignment to a Negro neighborhood is perceived by those presently employed.

SUMMARY

The nature of the police relationship to the community is of critical importance in maintaining order and in protecting persons and property. We have found that in the predominantly Negro areas of several large cities, many of the police perceive the residents as basically hostile, especially the youth and adolescents. A lack of public support—from citizens, from courts, and from laws—is the policeman's major complaint. But some of the public criticism can be traced to the activities in which he engages day by day, and perhaps to the tone in which he enforces the "law" in the Negro neighborhoods. Most frequently he is "called upon" to intervene in domestic quarrels and break up loitering groups. He stops and frisks two or three times as many people as are carrying dangerous weapons or are actual criminals, and almost half of these don't wish to cooperate with the policeman's efforts. Most police, however, report that a sizeable proportion of people they deal with respond to reason and respect in the end

The broader relationship between the officers and the community with which they deal is one of low participation, and often unfavorable attitudes toward the residents, especially among the white policemen. Those segments of the population which the police perceive as most hostile, they are least in touch with

on a day-to-day basis. Thirty-one percent admit not knowing a single important youth leader well enough to casually greet him when they see each other. Few police participate in community organizations or have friends they regularly see in the neighborhood. Seventeen percent actually live in the neighborhood in which they work.

There are no obvious signs of discrimination by race in most of these police departments, at least by report of the interviews. However, many differences appear between races in the way individuals view community problems. White policemen see riots as stemming primarily from agitation and criminal elements in the ghetto, seeing their job as one of short term criminal control. Negro policemen, however, tend to see disturbances as caused by more underlying social and economic conditions. The white policemen typically feel that Negroes are treated as well or better than anyone else. Quite to the contrary, the Negro policeman sees his people as mistreated and not moving too fast to achieve equality. Few policemen of either race, however, have recently participated in any civil rights groups. Most of the overall difference between the Negro and white respondents can most likely be attributed to their race, and related community ties and associations. However, the fact that fifty percent of the Negro policemen interviewed had at least some college education, while only thirty-two percent of the whites had some college, might contribute somewhat to the broader and more sympathetic outlook and analysis of the Negro policeman.

Generally speaking, the policemen are dissatisfied with the external rewards for their job, about half-way satisfied with the immediate conditions under which they work, and very happy with their colleagues. Such in-group solidarity, while maintaining morale in the department, might well tend to remove them even further from an already unsupportive, and even threatening world in which they work. Such isolation most likely exacerbates the already marked hostility that exists in many areas between the "residents" and the "enforcers."

Chapter 7*

Major Employers and Their Manpower Policies

Unlike the other occupational groups studied, the major employers in each of our fifteen cities are not necessarily located in the ghetto. Their connection with the Negro community is through the operation of the labor market, a metropolitan-wide system. The days have long gone by when workers lived close to their jobs and firms sought to locate within walking distances of their labor forces. Blue-collar and white-collar employees commute to work in the typical metropolitan area, freeing the business firm to locate itself considering other criteria.

Major employers were included in our study because business enterprises constitute one of the central institutions of the local community. Big business provides enough of the community's personal and collective income to make it a major force in a variety of ways.

From the point of view of a ghetto resident, getting and holding down a job is another way in which he is connected with the larger community. Whether or not he can participate in community life as a full-fledged member depends in very large part on whether the doors to this central institution are open. In our society man may be more than his occupation, but if he does not have an occupation, he is not much of a man.

The major employers were chosen from among the largest firms in each of the fifteen metropolitan areas studied. Samples were drawn from a listing of such firms, according to the methods outlined in Appendix A. In each firm we sought to interview the management official who either administered directly the labor recruitment of the firm or who set policy in that respect. We tried to interview thirty such persons in each city, almost achieving that objective, but ending up with a total sample of 434 respondents.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EMPLOYERS

If any occupational group in the survey could be expected to typify the sort of "white racism" alluded to in the Report of The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, it would be without doubt the employers. This is so not because the employers reportedly engage in overt acts of repression against Negroes, nor even because they hold attitudes which would predict or condone such acts. They do not. It is rather the case that the men represent, as a group, institutions whose doors are open but whose thresholds are too high.

In a near literal sense, employers are the litmus papers which test the degree to which preparatory institutions function for groups which face ultimately the prospect of having the worth of that preparation eval-

*By Bettye K. Eidson.

uated in the marketplace. Employers (and merchants) differ from the other occupational groups in the survey in that they are involved with Negroes in exchange relations, as distinguished from relations based upon the provision of protective or of supportive services. As such, employers might reasonably be expected of all our groups to cast the most dispassionate and objective eyes upon the product of other institutions. Employers themselves put it succinctly, "After all, we're in business to make a profit."

Why, then, look at employers at all? Why not concentrate upon agencies and institutions which prepare people for work and assume that the return to labor will be commensurate with either the needs of the economy or the productivity of the worker, or both? A formal reason for not making this assumption is that the social structure and the occupational structure of a society are interlocked: the return one receives in exchange for his labor depends in part upon impersonal factors like supply and demand but also on custom, notions of equity, and the balance of power between groups and classes. A less formal, but not unrelated, reason for questioning the assumption (that virtue in the job market is automatically rewarded) is the growing political emphasis in the United States on the responsibility of the private sector to alter the existing social hierarchy by providing "meaningful" work for unemployed and underemployed members of minority groups.

Hence, we note two competing ideas about what can be done to upgrade Negroes: one idea is that the occupational structure *reflects* the existing social structure, and the other that the occupational structure *determines* or strongly influences the social structure, so that changes in the occupational structure can be wrought independently of changes in 'customs or notions of equity' outside it. This contrast has some practical import, for if one takes the position that the occupational structure is independent of the social structure, one (in a policy role) would advise increased preparation for Negroes—more and better training or retraining—in order to fully incorporate Negroes into the economy. On the other hand, if one holds that the occupational structure influences or determines social arrangements outside it, the emphasis would logically be upon correcting imperfections in the job search, on illuminating and eliminating practices which screen out suitable personnel, on re-designing jobs, etc. To state it simply, one would put his money on changing employers.

The employers with whom we have talked overwhelmingly (eighty-six percent) accept the proposition that they "have a social responsibility to make strong efforts to provide employment to Negroes and other minority groups." The finding which makes our stress upon the practical implications of competing ideas about how work is distributed more than academic is

the following: in almost identical numbers (eighty-three percent), employers feel that very few Negroes are now qualified for white-collar or professional level jobs. Sixty-nine percent state few Negroes are qualified for skilled level jobs. Twenty-three percent share this view of the qualifications of Negroes for bottom-level jobs. Eventually, we will want to discover whether the employers' conceptions of the Negro labor market influence their actual hiring practices or whether their actual hiring practices are, in fact, a basic determinant of these conceptions. In regard to the upgrading of the Negro occupational force, the two hypotheses indicate quite different public employment policies.

The men with whom we have discussed private employment policies contrast most markedly with the other occupational groups in the survey by virtue of their race. They are the whitest (one hundred percent), the most affluent (sixty-six percent with annual incomes in excess of $15,000), the best educated (forty percent had attended graduate or professional schools), the most likely Protestant (fifty-eight percent), and the most likely Republican (forty-three percent) of the occupational groups surveyed.[1]

Yet, one characteristic of employers is noteworthy in that it suggests a similarity with, and not a contrast to, the remaining occupational groups. Twenty percent of the employers stated that they had been active in some civil rights group in the past two years, as compared with sixteen percent of the combined responses of the other groups. Since these latter groups are more racially mixed than is true of employers, this finding tends to support our conception of employers as fairly typical of the white middle-class, "non-racist" American who holds a key slot in a white middle-class "non-racist" American institution—members of that diffuse fraternity indicted by the National Advisory Commission for their support (either inadvertently or by failing to bear witness to what might be) of the existing racial patterns in the United States.

EMPLOYERS AND THE PROBLEMS IN THEIR CITIES

In common with other occupational groups sampled, employers see one of the most serious problems facing their cities to be Negroes. The control of crime, the prevention of violence and other civil disorders, and race relations generally were considered "very serious" by sixty-four percent, fifty percent, and forty-six percent of the employers, respectively (Table 7.1). "Finding tax funds for municipal services" ran a close fourth at forty-one percent, though what services employers

had in mind was unspecified. Air pollution was considered very serious by a slightly larger proportion of the employers (twenty-six percent) than was unemployment (twenty-one percent).

TABLE 7.1

PROBLEMS IN THEIR CITIES RATED, "VERY SERIOUS", BY EMPLOYERS AND BY THE GENERAL SAMPLE

[Q 3—Core]
[In percent]

Problems rated	Unit	
	Employers only	General sample (all occupations combined)
Control of crime	64	71
Unemployment	21	36
Air pollution	26	33
Race relations	46	52
Providing quality education	35	45
Finding tax funds for municipal services	41	42
Traffic and highways	31	27
Preventing violence and other civil disorder	50	55
Lack of recreation facilities	11	31
Corruption of public officials	9	19
100 percent equals	434	1,953

In comparison with the other occupational groups, the pattern is that employers considered each problem listed "very serious" less frequently than did the combined sample. The one exception to this pattern is "traffic and highways", which was rated very serious by thirty-one percent of the employers and twenty-seven percent of the other occupational groups. The largest differences between responses of employers and those of the combined sample appear on items reading, "lack of recreation facilities" (eleven percent of employers and thirty-one percent of the general sample viewed this as very serious) and "corruption of public officials" (employers were about half as likely to rate this as very serious as was the general sample).

In the main, the question about problems facing their cities suggests that employers are concerned about personal and collective violence of Negroes but see little relation between these acts and the less dramatic activities in which Negroes might engage (such as employment or leisure). Indeed, employers were not only less likely than the general sample to rate unemployment as very serious (twenty-one percent as compared with thirty-six percent), but they themselves were slightly more likely to rate it "not serious"[2] (twenty-seven percent) than "very serious" (twenty-one percent).

Insofar as employers as a group rate seriously problems in their cities connected directly or by inference with Negroes, it is reasonable to inquire what employers see as the major problems facing Negroes.

First, employers were asked to compare Negroes and other groups in their cities with respect to the equality of their "treatment". The response categories in the item ranged over "treated better" (six percent), "treated equally" (twenty-one percent), "treated as other people of the same income" (thirty-six percent), "treated worse than any other part of the population" (eleven percent). Obviously, employers split on this item (Table 7.2).

TABLE 7.2

TREATMENT NEGROES RECEIVE IN THEIR CITIES, AS EVALUATED BY EMPLOYERS AND BY THE GENERAL SAMPLE

[Q 5—Core]
[In percent]

Type of treatment	Unit	
	Employers only	General sample (all occupations combined)
Negroes treated better than any other part of the population	6	10
Negroes treated equally	21	21
Negroes treated as other people of the same income	36	25
Negroes treated worse than other people of the same income	24	26
Negroes treated worse than any other part of the population	11	16
Don't know or no answer	2	2
100 percent equals	434	1,953

We find that over one-third of the employers view Negro treatment as deriving from their social class rather than from their race, and about one-fourth select the opposite response—race not class. And then we have one-fifth, roughly, who see no difference in the treatment Negroes receive in their cities. The main differences between employers' responses to this item and those of the general sample are that the latter tend somewhat to see Negroes "treated worse" more often than do employers (sixteen percent of the general sample and eleven percent of employers chose this response) and that employers tend to put more emphasis upon the class component than does the general sample (thirty-size percent and twenty-five percent, respectively).

This tendency possibly accounts for the pattern of differences which appear between employers and the other groups when asked to compare Negroes and others "of the same income and education" with respect to services and resources available in the city (Table 7.3). The following proportions of employers rated Negroes "as well off" as others of their class with regard to: (a) educational opportunities (fifty-seven percent); (b) employment opportunities (forty percent); (c) treatment by police (fifty-five percent); (d) housing (nineteen percent); (e) treatment by public officials (fifty-eight percent); (f) medical care; and (g), recreation (fifty-eight percent). As may be seen from the third column of Table 7.3, the widest contrasts with the general sample occur in the employers' evalua-

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[1] Each contrast cited in this chapter refers only to the overall figure for other occupational groups and not to a specific comparison of employers with any one group as would be the case if employers' education were compared with, for example, that of social workers.

[2] The "Not Serious" category is not otherwise reported or tabulated for employers.

tions of recreation, employment and educational opportunities of Negroes, on the one hand, and their treatment by public officials, on the other hand. Yet here again, the employers do not appear as a totally heterogeneous group in their perceptions of Negro opportunities: seventy-six percent rate Negroes as less well off than others of the same class where housing is concerned, and forty-nine percent see Negro employment opportunities as more limited ("less well off") than other groups of comparable backgrounds.[3]

TABLE 7.3
EMPLOYERS ASSESS AVAILABILITY OF RESOURCES TO NEGROES
[Q 6—Core]

[Percent Saying Negroes are "As well off" as other groups of the same income and education]

| | Unit | | |
| | (1) | (2) | |
Resources and Services	Employers only	General sample (all occupations combined)	Difference between cols. 1 and 2
Educational opportunities	57	48	+9
Employment opportunities	40	31	+9
Treatment by police	55	36	+9
Housing	19	21	−2
Treatment by public officials	58	49	+9
Medical care	59	54	+5
Recreation	58	45	+13
100 percent equals	434	1,953	

Whatever this heterogeneity may mean in terms of the individual actions of employers in their own firms, it conceivably is related to one of the more puzzling findings: fifty-eight percent of the employers rate "major employers" in their cities as "leaders in working for equal treatment for all citizens regardless of race or color" (Table 7.4). Though more see elected public officials "like the mayor" in the forefront (seventy-four percent) or social workers (sixty-two percent) in this role, in terms of proportions employers rank themselves third, with the fourth slot going to "major retail businesses" (forty-two percent). They as often see police as heading the drive for nondiscrimination (thirty-four percent) as teachers in public schools (thirty-one percent), or as bankers (thirty-two percent).

The combined sample is much less likely to rate major employers as leaders than employers are—twenty-eight percent of the general sample do so, as compared with employers' fifty-eight percent. Of the remainder of the employers, thirty-one percent rated major employers as "active but not leaders," and about that number (thirty percent) viewed major employers as either not caring "one way or the other" or as "dragging their feet."

[3] "Less well off" is neither tabulated nor reported elsewhere in the chapter.

TABLE 7.4
LOCAL GROUPS RATED AS "LEADERS" IN THE WORK FOR EQUAL TREATMENT OF ALL CITIZENS, BY EMPLOYERS AND BY THE GENERAL SAMPLE
[Q 10—Core]
[In percent]

| | Unit | |
Groups rated	Employers only	General sample (all occupations combined)
Major employers	58	28
Major retail businesses	42	23
Bankers	32	18
Police	34	30
Social workers	62	50
Elected public officials like the mayor	74	67
Public school teachers	31	34
Homeowners	1	6
Landlords	2	3
Unions	18	22
100 percent equals	434	1,953

These differences—in how other occupational groups rate employers and among employers themselves—may be due in part to the use of the phrase, 'major employer.' The *average* firm sampled employed about two hundred persons. Sixty-six percent had one hundred or more employees, and thirty-four percent of the firms represented could be considered major employers. Thus there are some respondents who, when speaking of the leadership of major employers, may be thinking of the activities of their own firms. In contrast, some companies may be located in a city where *one* major employer is so publicly committed to increasing opportunities for Negroes that other employers respond with that one employer in mind. In any event, the variation among employers in their ratings of the larger of their number as leaders in the drive for equality of opportunity is paralled by the variation in the reported actions of the respondents' own firms in this area. For example, given the question, "Some companies have been going out of their way lately to hire Negroes whenever possible. Is this mainly true, partially true, or not at all true of your company?", forty-six percent of the employers said, 'mainly true', thirty percent said 'partially true', and the remaining twenty-four percent said it was 'not at all true'. When we consider that eighty-six percent of these men state they personally feel companies in their cities have a social responsibility to provide employment to Negroes and other minority groups, the task becomes that of explaining the variation in what employers are, in fact, doing about that perceived responsibility.

EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES

Table 7.5 shows the number of Negro applicants out of the last twenty applications the employers reported receiving for professional and white-collar, skilled and unskilled jobs. Three pieces of information are included in the table: (1) the median number (and the

median proportion into which that would translate) of applicants who were Negro across all firms; (2) the median number and proportion of Negro applicants for firms which had one or more Negro applicants; and, (3) the number of firms which had no Negroes among its last twenty applicants. In each case, the figures have been computed separately for skill categories.

TABLE 7.5
NUMBER OF NEGRO APPLICANTS AMONG LAST TWENTY APPLICANTS BY SKILL LEVEL
[Q 7b—EMP]

| | Skill level | | |
Negroes among last 20 applicants*	Professional and white-collar	Skilled	Unskilled
Median number (and proportion):			
0–20	0.8 (4%)	0.8 (4%)	5 (25%)
Number of firms equals	(388)	(357)	(363)
Median number (and proportion) for firms with 1 or more Negro applicants:			
1–20	2 (10%)	4.5 (23%)	9.5 (48%)
Number of firms equals	(251)	(225)	(33)
Number of firms reporting:			
No Negroes among last 20 applicants	137	132	33
Percent equals	(32%)	(30%)	(8%)
Don't know or no answer	46	77	71
Percent equals	(9%)	(18%)	(16%)

*Number of firms reporting one or more Negro applicants, no Negro applicants, and don't know or no answer equals total of 434.

Reading across the first row in the table it appears that the median number of Negro applicants is roughly six times as great for unskilled jobs as for skilled or professional and white-collar (hereafter referred to as 'white-collar jobs'). Five out of every twenty applicants for unskilled jobs are Negro; less than one out of twenty applicants for a skilled or for a white-collar job is Negro.

The second row of the table shows the median number of Negro applicants out of twenty for those firms which had one or more Negro applicants, for each skill category. The proportions better than double for white-collar jobs, nearly double for unskilled jobs, and, oddly, better than quadruple for skilled jobs. That this is odd is indicated by the third row of the table: the proportion of firms with no Negro applicants among the last twenty is very similar for white-collar (thirty-two percent) and skilled (thirty percent) categories, in contrast to the eight percent for the unskilled category. One implication of the showing for skilled category applicants is that if the firm gets Negro applicants for these openings it gets them in good numbers, so that whether the firm accepts or solicits any Negro applicants is even more critical for skilled categories than for white-collar or unskilled.

Table 7.6 summarizes the hiring patterns reported by the firms, again, with reference to the number of Negroes out of the last twenty hired in each of the three skill categories. We see in the first row of Table 7.6 that the median proportion of Negroes hired is zero for both the white-collar and skilled categories.

Only for unskilled openings would these data indicate that having applied (Table 7.5) makes a difference in the probability of the Negro applicant's being hired.

TABLE 7.6
NUMBER OF NEGROES AMONG LAST TWENTY PERSONS HIRED, BY SKILL LEVEL
[Q 7c—EMP]

| | Skill level | | |
Negroes among last 20 hired*	Professional and white-collar	Skilled	Unskilled
Median number (and proportion):			
0–20	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (20%)
Number of firms equals	(385)	(350)	(352)
Median number (and proportion) for firms with 1 or more Negroes hired among the last 20 persons hired:			
1–20	1.5 (8%)	1.7 (8%)	5.5 (28%)
Number of firms equals	(204)	(193)	(309)
Number of firms reporting no Negroes among last 20 persons hired			
Percent equals	181 (42%)	157 (36%)	43 (10%)
Don't know or no answer	49	84	82
Percent equals	(11%)	(17%)	(18%)

*Number of firms reporting one or more Negroes hired, no Negroes hired, and don't know or no answer equals total of 434.

Looking at the second row in Table 7.6 (and thus taking out from our computations firms which had no Negroes among the last twenty hired), we can see in conjunction with the previous table that the ratio of Negroes applying to their being hired is: for white-collar openings, ten percent of all applicants as compared with eight percent of all hired; for skilled categories, Negroes are twenty-three percent of the applicants and eight percent of the hired; and, for unskilled categories, they are forty-eight percent of the applicants and twenty-eight percent of the hired. On the face of it, this looks promising because what it says is that *if* the firm recruits Negroes and *if* the Negro applies and *if* his application is for a white-collar job, his chances of being employed are close to certainty. Something apparently is jamming the system however, judging by the third row: forty-two percent of the firms report no Negroes among the last twenty persons hired for white-collar jobs with 36% reporting no Negroes among the last twenty hired for skilled level openings. In fact, the Negro applicant has about one chance in four of being hired for these latter jobs. Prospects rise again for unskilled openings, for here the Negro applicant has around a forty percent chance of getting (or of taking) the job.

The final table in this series, Table 7.7, shows the median proportion of the firms' employees who are Negro in each skill level. One percent of white-collar employees, two percent of skilled workers, and twenty percent of the unskilled are Negro in the firms over-all. The second row illustrates yet again how these figures are depressed by the relatively large numbers of firms which report no Negroes applying or being hired. When firms with no Negro employees are taken out, the median proportion Negro at the white-collar level

is three percent; at the skilled level, the proportion also triples to come up to six percent. The unskilled level is not depressed in this manner because the bulk of the firms do have Negro employees in these slots.

TABLE 7.7

PROPORTION OF NEGRO EMPLOYEES IN THE THREE SKILL LEVELS*

[Q 8—EMP]

Proportion Negro employees	Skill level		
	Professional and white collar	Skilled	Unskilled
Median proportion: (0-100%) Number of firms equals...	1% (396)	2% (390)	20% (391)
Median proportion for firms with 1 or more Negro employees: (0-100%) Number of firms equals...	3% (295)	6% (330)	20% (367)
Number of firms reporting no Negro employees... Percent equals...	101 (23%)	60 (14%)	24 (6%)
Don't know or no answer...	38 (9%)	44 (10%)	43 (10%)

*Number of firms reporting one or more Negro employees, no Negro employees, and don't know or no answer equals total of 434.

If there is a trend discernible in these data, a very crude way of detecting it would be by comparing the number of Negroes being hired with the number now employed, as was done for the number applying and the number being hired. Repeating this procedure, we see that whereas the median proportion of current white collar employees who are Negro is three percent (Table 7.7), the median proportion among those being hired for these slots is eight percent (from Table 7.6), *if* the firm hired any Negroes for these positions—and forty-two percent did not. For skilled workers, Negroes are eight percent of those being hired as compared with a less dramatic six percent of the currently employed, a less dramatic but similar pattern. Unskilled Negro workers are holding their own in these firms as well: twenty-eight percent of those being hired and twenty percent of the currently employed.

There is nothing startling in the finding that the representation of Negroes is skewed in the direction of unskilled jobs. Still, the three tables taken together do allow us to speak a little more directly to the question raised initially about shifts in the occupational structure and how these shifts may occur. For what these data suggest are:

(1) Despite the employers' statements that Negroes are not qualified, by and large, for white-collar jobs and are qualified for lower level jobs, the gap between Negro and white would appear to be closing for white-collar and skilled Negro applicants and holding constant for Negro applicants to unskilled openings.

(2) Judging from the data on applications received, openings for unskilled jobs are being advertised effectively to Negroes, in contrast to openings for jobs above that level.

(3) One way of interpreting the data would indicate that the Negro applicant has a zero probability of being hired for either a white-collar or a skilled level job. As we have seen, this finding is confounded by the high proportion of firms that placed no Negroes in these vacancies. The analysis thus far suggests that the Negro has a good chance of being hired, *if* the firm hires Negroes. To put it differently, the Negro who gets to and through the application stage apparently competes effectively for white collar and skilled level job vacancies. Hence it may be that one of the more stringent handicaps facing Negroes in the marketplace could come under the heading, "information disadvantage."

If so, we will want to discover how the information and selection system works for our firms generally, on the simple assumption (to be tested more fully later) that to the extent the system relies heavily upon personal contacts and influence the system will leave on the periphery those whose friends are not somewhere in the center.

To approach this roughly, we have analyzed three segments of data. First, employers were asked whether or not they utilized a given set of recruitment channels to advertise their openings (Table 7.8). Secondly, the employers were asked which of the channels used was most effective in bringing in applicants with the desired qualifications (Table 7.9). Finally, an item was included to get at differences in the criteria personnel people might apply to applicants for the upper and lower level openings (Table 7.10).

Table 7.8 tells us that the methods used for recruitment are a motley combination of direct advertisement and of screening devices. On the one hand, we find want ads—information available to all but the illiterate—widely used. For both white-collar (eighty-three percent) and skilled level jobs (seventy-eight percent), ads are among the most frequently cited of recruitment methods. This does not confirm that want ads are the most *frequently used* method, only that they are a *generally used* method of advertising openings.

TABLE 7.8

CHANNELS OF RECRUITMENT USED FOR PROFESSIONAL AND WHITE COLLAR, SKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED AND UNSKILLED OPENINGS

[Q 5a(1), Q 5b(1), & Q 5c(1)—EMP]

[Percentage of firms reporting, "yes" to use of each channel]

Channels	Skill level			Difference between cols. 1 and 3
	Professional and white collar	Skilled	Semi-skilled and unskilled	
Want ads in newspapers	83	78	66	+17
Labor unions	8	28	26	-18
State employment services	64	65	71	-7
Private employment services	84	52	30	+54
Asking current employees for referrals	73	70	71	+2
Signs posted outside plant	7	11	15	-8

NOTE.—100 percent equals 434.

(Indeed, the same caveat must be respected in interpreting the other frequencies in the table.) Since this is the case, it seems reasonable at a preliminary stage of analysis to turn our interest around somewhat and ask, "What is the most *consistently* used channel across, rather than *within*, skill levels?"

Where the differences in proportions of employers using a channel to recruit white-collar and semi-skilled or unskilled labor are small, that channel could be defined as consistently used. Conversely, where the gap is wide across skill levels, the recruitment strategy could be considered more geared to the type of employee sought—and, hence, less consistent. To illustrate what this technicality might actually mean in the job search, we could take the case of a person without a job: where should he start looking for one?

Our data indicate (Table 7.8) that if the unemployed person is not certain what skill level he should aim for, his best bet would be to ask employed people he knows about openings where they work. For, asking current employees for referrals is the method most consistently used (by employers) across skill levels—a difference of two percent from the top to bottom level jobs. On the other hand, if our unemployed person aims for a white-collar job, his first stop should probably be a private employment service, where he may or may not be told the location of advertised openings. By our definition, private employment services represent the least consistently used source, favoring top-level jobs by a difference of fifty-four percent.

The two methods—the most and the least consistently used by employers—have a common characteristic. Both are "filter" recruitment methods, and the knowledge of openings they yield for an unemployed person will be conditioned by (a) his access to gainfully employed acquaintances, or (b) the extent to which he impresses the intermediary at the private employment service that he is what the client has in mind.

If our candidate has neither friends who would know of openings nor attributes that look marketable to the agency interviewer, his next best bets, according to Table 7.8, are to read newspaper want ads and to register with his public employment service.

To see how effective employers rate these various paths to employment, we turn to Table 7.9. This table reveals that want ads are ranked first in effectiveness both for skilled labor (forty-two percent) and lower-level recruitment (thirty-two percent) and are, in fact, a very close second in rank (thirty-three percent) for filling white-collar vacancies.

The first rank for the top jobs is given to private employment services at thirty-six percent, three percent higher than the rating of want ads for this white-collar category. The asking of current employees for referrals would appear to increase in effectiveness as the skill level of the opening declines: eleven percent of the

TABLE 7.9

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH A RECRUITMENT CHANNEL WAS RATED THE "MOST EFFECTIVE," FOR PROFESSIONAL AND WHITE COLLAR, SKILLED, AND SEMI-SKILLED AND UNSKILLED OPENINGS

[Q 5a(2), Q 5b(2), & Q 5c(2)—EMP]

[In percent]

Channels	Skill Level		
	Professional and white collar	Skilled	Semi-skilled and unskilled
Want ads in newspapers	33	42	35
Labor unions	0	9	8
State employment services	4	7	17
Private employment services	36	13	4
Asking current employees for referrals	11	15	20
Signs posted outside plant	1	1	2
Walk-in applicants*	2	2	5
Recruitment at colleges*	6	0	0
Don't know or no answer	7	11	9
434 equals	(100)	(100)	(100)

*Recruitment channel volunteered by respondent as "most effective," not on the original list in question 5.

employers rank this as "most effective" for white-collar openings, with twenty percent so ranking it for semi-skilled or unskilled recruitment. The public employment service is not generally considered effective unless the opening is for the lower level job. We see that the private employment services outrank the public for skilled as well as for white collar recruitment. More specifically, employers were nine times as likely to consider private agencies more effective for skilled labor recruitment, with the pattern reversing for lower level jobs, where state employment services are four times as likely as private to be so ranked, (seventeen percent as contrasted with four percent). Yet even at the lowest level, we find employers place slightly more confidence in the efficacy of referrals from current employees (twenty percent) than in the public employment services (seventeen percent).

Asking employers their most effective recruitment source does not necessarily yield information about the most effective employment channel for the unemployed. In that employers presumably define "effectiveness" by the frequency with which they use a channel (coverage) in relation to the result that frequency obtains (impact), what we have summarized in Table 7.9 is a derived measure of effectiveness. To accurately evaluate a method (from the point of view of the unemployed), we would need the same separate pieces of information the employer had in his head when he calculated for us the costs and benefits of the various recruitment chanels. This we do not have. Yet a later and more detailed analysis may enable us to approximate what is pertinent to our interests if we relate favored recruitment sources to the actual frequency with which Negroes apply to the firm.

The evidence supporting the hypothesis of an information disadvantage at this point is mixed. The effectiveness of want ads is high in rank, and this does represent a direct recruitment method. Still, one could turn the figures around in Table 7.9 and show that sixty-

seven percent of the employers do not consider it the most effective means of white-collar recruitment, fifty-eight percent do not consider it the most effective one for filling skilled openings, and sixty-five percent rank other methods as more effective in the search for semi-skilled and unskilled labor.

An alternative hypothesis might be that Negroes are not qualified for openings, that they are not being prepared for upper level jobs by institutions outside the occupational structure. Table 7.10 summarizes the criteria employers say they apply in selecting from among applicants to each of three skill levels. We see that previous experience is the factor considered most important in the evaluation of white-collar applicants (ninety-three percent), previous experience is about equally as important as recommendations in evaluating applicants for skilled level openings (eighty percent, eighty-one percent, respectively), with recommendations considered the most important tool for screening applicants to the unskilled category (sixty-eight percent).

TABLE 7.10

FACTORS CONSIDERED "IMPORTANT" IN THE SELECTION OF EMPLOYEES FROM AMONG APPLICANTS, BY SKILL LEVEL OF APPLICANTS

[Q 6—EMP]

[Percent of employers saying "very important" or "somewhat important" shown here]

Selection factor	Skill level		
	Professional and white collar	Skilled	Unskilled
Previous experience	93	80	50
Recommendations	87	81	68
Performance on tests of ability	75	68	47
Age	41	33	34

NOTE.—100 percent equals 434.

The pattern in Table 7.10 suggests that if these criteria are the tools most often used for evaluation, and if these are applied objectively to candidates within skill categories, the respects in which Negroes or anyone would be most at a disadvantage would relate to jobs they have had and people they have known, rather than to their mental or physical capacities ("ability testing" and "age" in the table.)

Or it may yet be, as employers and others report, that there is quite simply a dearth of Negroes to fill slots which require of any applicant a high school diploma or a college degree. Competition among firms for the Negro Ph.D. is fabled. Yet recent estimates are that between 1963 and 1966, our educational system produced about 100 of these, so that at that rate it will be a number of years before we can accumulate enough of these types to test out competing theories as to the nature of employment barriers facing Negroes. At this point in time, we can inquire why it is that firms which have one or more Negro employees in higher level slots are those firms to which the better qualified Negroes are applying.

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Part of the answer may lie in the perceptions men who set or administer hiring policies hold with regard to "potential problems" with Negro employees. Table 7.11 shows the proportion of employers who agree ("strongly" or "slightly") with a series of statements—mostly derogatory—on what Negroes would be like if one did hire them in any number. Sixty-four percent of employers agree that Negroes are apt to be less well trained than whites, "so hiring many Negroes will either decrease production or increase training costs." Slightly over half (fifty-one percent) agree that Negroes would upset production schedules due to their higher absenteeism rates. About one third (thirty percent) of the employers would expect increased theft and vandalism to accompany the hiring of many Negroes. Roughly one fifth (twenty-two percent) would agree that the involvement of Negroes generally in civil rights activities might predict agitation and trouble for the company that employs them with frequency, while about the same proportion would expect production costs to rise because "Negroes generally tend not to take orders and instructions as well as whites" (nineteen percent).

TABLE 7.11

PERCEIVED POTENTIAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH HIRING NEGROES

[Q 13—EMP]

[Percent of employers who "Agree Strongly" or "Agree Slightly" with the statement]

	Agreeing
Negroes are apt to be less well trained than whites, so hiring many Negroes will either decrease production or increase training costs	64
Negroes are apt to have a higher rate of absenteeism, therefore hiring too many Negroes may upset production schedules	51
Since Negro crime rates are generally higher than White crime rates, hiring many Negroes could easily lead to increased theft and vandalism in the company	30
Since many Negroes have been involved in civil rights demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience, by hiring too many Negroes you risk bringing trouble makers and agitators into your company	22
Negroes generally tend not to take orders and instructions as well as Whites and, therefore, to hire too many of them may raise costs of production	19

Note.—100%=434.

Altogether, this table indicates that employers as a group expect most Negroes to be less well trained and less reliable than whites. Yet all but twenty percent rate Negroes as "trainable", if we may thus interpret the low frequency with which employers agree that Negroes take instructions poorly.

We do not know at this point how these perceptions of the Negro labor market tie in with the recent experiences employers have had with Negro applicants. This is one of the directions we will go from here. We do know that forty-one percent of the employers had no Negro applicants or did not know the number of Negroes among the last 20 persons applying to their firms for white collar jobs. Forty-eight percent report no recent experiences with Negro applicants for skilled level openings. We can surmise then that the potential "Negro employee" is for a large number of our employers an applicant seeking laborer's work.

SUMMARY

1. Most employers do not see unemployment as a serious problem in their cities and, perhaps more importantly, most are less likely than other occupational groups to rate unemployment as a serious problem.

2. Many employers do not see Negroes as operating under special handicaps, other than those which would derive from class in general.

3. A majority of the employers see the private sector (employers, retail businesses, bankers) as now in the forefront of the movement for equality to treatment for Negroes; other occupational groups see the movement quite differently.

4. Many employers apparently view Negroes not only as unqualified but actually as high-risk candidates for openings.

5. Virtually every employer agrees that the private sector has a social responsibility to provide jobs for minority group members.

6. Employers split most sharply over whether their own firms are actively promoting that ideal.

In brief, employers as a group tend to see Negroes as simply not qualified—by preparatory institutions or by past employment experiences—for good jobs. But whether or not the firm recruits Negroes for these jobs would appear to be an important factor distinguishing firms which find qualified Negroes from those that do not.

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Chapter 8*

Doing Business
in the Ghetto:
Retail Merchants

In American mythology, the retail merchant has scarcely been a hero, although some retail merchants have made lasting contributions to the communities they have served. During the past decade with its great increase in Negro unrest, new chapters have been added to the story of the American retailer. Shopkeepers doing business in the ghetto have been accused of almost every conceivable malpractice, and when civil disorders have struck, ghetto retail stores have borne the brunt of property damage and looting.

Retail merchants doing business in ghetto locations are the subjects of this chapter. There is an obvious reason for our interest in this group: retail merchants are one of the most important and continuously functioning interfaces between Negro communities and the larger white society. Retail stores, largely owned and managed by whites, are an ever-present reminder to the ghetto resident that major institutions on the local scene have yet to be penetrated to any consider-

*By Richard Berk.

able degree by Negroes. Further, the ethics of business in the retail markets of the ghetto has also become a major grievance of the Negro community.

The questionnaire used in our study of retail merchants is reproduced in Appendix B. The interview centered around problems of doing business in the ghetto and images of the Negro as customer and employee. The questionnaire was well received by the merchants we interviewed. Many spent some hours with our interviewers answering questions in between waiting on customers or rearranging stock. Their answers provided the research team with a fairly good set of insights into the problems of doing business in the ghetto.

The ghetto merchant does not see his life as an easy one. Fifteen percent find it very difficult to "keep up with their competition", another thirty percent find it "somewhat difficult", and the fifty-three percent find it easy. As we will see, even those who find it easy, are faced with special problems arising out of their ghetto location.

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RETAIL MERCHANTS

Retail merchandising is one of the freest sectors of the American economy. There are no bureaucratic or educational requirements for becoming a retail merchant. As a consequence this group constitutes the most heterogeneous of all the occupational groups studied. For example, the merchants had the widest range of ages of any group in the sample, from 17 to 80 years of age. As long as a merchant is competent enough to survive, there are few age restrictions. Their median age was approximately fifty, which was about the same as for our sample of politicians and employers, but considerably older than that for our samples of police, educators, and social workers.

The merchants had by far the largest percentage of immigrants with nearly fifteen percent born outside of the United States. No other occupational sample in our study exceeded six percent immigrant.

Compared to the other groups studied, the retail merchants were more poorly educated. Sixty percent of the merchants had a high school education or less. Only sixteen percent of the merchants had finished college, compared to an overall sample percentage of forty nine.

The voting patterns for the retail merchants were similar to, but slightly more Democratic than the overall sample. Forty-three percent of the merchants claimed to vote usually Democratic in national elections. Thirteen percent voted Republican and twenty-nine percent voted independently. In local elections the percentages remained about the same with a slight decrease in those committed to either party and a slight increase of about six percent in those who voted independently.

Merchants are not joiners. Forty-six percent belonged to no groups, unions, or organizations, a figure which is over twenty percent higher than the next least active group, the social workers.

With regard to religion, our sample seems to back up the popular notion that Jews are proportionally overrepresented in ghetto business. Thirty-nine percent of our sample of ghetto merchants were Jewish, with Protestants (thirty-five percent) and Catholics (twenty-four percent) making up the rest of the total.

Thus, our "typical" merchant was a man [1] about fifty years old with a high school education, who moved to his present city in his early twenties. He was most likely Jewish, voted Democratic, and owned his own home. If he belonged to any groups or organizations, he belonged to only one. He had not been active in civil rights organizations (only eleven percent are members of civil rights groups).

[1] Only twenty-one percent were women.

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BUSINESS PRACTICES

The ghetto retail merchants of our sample generally ran very small operations.[2] The median number of employees (other than an owner and/or a manager) was 3.5. A third of the merchants had two employees or less. Our sample was aimed at the owners and managers of ghetto businesses, and the breakdown shows that sixty-eight percent of those interviewed were owners, thirty percent were managers, and two percent were other employees. Ninety-four percent of those interviewed personally served customers, another indicator of size. A wide variety of stores were sampled, as shown in Table 8.1.

TABLE 8.1
[Q 22—Rtlr]
[In percent]

Kind of store	Percentage of sample over 15 cities
Small grocery store	6
Supermarket	5
Hard goods stores (furniture, hardware, appliances, etc.)	13
Soft goods stores (clothes, linen, shoes, etc.)	11
Restaurant, snack shop, bar	12
Liquor store	5
Car dealer	3
Novelty shop, gift shop, stationery store	3
Dept. store or discount house (variety of goods)	9
Jewelry store	3
Cigar/newspaper	4
Cleaning, pressing, laundry, tailor	6
Pawn shop	3
Gasoline service station	3
Barbershop, beauty shop	8
Drug store	4
100 percent equals	(442)

Retail businessmen often offer the customer a variety of services besides the goods regularly sold in the store. Ghetto merchants were no exception, as Table 8.2 shows. Over half of those interviewed "sometimes" or "often" extended all but one of the services listed. Even the least endorsed practice of extending "credit to people other stores wouldn't help" yielded thirty-three percent who at least sometimes engaged in the practice. Sixty-five percent often gave to local charities, thirty-two percent often gave advice on personal problems, and twenty-three percent helped customers fill out applications and other forms. Judging by these large percentages, one has to conclude that about half of the merchants operated relatively unbureaucratic, informal, perhaps even friendly neighborhood stores.

The credit policies, allegedly followed by ghetto businessmen, often have come under attack. To our surprise, our sample findings suggested that credit and in-

[2] The sample was picked to cover the kinds of stores one finds in the poor Negro neighborhood with the exclusion of banks and finance companies. A list of kinds of operations and the percentage in which they were sampled can be seen on Table 8.1.

TABLE 8.2
SPECIAL SERVICES OFFERED BY GHETTO MERCHANTS
[Q 6—Rtlr]
[In percent]

Services Offered	How Often?				
	Often	Some-times	Never	No answer	100 percent equals
Cash payroll checks	22	28	49	.6	(442)
Help fill out applications and other forms	23	31	45	.6	(442)
Extend credit to people other stores wouldn't help	12	21	66	1	(442)
Make contributions to local churches and charities	65	30	5	.7	(442)
Give advice to customers on personal problems	32	34	33	.6	(442)

terest on credit play relatively small roles in the kinds of ghetto businesses we studied:[3] only forty-one percent extended credit at all, and twelve percent (or about three out of ten of those extending credit) charged for this service. The median interest charged on credit buying was a little over one percent a month. Unfortunately we did not ascertain whether this was on the total amount bought on credit or on the unpaid balance. But in either case, this rate was high, but not at all unusual.

Only twenty-three percent of our sample lived in the neighborhood where they worked. The median distance from place of work to place of residence was about two miles and virtually all lived within eight miles.

Seventy percent of the merchants claimed to have some customers whom they called personal friends. The number of friends ranged from one to one hundred or more. Some merchants even said that all of their customers were personal friends. Of those who named a specific number or percentage of customers, the median came to 25.2 people.

The median length of time that the merchants had been doing business in the present neighborhood falls between ten and eleven years. This particular distribution was quite skewed toward the lower end, with nearly a third of the merchants located in their present neighborhood five years or less.

Ghetto merchants in our sample dealt primarily with Negro customers. Seventy-six percent of the merchants had a clientele that was fifty percent or more Negro, and twenty-five percent had a clientele that is ninety-four percent or more Negro.[5]

Most of the stores employed some Negroes: twenty-seven percent had none, sixteen percent had one, fifteen percent had two, nine percent had three, and

[3] Nearly half of the stores sampled were types of businesses in which credit is not ordinarily extended, e.g. newspaper stores, supermarkets, beauty shops, etc.

[4] Some of the stores located in the ghettos serve a clientele which is citywide, as in the case of certain types of specialty stores, or even gasoline stations located on main thoroughfares.

the remaining one third employed more than three. The median fell at 1.6. Since the median number of all employees was 3.5, one can estimate that about half the employees were Negro. To some of the research staff, this proportion was surprising. But when we consider that twenty-six percent of the merchants interviewed were themselves Negro, the proportion of Negro employees does not seem too far out of line with expectations.

Thus, the "typical" ghetto business was small, generally involving from two to four people. It often offered a variety of services besides simple selling of merchandise, and had been located in the ghetto for from six to eleven years. The clientele was largely Negro, and half the employees were Negro. The shop owner felt that he had a number of customers who were personal friends, even though he lived several miles away from where he worked. He ran a cash business and left sophisticated financing to the professional finance companies.

GRIEVANCES OF MERCHANTS

As with all other occupational groups, we asked the retail merchants in our study what they felt to be their major problems in going about their job. Answers were highly concentrated in one area: the poor relations the merchants had with their customers, employees, and other people in the neighborhood. Table 8.3 shows the six most frequently cited problems.

TABLE 8.3
MAJOR PROBLEMS OF RETAIL MERCHANTS
[Q 1—Rtlr]
[In percent]

Problem	Percentage
Shoplifting: theft	23
Staying solvent, in the black	10
Vandalism	9
Customers rude, drunk, disorderly	9
Quality of employees: late, lazy, dishonest	7
Citizens afraid to shop here	7
Other	35
Total number of responses equals	(622)

Shoplifting and theft easily ranked first as the most frequently cited complaint, with nearly one fourth of the responses coded in that category.

Four of the remaining five items were also concerned with the kind of relationships store owners had with their ghetto neighbors and customers. The retail merchant in the ghetto apparently saw himself as surrounded by untrustworthy and sometimes hostile customers, neighbors, and even employees. A majority of merchant complaints (fifty-five percent) involved people around him and their propensity to be criminal, violent, lazy, and rude.

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It seems an unfortunate state of affairs when the major problems one must face in running a business are not marketing, advertising, shrewd buying, or financing, but crime and vandalism. It is a tragedy, not only because of the waste of human energy and resources, but because it sets in motion an upward spiral in which the embattled merchant, seeing his business relationships as hostile, is likely to become hostile and suspicious himself, thus, setting in motion the next escalation of bad feeling.

Additional questions were aimed at elaborating the kinds of feelings that the shop owners and managers had about their customers. Table 8.4 displays the responses obtained from one item listing a series of "complaints about customers" and asking merchants to assess the truth of each criticism. Crime directed against the store tops the list: sixty-seven percent endorsed the statement that customers often steal from local stores. On every complaint at least thirty-five percent felt the statement was at least partially true. It seems that a sizable percentage of the shopkeepers have serious complaints about working in ghetto neighborhoods.

TABLE 8.4
COMPLAINTS ABOUT CUSTOMERS
[Q 18—RUr]
[In percent]

Complaints	Largely true	Partially true	Not true at all	Don't know	No answer
Customers around here are rude to retail merchants	6	33	60	1	0
Customers in the neighborhood try to take advantage of shopkeepers	8	30	59	3	.5
Customers hereabouts are slow in paying bills	11	29	28	31	.7
Customers around here often try to steal from stores	26	41	26	6	1
Customers in this neighborhood are hostile to shopkeepers	7	28	61	21	1

In spite of the high level of complaints about theft, a summary complaint about the general level of hostility directed at shopkeepers drew a relatively lower endorsement than the complaints about overt acts. Apparently more shopkeepers felt that their customers steal, cheat, and are rude than felt that the customers were generally hostile.

There are several possible explanations for the seeming inconsistency shown in the complaints about customers. First of all, merchants may not see stealing as a hostile act, but one motivated by poverty rather than dislike. Secondly, merchants may believe that theft is a problem stemming from only a very small minority of neighbors and customers and hence is not to be generalized to the entire community. Thirdly, the merchants may be denying to the interviewers and perhaps to themselves that the aggressive acts directed toward them and their stores amount to a pattern indicating hostility toward store owners and managers. The data

from our study cannot discriminate among these alternative lines of interpretation. It may well be that all three explanations are true to some extent: merchants may feel that the theft to which they are subjected is motivated by the poverty of a few residents, and that a majority of the residents are not hostile to them.

A second series of questions tried to find out whom the merchants felt were to blame for poor merchant-customer relations. Were the merchants overpricing goods or were the customers trying to buy at unreasonably low prices? Were the merchants rude or were the customers rude? Were credit charges too high, or were the customers bad credit risks? Over all three parts to the question the merchants tended not to blame either party exclusively, but felt both the shopkeepers and the customers were about equally at fault. (Responses are shown in Table 8.5.)

TABLE 8.5
RELATIVE BLAME FOR CUSTOMER-MERCHANT DISPUTES
[Q 19—RUr]
[In percent]

Complaint	Merchants are to be blamed	Merchants and customers both	Customers are to be blamed	Neither	Don't know and no answer
		Who is to Blame?			
Taking advantage with regard to price and quality of merchandise	9	29	6	49	7
Being impolite to each other	4	37	10	45	4
Charging too much interest or taking advantage of credit	10	36	9	44	1

The most frequent response tabulated in Table 8.5 are denials that there were problems of these sorts in merchant-customer relationships. Thus forty-four percent stated that merchants were not taking advantage of customers with regard to pricing and the quality of goods and also that customers were not trying to take advantage of merchants. Comparable levels of denial were registered with respect to manners, and credit. When the merchants felt that there was some issue in merchant-customer relationships, the blame tended to be placed on merchants and customers equally. In short, a little more than half of the merchants felt that credit, manners, and pricing were abrasive issues in merchant-customer relationships, but both parties shared equally in whatever blame was involved.

The grievances described in this section can be summarized very simply. Ghetto merchants are plagued with problems of theft, vandalism, and some degree of hostility from their customers. However, the hostility displayed is not generalized to the neighborhood as a whole. Half acknowledged that there are difficulties in the merchant-customer relationship but saw the blame being shared by both parties.

GHETTO BUSINESS PRACTICE

The most frequent publically expressed complaint about ghetto merchants concerns their business practices. According to many critics, retail merchants in Negro areas charge higher prices for shoddier goods. It would have been useful had we been able to observe whether or not such complaints were in fact justified. Given the methodology of survey interviewing, we had to approach the problem less directly by using a series of questions on the "philosophy" of doing business in the ghetto and placing the frame of reference of the questions in the third person. Thus, we did not ask each merchant to say what he in fact did, but to indicate whether or not they agreed to statements made by "other merchants".

The results of the series of questions on this topic are contained in Table 8.6. Twelve percent of the merchants endorsed the most ethically questionable policy of "bargaining with each customer and taking whatever breaks you can get". Although this proportion is not very high, it still means that at least one store in eight is likely to take advantage of naive customers. Looked at in this perspective, it is a sizeable percentage. Further, it is probable that many merchants who do engage in this practice will not admit to endorsing this practice publicly. Hence twelve percent is probably an underestimate.

TABLE 8.6
WAYS TO KEEP UP WITH BUSINESS COMPETITION
[Q 1-4—RUr]
[In percent]

"Philosophy" of doing business in the ghetto	Agree strongly	Agree slightly	Disagree slightly	Disagree strongly	Don't know and no answer
Provide extra services (cash checks, etc.)	20	24	19	33	4
Buying "bargain" goods at lower prices	21	15	17	40	6
Bargain selling price with each customer and take whatever breaks you can get	5	7	8	76	6
Price goods to cover unusually high overhead of doing business in ghetto	16	20	14	42	9

Perhaps the next most unethical practice is buying "bargain" goods. Bargain goods are likely to be "seconds" or slightly spoiled. For the small retail merchant who cannot buy in great quantities so as to get real bargain prices, cheaply priced merchandise may usually mean poorer quality. Thirty-six percent endorsed this policy: twenty-one percent did so strongly. Once again, this is probably an underestimate. Thus, at least one store in three in the ghetto is likely to have poorer quality merchandise.

The next most frequently endorsed practice is not really unethical at all. We asked if running ghetto businesses caused especially high overhead from prob-

lems such as theft and vandalism, and if merchandise was priced to cover this unusual "overhead". Thirty-six percent endorsed, sixteen percent strongly, the need to price goods to cover extra expenses of running a ghetto business.

The last question in this section concerns providing extra services. About half of the merchants try to provide some extra incentive for shopping in their store, other than the merchandise itself. This can hardly be viewed as a question of ethics. But in fact, it is just these kinds of extra services that are likely to improve relations between the ghetto merchant and his customer.

In summary, then, at least one ghetto store in eight is likely to be willing to take advantage of its customers. One store in three is likely to carry "bargain" quality merchandise, and one store in three is likely to price goods to cover the unusually high overhead of running a ghetto business.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEGROES

Of the occupational groups interviewed in this study, the retail merchants are among those most likely to see Negroes as violent, criminal, and unreasonable in their desires for equality. As shown in Chapter 3, several questions from the "core" questionnaire provide backing for this view: for example, thirty-one percent of the overall sample believe that Negroes have tried to move too fast towards equality, but fifty-one percent of the merchants, in contrast, feel this way. In questions asking about the causes of riots, merchants are more apt to blame the disturbances on the "criminal element" of the Negro community (twenty-nine percent of the merchants feel it is the main reason, compared to eighteen percent of the overall sample) rather than on poor living conditions. Despite their presence in the Negro ghettos, a majority of the merchants believe that in many crucial areas of urban living, Negroes are actually better off than whites: seventy-five percent feel that Negroes get medical care equal to or better than whites.

In earlier sections of this chapter we have shown how merchants say they act in customer transactions. And since most of the customers in our sample of merchants are Negro, it is crucial to see whether merchants in the ghetto behave in the same way toward everyone or whether Negroes are treated differently in some special way.

Table 8.7 indicates that according to the merchants interviewed, Negroes are likely to be treated differently, often being labeled as potential thieves and bad check passers. More than half of the merchants agree that Negroes have to be watched carefully, that stores in the ghetto have to be especially burglar proofed, and that Negroes are more apt to pass bad checks.

TABLE 8.7

ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEGROES

[Q 8-15—Rtlr]

[In percent]

Statements about Negroes as customers	Agree strongly	Agree slightly	Disagree slightly	Disagree strongly	Don't know and no answer
Poorer credit risks, so charged higher interest	9	14	14	51	13
Less apt to appreciate a good bargain, so more apt to be cheated	14	17	16	46	7
Less likely to complain, so less likely to be treated fairly	12	14	15	54	10
More apt to steal, so have to be watched especially closely	39	22	9	26	3
Shops in Negro areas must be especially burglar proof	57	23	5	12	8
More apt to pass bad checks so best not cash them	31	19	14	26	11
Don't care about manners, so no need to be polite	4	8	12	75	6
So different, so no need to try to be friends	2	3	12	81	4

About a third of the merchants believe that Negroes are not very perceptive shoppers and are likely to be cheated because they cannot appreciate a good bargain. One in four feel that Negroes are less likely to complain and hence are likely to be treated less fairly than other customers, and the same proportion agrees with a statement indicating that Negroes are charged higher interest rates because they are poorer credit risks.

Very few (twelve percent) of the merchants believe that Negroes do not merit being treated politely, and even fewer (five percent) believe that Negroes are so different it is not necessary to try to be friends.

In short, the major ways in which Negroes are different, as customers, involve their trustworthiness. A significant minority of the merchants felt that Negroes were not very perceptive shoppers, but the vast majority denied that Negroes were very different as customers in other ways. How this patterning of attitudes expresses itself in actual behavior toward customers is beyond our ability to measure in this study. One can anticipate, however, that Negroes shopping in ghetto stores often experience suspicion, hostility, and constant surveillance from the neighborhood merchants.

RIOT EXPERIENCES

The retail merchants of the Black ghettos have been prime targets for arson and looting during civil disorders. This is reflected in our sample, thirty-one percent of whom had their stores damaged during riots.[5] Of those who experienced damage, fifty-seven percent had damage of one thousand dollars or less. Eighty-seven percent had five thousand or less. Eight percent had fifteen thousand dollars or more.

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[5] Since most of the cities in our sample experienced minor or no disorders, this proportion can be considered very high.

Included in the thirty-one percent who were hit during the riots, were twenty-one percent (or two-thirds) who felt that the damage done to the store was the result of the general pattern of violence and had nothing to do with specific relations between the shop and the community. Ten percent (or one-third) felt the damage was directed specifically at them (see Table 8.8).

TABLE 8.8

FLOW CHART OF RIOT EXPERIENCES

[Q 16—Rtlr]

[In percent]

Percentage Suffering Damage from Riots
↓   ↓
Yes (31)   No (68)
↓
Vandalism Specifically
Directed at your Store?
↓   ↓
Yes (10)   No (21)

Why do you think so?   Why do you think so?

Store tempting target	46	Store just happens to be located where rioting took place	77
Store isolated so they must have had a special reason for coming here	25	Good store-community relations	23
Make an example of store	17		
Poor store-community relations	12		
Total	[1] 100 (41)	Total	[1] 100 (92)

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[1] Three cases were miscoded and corrections had not been made at time of this writing. Also two cases were coded "other" and until cross tabulations and corrections are done, we do not know where to place these five cases.

Of those who felt the attack was specifically directed at them, half felt that the reason why they were hit was because the store was a tempting and easy target. Twenty-five percent felt that the attack must have been directed at them because their store was isolated and out of the general path of the rioters. Seventeen percent felt their store was made an example. And twelve percent thought they were attacked because of poor customer relations.

Of the twenty-one percent who felt the attacks were not specifically directed at them, seventy-seven percent felt that their store went simply because it happened to be geographically located in the path of the rioters, for example, the whole block was looted and/or burned. Twenty-three percent felt good community relations would have spared their store but for its location.

We were also interested if merchants expected to be hit if a riot occurred in the future. Seventy-six percent felt they would be attacked. When asked why, sixty-nine percent blamed it on their vulnerable location. Another fifteen percent felt that their merchandise was especially desirable and thus, their store would make a tempting target. Nine percent felt that their stores were poorly protected allowing very little risk in sacking their shop.

Of the nineteen percent who felt that their store

would not be hit in a riot, forty-eight percent attributed this to good relations with the people in the neighborhood. Twenty-three percent believed there was nothing much of value in the store to take. And fifteen percent believed they were far enough away from the main retail sections of the ghetto to be overlooked or ignored.

Note that of those merchants who believed they would be hit, very few (two percent) cited poor relations with people in the neighborhood as the reason. Thus, for the shopkeeper expecting an attack, riots seem disassociated from the quality of customer relationships. And when we add to this finding the fact that some appreciable percentage of the merchants in our sample act unethically towards customers, especially black customers, it appears that a great many shopkeepers are unaware that their business practices are likely to effect the choice of riot targets. Or if they were aware, would not admit it. These merchants appeared to be saying that they expected their store to be hit, but that this attack would not be the result of anything the merchant himself had done, but rather due to such factors as location or high quality merchandise. The blame was thus shifted completely away from the merchant to the riot process or the ghetto Negroes themselves.

In contrast to those who expected to be hit, those who felt they would be spared attributed this expectation most frequently to good community relations. This is significant because it demonstrates that while those who expected trouble had disassociated the riot from their actions, those who did not expect trouble were very aware of their relations to the people in the community. Those who felt safe connected the riot to their own behavior, while those who felt threatened attached no significance to their actions in relation to the possible disorder.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to be drawn from the data on retail merchants are straightforward. The merchants in our sample were among the most unsympathetic to the plight of the ghetto Negro of any occupational group in the study. This was in spite (or maybe because) of the fact that they have an especially close physical proximity to Negro neighborhoods. Along with this lack of sympathy, they showed a series of beliefs from which one can infer that, in our sample at least, some merchants engaged in unethical practices. Further, the merchants endorsed attitudes about Negroes that would lead us to believe that they are apt to treat Negro customers considerably less well than white customers.

This is not to say that all, or even a majority, of the retail merchants in the ghetto deserve all of the criticisms they receive. But a sizeable percentage, from twenty-five to fifty percent, seem to do business in a way that leaves many improvements to be desired. As long as these improvements are not made, the retail merchant in our urban ghettos will continue to be one of the primary targets of Negro antagonism.

Chapter 9*

Teachers in Urban Public Schools

The quality of education available to any group of citizens is thought to be a critical determinant of the chances its members will have to acquire the benefits of society. It is evident that the education Negroes are receiving is inferior to that afforded white people, and it follows for this reason alone, leaving aside the others, that they are at a comparative disadvantage. Therefore education has been a battleground for the civil rights movement. The main emphasis has been on efforts to integrate the schools, although there is some evidence of a shift toward efforts to assure the best possible education within the ghetto.

Over the past few years the ghetto schools have become increasingly volatile. Negro high school students in New Haven, Philadelphia, Washington, Cincinnati, and dozens of other cities have begun to protest, sometimes violently, against the policies of their schools and the practices of their teachers. Their demands for better education, and for education more on their own terms, are beginning to be stated with clarity and coherence.

We wanted to find out how flexible and responsive our school system is at the line of contact between the institution itself and the Negro community. To this end we have interviewed two hundred and seventy-three teachers and supervisory personnel (principals and as-

sisant principals, amounting to one fifth of the total) [1] in our sample cities. The educators surveyed were chosen equally from elementary schools and junior high and high schools. Forty-five percent of the teachers were men, and fifty-five percent were women. Half were Negro, the other half white. Contrary to a widespread impression of teachers in ghetto schools, their formal credentials were impressive. All were college graduates, and a substantial majority (seventy percent) had had some professional or graduate training. Half of them had had special training for work with "culturally deprived" youngsters. Almost all of them (ninety percent) considered themselves committed professionals, having chosen teaching as a permanent career. The average teacher had been in this field about ten years.

As a group, the educators were quite well-to-do, having a median family income of around $13,000. Since the median salary for teachers is not that high, two other factors help to explain this income level. First, many of them undoubtedly are in double-income families, and second, the supervisory personnel probably pulled up the average.

Only about one tenth of the educators considered

*By David Boesel.

[1] The terms "educators" and "teachers" will be used interchangeably in this chapter, referring to both the teachers and the supervisory personnel.

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themselves Republicans. The rest were split about evenly between Democrats and independents, though the independents voted Democratic as often as not. Their political and social views, especially on the question of race, can best be characterized as liberal, as both their racial composition and their party affiliation would lead us to expect. They were much more inclined than the average respondent to say that Negroes were subject to racial discrimination (seventy as opposed to forty-two percent). They saw Negroes making less progress in the past five years: only eleven percent said that Negroes are "a lot better off" now, while the average response was twenty-seven percent. And they were twice as likely to say that Negroes were moving too slowly in their drive for equality (fifty-one percent as opposed to twenty-seven percent).

On the whole, the teachers said they were happy with their present positions. A solid majority indicated that they were either "very satisfied" or "somewhat satisfied" with their jobs in eight out of nine ways. (Table 9.1) In fact, reminiscent of the old paradox that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, they declared themselves more satisfied with their "position in general" than with any of its aspects. They liked their colleagues next best, and the flexibility permitted them in the classroom, after that. The one aspect capable of drawing only a weak endorsement was "the community", which got a fifty-eight percent positive response from the teachers.

TABLE 9.1
TEACHERS' JOB SATISFACTION RANKED BY TOTAL (+) PERCENT
[Q 19—ED]

	Satisfied			Dissatisfied			Don't know and no answer
	Very	Some-what	Total (+)	Some-what	Very	Total (—)	
The position in general	61.5	26.7	88.2	9.5	1.8	11.3	....
Colleagues	46.2	39.6	85.8	12.1	2.2	14.3	....
The flexibility permitted in the classroom	58.2	26.4	84.6	9.9	2.6	12.5	1.5
Supervisors	54.2	27.1	81.3	13.6	4.0	17.6	.7
The pupils	36.6	43.2	79.8	16.1	2.6	18.7	.7
The salary	34.1	41.0	75.1	18.7	6.2	24.9	....
Working conditions in general	26.0	37.7	63.7	26.0	10.3	36.3	....
The teaching load	32.2	29.7	61.9	22.7	12.8	35.5	2.2
The community	17.6	39.9	57.5	28.7	11.0	39.2	2.2

Since the teachers said that they liked their current jobs, it is not surprising that about two thirds of them indicated their intention to stay in their present schools as long as they continued teaching. But it does not seem likely that the respondents would fulfill their stated intentions. Half of the teachers had been in their schools for four years or less.[2] In fact, the largest pro-

[2] This would be an improvement over the leaving rate which Clark found in Harlem in 1963. In that case almost half the teachers had held their posts for three years or less. (Clark, K. B., *Dark Ghetto*, Harper, New York, 1965, p. 138.)

portion of teachers (seventeen percent) had been there only one year, and the proportion dropped dramatically after five years (Table 9.2). This suggests that teachers in ghetto schools do not stay there indefinitely, however satisfied they may be.

TABLE 9.2
LENGTH OF TIME AT PRESENT SCHOOL
[Q 15—ED]

Number of years:	Percentage of educators
1	17
2	11
3	13
4	10
5	12
6	6
7	4
8	3
9	4
10	5

We have seen in Chapter 2 that there is a tendency for members of each occupational group to see their own field as a major problem area more than others do. The teachers are no exception. Asked to name the two or three major problems facing their cities, they mentioned education and poverty with about the same frequency (sixteen percent and seventeen percent of the references respectively), naming education more often than did any other group. Only housing was mentioned more frequently by the educators (twenty-one percent) ; in all other categories the references were less than seven percent.

Not only did the teachers think that their field posed a major problem for their cities; they also thought that education in the ghetto posed a special problem. Fifty-eight percent believed that Negroes were less well off than whites in getting an education, while only thirty-eight percent thought that they were as well off.

What is wrong with the educational process, then? More specifically, since the respondents teach in the ghetto, what is wrong with education in the ghetto? The problem is not with the schools, according to the teachers—at least, not with their schools. A solid majority rated their own schools average, above average, or superior in seven out of eight categories (Table 9.3). The quality of the teaching staff, so rated by eighty-four percent of the respondents, was rivalled only by the quality of the textbooks (again eighty-four percent). The one doubtful area, the educators said, was the adequacy of the physical plant, which seemed to be just barely competitive; forty-four percent considered their own school below average or inferior in this respect.

If the schools are not the source of the difficulty—and the teachers said they are not—where do we look next? It is often suggested that the lack of parental concern for education is at the root of the problem.

TABLE 9.3
ADEQUACY OF RESPONDENT'S SCHOOL AS COMPARED TO OTHER SCHOOLS IN CITY
[Q 12—ED]
[In percent]

	Superior	Above average	Average	Below average	Inferior	Don't know
Overall quality	8	18	50	15	6	1
Adequacy of physical plant	9	17	29	25	18	1
Adequacy of supplies	10	26	46	11	5	0
Textbooks	12	22	50	11	4	0
Quality of teaching staff	7	36	41	11	2	2
Extra-curricular activities	5	25	36	22	8	1
Counseling and guidance	8	27	38	15	9	1
Library for students	10	30	37	14	7	1

But the teachers did not think so (Table 9.4). On the whole they felt that the parents were a positive force; they said they communicated easily with parents (eight-one percent), that they had the respect of the parents (eight-five percent), and that the parents generally thought of the teachers as being "on their side" in the educational effort (eighty-three percent). Most of the teachers (seventy-seven percent) thought that Negro parents were as concerned as white parents, or more concerned, with their children's education. Indeed, they considered parental concern the greatest strength of the local community in helping the school achieve its educational objectives. (In an open-ended question, references to parental concern accounted for thirty-five percent of the strong points mentioned. Good school programs were mentioned with the second most frequency—twenty percent.)

TABLE 9.4
EDUCATOR'S PERCEPTIONS OF PARENTS
[Q 6, 8, 9, 10—ED]

	Percentage
A. Concern of Parents for Education:	
Negro parents are generally more concerned than whites	21
Less concerned than whites	20
Both have about the same concern	56
Don't know and no answer	4
B. Difficulty in Communicating with Parents:	
Very little difficulty	81
Some difficulty	17
A great deal of difficulty	1
Don't know and no answer	2
C. Treatment of Teachers by Parents:	
Mostly respect	85
Mostly indifference	13
Mostly hostility or contempt	2
Don't know and no answer	0
D. Parents' View of Teachers:	
Mainly on their side	83
Mostly as Adversaries	10
Don't know and no asnwer	7

When it came to their pupils, the teachers were not so sure (Table 9.5). On the one hand, they strongly rejected the stereotype of ghetto schools as places where education was forfeited to the sheer need for order:

eighty-five percent said it was not true that pupils in their school were uneducable and that teachers could do little more than maintain discipline (though the fourteen percent who saw some truth in the statement are unlikely to enhance the ends of education). On the other hand, the teachers as a group could not agree that their students were as educable as they should be. There was little consensus among them on whether their pupils were "about average" in interest and ability: twenty-eight percent thought that they were, by and large; forty-one percent thought it only partially true that they were; and thirty-one percent thought it not true. But the teachers had less difficulty agreeing that their students were not "above average in ability and ... generally co-operative with teachers". (Mainly true, eight percent; partially true, thirty-three percent; not true, fifty-nine percent.)

TABLE 9.5
PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS
[Q 4—ED]
[In percent]

Ratings of statements about pupils	Mainly true	Partially true	Not true	Don't know and no answer
Pupils are uneducable and teachers can do little more than maintain discipline	1	14	85	0
Pupils can be taught only by teachers with great skill	33	41	25	1
Pupils are interested but their preparation is poor	26	57	17	0
These are ordinary pupils with average interest and ability	28	41	31	0
Almost any teacher can be successful if she puts her mind to it	43	24	31	1
Pupils are above average in ability but only interested in some things	4	29	65	2
Pupils are above average in ability and co-operate with teachers	8	33	59	0

The prevailing attitude of the teachers toward their students was ambivalence. They neither endorsed nor rejected the assertion that "pupils come into school with an interest in learning, but their preparation is so poor that they are hard to help." (Mainly true, twenty-six percent; partially true, fifty-seven percent; not true, fourteen percent.) There was little consensus on the proposition that "pupils can be taught only by the most skillful of teachers who can arouse their interest". (Mainly true, thirty-three percent; partially true, forty-one percent; not true, twenty-five percent.) And while they all agreed (ninety-nine percent) that they got along well with all or most of their students, a significant minority, (thirty-one percent), in response to another question, said that students regarded their teachers either indifferently or as adversaries.

In light of the difficulties of finding a coherent stance in relation to their pupils, it was not surprising that the teachers should also have had some difficulty finding an appropriate educational approach to them. The educators again failed to agree or disagree with

the proposition that "pupils can be taught only by the most skillful of teachers who can arouse their interest". (Mainly true, thirty-three percent; partially true, forty-one percent; not true, twenty-five percent.) In response to another question, "is your school teaching pupils what they are interested in . . . or are most pupils interested in other things?" fifty-four percent of the teachers thought that the school was teaching what interested the students, but forty-three percent thought the students were interested in other things.

It is instructive to discover what that forty-three percent thought the students were interested in. Significantly, serious matters were mentioned most frequently as the object of student interest. Twenty-three percent of the references indicated that the students were concerned with larger social problems; another twenty-three percent that they were concerned with their own futures; and seventeen percent dealt with practical, day-today matters of a serious nature—relations with parents, making money, etc. The first of these seems to be of particular relevance today in light of the evident militancy and race-consciousness among Negro students in the public schools. However, a substantial minority of the references (thirty-seven percent) indicated that students were interested in a variety of leisure activities—joking, horsing around, casual sex, and so on.

Having said that something is wrong with education in the ghettos, the educators have, on the whole, rejected the notion that the problem lies in the quality of the schools or of the teaching staff; nor do they accept the idea that lack of parental concern is the root of the problem. They do think, however, that the students are not up to par. Why not? The educators, as a group, are adherents of the "cultural deprivation" thesis, which finds the reason for bad education primarily in the student's environment rather than in the schools. The local community, they believe, is not doing its job, is not giving the students the basic support and direction they need to get a good education. Asked to name the major problems facing their schools, the teachers most frequently mentioned community apathy (twenty-seven percent). The second most-mentioned problem, a derivation of the first, was the lack of preparation and motivation in the students (twelve percent).

In another question fifty-six percent of the educators agreed to some extent with the proposition that "many communities provide such a terrible environment for the pupils that education doesn't do much good in the end." (An important twenty-five percent, however, disagreed strongly with the statement.) And a solid majority (eighty-one percent) agreed wholly or partly with the more moderate proposition that "most parents try to help their children get a good education, but far too many other influences distract the pupils." (Table 9.6.)

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TABLE 9.6

EDUCATORS, EVALUATION OF THE COMMUNITY IN ITS RELATION TO THE SCHOOLS

[Q 13—ED]

[In percent]

	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Total (+)	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree	Total (—)	Don't know
Many communities provide such a terrible environment for the pupils that education doesn't do much good in the end	22.3	33.7	56.0	17.2	24.9	42.2	1.5
Most parents try to help their children get a good education but far too many other influences distract the pupils	38.8	41.8	80.6	10.3	7.0	17.3	1.8

In the educators' view, then, the community—the ghetto—constitutes an all-important negative force in the background which undercuts and disrupts educational efforts. This is a problem which lies beyond their capacities. Conceivably they could improve the schools, a step which they do not think is required; but they cannot transform the ghetto.

Nor do they have much confidence in the ability of the city's leadership to remedy the situation. Eighty-two percent in some degree rejected the statement that "the political leaders of our city are imaginative and are always coming up with new ideas on how to meet the city's problems." (The average response was sixty-two percent.) This view of the political elite is related to the sense of alienation evident in their rejection (seventy-four percent) of the assertion that "the average citizen can always find someone in the city government who is willing to help him solve his problem." (The average response was fifty-nine percent.)

While the main thrust of the responses to this survey of teachers leads to a certain futility, one also finds a more encouraging "minority opinion" which suggests that it is possible for educators themselves to do something to improve education in the ghetto. Without cross-tabulations not available at this writing, we do not know that this opinion reflects the views of a definite group; we have to work mainly with the views themselves. But a breakdown by race supports the notion that such a group does exist. It indicates that Negro teachers are more likely than white teachers to think that efforts within the schools can be productive. A comparison of responses by race helps to highlight key features of the "minority opinion."

To begin with, Negro teachers were somewhat less sanguine about the adequacy of their schools than were white teachers, as is seen in the fact that they were less willing to give them "above average" or "superior" ratings (Table 9.7). In assessing the overall quality of their schools, for example, thirty percent of the whites, but only twenty-two percent of the Negroes, gave such ratings. In another important area, quality of the

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teaching staff, forty-six percent of the whites said their schools were "above average" or "superior", as compared with thirty-nine percent of the Negroes. Differences of this order are reflected in most of the other categories. The disparity between Negro and white opinion here is not large, but, except for the item on "extra-curricular activities," it is consistent. It does not mean that Negro teachers regarded their schools as inferior, only that they were somewhat less convinced of their adequacy than were the white teachers.

TABLE 9.7

ADEQUACY OF RESPONDENT'S SCHOOL, AS COMPARED TO OTHER SCHOOLS IN CITY, BY RACE

[Q12—ED]

[Percentage of each race who call their school "above average" or "superior"]

	White	Negro
Overall quality	30	22
Adequacy of physical plant	28	24
Adequacy of supplies	44	27
Textbooks	38	29
Quality of teaching staff	46	39
Extracurricular activities	28	39
Counseling and guidance	28	31
Library	42	28
	48	33

The tendency of the Negro educators to be more critical of their schools than white teachers did not lead them to be less critical of the local community. Both saw the ghetto environment as a major obstacle to education; both mentioned community apathy as a major problem, in each case to the same degree: twenty-seven percent of the references. But the Negro educators were less likely than the whites to consider the students damaged by the environment. Again, the disagreement is not great—in most cases the majority on each side agreed—but again it is fairly consistent. Table 9.8 shows the responses of Negro and white teachers to questions dealing with their students' abilities. In response to the first question, thirty-four percent of the Negroes said that their pupils were about average in interest and ability, whereas only twenty percent of the whites said so. In the second, thirty-seven percent of the Negroes said it was partly true that "the pupils are above average in ability and interest, and are generally co-operative with teachers"; the corresponding figure for the white teachers was twenty-six percent.

Negro teachers also seemed to have a better relationship with their pupils. Fifty-two percent of them said that they got along well with all their students, while only thirty-nine percent of the white respondents said so. Again, asked if most of the pupils regarded their teachers as friends, adversaries, or if most were indifferent, seventy-one percent of the Negro teachers said that the students considered the teachers friends, as compared to sixty-one percent of the white teachers.

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TABLE 9.8

TEACHERS' ASSESSMENTS OF STUDENTS' ABILITIES BY RACE OF RESPONDENT

[Q 4—ED]

[In percent]

	White	Negro
These are ordinary pupils with just about average interest in schooling and with average ability.		
Mainly true	20	34
Partly true	40	43
Not true	39	23
Don't know and no answer	1	——
The pupils are above average in ability and interest and are generally co-operative with teachers.		
Mainly true	4	11
Partly true	26	38
Not true	67	49
Don't know and no answer	3	2

While the Negro educators were not overenthusiastic about their students, they regarded them more positively, and saw in them more potential, than did white teachers. The difference between these assessments increases in their implications for action. Half of the Negro teachers (fifty-two percent), but only a third (thirty-six percent) of the white teachers agreed to the proposition that "almost any teacher can teach these pupils successfully if he or she puts his mind to it and works hard at it."

Just as the Negro teachers saw more constructive potential than did the whites in the relation between students and teachers, so they also saw more in the relation between community and school. In two questions the teachers were asked, in somewhat different ways, whether they thought it would be a good idea for the community to have more control of the schools. Table 9.9 presents the statements, together with the responses by race. When the proposition was first posed, the white teachers rejected it fifty-eight percent to thirty-eight percent. But a bare majority of Negro teachers (fifty-three percent) endorsed it to some extent. (The two "agree" categories are combined here, as are the two "disagree" categories.) The second time the question was posed, both Negro and white teachers endorsed it in some degree, but the Negroes were more solidly behind it (seventy-six percent) than the whites (sixty-seven percent).

TABLE 9.9

TEACHERS' ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY-CONTROL PROPOSALS BY RACE

[In percent]

	White	Negro
If the average community was given more voice in running the school, it would better meet the needs of the pupils.		
Agree	38	53
Disagree	58	45
Don't know and no answer	4	2
Some schools are trying to give the parents and other community residents more control over running the school in their neighborhoods, even sometimes letting parents come into the classroom to help with the teaching and other work as sub-professionals.		
Agree	67	76
Disagree	30	22
Don't know and no answer	3	2

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Setting the racial distinction aside for a moment, it is interesting that both groups were more favorable to the second statement of the proposition than to the first. The difference between these responses to two adjacent questions which are the same in their essentials requires some interpretation. To begin with, the first question, which drew a rather negative response, mentions only the community's being given more voice in running the school, and it is placed in more voice in running the school, and it is placed in context with three other questions posed as negative statements about the community. Given the educators' opinions of "the community", particularly when understood in its less personal aspects as "environment" or "background", it is plausible to assume that the educators would be averse to seeing its influence in the schools increased.

In the second question, on the one hand, the community is personalized ("parents and other community residents"), and the parents, whom the teachers regard as a positive force, are mentioned twice. Moreover, the statement indicates specifically the kinds of things the parents might be doing in the school and points to the possibility of their helping the teachers. With the question presented this way, the positive response seems more understandable.

There may be a connection between the inclination to see a constructive potential in the relation between community and school on the one hand, and the ability to see the community in personal terms, on the other. The Negro teachers, who were more favorable to the community-participation statements, also had more extensive contact with the community. While a majority of both groups lived outside the school area, a much larger proportion of the Negroes than of whites lived in the area (twenty-seven percent as opposed to four percent). Sixty-six percent of the Negro teachers said they had visited students' homes; one third of these (thirty-three percent) said quite a few homes." The comparable figures for whites were forty-nine percent, and one seventh (fourteen percent).

In sum, the educators from our fifteen cities see education in the ghetto not as a blackboard jungle, but as a hard task of motivating students of poor preparation and inadequate community backing in achieving up to their potentials. Theirs is a view of the problems of education in the ghetto which relies heavily on the "cultural deprivation" theory. They saw their schools as adequate, their own preparation as good, but their success as teachers hampered by the material they have to work with. However, a minority of the educators, among whom Negroes are disproportionately represented, put more responsibility for the difficulties of ghetto education on the schools, and suggested that changes must take place there.

Chapter 10 *

Public Welfare Workers

Public welfare agencies are important points of contact between the residents of the ghetto and the larger white community. Large proportions of ghetto residents are supported by welfare payments and at sometime or other probably a majority of urban Negro households have dealings with their local public welfare agencies.

Welfare agencies have not been exempt from criticism from either within or without the ghetto. Much of the larger community outside supports the public welfare system ambivalently, knowing it somehow to be a measure of how poorly the society is serving some of its members. Some members of the larger community see the welfare system as a sign of moral weakness and wish for its abolition and a return to a purer state of reliance on individual initiative for the support of the poor.

Within the ghetto, public welfare has been widely criticized. On the one hand, the agencies are criticized for not doing enough for poor Negroes. On the other hand, they are attacked for being a manifestation of white welfare colonialism interfering in the life of the ghetto.

Public welfare is not as controversial as the local police sytsem, nor have welfare agencies or workers been at the center of Negro complaints and grievances. Nevertheless, the importance of the welfare system as an interface between the Negro ghetto residents and the larger community is obvious. Hence, our decision to include workers in such agencies as a special group in our study of fifteen cities.

Public welfare agencies were more cooperative than any of the other public agencies contacted. Welfare workers (twenty in each city) were excellent respondents, answering fully and with candor. Indeed, social workers gave fuller answers to many questions than any other group, and they were not reluctant to criticize themselves and their agencies, as we shall see in the replies they gave.

BACKGROUND

The social workers were young, highly educated, and geographically mobile. They were by far the youngest occupational group studied, with forty-seven percent under thirty years of age. White social workers were younger than Negro, with a median age approximately four years under the black median of thirty-four. Ninety-one percent had at least finished college, far more than the forty-nine percent of our overall sample who have finished college. Only thirty-one percent were born in the city in which they presently worked, twelve percent less than the overall sample. The Negro social workers were even less likely to be born in their present city, with twenty-nine percent (as opposed to thirty-four percent of the whites) listing their city of residence as the city where they were born.

Many of the welfare workers arrived in their cities between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, suggesting that this group finishes college and then goes job hunting. Their search for jobs takes them to a number of

new places. Most, sixty-four percent, were female, which means that it was likely that they were in their present communities because these were the cities where their husbands located jobs. Sixty-five percent of the social workers rented, as compared to thirty-one percent of the overall sample, indicating that their mobility is still not finished.

Politically, social workers tended to vote either Democratic (fifty-two percent) or independent (forty percent). Only eight percent voted Republican. Negro social workers were more likely to vote Democratic, with fifty-eight percent of them, as compared to forty-six percent of the whites, claiming to consider themselves Democrats.

Social workers were less apt to belong to professional associations, social groups, or other kinds of organizations than all but one of the occupational groups studied. They were second only to the merchants in lack of participation, with twenty-four percent not belonging to any outside organizations. By contrast, only sixteen percent of the police and seven percent of the educators belonged to no organization.

Nor were the social workers particularly active in civil rights groups in the past two years. Overall, fifteen percent claimed some activity, eleven percent of the white and nineteen percent of the Negroes. Thus overall participation of the social workers are not very different from the overall sample percentage (sixteen percent).

In spite of their lack of participation in civil rights activities, our sample of social workers showed considerable interest in the Negro cause. Very few (twelve percent) thought the pace at which Negroes are trying to gain their rights was either "much too fast" or "too fast"; forty-two percent of our overall sample felt that way. Thus our social workers appear considerably more pro-civil rights than the overall sample.

Eleven percent of the white social workers felt the pace is "much too fast", but not one of the Negroes felt this way. Our sample of Negro social workers then, was even more activist than our quite "liberal" sample of whites.

With regard to religion, only six percent of the social workers were Jewish, while sixty percent were Protestant, and twenty-eight percent were Catholic.

From the above biographical information we now can depict the background of the "typical" social worker. Likely to be a young woman, she has a college degree and has taken her present job shortly after moving to her present city of residence. She moved to that city either to be with her husband or because of opportunities in the social work field. She lives in a rented home or apartment, votes Democratic, and is nominally a Protestant. Yet, in spite of (or maybe because of) her profession and education she tends not to be as involved as other city professionals in

activities outside of her work. Although sympathetic to Negroes trying to gain equality, she is not a participating civil rights activist.

THE PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC WELFARE

No occupational group is without its complaints, although the specific complaints can be expected to vary from group to group. To get at the problems welfare workers have to face, we asked, "As a social worker in this city, what are your major problems?" The five most frequently mentioned complaints have been tabulated in Table 10.1.

TABLE 10.1
MAJOR PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL WORKERS
[Q 1—SW]

Problems	Percentage
Red tape (intra-agency)	10
Too large a case load, overworked, understaffed (intra-agency)	10
Poverty, lack of income (living conditions of clients)	9
Poor housing, high rents (living conditions of clients)	9
Silly or outdated agency policy (intra-agency)	8
All others	54
Total	100
Total number of problems mentioned	(489)

The most frequently cited complaints had to do with the internal affairs of their agencies. Thus, one in ten complained about the "red tape" in their agencies, and a similar-sized group complained about their case loads. Almost as frequently mentioned (nine percent each) were conditions affecting their clients, poverty and housing. The remaining complaints were scattered over a variety of topics.

Compared to the other occupational groups, there seems to be no particular clustering of responses around one or two very frequently cited complaints. Rather, the social workers distributed their complaints so widely that no one condition received more than ten percent. It may be that the particular situations of welfare workers vary so much from city to city that it is only by looking at particular cities that we will be able to discern some degree of consensus. Or, it may also be that the welfare workers have no particularly strong complaints to register.

It is significant, however, that even with the minimal clustering shown in Table 10.1, welfare workers were as much concerned with the internal working of their agencies as they were with conditions among the clients with whom they dealt. Perhaps the social workers had registered their concern adequately enough in earlier parts of the questionnaire, or, it may be that the tasks of social work are not perceived to be as limiting to their activity as the problems of social work organizations.

That social workers were not unconcerned about

social problems can be seen in the earlier chapters of this report, particularly Chapters 1 and 2. Here we saw that social workers were one of the occupational groups which consistently saw housing and unemployment as serious problems. Among social workers, Negroes and whites varied considerably in their perceptions of the seriousness of these and other social problems, as is shown in Table 10.2.

TABLE 10.2
SOCIAL PROBLEMS RATED "VERY SERIOUS" BY NEGRO AND WHITE SOCIAL WORKERS
[Q 3—Core]
[In percent]

Problem	Race	
	White	Negro
Control of crime	48	74
Unemployment	54	70
Air pollution	40	28
Race relations	62	62
Education	58	65
Lack of tax revenue	40	41
Traffic and highway	20	23
Civil disorder	40	60
Recreation facilities	36	50
Corruption of public officials	14	30

For example, far more of the Negro social workers saw control of crime as "very serious" (seventy-four percent of Negroes to forty-eight percent of the whites). Similarly with unemployment (seventy percent to fifty-four percent). Perhaps Negro social workers knew better than whites what was going on in urban ghettoes and were thus more apt to "tell it like it is".

That Negro social workers tended to be more critical of the general conditions of Negro life is shown in their answers to a question asking how they felt Negroes were treated in their city. Thirty-three percent of the Negro social workers, as compared to twenty-two percent of the white, said Negroes were treated worse than any other part of the population. Forty-four percent of the Negroes, as compared to thirty-nine percent of the whites, felt Negroes were treated worse than any other people with the same income. Whether the blame is placed on class or race or both, Negro social workers are more likely to be critical of the life Negro ghetto residents must lead.

WHAT SOCIAL WORKERS DO

Although the social workers in our sample varied widely in their case loads, most had case loads far in excess of the number permitting frequent visits. The median number of people assigned to each social worker was 117. Twenty percent had case loads of sixty-two or less, and thirty percent had case loads of seventy-five or less. With such large case loads it is hard to see how it is possible for the case worker to keep straight all that she should know about each client. This suggests that, as many welfare recipients claim, the social worker just sees them as a case and not as a

person. Even the most dedicated and well-meaning social workers must be sorely taxed by case loads of over one hundred persons.

Because of the design of our sample, the majority of clients of our sample of social workers were Negro. Seventy-five percent of the social workers had a case load of over seventy-five percent Negro, and twenty-one percent had a case load consisting of nothing else but Negroes. Only fourteen percent had case loads with less than fifty percent being Negro.

The social workers in our sample visited their clients for substantial periods of time on each visit. The times ranged widely, but ninety-one percent claimed to spend between thirty and ninety minutes with each client. The median time was fifty-one minutes (and this does not differ significantly by race of social worker). At first glance these figures looked as if social workers and clients had close contacts. However, these visits usually took place once a month. Eighty-nine percent of the social workers called at monthly intervals.

Most meetings between the case worker and client took place in the home of the client. Nearly half of the social workers made ninety percent of the contacts with their clients in the client's home; eighty-two percent of the social workers made fifty percent or more of the contacts in the client's home. These home visits took up about fifty percent of the social worker's working day: about fifty percent of the time being spent in the office and fifty percent in the field. Deviations from this pattern were more likely to find the social worker spending more than fifty percent of her day in the office rather than less than fifty percent.

Apparently, once referred, it did not take too long to get assistance from the welfare departments in our sample. Thirty-four percent claimed the time lag between referral and action was three days or less. Fifty percent claimed it took a week or less. Action, however, did not mean money; rather, it meant that the case had been reviewed and that a temporary worker had been assigned. It took from one to three months for eligibility and proof of need to be officially established before money could be granted. This one-to-three-month wait is a long time for someone poor enough to eventually be cleared as eligible. Yet, even with this time lag in mind most workers (sixty-three percent) felt that it was easy to get the agency's services. Thirty percent felt it was slightly difficult and only four percent felt it was very difficult. It might be relatively easy for the client with regard to procedure, but the time lag before money reaches the client is quite long, and waiting three months while in great need is not easy.

Finally, it does indeed seem that in spite of the problems Negroes face as recipients of welfare, Negroes have a good chance of being employed as case workers, providing they have the proper educational prerequisites. Seventy-seven percent of the social workers

in our sample felt it quite likely that a person of another race than the respondent might take her place, if she were to leave her present job. There was no differences here by race of respondent. It seems that the department of welfare in large urban cities is a place where college educated Negroes can find work.

In summary we can now describe what the typical case worker's job is like. Regardless of race of the social worker, the case load is a little over one hundred persons visited about once a month for about fifty minutes each. Three quarters of their clients and a great number of their colleagues are Negro. About half of the social worker's time is spent in the office and about half in the homes of the clients. The agency acts within a week to assign new clients a temporary worker, but takes over a month and sometimes three months to actually get money to the client.

COMMENTS ON THE AGENCY

In the open-ended question discussed above, complaints about their agencies were prominent among the problems social workers mentioned (Table 10.1). A more specific breakdown of agency-related complaints was obtained by a special question aimed at more detail on the kinds of problems within the agency that upset social workers. Looking at the results tabulated in Table 10.3, we can begin by differentiating between those problems considered very serious or somewhat serious, and those considered not serious. Three kinds of problems stand out as serious in the minds of the social workers: "lack of money for clients", "lack of time", and "hampering rules and regulations". Approximately eighty percent of the social workers believed that these top three were at least somewhat serious, indicating the high degree to which this occupational group felt there were grave deficiencies in the welfare system as presently run. Even for the response least often endorsed as serious (poor supervision from top management of agency), nearly half of the sample reported it as a hindrance to them in doing a good job. An average of sixty-five percent claim that all six problems are somewhat or very serious.

TABLE 10.3
COMPLAINTS ABOUT JOB
(Q 11—SW)
"Drawbacks to your doing your job"
(In percent)

	Very serious	Somewhat serious	Not serious	Don't know
Lack of money for clients	49	31	19	2
Lack of time	56	27	17	0
Hampering rules and regulations	38	39	22	4
Poor supervision from top management of agency	19	27	53	1
Lack of cooperation from city government	15	32	49	4
Agency disorganization	28	36	36	0
Lack of agency enthusiasm	21	35	45	0

Thus, welfare clients are not the only group criticizing the welfare system. Social workers themselves are extremely critical, especially with the way the agency is run and these criticisms remain substantially the same for both races.

VIEWS ON CLIENTS

Surprisingly missing in the earlier list of major problems faced by social (Table 10.1) workers were complaints about clients. It seemed hard to believe that in a relationship as complex and potentially frustrating as that between a social worker and a client, that there should be so few complaints about the client. Table 10.4 shows the responses to a direct question trying to get at a few of the complaints which social workers might have against their clients. Two parts of the question deal with clients in general, and three parts are directed at Negro clients. The complaints directed at clients in general draw greater endorsement with seventy-three percent feeling that it was at least partially true that clients tended to take social work services for granted. Seventy-five percent, moreover, felt that clients do not do enough to improve themselves. Broken by race, these percentages stayed virtually the same.

TABLE 10.4
COMPLAINTS ABOUT CLIENTS
(Q 13—SW)
(In percent)

	Mostly true	Partially true	Not true	Don't know
Clients in general don't do enough to improve themselves	25	55	20	0.4
Negro clients are generally harder to reach	16	26	56	2
It is more difficult to get resources for Negro clients	23	27	50	.4
Clients in general tend to take your services for granted	36	37	27	.4
Negro clients are often especially arrogant	7	16	76	.4

Problems in dealing with Negro clients specifically drew from twenty-three to fifty percent endorsing each problem as at least partially true. Of particular interest is that fifty percent felt it was "more difficult to get resources for Negro clients." This indictment from the inside strongly suggests that Negroes are harder to help generally, but that specifically it is more difficult to bring resources other than welfare payments to the client. And the indictment was even stronger when white and Negro social workers were separated. Thirty-one percent of the whites felt it was at least partially true, as compared to sixty-two percent of the Negroes. The other two complaints directed against Negro clients also drew some substantial agreement, especially the forty-one percent who felt it at least partially true that Negro clients were harder to reach. This may not be necessarily a statement of prejudice and in fact may

simply be a measure of the alienation the people in the Negro ghettos feel from welfare agencies. That it is not an indicator of prejudice can be seen from the fact that when the answers were broken by race, there was not much of a difference. Forty-five percent of the white social workers endorsed the complaint as at least partially true, and thirty-eight percent of the Negroes. As for complaints that Negroes are especially arrogant, only twenty-three percent endorsed this as at least partially true. Negro and white social worker percentages were virtually identical.

One can conclude from this question trying to pin down complaints about Negro clients, that over a quarter endorse as at least partially true that relations between the welfare agency and Negroes are worse than with clients in general. Note that these findings are consistent with the fact that social workers felt that generally Negroes were not getting as good a treatment as whites from city agencies. There seem to be grievances on both sides. The social agencies are probably not treating Negroes as well as others, and Negroes are probably more hostile to the agencies than are white clients. Further, these two-sided problems tend to escalate as poorer treatment feeds the hostility, which feeds poorer treatment.

With the above problems in mind we will turn to a series of questions aimed at pinning down more specifically the way social workers felt about Negro clients. Very small percentages (from six to ten percent) agree that Negroes are more apt to cheat on the welfare system, that Negroes are harder to work with, or that Negroes are harder to reason with. There were no substantial differences when the race of the respondent was considered. Only one person, (and he is a Negro) felt that he paid less attention to Negro clients. And only five percent felt they were less relaxed working with Negroes (five whites and seven Negroes). The only large percentages that turned up had to do with safety walking through Negro neighborhoods and optimism in dealing with Negro cases. Thirty-one percent (ten percent for Negroes and fifty percent for whites) of the social workers felt less safe walking through Negro neighborhoods. With regard to outcome of Negro cases twenty-four percent were less optimistic than for white cases. The racial breakdown showed twenty-eight percent of the whites felt this way and twenty percent of the Negroes.

In conclusion, it seems that many social workers, (Negro social workers especially) felt that Negroes are not getting as good a treatment from welfare agencies as whites. However, blame is very difficult to attach. Few social workers endorse blatantly prejudiced attitudes. In fact, they often seem to be bending over backwards to deny any differences between the races. Many seem to be protesting too much that Negroes are the same as anyone else. In spite of these protestations, it is still a fact that many feel that Negroes are

often hostile to the welfare system and that the welfare system does not always do right by the Negro. The blame however, is primarily directed outward, away from the agency workers themselves to things such as lack of resources for Negro clients. From their viewpoint social workers are largely unprejudiced and the differential treatment comes from sources outside the individual case worker. Negro and white social workers agree on most issues, suggesting that these views may reflect more the objective reality of the social work profession than the subjective needs of the social workers.

PHILOSOPHY OF WORK

A crucial part of the way in which anyone goes about their job is the tone and style in which duties are carried out. This tone and style is often reflected in the philosophy a person holds about his job and the way he sees people in general. Although we could not thoroughly attack such a complex problem as this in the limited space provided in the present questionnaire, five questions were aimed in this direction with the hope of getting at least a rough idea of the style with which our sample of social workers go about their job.

One of the cardinal rules of social work is to try to remain as objective as possible so as to be able to make rational decisions with regard to the client. The quest for objectivity, however, can often be a cover up for a worker who is simply cold, aloof, and lacking in interest for the client. With this in mind a question was asked to try to tap whether a social worker was indeed too objective, and thus, likely to be cold and aloof. The responses to this question indicated that thirty percent endorsed a "largely objective" approach to social work, nine percent a "largely subjective and sympathetic" approach, and sixty percent endorsed an approach mixing about equal amounts of objectivity and subjectivity. No differences by race appeared.

One of the complaints often leveled against social workers is that they carry out their duties in a patronizing manner. A question was devised to try to examine this attitude toward social work. Essentially, the question asked whether it was better to teach the poor the best way to live, or to give the means so that the poor could choose to live as they liked, or to combine an equal amount of teaching and giving. Only twenty-two percent endorsed the response that social work meant mostly to give the means to the poor to make their own decisions. Fourteen percent felt that their job was primarily to teach the poor how to live and sixty-five percent felt that about equal amounts of both were necessary.

Another controversial issue in social work is whether or not aid should be given to all who need it or whether some sign of motivation toward self-help should be a prerequisite. Sixty-three percent endorsed giving aid

to all regardless, and another twenty-five percent endorsed giving aid to all except flagrant loafers. Once again there were no racial differences.

Still another issue is how readily social workers follow the rules. Here our sample came out about evenly split on making decisions, largely based on agency rules or largely on the circumstances of the client. However, the breakdown by race showed the whites considerably more rigid, with fifty-four percent (as compared to forty percent of the Negroes) saying they usually obey the agency rules.

Finally, two questions were asked about the feelings about people in general. Our sample came out strongly endorsing the belief that people are basically good (with Negroes feeling this way slightly more than whites) and that they control much of what happens to them. These findings which showed such unanimity (only two percent thought that people were somewhat bad, and only four percent thought that people could control very little of what happens to them) fit in with our own hunches about the kind of person who is likely to go into social work. It would be pretty difficult to go into social work with any kind of commitment if one felt that people were basically bad and that there was little anyone could do about it.

Our typical social worker is no radical, but tends to go along with the basic philosophy of traditional big city social work. She believes strongly that people are basically good, and that they, with the help of case workers, can change their lives. She is not particularly driven to be objective, but seems to have a pretty realistic approach mixing both objectivity and empathy. Yet, with this desire to help and a belief that she can help, comes a conviction that she knows how people should live.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

One can generally say that of all of the occupations in our sample the social workers come out far more aware and concerned than most. Negro social workers are particularly attuned to the severe disadvantages the Negro poor face. Yet, in spite of the frank admission by many social workers that Negroes often get poorer service than whites, the causes for this unequal treatment are difficult to ascertain. Largely the blame is directed outward away from the social workers themselves, and possibly this is in main the truth. In any case, even though the social worker shows apparent good will and great concern, she remains largely inactive in the civil rights movement. And this holds regardless of the race of the respondent.

Chapter 11[*]

Grass Roots Politicians

It has become commonplace that the movement of the white and affluent to the suburbs is being compensated—or nearly so—by the increase of the black and poor in the central cities; that demands upon local government grow as its tax base shrinks; and that consequently major institutions of many cities may soon be facing bankruptcy. Already Newark has had to ask the State of New Jersey to take over its school system, on the verge of collapse for lack of funds.

We wanted to find out, across our sample of cities, what demands were being made of local government by the Negro community. We wanted to know what groups were pressing demands most insistently and how they were transmitted. Then we wanted to learn how effective local government was in responding to Negro demands.

Few are better situated to provide this information than the political worker in the big-city ghetto. We have interviewed 103 such people; seventy-four were Democrats, twenty-one Republicans, and eight independents, presumably supporters of non-partisan politics.

The political workers are all Negro, and their responses reflect a strong sympathy with the aspirations of other black people. As Negroes, they identify with black interests; as ghetto politicians, they are in the business of dealing day by day with the demands and frustrations of the ghetto. For these reasons their views are almost certain to be more representative of the ghetto than those of any other group interviewed.

[*]By David Boesel.

Certainly they are "in touch". Most of them work at the middle and lower levels of municipal politics; ten percent are city councilmen; the rest are committeemen, ward leaders, precinct captains, and other workers at the precinct level. The majority said that they talk with about seventy-five voters each week.

Of all the occupational groups surveyed, this one was the most strongly pro-civil rights. Half of the Negro politicians interviewed said that they had been active with civil rights groups in the past two years. No other group came close to that proportion. Perhaps the best indicator of the exceptional quality of this group's responses is found in a comparison between political workers and the overall average to the following question: "In terms of Negroes gaining what they feel to be equality, do you feel the Negroes have tried to move much too fast, too fast, too slow, or has it been about right?" (Table 11.1). As can be seen at a glance, the political workers were much more strongly in favor of "pushing" than the average respondent.

TABLE 11.1
ASSESSMENT OF RATE OF NEGRO PUSH FOR EQUALITY
[Q 11–Core]
[In percent]

Negroes are pushing for equality	Political party worker	Average of all respondents
Much too fast	2	18
Too fast	2	23
Too slow	54	27
About right	39	27
Don't know	2	4
100 percent equals	(103)	(1953)

The political workers differed substantially from the average respondent in other ways as well. For one thing, their perception of urban problems was different. In response to one question, asking for an assessment of the seriousness of the various problems facing their cities, the other (predominantly white) respondents were inclined to view most seriously those dealing with relations between people, and especially between the races. Their placing crime, race relations, and riots at the top of the list indicates their keen awareness of the rapidly changing character of relations between Negroes and whites today. (Table 11.2).

TABLE 11.2

"VERY SERIOUS" PROBLEMS RANKED BY PERCENTAGE RESPONSES: POLITICAL PARTY WORKERS AND ALL RESPONDENTS

[Q 3—Core]

[In percent]

Political workers	Very serious	Average of all respondents	Very serious
Education	68	Control of crime	71
Control of crime	67	Preventing riots	55
Recreation	66	Race relations	52
Unemployment	58	Education	45
Race relations	57	Finding tax funds	42
Preventing riots	52	Unemployment	36
Finding tax funds	46	Air pollution	33
Air pollution	38	Recreation	31
Traffic and highways	36	Traffic and highways	27
Corruption of public officials	28	Corruption of public officials	19

The political workers, on the other hand, were much more inclined to view problems in concrete terms: providing quality education was at the top of their list, followed by crime, the need for recreational facilities, and the need for jobs. Again, the fact that as politicians they have to deal with concrete problems on a day-to-day basis goes a long way toward explaining these perceptions, as does the fact that they are Negro.

Beyond this, the difference between the perceptions of the Negro politicians and those of the average respondent may be seen as an instance of the tendency of the more conservative forces in a changing society to define problems in the perspective of harmonious relations between the various elements of a community, while the forces pushing for change are likely to be more intent upon achieving those things which they feel they have been denied.

A corollary of the political workers' identification with the ghetto is that their criticism of white society was stronger than that of the other groups. They were less inclined to see substantial progress being made by their cities in the struggle for equality and much more inclined to consider whites in those cities prejudiced against Negroes. Asked to assess the efforts of different predominantly white groups to assure equality, the average respondent thought that most of the groups listed were taking positive steps toward that end, while the politicians saw most of them as indifferent or in opposition to it. (Table 11.3).

TABLE 11.3

ACTIVENESS IN BEHALF OF EQUALITY BY VARIOUS GROUPS, AS JUDGED BY POLITICAL WORKERS AND AVERAGE OF ALL RESPONDENTS

[Q 10—Core]

[In percent]

Groups Considered	Positive efforts for equality		Indifference or opposition	
	Political workers	Average of all respondents	Political workers	Average of all respondents
Major employers	35	68	62	30
Major retail	37	65	59	30
Bankers	51	53	48	37
Police	34	66	64	30
Social workers	63	83	35	11
Mayor, etc.	67	84	29	13
Teachers	50	75	49	19
Homeowners	32	27	65	67
Landlords	11	15	85	79
Unions	45	47	53	45

Consistent with their own awareness of white prejudice, the political workers expressed their constituents' perception of Negro disadvantage. The largest portion of those interviewed (thirty-nine percent) said that people in their districts thought they were "worse off" than those in other districts. Another thirty-five percent said "about the same", and only eighteen percent said "better off." While the emphasis is on a negative evaluation of the conditions in their own districts, it is surprising that there were so many "neutral" and positive responses. Part of this seeming anomaly may be explained by the probability that some of the districts in the sample included middle-class Negro sections which do compare favorably with other areas of the city. Another part of the answer may lie in the fact that many older Negro people in the poor districts do not consider themselves deprived. In response to another question, for example, the politicians said that half (fifty-two percent) of the old people in their districts were either very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with the way the city is run.

Asked what problems the people in their districts were most concerned about, the political workers mentioned housing most frequently (twenty percent of the references); after that came unemployment (nineteen percent); public services such as sanitation and street lighting (ten percent); and education (ten percent), in that order.

Because most of the Negro politicians deal with the communication of demands and the distribution of benefits, rather than with policy making, some of these problems do not fall within the scope of their competence. People in their district, for example, do not often ask for their help in the areas of housing and education. The most frequent requests mentioned were for jobs (thirty-three percent), sanitation and street services (thirteen percent), and assistance in police and welfare matters (twelve percent and eleven percent respectively). This, of course, is the stuff that machines are made of. The question is, how effective are they in meeting the demands of the ghettoes?

The "level" of demands is much higher than it was fifteen years ago, when the urban political machinery was running more smoothly. To explain why the expectations of black people are rising so fast would require a volume in itself, but the fact has escaped no one's attention. Certainly the political workers have no doubt about it; almost unanimously (ninety-three percent), they agreed that in the last few years people in their district have become more determined to get what they have coming to them. The strongest impetus for this new determination comes from the younger blacks; ninety-two percent of the political workers agreed that "young people have become more militant." Only a slight majority, however, (fifty-six percent) said the same of middle-aged people.

Against the pressure of greatly increased Negro demands, urban political organizations formed in other times and on other assumptions, attentive to other interests, and constrained by severely limited resources, are increasingly finding themselves unable to respond satisfactorily. In evaluating a variety of services available to people in their districts, a majority of the political workers thought that all services except two were either poor or fair (Table 11.4); those two were telephone service, which eighty-five percent said was good or excellent, and the fire department, which seventy-nine percent rated the same. Worst of the lot were recreational facilities, rated poor or fair by eighty-four percent of the respondents, police protection, eighty-three percent, and building inspection, eighty-two percent.

TABLE 11.4

ADEQUACY OF VARIOUS SERVICES IN DISTRICT, RANKED BY TOTAL (+) RESPONSE

[Q 22—POL]

[In percent]

	Excellent	Good	Total (+)	Fair	Poor	Total (−)	NA
Telephone service	43.7	40.8	84.5	9.7	5.8	15.5	...
Fire department	29.1	49.5	78.6	15.9	4.9	20.4	...
Street lighting	10.7	35.6	46.7	34.0	20.4	54.4	...
Garbage service	14.6	29.1	43.7	36.1	19.4	55.5	...
Street cleaning	3.9	27.2	31.1	32.0	36.9	68.9	1.0
Schools	2.9	22.3	25.2	35.9	37.9	73.8	...
Street repair	3.9	20.4	24.3	40.8	35.0	75.8	...
Recreational facilities	2.9	13.6	16.5	32.0	51.5	83.5	...
Police protection		16.5	16.5	50.5	32.0	82.5	...
Building inspection	4.9	10.7	15.6	42.7	38.8	81.5	2.9

A critical part of today's political systems is the informal structure of intermediate organizations which serve as a link between the individual and the broader political processes. They serve as channels of communication whereby ordinary people can make themselves heard, and they give an organizational focus to popular demands. Asked which organizations were the most influential in their district, political workers cited established, old-line outfits. (Table 11.5). Surprisingly, the largest proportion of respondents (forty-nine percent) said that city newspapers were very influential. Local or community newspapers got the second largest response (thirty-seven percent), followed by churches (thirty-two percent), labor unions (thirty percent), the NAACP (twenty-nine percent), and the Urban League (twenty-five percent). The more militant CORE and SNCC brought up the rear with nine percent and three percent respectively.

TABLE 11.5

INFLUENTIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN DISTRICT, RANKED BY PROPORTION CALLING THEM "VERY INFLUENTIAL"

[Q 23—POL]

[In percent]

	Very influential	Somewhat influential	Not at all influential	None here, NA
City newspapers	49	42	7	1
Local newspapers	37	50	8	3
Churches	30	50	18	
Labor unions	30	47	18	5
NAACP	29	54	15	1
Urban league	25	58	14	3
PTA	24	44	30	2
Merchants associations	13	42	34	11
CORE	9	38	35	17
SNCC	3	27	42	27

The lack of influence attributed to CORE and SNCC must not be seen as reflecting a lack of militancy in the ghettoes—there is plenty of evidence to the contrary in this study—but only as suggesting that the militancy which does exist has not yet found any organizational focus. Certainly, it is not given voice by those organizations which the politicians have called influential, with the possible exception of the local black press. Indeed, it is remarkable how little influence these organizations have over broad segments of the ghetto population. Most of them find their strongest adherents among older, more moderate residents; but young black people are not attracted to them. No national civil rights organization commands the loyalties of a substantial portion of ghetto youth, nor do the churches or the unions. If they were sensitive to the wishes and demands of their parents, black youths might then fall within the scope of the "influential" organizations. But today more than ever, they are rejecting their parents' attitudes and values. These intermediate organizations, insofar as they are related to the ghetto, functioned effectively fifteen years ago to maintain a viable status quo. But today, they are out of touch with the most active and socially the most critical segment of the ghetto population. They have little to offer the young people and are ill-suited as a vehicle for the expression of increasingly militant black demands.

At the same time that the intermediate organizations of the informal political system are rapidly becoming outmoded, the formal structure of municipal politics is proving to be less and less adequate to the problems

of the ghetto. While only thirty-eight percent of the black political workers thought that people in their districts regarded their councilmen as friends fighting for them, half of them (fifty-one percent) said that the people considered their councilmen "part of the city government which must be asked continually and repeatedly in order to get things done." Significantly, when it came to talking about particular councilmen, the proportion of "don't know" responses rose noticeably—in this case it was eleven percent.

In response to a series of more specific questions about the councilmen, the political workers indicated that the voters were inclined to evaluate their representatives' performance positively, but not strongly so. (Table 11.6) The endorsement is lukewarm at best. Moreover, the high percentage of "don't know" responses here, as in the previous question, emphasizes the difficulty the political workers must have had in taking up so sensitive a point. Since the respondents in most cases were probably talking about their fellow party-members—and perhaps their superiors—it is plausible to infer that in both instances we have a more favorable assessment of the councilmen's performance than a frank appraisal would produce.

TABLE 11.6
POLITICAL WORKERS ASSESS VOTERS' OPINION OF COUNCILMAN'S PERFORMANCE
[Q 20—POL]
[In percent]

	Yes	No	DK, NA
Do the voters think he is militant enough?	51	36	12
Do the voters think he gets things done quickly?	44	42	12
Do the voters think he follows the party line or lot?	39	45	11
Do the voters think he helps the people in the district a lot?	52	32	13
Do they think he is powerful?	48	38	12

Almost all of the political workers (eighty-nine percent) said that they received various requests from the voters for help. Asked whether they could respond to these requests "almost always, usually, or just sometimes", the largest proportion of the Negro politicians (thirty-six percent) chose the weakest of the alternatives offered—"sometimes"—which, in context, is a nice way of saying "seldom." Another thirty-one percent said "usually"; and nineteen percent said "almost always."

Even recognizing that the formal political structures are turning in a poor-to-mediocre performance in the face of escalating Negro demands, it is still striking to find that sixty percent of the political workers agreed with the statement that in the last few years "people have become more fed up with the system, and are becoming unwilling to work with politicians." In effect, it is an admission that they as political workers, and the system of urban politics to which they devote themselves, are failing.

Table 11.7 compares levels of dissatisfaction, militancy, and political involvement among various groups in the ghetto. The political workers share with many others the opinion that adolescents (sixty-nine percent) and young adults (seventy-one percent) are the most dissatisfied with the way the city is run. Older people are less unhappy about the state of affairs, but still, half of the political workers (forty-nine percent) said that they are more dissatisfied than satisfied. Unfortunately, the black unemployed were not included in this question, but it is a fair guess that the level of dissatisfaction among them is very high, especially because the rate of unemployment in the ghettos is highest among young people.

TABLE 11.7
LEVELS OF DISSATISFACTION, MILITANCY, AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS IN THE GHETTO, AS JUDGED BY POLITICAL WORKERS
[Qs 2, 24, 17—POL]
[In percent]

Dissatisfaction	Adolescents	Young	Middle-aged	Old	Unemployed	Low or moderate income	High income
Very satisfied	4	4	------	8	------	------	------
Somewhat satisfied	18	23	------	44	------	------	------
Somewhat dissatisfied	29	26	------	36	------	------	------
Very dissatisfied	40	48	------	13	------	------	------
DK	7	1	------	------	------	------	------

Militancy	Adolescents	College students	Non-college young adults	Middle-aged	Old	Unemployed	Low or moderate income	High income
Very militant	41	67	52	14	8	43	27	13
Somewhat militant	42	43	43	69	32	40	52	37
Not at all militant	15	6	5	16	58	15	17	46
DK	------	1	1	1	1	1	2	4

Political involvement	Adolescents	Young	Middle-aged	Old	Unemployed	Low or moderate income	High income
Usually active	------	55	83	66	32	73	64
Usually inactive	------	43	17	33	63	26	32
DK	------	1	------	------	3	------	3

For the most part the dissatisfied are also the militant. There is a strong positive correlation between age and militancy in today's ghettoes. The young people are far and away the most militant, according to the political workers. Sixty-seven percent of the workers said that college students are "very militant"; fifty-two percent said the same of non-college young adults; and forty-one percent of adolescents. Middle-age people exhibit middle-level militancy; sixty-nine percent of the black politicians agreed that middle-aged people are "somewhat militant." Older people are the least militant of the three age groups; fifty-eight percent of the political workers said that they are "not at all militant."

There is a suggestion in these figures that education and militancy are positively correlated, as can be seen by comparing the ratings of the college students with those of the non-college young adults. Class standing also seems to be positively correlated with militancy, in the estimation of the black political workers; the lower the economic position, the greater the tendency toward militancy. Forty-three percent agreed that the unemployed are "very militant", while twenty-seven percent said the same of low- or moderate-income people, and only thirteen percent said that high-income people were very militant.

In the face of ineffectual urban political systems, the young are the most dissatisfied with the way the cities are being run; the young and the unemployed are the most militant segments of the ghetto population. Insofar as militancy implies a penchant for action, one might expect these groups to be deeply involved in politics in an effort to change things. But precisely the opposite is true. In the judgment of the Negro political workers, the unemployed and the young, in that order, are the least active of all groups in regular politics. Only thirty percent said that the unemployed were "usually active"; the corresponding figure for young adults is fifty-five percent. Predominant in the arena of routine politics are middle-aged people (eighty-three percent) and those with low or moderate incomes (seventy-three percent). Older people and those with high incomes fall in the middle range of political activity, (sixty-six percent and sixty-four percent respectively).

The political machinery itself is staffed by middle-aged people who are moderately well-off or well-to-do. The median age of the political workers interviewed was fifty years, and their median family income was around $10,000. Moreover, slightly more than half of them were born in the South, while the great majority of their young constituents were born in Northern cities. As other studies have shown a positive correlation between Northern birth and Negro militancy,[1] it may be suggested that on this basis alone the political workers are less militant than the young people in their districts. Their age and their class position further strengthen this suggestion, as does the fact that they are politicians working within the constraints of routine politics. In comparison to the young people in their districts, then, the black political workers are older, more middle-class, more likely to have been born in the South, and more moderate.

The average black man in the ghetto is twenty-one years old. Born and raised in the North, he has little use for the subservience fostered in the South and still evident among older black people in northern cities. The respondents concurred (sixty-nine percent) that he is not afraid of impersonal authority, and, contrary to popular stereotypes, that he is not apathetic (seventy-three percent). In terms of numbers and initiative young people constitute a major social force in the ghettos. Yet they have almost no political power. They are confronted with a political system unresponsive to their demands, controlled by white people, and in the ghetto, manned by more moderate, middle-aged blacks. As of yet, their militancy has found no organizational focus. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should predominate in the recent riots. As Caplan has shown in his study of riot participation in Newark and Detroit,[2] the average rioter is young, Northern-born, militant, and politically conscious. The average rioter is, in these and other respects, the average citizen of the ghetto.

The riots are not some sort of natural catastrophe that has befallen the country; they are acts of political will, however diffuse and ill-focused. As such they call for a reasoned political response. If the black party workers are correct in their assessment, the alienation of young Negroes from routine urban politics is only partial and not irrevocable. Sixty-six percent of the respondents said many or almost all of the young people in their district were "very interested in getting the best man elected." And a larger majority (seventy-four percent) said that most of them are not "too militant to work inside a political party." If they see some reason to participate in routine politics, and if the system makes it worthwhile for them to direct their energies into legitimate channels, there is no reason to think that they will reject the opportunity.

[1] See for example, "Study of the Meaning, Experience, and Effect of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on Negro Youth Who are Seeking Work." Project Directors, Melvin Herman and Stanley Sadofsky. New York University Graduate School of Social Work, Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth. New York 1967.

[2] Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Bantam Books, New York, 1968. pp. 172–178.

Appendix A

How the Survey Was Conducted

Although it is fairly easy nowadays to carry out a sample survey of the population of the United States as a whole, it is quite difficult to draw samples of special groups, especially when those groups are not concentrated in small geographic areas—a difficulty which was faced in designing this study. Although we knew that we wanted to interview people who worked in and with the ghetto, we also knew that they were unlikely to be found living in the ghetto. Furthermore, they constituted very small fractions of the population of the cities selected for study and hence had to be reached through different means than one would use for conducting sample surveys of the general population.

The methods employed to select samples within each of the cities were far from satisfying the more rigorous demands of sampling practice and theory, and were often even far from satisfying less rigorous sampling plans. They were used out of necessity rather than choice, out of a desire to keep within budget and within the severe time limits imposed by the necessity of delivering a report to the Commission before it went out of existence at the end of June 1968.

As a preliminary to the survey, a letter from the Commission was sent to each mayor, police chief, school superintendent, and head of public welfare in each of the fifteen cities, asking for their cooperation in helping to draw a sample of their personnel for interviewing. Both the school systems and public welfare departments in each city cooperated fully. Police chiefs and police departments were less willing to aid our task. Indeed, in Milwaukee, Boston, and Chicago, police departments declined to cooperate. (In Milwaukee policemen were forbidden to give interviews on pain of dismissal from the force.) In Chicago, interviewers from Audits and Surveys were able to interview policemen only in their offduty hours, but in Boston they were unable to get cooperation from any policeman after repeated attempts. At this writing, the Detroit Police Department, after repeated promises to cooperate, still had not arranged for interviewers to either select a sample or to interview policemen.

Since our task was to interview personnel who worked in the ghetto, the sampling department of Audits and Surveys prepared maps for interviewers in each city outlining small areas of the city which had concentrations of fifty percent or more Negroes in 1960. These maps were used by the interviewers in explaining to agencies the places where respondents should be working to be eligible for selection.

Since the selection of each group was accomplished in a different fashion, the specific ways used are described separated below.

SELECTION OF POLICE

Interviewing supervisors from the nation-wide staff of Audits and Surveys called upon heads of each police department, reminding them of the letter requesting cooperation which had been sent from the Commission. They then asked for the location of precincts that served the areas outlined on their maps. With cooperation assured, supervisors approached senior officers in each precinct (or division) requesting a list of names of personnel eligible for interviewing and appropriate space within precinct headquarters to conduct interviews. Respondents were then selected from the lists provided by commanding officers and interviewed.

Although the procedure described above was often followed, it was perhaps as often modified to take into account local factors. For example, in some cities commanding officers selected policemen to be interviewed with an apparent view toward presenting their "best" men. In other cities, interviewers were allowed access to policemen in no particular systematic way, the selection being usually those who were available and not too busy at precinct tasks.

The modifications undertaken in the field leads one to question strongly whether the sample we obtained is unbiased. However, the bias involved is a conservative one. If one postulates that all the police departments tried to provide us with policemen whom the departments thought would present the best (and presumably least biased towards Negroes) views, then our findings concerning the relatively illiberal views of policemen are undoubtedly an understatement of how police actually are.

SELECTING EDUCATORS

Much the same procedures were followed with the the school systems in each city. The school superintendent's office was first contacted to get locations of four schools serving the ghetto areas, with an attempt made to get schools which were close to the precincts selected for the study of police. Each school principal was then contacted and asked to provide lists of persons who fit specific quotas of race and position. Interviews were conducted in the school.

As in the case of police, there were many departures from the ideal. Some principals undoubtedly selected potential interviewees with a view towards pleasing the Commission, the supervisor, or even the Johns Hopkins

researchers. The extent of this selection and the strength of the bias it introduced is, of course, unknown.

SELECTING WELFARE WORKERS

Again, much the same procedure was followed. Supervisors made contact with the heads of public welfare departments in each city, obtained the addresses of offices serving ghetto areas, and the names of supervising personnel. Supervisors of local welfare offices were asked to provide lists of potential respondents who were interviewed on the premises.

SELECTING PERSONNEL OFFICERS

Lists of the one hundred largest employers in the metropolitan areas involved were obtained from Dun and Bradstreet listings. Every one of the largest ten employers and twenty of the remaining were selected. Interviewers were instructed to determine in each firm selected who was in charge of personnel or who set personnel hiring policies and then to interview that person. Because of the existence of the Dun and Bradstreet listing it was possible to follow more rigorous sampling procedures, the only bias entered being that of nonresponse from those who were contacted.

SELECTING RETAILERS

The main commercial areas in each of the ghetto areas were determined in advance by the sampling department of Audits and Surveys. Supervising interviewers were given a list of the areas and a quota of stores of various types and then instructed to obtain respondents from those areas. Some degree of selective bias undoubtedly was at work here both from the specific procedures followed by interviewers and from the nonresponse of retail merchants who refused to be interviewed.

SELECTING POLITICAL PARTY WORKERS

Precinct captains, retail merchants and school principals were asked the names of local political clubs and local party officials in the areas in which their organizations worked. Three clubs (or similar organizations) were selected from the list so derived, and ten respondents were chosen by contacting the clubs and asking for names of officers.

For each of the occupational groups—save personnel officers—quotas were set on racial composition and

level of supervision. The quotas in each city set for race were as follows:

	Negro	White
Social workers	10	10
Educators	10	10
Police	10	30
Retail merchants	8	22
Political workers	10	
Employers		30

In addition, for the police and educators quotas were also set by supervisory level, as follows:

	Supervisors	Rank and File
Police	4	26
Educators	4	16

A more complicated set of quotas were set for retail merchants, specifying the kinds of business enterprises to be contacted and interviewed.

No sampling plan for human populations is ever perfectly fulfilled. This particular one is no exception to the rule. Although we had aimed for 2,250 interviews, at the time of the writing of this report only 1,953 were available for tabulations (2,171 interviews had been collected, but the remainder had not been processed for tabulating). The 1,953 respondents included in this report were distributed among cities and occupations as follows:

Occupational Distribution	Actual	Intended
Police	437	600
Educators	273	300
Social Workers	264	300
Political Workers	103	150
Merchants	442	450
Employers	434	450

City Distribution	
Newark	133
Detroit	84
Milwaukee	105
Boston	112
Cincinnati	150
Washington	115
Baltimore	142
Gary	139
Pittsburgh	142
St. Louis	145
Brooklyn	157
Cleveland	150
Chicago	103
Philadelphia	125
San Francisco	142
Unidentified	9

Because of the pressure of time, it was not possible to reconcile obvious inconsistencies that always exist in data of this sort. For example, some of the respondents have recorded rather remarkable ages—under twelve or over ninety—errors probably generated by incorrect transcribing data from questionnaires to IBM cards. The obvious inconsistencies that we have noted so far amount to a very small proportion of cases, at most one or two respondents in any one table. The correction of these errors, which is now underway, may result in small changes in the tabulations presented in this report. However, in most cases, the changes will not alter noticeably the percentages presented, and in all cases will not reverse or mute the main findings of either the total report or any chapter.

Appendix B
Interview Schedules

AUDITS & SURVEYS, INC.
One Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

#5338

March 1968

CIVIL DISORDER STUDY

Card 1
5-1

6-

RESPONDENT'S NAME:_____

RESPONDENT'S ADDRESS:_____

CITY_____ STATE _____

RESPONDENT'S TELEPHONE NUMBER: _____

RESPONDENT'S POSITION:_____

RACE OF RESPONDENT: WHITE ☐   12-1

NEGRO ☐   -2

OTHER (SPECIFY) -3

SEX OF RESPONDENT: MALE   ☐ 13-1

FEMALE ☐   -2

INTERVIEWER'S NAME:_____

INTERVIEWER'S NUMBER ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
7- 8- 9- 10- 11-

DATE OF INTERVIEW:_____

PLACE OF INTERVIEW:_____

(IF AN ESTABLISHMENT)

NAME OF FIRM:_____

ADDRESS OF FIRM:_____

_____

Hello, I'm from Audits & Surveys. We are conducting a study on behalf of a group of social scientists at Johns Hopkins University of local communities in urban areas throughout the country. We are especially interested in the experiences and opinions of persons like yourself whose job involves working with people in the city as a whole or with local neighborhoods. As you answer the following questions, please try to keep in mind that this is for scientific purposes only. No one in the city will see your answers. What you tell us is strictly confidential.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS BOX

Validated by:

Date:

Phone Call ☐

Post Card ☐

14-   15-   16-

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Now I am going to ask you a series of questions about the city in which you work. As before, all that is said will remain strictly confidential.

1. Every city faces problems nowadays. What do you see as the two or three major problems facing your city?

_____ 17-
_____ 18-
_____ 19-
_____ 20-
_____ 21-
_____ 22-
_____ 23-

2. Thinking back over the last few years and the problems your city has had to face, what have been the major improvements?

_____ 24-
_____ 25-
_____ 26-
_____ 27-
_____ 28-
_____ 29-
_____ 30-

3. I am going to read a list of problems which face some cities in this country today. In your view, how serious is each of the problems in your city? That is, do you feel that (TYPE OF PROBLEM) is very serious, somewhat serious, slightly serious, or not at all serious? (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH PROBLEM LISTED)

	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Slightly Serious	Not Serious	DK
a) Control of crime	☐ 31-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) Unemployment	☐ 32-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) Air pollution	☐ 33-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) Race relations	☐ 34-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
e) Providing quality education	☐ 35-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
f) Finding tax funds for municipal services	☐ 36-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
g) Traffic and highways	☐ 37-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
h) Preventing violence and other civil disorder	☐ 38-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
i) Lack of recreation facilities	☐ 39-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
j) Corruption of public officials	☐ 40-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

4. Compared to other cities of the same size, how well do you think __(CITY)__ is doing in meeting the problems it faces? Do you think it is doing much better than average, about average, or less than average?

Much better than average .... ☐ 41-1
About average .... ☐ -2
Less than average .... ☐ -3
Don't know .... ☐ -6

Now I have a few questions concerning some of the social problems of urban life. I'll start with some questions about Negroes here.

5. In your opinion, how well are Negroes treated in __(CITY)__? Do you feel they are . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

. . . Treated better than any other part of the population? .... ☐ 42-1

. . . Treated equally? .... ☐ -2

. . . Treated as other people of the same income? .... ☐ -3

. . . Treated worse than other people of the same income? .... ☐ -4

. . . Treated worse than any other part of the population? .... ☐ -5

Don't know .... ☐ -6

6. Compared to other groups in the city of the same income and education, do you think Negroes are about as well off, less well off, or better off with respect to . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	As Well Off	Less Well Off	Better Off	DK
a) . . . Educational opportunities?	☐ 43-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
b) . . . Employment opportunities?	☐ 44-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
c) . . . Treatment by the police?	☐ 45-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
d) . . . Housing?	☐ 46-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
e) . . . Treatment by public officials?	☐ 47-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
f) . . . Medical care?	☐ 48-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
g) . . . Recreation?	☐ 49-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

7. Compared to about five years ago, would you consider Negroes in this city . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

- . . . A lot better off?...................... ☐ 50-1
- . . . Generally better off?.................. ☐ -2
- . . . Generally worse off?.................. ☐ -3
- . . . About the same?...................... ☐ -4
- Don't know................................. ☐ -6

8. As you see it, how does the average White person in this city view Negroes? Here are some statements which I will read to you. Please tell me whether the statement fits the situation of White attitudes towards Negroes as you see them. Is the statement completely true, mostly true, somewhat true or not true at all? (READ STATEMENTS AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Completely True	Mostly True	Somewhat True	Not True	DK
a) Most Whites would like to see Negroes get an even break, but few have the time to worry much about it..........	☐ 51-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) Most Whites are deeply prejudiced against Negroes but are afraid to show it out in the open...........	☐ 52-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) Most Whites are for giving Negroes a fair deal and generally back up these beliefs...........	☐ 53-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) Most Whites are prejudiced and given the opportunity would send the Negroes back to the South......	☐ 54-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
e) Most Whites are not prejudiced, but they do not feel comfortable with Negroes in most situations...	☐ 55-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

9. As you see it, how does the average Negro person in this city view White people? Here are some statements which I will read to you. Please tell me whether the statement fits the situation of Negro attitudes towards Whites as you see them. Is the statement completely true, mostly true, somewhat true or not true at all? (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Completely True	Mostly True	Somewhat True	Not True	DK
a) Most Negroes feel friendly towards Whites but don't know how to show it..................	☐ 56-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) Most Negroes feel friendly towards Whites and generally back up these feelings............	☐ 57-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) Most Negroes dislike Whites intensely but are afraid to show it...	☐ 58-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) Most Negroes hate Whites and given the opportunity would seek revenge...........	☐ 59-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
e) Most Negroes dislike Whites and, given the opportunity, Negroes would live by themselves and not have anything to do with whites...	☐ 60-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
f) Most Negroes feel friendly towards Whites but do not feel comfortable with Whites in most situations...........	☐ 61-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

10. In every city there are groups that are leaders in working for equal treatment for all citizens regardless of race or color. Other groups are less apt to be concerned with this. How about various groups in this city? Are the (GROUP) leaders, in the matter of equal treatment for all, active in this area but not necessarily leaders; indifferent to the problem—in other words, don't particularly care one way or another; or are they dragging their feet on it? (CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH GROUP LISTED BELOW)

	Leaders	Active But Not Leaders	Don't Care One Way or the Other	Drag Their Feet	DK
a) Major employers.....................	☐ 62-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) Major retail businesses...............	☐ 63-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) Bankers....................	☐ 64-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) The police....................	☐ 65-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
e) Social Workers.....................	☐ 66-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
f) Elected public officials like the Mayor.....................	☐ 67-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
g) Teachers in public school............	☐ 68-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
h) Homeowners.....................	☐ 69-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
i) Landlords.....................	☐ 70-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
j) Unions.....................	☐ 71-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

11. Now, in terms of Negroes gaining what they feel to be equality, do you feel the Negroes have tried to move much too fast, too fast, too slow, or has it been about right?

Much too fast...................... ☐ 72-1   About right............................... ☐ -4

Too fast........................... ☐ -2   Don't know............................... ☐ -6

Too slow............................ ☐ -3

> Card 2
> 5-2

12a. Many <u>Whites</u> are greatly disturbed by things they see happening in and around the Negro community in cities across the country. How about this city? How disturbed do you think <u>most Whites</u> are about (INSERT EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW)—very disturbed, slightly disturbed or not disturbed at all? (CHECK BELOW FOR EACH ITEM LISTED)

b. Many <u>Negroes</u> are greatly disturbed by things they see happening in and around the community in cities across the country. How about this city? How disturbed do you think <u>most Negroes</u> are about (INSERT EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW)—very disturbed, slightly disturbed or not disturbed at all? (CHECK BELOW FOR EACH ITEM LISTED)

c. How do <u>you</u> feel about the matter of (INSERT EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW)—are <u>you</u> very disturbed, slightly disturbed, or aren't you disturbed at all about it? (CHECK BELOW FOR EACH ITEM LISTED)

	Q. 12a Most Whites				Q. 12b Most Negroes				Q. 12c Respondent's Opinion			
	Very Disturbed	Slightly Disturbed	Not Disturbed	Don't know	Very Disturbed	Slightly Disturbed	Not Disturbed	Don't know	Very Disturbed	Slightly Disturbed	Not Disturbed	Don't know
a) The amount of individual crime (theft, murder, etc.)	☐ 6-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 7-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 8-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
b) Mass violence (riots and mass disorders)	☐ 9-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 10-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 11-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
c) Increased competition for blue collar jobs (unskilled and semi-skilled)	☐ 12-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 13-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 14-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
d) Draining resources through welfare payments	☐ 15-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 16-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 17-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
e) Negroes taking over political power	☐ 18-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 19-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 20-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
f) Negroes moving into areas that, until recently, were occupied only by Whites	☐ 21-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 22-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 23-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
g) Negroes socializing with Whites	☐ 24-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 25-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 26-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
h) Increased competition for professional and white collar positions	☐ 27-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 28-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6	☐ 29-5	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

(ASK ONLY IN DETROIT, NEWARK, BOSTON AND MILWAUKEE:)

13. Were the mass disturbances or disorders in this city last summer serious enough to be called riots or rebellions?

Yes ☐ 30-1

No ☐ -2

(ASK IN ALL OTHER CITIES:)

13. Were there any mass disturbances or disorders in this city last summer serious enough to be called riots or rebellions?

Yes ☐ 31-1

No ☐ -2

14. Were there any other mass disturbances or disorders in this city last summer that were serious but not large enough to be called a riot or rebellion?

Yes ☐ 32-1   No ☐ -2

(IF "NO" TO Q.13 <u>AND</u> Q.14, SKIP TO Q.18. ASK ALL OTHERS Q.15.)

15. As you see it, what were the main reasons for the disturbances in your city?

_____ 33-
_____ 34-
_____ 35-
_____ 36-
_____ 37-
_____ 38-
_____ 39-

16a. Was there any way that the disturbances could have been prevented?

Yes ☐ 40-1 (ASK Q.16b)

No ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.17a)

b. (IF "YES" TO Q.16a:) How could they have been prevented?

_____ 41-
_____ 42-
_____ 43-
_____ 44-
_____ 45-
_____ 46-
_____ 47-

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17a. Now that the disturbances are over, what do you think have been some of their consequences? For example, has anything been done to meet the Negro complaints and grievances?

        Yes ☐ 48-1   No ☐ -2   Don't know ☐ -6

b. Have White attitudes changed towards Negroes to be more favorable, less favorable, or remained much the same as before the riot?

    More favorable......... ☐ 49-1   About the same ☐ -3

    Less favorable......... ☐ -2   Don't know........ ☐ -6

c. Have Negro attitudes changed towards Whites to be more favorable, less favorable, or remained about the same?

    More favorable......... ☐ 50-1   About the same ☐ -3

    Less favorable......... ☐ -2   Don't know........ ☐ -6

d. How about the police? Have they changed in their attitudes towards Negroes to be more favorable, less favorable, or much the same?

    More favorable......... ☐ 51-1   About the same ☐ -3

    Less favorable......... ☐ -2   Don't know........ ☐ -6

                    (SKIP TO Q.21)

18. (IF "NO" TO Q.14, ASK:) In your view, what are the major reasons for civil disturbances and riots in cities that have had them?

        52-
        53-
        54-
        55-
        56-
        57-
        58-

19. How likely is it that a riot could occur here in (CITY)—is it . . .

    . . . Extremely likely?............... ☐ 59-1 ⎫
    . . . Somewhat likely?............... ☐ -2 ⎬ (ASK Q.20)
    . . . Possible but not likely?....... ☐ -3 ⎭

    . . . Not at all likely?................. ☐ -4 ⎫ (SKIP TO Q.21)
    Don't know..................... ☐ -6 ⎭

20. (IF "EXTREMELY LIKELY", "SOMEWHAT LIKELY", OR "POSSIBLE BUT NOT LIKELY" IN Q.19, ASK:) Why do you suppose a riot did not occur here in (CITY) last summer?

        60-
        61-
        62-
        63-
        64-
        65-
        66-

21. (ASK EVERYONE)

One view of the riots is that they occur because Negroes feel that their complaints are not being paid sufficient attention by local authorities. In your view is this . . . (READ STATEMENTS AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

    The main reason?... ☐ 67-1

    Largely true but not the only reason?............... ☐ -2

    True but not a major reason?........................... ☐ -3

    Not true at all?... ☐ -4

22. Another view of the riots is that they are mainly the result of the criminal element in the Negro ghetto getting out of hand and taking advantage of minor incidents to provide opportunities for looting? In your view—for your city—is this . . . (READ STATEMENTS AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

    The main reason?... ☐ 68-1

    Largely true but not the only reason?............... ☐ -2

    True but not a major reason?........................... ☐ -3

    Not true at all?... ☐ -4

23. Still another view of the riots sees them mainly as the result of the agitation of Negro nationalists or other militants who are taking advantage of the grievances of the Negro population to create the conditions for a rebellion. Is this . . . (READ STATEMENTS AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

    The main reason?... ☐ 69-1

    Largely true but not the only reason?............... ☐ -2

    True but not a major reason?........................... ☐ -3

    Not true at all?... ☐ -4

24. Another view has it that the riots are political actions designed to obtain concessions and changes from local authorities. Do you feel this is . . . (READ STATEMENTS AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

    The main reason?... ☐ 70-1

    Largely true but not the only reason?............... ☐ -2

    True but not a major reason?........................... ☐ -3

    Not true at all?... ☐ -4

25. Another view sees the riots mainly provoked by police brutality in handling arrests and other problems in the Negro community. In your view is this . . . (READ STATEMENTS AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

    The main reason?... ☐ 71-1

    Largely true but not the only reason?............... ☐ -2

    True but not a major reason?........................... ☐ -3

    Not true at all?... ☐ -4

26. Yet another view sees most Negroes as basically violent, with little respect for the laws and mores of our society. Riots occurred mainly because authorities generally have been too permissive. Do you feel this is ... (READ STATEMENTS AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

The main reason?... ☐ 72-1

Largely true but not the only reason?.............. ☐ -2

True but not a major reason?.......................... ☐ -3

Not true at all?... ☐ -4

27. Cities differ in the way in which they approach their problems. Here are some statements that have been made about different cities. For this city, please tell me whether each statement is completely true, mostly true, somewhat true, or not true. (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH STATEMENT LISTED)

	Completely True	Mostly True	Somewhat True	Not True	DK
a) The political leaders of our city are imaginative and are always coming up with new ideas on how to meet the city's problems........	☐ 73-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) This is a city which has always been among the last to try new ideas like urban renewal, educational reforms, and so on.............	☐ 74-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) One of the good things about this city's government is the tremendous cooperation various agencies give to each other................	☐ 75-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) The rank and file city employee here tries his best to do his job, but he gets little support from his superiors....................	☐ 76-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
e) No matter how imaginative our city officials may be, the rank and file public employees just plug away doing things the same way anyhow.....................................	☐ 77-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
f) The average citizen can always find someone in the city government who is willing to help him solve his problem.......................	☐ 78-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

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BACKGROUND

Card 5

5—5

Now I want to ask you some questions concerning your own background.

1a. Were you born here in (CITY)?

Yes ☐ 6-1 (SKIP TO Q.2)
No ☐ -2 (ASK Q.1b & c)

b. (IF "NO" TO Q.1a, ASK:) How old were you when you moved here?_____ 7–

c. (IF "NO" TO Q.1a, ASK:) Where did you come from?_____ 8– 9–

2. In what year were you born?_____ 11– 10– 12–

3. How many years of formal education did you complete? (READ EDUCATION GROUPS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

Less than high school (1-11 years)............................... ☐ 13-1
High school graduate (12 years)................................. ☐ -2
Some college (1-3 years)... ☐ -3
College graduate (4 years).. ☐ -4
Professional or graduate school (more than 4 years)...... ☐ -5

4a. In national elections, do you mainly consider yourself a ...

Democrat............. ☐ 14-1 (SKIP TO Q.5a)
Republican........... ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.5a)
Independent......... ☐ -3 (ASK Q.4b)

b. (IF "INDEPENDENT" IN Q.4a, ASK:) As an Independent, do you mainly lean towards the Democrats or the Republicans in the candidates you support?

Democrats............. ☐ 15-1
Republicans......... ☐ -2
Neither............... ☐ -3

5a. In local elections, do you mainly consider yourself a ...

Democrat............. ☐ 16-1 (SKIP TO Q.6a)
Republican........... ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.6a)
Independent......... ☐ -3 (ASK Q.5b)

b. (IF "INDEPENDENT" IN Q.5a, ASK:) As an Independent, do you mainly lean towards the Democrats or the Republicans in the candidates you support?

Democrats............. ☐ 17-1
Republicans......... ☐ -2
Neither............... ☐ -3

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6a. Do you belong to any unions, professional associations, social clubs, civic groups or other organizations?

No ☐ 18-1 (SKIP TO Q.7)
Yes ☐ -2 (ASK Q.6b)

b. (IF "YES" TO Q.6a, ASK:) What are they? _____

19-
20-
21-
22-
23-
24-
25-

7. Have you been active with any civil rights groups in the past 2 years?

No ☐ 26-1
Yes ☐ -2

8. If you were to change your present work – taking a new job or moving your business elsewhere – how likely would it be that a Negro (White) (WHICHEVER IS OPPOSITE THE RESPONDENT) would take you place here, considering the number of people around here who have some of your skills and resources? Would it be . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

Very likely?......................... ☐ 27-1
Somewhat likely?................ ☐ -2
Possible but not likely?........ ☐ -3
Not at all likely?................. ☐ -4
Don't know?........................ ☐ -6

9. To what religious denomination do you belong?

Protestant........................... ☐ 28-1
Catholic.............................. ☐ -2
Jewish............................... ☐ -3
Other (SPECIFY)_____ -4

10. Do you own or rent your home or apartment?

Own............... ☐ 29-1
Rent.............. ☐ -2

11. Would you please tell me into which income group your total family yearly income falls? (READ INCOME GROUPS LISTED AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

Under $5,000....................... ☐ 30-1
$5,000 to $7,499................. ☐ -2
$7,500 to $9,999................. ☐ -3
$10,000 to $12,499............. ☐ -4
$12,500 to $15,000............. ☐ -5
Over $15,000...................... ☐ 31-1

Finally, I would like to ask you a question or two on the recent report submitted to President Johnson by the Commission on Civil Disorders?

12. Are you aware of the recent announcement of the findings and recommendations of President Johnson's Commission on Civil Disorders?

Yes ☐ 32-1 (ASK Q.13a & b)
No ☐ -2 (TERMINATE INTERVIEW)
DK ☐ -6 (TERMINATE INTERVIEW)

13a. (IF "YES" TO Q.12, ASK:) In general, do you agree or disagree with the statements of the Commission?

Agree.................. ☐ 33-1
Disagree.............. ☐ -2
DK....................... ☐ -6

b. Do you think the report from the Commission will ever have much of an effect on the day-to-day lives of people in this city?

Yes ☐ 34-1 (ASK Q.14a)
No ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.14b)

14a. (IF "YES" TO Q.13b, ASK:) How soon? That is, . . . (READ STATEMENTS)

. . . In less than 6 months?...................................... ☐ 35–1

. . . In 6 months to 1 year?................................... ☐ –2

. . . More than 1 year – and up to 5 years?.............. ☐ –3

. . . Longer than 5 years?...................................... ☐ –4

Don't know.. ☐ –6

b. (IF "NO" TO Q.13b, ASK:) How true are each of the following reasons for your anticipating that the report will have no effect on the day-to-day lives of people in this city – largely true, partially true, or not true at all? (READ EACH STATEMENT AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Largely True	Partially True	Not True At All	Don't Know
1) Lack of practical suggestions in the report...	☐ 36–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –6
2) White public opinion which will not support the findings and recommendations of the Commission..	☐ 37–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –6
3) Local politicians who will not act on the recommendations of the Commission...........	☐ 38–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –6
4) Federal politicians who will not act on the recommendations of the Commission...........	☐ 39–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –6
5) Lack of Government funds to implement the recommendations of the report...................	☐ 40–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –6

Thank you very much. You have been most helpful.

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: _____ Minutes

POLICE

The police force always plays an important role in any community. This is the main reason why we are interested in determining the policemen's views on local community problems.

1. To begin with, what do you see as the major problems you face in doing your job here in your precinct?

_____

_____

6–
7–
8–
9–
10–
11–
12–

2a. Compared to assignments in other precincts of the city, how do you regard this particular assignment? That is, do you feel that the work is harder, about the same, or easier here than in other precincts of the city?

Harder........................... ☐ 13–1

Easier............................ ☐ –2

About the same............... ☐ –3

b. Is the work safer, isn't there any difference, or is it more hazardous here than elsewhere in in the city?

Safer.............................. ☐ 14–1

No difference................... ☐ –2

More hazardous............... ☐ –3

3. How is the job of being a policeman in this city? Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with this kind of work?

Very satisfied............................ ☐ 15–1

Somewhat satisfied................... ☐ –2

Somewhat dissatisfied............... ☐ –3

Very dissatisfied .... ☐ –4

Don't know.............................. ☐ –6

4. Would you prefer working in this precinct for several more years (maybe even permanently), would you prefer some other assignment in this city, or doesn't it matter to you where you work?

Prefer the present assignment.............. ☐ 16–1

Prefer another assignment................... ☐ –2

Doesn't matter.................................... ☐ –3

5. How much respect does the average resident of this precinct have for the police . . . a great deal of respect, some respect, neither respect nor contempt, some contempt, or a great deal of contempt for the police?

Great deal of respect	☐ 17-1
Some respect	☐ -2
Neither respect nor contempt	☐ -3
Some contempt	☐ -4
A great deal of contempt	☐ -5
Don't know	☐ -6

6. In some precincts most people regard the police almost as enemies. In others, they regard the police as being essentialy on their side, and in some, they are indifferent toward the police. How do most people in this precinct look on the police. . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Police Regarded as Enemies	Police Regarded As On Their Side	Indifferent Towards Police	DK
. . . In general?	☐ 18-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
. . . How about most old persons in the neighborhood?	☐ 19-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
. . . Most Negroes?	☐ 20-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
. . . Most storekeepers?	☐ 21-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
. . . Most adolescents?	☐ 22-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
. . . Most young adults?	☐ 23-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
. . . Most teachers?	☐ 24-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
. . . Most Whites?	☐ 25-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

7a. Looking back over the last three or four years, have the attitudes of Negroes towards the police changed here in this city?

No ☐ 26-1 (SKIP TO Q.8)

Yes ☐ -2 (ASK Q.7b)

b. (IF "YES" TO Q.7a, ASK:) Are Negroes more likely or less likely to regard the police as enemies?

More likely	☐ 27-1
Less likely	☐ -2
Don't know	☐ -6

8. I will read to you some comments and criticisms that have been used to describe the people in various neighborhoods in this city. In your estimation, which of these are generally true, which are partially true, and which are not true at all for the people in your precinct? (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Generally True	Partially True	Not True At All	DK
a) These people do not care very much for law and order	☐ 28-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
b) They are honest people	☐ 29-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
c) They don't look after their health very well	☐ 30-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
d) They are industrious people	☐ 31-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
e) Often they are hostile to outsiders	☐ 32-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
f) They are respectable, religious people	☐ 33-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

9. Since the problems differ from precinct to precinct in this city, some of the practices of the police department will naturally differ somewhat. In your precinct, are policemen called upon frequently, sometimes, seldom, or never to . . . (READ EACH STATEMENT BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Frequently	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
. . . Intervene in domestic quarrels?	☐ 34-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4
. . . Search with a warrant?	☐ 35-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4
. . . Search on suspicion but without a warrant?	☐ 36-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4
. . . Stop and frisk suspicious people?	☐ 37-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4
. . . Break up loitering groups?	☐ 38-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4
. . . Interrogate suspected drug users?	☐ 39-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4

10. Of every ten people you stop to question and frisk, about how many actually turn out to be carrying something on them that might have led to a crime or some sort of trouble (knife, gun, etc.)?

_____ Out of ten 40-   Don't know ☐ 41-6

11. Of every ten people you stop to question and frisk, about how many actually turn out to be criminals you are looking for, or people engaged in illegal activity, such as carrying marijuana or stolen goods?

_____ Out of ten 42-   Don't know ☐ 43-6

11. A police officer should be in control of situations with people he suspects are criminals or are otherwise dangerous. Which way do you think is it best to deal with someone you stop on the street for questioning or frisking? That is, should you . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

    . . . Deal aggressively and authoritatively from the start so that the suspect knows who is in control.. □ 44-1

OR

    . . . Deal firmly from the start, but be polite until a hostile move is made by the suspect?.. □ -2

12. When you stop people to question and frisk them, which of the following four statements best describes their usual reaction? Are they . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

    . . . Willing to give you any information you want without any hesitancy about being frisked?... □ 45-1

    . . . Willing to give you information, but don't like being frisked.................................... □ -2

    . . . Unwilling to respond to you adequately, but finally do under threats or pressure?.. □ -3

    . . . Unwilling to respond and physically resist your efforts to get information and if you were to search them, they would injure you or escape if not restrained?............... □ -4

    Don't know.. □ -6

13. Some claim that all people are reasonable if you show enough patience and respect in working with them. Others say that people respect only force and power—obeying the law out of fear of punishment. In your job, do you find that . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

    . . . People generally respond in the end to reason and respect and very few respond only to power and force?... □ 46-1

    . . . Some people respond to reason and respect; others respond only to power and force?.. □ -2

    . . . Very few people respond to reason and respect. Most people respond primarily to power and force?... □ -3

    Don't know.. □ -6

14a. A number of agencies have tried to work with gangs to turn them into constructive activities. In your experience, are these agencies making the policeman's job easier in the long run, are they making law enforcement efforts more difficult, or are they making no difference at all?

    Making policeman's job easier in long run............... □ 47-1

    Making law enforcement more difficult................... □ -2

    Making no difference... □ -3

    Don't know.. □ -6

b. How about the efforts of welfare workers to help the people living in the poor neighborhoods? Do they make your job easier, more difficult, or don't they make any difference at all?

    Easier.......................... □ 48-1

    More difficult............... □ -2

    No difference............... □ -3

    Don't know.................. □ -6

c. How about poverty program workers (Headstart, VISTA, Community Action Agency, etc.) Do they . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

    . . . Make your job easier?............................. □ 49-1

    . . . Make your job more difficult?................... □ -2

    . . . Not make any difference at all?............... □ -3

    Don't know.. □ -6

d. How about organizers from SNCC, CORE, NAACP, and from various poverty and/or rights groups? Do they . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

    . . . Make your job easier?............................. □ 50-1

    . . . Make your job more difficult?................... □ -2

    . . . Not make any difference at all?............... □ -3

    Don't know.. □ -6

15. In some neighborhoods a policeman has little time to worry about being absolutely certain before he picks up someone on suspicion. Some of these people, whether really guilty, or whether the victim of a genuine mistake, will complain to your superiors, to a city councilman, or to other authorities. In this precinct, do policemen have to worry about getting into trouble because of their mistakes and complaints more or less than in most other precincts of the city, or isn't there any difference between precincts at all?

Worry more about it here in this precinct than in most others..................... ☐ 51-1

Worry more about it in most other precincts than in this precinct............... ☐ -2

Doesn't make any difference at all... ☐ -3

Don't know.. ☐ -6

16. In many communities, the control of crime and the enforcement of the law is hampered by many factors not under the control of the policeman. In your opinion, how serious are the following problems in your own job? Do you consider it very serious, somewhat serious, or not at all serious that . . . (READ EACH STATEMENT AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not at All Serious
a) . . . The residents do not cooperate very well in your efforts to control them?...	☐ 52-1	☐ -2	☐ -3
b) . . . The laws and court decisions about evidence and treatment of suspects prevent adequate investigations and convictions in order to control crime?........	☐ 53-1	☐ -2	☐ -3
c) . . . The police department does not have enough resources—men, cars, facilities, etc.—to do a good job in controlling crime?...	☐ 54-1	☐ -2	☐ -3
d) . . . Other city agencies do not have adequate resources to eliminate the social and economic conditions that breed crime?...	☐ 55-1	☐ -2	☐ -3

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your activities on the job.

17. How long have you been a policeman? _____ Years 56–
57–

18. What shift do you generally work—that is, is it the early morning, day, or evening shift?

Early morning.............. ☐ 58-1

Day.............................. ☐ -2

Evening......................... ☐ -3

19a. Do you have a regular beat, do you have a desk job at this precinct, or do you do both?

Has regular beat.............. ☐ 59-1 (ASK Q.19b)

Has desk job................... ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.22)

Has both......................... ☐ -3 (ASK Q.19b)

b. How many months have you been on your present beat?

_____ Months 60–
61–

20. Do you generally patrol by yourself, or with a partner?

By yourself................... ☐ 62-1

With a partner.............. ☐ -2

21a. Do you ever patrol with an officer who is a . . . (IF RESPONDENT IS WHITE, INSERT THE WORD "NEGRO" ☐. IF HE IS NEGRO, INSERT THE WORD "WHITE" ☐ AND CHECK HERE)

No ☐ 63-1 (SKIP TO Q.22)

Yes ☐ -2 (ASK Q.21b)

b. (IF "YES" TO Q.21a, ASK:) Do you travel with this officer most of the time, sometimes, or just once in a while?

Most of the time.............. ☐ 64-1

Sometimes...................... ☐ -2

Once in a while................ ☐ -3

22. About what percentage of your work day is spent in a car, how much in the station or other office of the area, and how much on foot in the community and how much on other things? (RECORD PERCENTAGES BELOW)

	Percentage	
In a car..	_____	65–
On foot in the community.................	_____	66– 67–
In the station or other office..............	_____	68– 69–
Other (SPECIFY).............................	_____	70– 71–
Other (SPECIFY).............................	_____	72– 73–
TOTAL	100%	74–

23. In some precincts it is more difficult than in others to get to know people. In your precinct, for example, about how many people among _____(GROUP)_____ do you know well enough to speak with whenever you see them? (WHEN NUMBER IS OBTAINED, CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOX FOR THAT GROUP)

	None	1–5	6–10	11–25	26–50	51–100	101 Plus	DK
a) Shop owners, managers, clerks......	☐ 6–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –5	☐ 7–1	☐ –2	☐ –6
b) Important adult leaders in the neighborhoods.....	☐ 8–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –5	☐ 9–1	☐ –2	☐ –6
c) Residents in general......	☐ 10–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –5	☐ 11–1	☐ –2	☐ –6
d) Important teenage and youth leaders...............	☐ 12–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –5	☐ 13–1	☐ –2	☐ –6
e) People from various government and private agencies who also work in the neighborhoods. For example, welfare, religious and utilities people......................	☐ 14–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –5	☐ 15–1	☐ –2	☐ –6
f) The continual troublemakers......................	☐ 16–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –5	☐ 17–1	☐ –2	☐ –6
g) Organizers of unlawful activities like crime syndicates, numbers rackets, drug pushing people.......	☐ 18–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –5	☐ 19–1	☐ –2	☐ –6

24. Is the crime rate in the neighborhood where you work . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

. . . Among the highest in the city?............................ ☐ 20–1

. . . Higher than average for this city?............................ ☐ –2

. . . About average for the city?............................ ☐ –3

. . . Below average for the city?............................ ☐ –4

. . . Very low compared to other parts of the city?............... ☐ –5

Don't know.. ☐ –6

25a. How would you characterize the composition of the neighborhood where you patrol or supervise? Is the neighborhood mostly, partly, very little residential in composition, or isn't it residential at all?

Mostly residential..................... ☐ 21–1

Partly residential..................... ☐ –2

Very little residential............... ☐ –3

Not residential at all................ ☐ –4

b. Are the non-residential parts of this neighborhood primarily retail or manufacturing establishments, or does it comprise some other types or segments?

Primarily retail............................. ☐ 22–1

Primarily manufacturing.............. ☐ –2

Other (SPECIFY)_____ ☐ –3

26. Some of the complaints often heard about policemen are listed below. Whether they are justified or not, can you tell me if you often, sometimes, seldom or never hear these complaints? (READ EACH STATEMENT BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	DK
a) Policemen are physically brutal to people in the streets...............	☐ 23–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –6
b) They are corrupt and take bribes from those with money..	☐ 24–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –6
c) Policemen are generally hostile to the residents.................	☐ 25–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –6
d) They do not understand the problems of the residents........	☐ 26–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –6
e) They give too many tickets and do not help the residents.........	☐ 27–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –6
f) Policemen do not adequately prevent crime because they are not tough enough...................	☐ 28–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –6

27. Have you had any special training in riot control and prevention since you joined the police force?

Yes.......................... ☐ 29–1

No........................... ☐ –2

Don't know............... ☐ –6

28a. Have you had any special training in general human relations, psychology, counseling, etc., since you joined the police force?

Yes...................... ☐ 30–1 (ASK Q.28b)

No.......................... ☐ –2 (SKIP TO Q.29)

Don't know............... ☐ –6

b. (IF "YES" TO Q.28a, ASK:) In what areas? (SPECIFY) _____
_____
_____

29. Do you live in the same area of the city in which you work most frequently?

Yes........................ ☐ 38–1

No.......................... ☐ –2

31–
32–
33–
34–
35–
36–
37–

179

30. Do any of your relatives live in the neighborhood in which you generally work?

Yes ☐ 39-1   No ☐ -2

31a. Do you have friends in the neighborhood where you work that you see socially when you are off duty?

Yes ☐ 40-1 (ASK Q.31b)   No ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.32a)

b. Do you see these people a lot, or just some of the time?

A lot..................................... ☐ 41-1

Just some of the time............... ☐ -2

32a. Do you ever attend meetings of organizations in the neighborhood where you work?

Yes ☐ 42-1 (ASK Q.32b)   No ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.33)

b. Do you attend these meetings often, sometimes, or only seldom?

Often...................... ☐ 43-1

Sometimes............... ☐ -2

Seldom.................. ☐ -3

33. Each job has its advantages and disadvantages. Consider several aspects of your particular job as a policeman, compared to other jobs in this city. Are you generally very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with how this job is treating you with respect to pay, for example?

	Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Don't Know
a) Pay.................................	☐ 44-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) How about working conditions?...........................	☐ 45-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) What about the other policemen with whom you have to work?........................	☐ 46-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) How about the physical danger you often face?.............	☐ 47-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
e) The respect you get from citizens?...........................	☐ 48-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
f) The flexibility you have in doing your job?.....................	☐ 49-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
g) Your supervisors?....................	☐ 50-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
h) What about the resources and facilities you have available to help you do your job?.............	☐ 51-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

EDUCATORS

In many neighborhoods, the schools are the largest local community institutions and the teachers and the professionals within these institutions generally know more about what goes on in the community than any other group.

1. How is it here in this neighborhood—do you feel that the school you are teaching in is a major force in the community?

Yes ☐ 6-1

No ☐ -2

2. As you see it, what are the major problems that face your school as it tries to fulfill its educational mission in this neighborhood?_____

_____

_____

3. What are the main strengths of this neighborhood which help the school to reach its educational objectives?_____

_____

_____

7–
8–
9–
10–
11–
12–
13–
14–
15–
16–
17–
18–
19–
20–

4. I am going to read you some statements that have been made about pupils in schools like this in other cities. In your view, is it mainly true for your school, partially true, or not true at all that . . . (READ EACH STATEMENT BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Mainly True	Partially True	Not True	Don't Know
a)... The pupils are uneducable and that teachers can do little more than maintain discipline?................................	☐ 21-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
b)... The pupils can be taught only by the most skillful of teachers who can arouse their interest?................................	☐ 22-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
c)... Pupils come into school with an interest in learning, but their preparation is so poor that they are hard to help?......................	☐ 23-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
d)... These are ordinary pupils with just about average interest in schooling and with average ability?.....................................	☐ 24-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
e)... Almost any teacher can teach these pupils successfully if he or she puts his mind to it and works hard at it?........................	☐ 25-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

f) . . . The pupils are above average in ability, but
are interested only in some things?............ ☐ 26-1   ☐ -2   ☐ -3   ☐ -6

g) . . . The pupils are above average in ability and
interest, and are generally cooperative
with teachers?... ☐ 27-1   ☐ -2   ☐ -3   ☐ -6

5. Children often have personal and emotional problems at home or with other students in the
school that have a direct effect on the child's performance in school. Do you feel that it is your
job to teach only the subject matter, and that emotional problems should be resolved outside
the classroom by parents or psychologists; or, on the other hand, do you feel that a teacher
must pay particularly close attention to the pupils' emotional development because it is directly related to the learning process?

A teacher's job is to teach only the subject matter.. ☐ 28-1

A teacher must pay close attention to emotional development of pupils........... ☐ -2

Neither.. ☐ -3

Don't know.. ☐ -6

6. Compared to White parents of about the same economic status, are Negro parents more or
less concerned for the education and welfare of their children? In other words, do you feel
that . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

. . . Negro parents are generally more concerned than Whites?............... ☐ 29-1

. . . Negro parents are generally less concerned than White?.................. ☐ -2

. . . Both have about the same concern?................................... ☐ -3

Don't know... ☐ -6

*In some schools teachers have a great deal of contact with the parents of their pupils and in others
there is very little.*

7a. Approximately, what proportion of your pupils' parents have you met?_____ Percent

30-

31-

b. Have you visited any of your pupils' homes?

Yes ☐ 32-1 (ASK Q.7c)

No ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.7d)

c. (IF "YES" TO Q.7b, ASK:) Have you visited only a few or quite a few of your pupils' homes?

Only a few........................ ☐ 33-1 (ASK Q.7d)

Quite a few........................ ☐ -2 (ASK Q.7d)

d. About what percentage of your pupils' parents are members of the PTA?

_____ Percent

34-
35-

182

8. In talking with parents of your pupils, do you usually find that you have very little difficulty,
some difficulty, or a great deal of difficulty in communicating with them?

Very little difficulty............................... ☐ 36-1

Some difficulty...................................... ☐ -2

A great deal of difficulty......................... ☐ -3

Don't know... ☐ -6

9. In some schools, the parents treat teachers with a great deal of respect, in other schools parents
treat teachers with indifference, and in still others with hostility or contempt. How is it in this
shcool?

Mostly respect....................................... ☐ 37-1

Mostly indifference................................. ☐ -2

Mostly hostility or contempt..................... ☐ -3

Don't know... ☐ -6

10. In Your opinion, do the parents mainly think of the teachers as "on their side" or as adversaries
in this school?

Mostly on their side................................ ☐ 38-1

Mostly as adversaries.............................. ☐ -2

Don't know... ☐ -6

11. Do most of the pupils here regard most of their teachers mainly as friends, mainly as adversaries,
or do you feel that they are mostly indifferent?

Mostly as friends.................................... ☐ 39-1

Mostly as adversaries.............................. ☐ -2

Mostly indifferent................................... ☐ -3

Don't know... ☐ -6

12. Compared to the average school in this city, would you rate this particular school as superior,
above average, average, below average or inferior to the other schools on . . . (READ EACH
ITEM BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Superior	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Inferior	Don't Know
a) . . . Overall quality?...	☐ 40-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -5	☐ -6
b) . . . Adequacy of physical plant?............	☐ 41-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -5	☐ -6
c) . . . Adequacy of supplies?................	☐ 42-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -5	☐ -6
d) . . . Textbooks?..........	☐ 43-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -5	☐ -6
e) . . . Quality of teaching staff?............	☐ 44-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -5	☐ -6
f) . . . Extra curricular activities?............	☐ 45-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -5	☐ -6
g) . . . Counseling and guidance?............	☐ 46-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -5	☐ -6
h) . . . Library for students?................	☐ 47-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -5	☐ -6

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13. What do you think about the role of the community, generally, as it relates to the schools? Do you strongly agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree or strongly disagree that . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Strongly Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
a) . . . Many communities provide such a terrible environment for the pupils that education doesn't do much good in the end?.............................	☐ 48–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –6
b) . . . If the average community was given more voice in running the school, it would better meet the needs of the pupils?.........................	☐ 49–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –6
c) . . . Most of the people in the average community are hostile to the efforts of the city to educate the children?...........................	☐ 50–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –6
d) . . . Most parents try to help their children get a good education but far too many other influences distract the pupils?.......................	☐ 51–1	☐ –2	☐ –3	☐ –4	☐ –6

14. Some schools are trying to give the parents and other community residents more control over running the school in their neighborhoods, even sometimes letting parents come into the classroom to help with the teaching and other work as sub-professionals. Do you strongly agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree or strongly disagree that this might be a good policy in general?

Strongly agree..................................... ☐ 52–1

Slightly agree...................................... ☐ –2

Slightly disagree................................. ☐ –3

Strongly disagree................................ ☐ –4

Don't know.. ☐ –6

Now I would like to ask you questions about yourself:

15. How long have you been teaching in this school? _____ Years 53– 54–

16. How long have you been teaching altogether? _____ Years 55– 56–

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13. What do you think about the role of the community, generally, as it relates to the schools? Do you strongly agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree or strongly disagree that . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Strongly Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
a) . . . Many communities provide such a terrible environment for the pupils that education doesn't do much good in the end?	☐ 48-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) . . . If the average community was given more voice in running the school, it would better meet the needs of the pupils?	☐ 49-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) . . . Most of the people in the average community are hostile to the efforts of the city to educate the children?	☐ 50-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) . . . Most parents try to help their children get a good education but far too many other influences distract the pupils?	☐ 51-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

14. Some schools are trying to give the parents and other community residents more control over running the school in their neighborhoods, even sometimes letting parents come into the class-room to help with the teaching and other work as sub-professionals. Do you strongly agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree or strongly disagree that this might be a good policy in general?

Strongly agree... ☐ 52-1

Slightly agree.. ☐ -2

Slightly disagree.................................... ☐ -3

Strongly disagree.................................. ☐ -4

Don't know.. ☐ -6

Now I would like to ask you questions about yourself:

15. How long have you been teaching in this school? _____ Years 53-
54-

16. How long have you been teaching altogether? _____ Years 55-
56-

17. Do you look upon your teaching position as a permanent career choice, a temporary career while you wait for or work for a better position, or do you look upon it as a career which you can take up when you want to, but to which you are not particularly committed?

Permanent career choice.............................. ☐ 57-1

Temporary career.:...................................... ☐ -2

Something you can take up when you want to............... ☐ -3

Don't know.. ☐ -6

18. How about your position as teacher in this school—is it an assignment you want to have as long as you are teaching, or would you prefer to have some other teaching assignment?

Hold as long as I am teaching............... ☐ 58-1

Prefer some other assignment............. ☐ -2

Don't know... ☐ -6

19. With respect to this particular teaching position, are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with . . . (READ EACH STATEMENT AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX BELOW)

	Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Don't Know
a) . . . The position in general?	☐ 59-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) . . . Its salary?	☐ 60-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) . . . Your colleagues?	☐ 61-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) . . . Your supervisors?	☐ 62-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
e) . . . Your working conditions in general?	☐ 63-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
f) . . . The teaching load?	☐ 64-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
g) . . . The pupils?	☐ 65-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
h) . . . The community?	☐ 66-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
i) . . . The flexibility permitted in the classroom?	☐ 67-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

20. Has your professional training included . . . (READ EACH STATEMENT AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Yes	No
a) . . . Special training for work with culturally deprived youngsters?	☐ 68-1	☐ -2
b) . . . Training in working with slow learners?	☐ 69-1	☐ -2
c) . . . Training for work with exceptionally bright students?	☐ 70-1	☐ -2
d) . . . Training in working with special emotional problems of students?	☐ 71-1	☐ -2

21. Do you live in the same area of the city in which most of your pupils live?

        Yes ☐ 72-1

        No ☐   -2

22. Do you think, generally speaking, that people can control what happens, or are they controlled largely by forces they cannot fully understand or affect? That is, do you feel that people . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

        a) . . . Largely can control what happens?..................... ☐ 73-1

        b) . . . Can somewhat control what happens?................. ☐   -2

        c) . . . Can control very little of what happens?............. ☐   -3

        d) . . . Can't control what happens at all?...................... ☐   -4

        Don't know.. ☐   -6

23. Would you say that, in general, you like and get along well with all, most, some or only a few of your pupils?

        All.................. ☐ 74-1

        Most.............. ☐   -2

        Some............. ☐   -3

        Few.............. ☐   -4

        Don't know..... ☐   -6

Card 4
5-4

24a. In your estimation, is your school teaching pupils what they are interested in learning or doing, or are most pupils much more interested in other things that are not considered in the classroom?

        Teaching what pupils are interested in ☐ 6-1 (SKIP TO Q.25a)

        Pupils more interested in other things ☐   -2 (ASK Q.24b)

  b. (IF "PUPILS MORE INTERESTED IN OTHER THINGS", ASK:) What kinds of things are pupils more concerned about these days?_____

    7-
    8-
    9-
_____ 10-
    11-
_____ 12-
    13-

25a. Is there any opportunity for teachers in your school to help with programs that are designed to give assistance outside the school system to young people in the neighborhood (Community Action Agencies, Tutorial projects, etc.)?

        No ☐ 14- (SKIP TO Q.26a)

        Yes ☐   -2 (ASK Q.25b)

  b. (IF "YES" TO Q.25a, ASK:) Does your school encourage teachers to become involved in these activities?

        No ☐ 15-1

        Yes ☐   -2

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<div style="text-align:right">

Card 3
5-3
</div>

SOCIAL WORKERS

I would first like to ask you some questions about your job.

1. As a social worker in this city, what are your major problems?_____

_____ 6-
    7-
_____ 8-
    9-
_____ 10-
    11-
_____ 12-

2. What is your case load—in other words, how many people do you work with or serve?

        _____ People   13-
        14-

3. What percentage of your clients are Negro?   15-

        _____ Percent   16-
        17-

4. On the average, how often do you visit with each client or group?

        _____ Times per week   18-
        19-
        _____ Times per month   20-
        21-
        Other (SPECIFY):   22-
        23-
        _____ Per _____   24-

5. On the average, about how long do you spend with each client or group that you visit—what is the length of your call?

        _____ Hours   25-
        26-

6. About what percentage of your contacts with clients are in the clients home or in his neighborhood?

        _____ Percent of total   27-
        28-

7. What is the time lag between referral and action?

    _____ Days $\frac{29-}{30-}$ _____ Weeks $\frac{31-}{32-}$ _____ Months $\frac{33-}{34-}$

8. Is it very difficult, slightly difficult or easy for a potential client to gain the services of your agency?

        Very difficult..................... ☐ 35-1

        Slightly difficult................ ☐   -2

        Easy................................. ☐   -3

        Don't know....................... ☐   -6

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9. About what percent of your working time do you spend in your office?... _____ Percent

10. About what percent of your working time do you spend in the field?... _____ Percent

	Percent of Total Working Time
	36-
	37-
	38-
	39-
	100 Percent

11. Following is a list of complaints one often hears in talking to social workers. Please tell me whether each statement that I read is a very serious, somewhat serious, or not at all serious drawback to your doing your job. (READ EACH STATEMENT AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Serious	Don't Know
a) Lack of money for clients	☐ 40-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
b) Lack of time	☐ 41-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
c) Poor supervision from top management of agency	☐ 42-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
d) Hampering rules and regulations	☐ 43-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
e) Lack of cooperation from city government	☐ 44-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
f) Agency disorganization	☐ 45-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
g) Lack of agency enthusiasm	☐ 46-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

12. There are groups in every city that get better and quicker service from agencies than others. Please indicate which of the following groups in your area tend to get better treatment than most, which get average treatment, and which get the poorer treatment. (READ EACH GROUP BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Better Treatment	Average Treatment	Poorer Treatment	Don't Know
a) Aged persons	☐ 47-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
b) Teenagers	☐ 48-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
c) Urban Negroes	☐ 49-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
d) Middle class people	☐ 50-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
e) Mentally ill people	☐ 51-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
f) Juvenile delinquents	☐ 52-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
g) Working class Whites	☐ 53-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

13. In your experience, how true is each of the following complaints that are often heard from social workers about the clients they serve? Is it mostly true, partially true, or not true at all that (STATEMENT)? (READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Mostly True	Partially True	Not True	Don't Know
a) Clients in general don't do enough to improve themselves?	☐ 54-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
b) Negro clients are generally harder to reach?	☐ 55-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
c) It is more difficult to get resources for Negro clients?	☐ 56-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
d) Clients in general tend to take your services for granted?	☐ 57-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
e) Negro clients are often especially arrogant?	☐ 58-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

Now I am going to ask you a series of questions about your approach to your job. Each question will be phrased in such a way as to present two opposing sides on the same issue. Please indicate with which side you tend to agree.

14. As a social worker, is it better to remain detached from clients in order to remain objective, or is it better to try to put yourself in your client's shoes in order to become sympathetic with his situation? In other words, do you feel it is better for a social worker to be largely objective, largely subjective, or about equal in these matters?

Largely objective .... ☐ 59-1

About equal .... ☐ -2

Largely subjective .... ☐ -3

Don't know .... ☐ -6

15. Is the essence of social work to teach the poor the best way to live, or is the essence to help give the poor the means to live as they choose? In other words, is it best to mostly teach, to mostly give means to live, or about equal amounts of both?

Mostly teach .... ☐ 60-1

Give equal amounts of both .... ☐ -2

Mostly give means to live .... ☐ -3

Don't know .... ☐ -6

16. Should aid to people living below the poverty level be made contingent on their showing a real desire to improve themselves, or should aid be given to all that need it, no matter what their apparent level of motivation? Putting it another way, should aid be given only to those who make a real effort to help themselves; only to those who show at least some effort to help themselves; to everyone who needs help except the most flagrant loafers, or should aid be given to all who need it regardless of their efforts to help themselves?

Aid only to those who make a real effort.......... ☐ 61-1

Aid only to those who show some motivation... ☐ -2

Aid to most, except flagrant loafers................. ☐ -3

Aid to all... ☐ -4

Don't know.. ☐ -6

17. Are there rules and regulations that you, as a social worker, feel you must follow in all cases, regardless of the client, or do you feel it is best to ignore rules and regulations when it seems such is warranted by circumstances?

Usually obey... ☐ 62-1

Generally make decisions largely on circumstances ☐ -2

Don't know... ☐ -6

Now, about people in general.

18. Do you feel most people are basically good and only get into trouble when under great stress, or do you feel that most people are essentially out for themselves alone and must be carefully socialized and controlled in order to keep society functioning? Putting it a bit differently, all in all, are most people basically good; only somewhat good, only somewhat bad, or are most people basically bad?

Basically good.................... ☐ 63-1

Somewhat good................. ☐ -2

Somewhat bad.................. ☐ -3

Basically bad................... ☐ -4

Don't know...................... ☐ -6

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19. Do you believe that people can largely control what happens to them, control somewhat these things or people can do very little to control what happens to them?

Largely can control.............. ☐ 64-1

Control somewhat................. ☐ -2

Control very little................. ☐ -3

Don't know......................... ☐ -6

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about attitudes towards Negroes that specifically relate to social work, as some social workers sometimes find it hard to work with Negro clients.

20. With regard to your clients do you feel:

a) Negroes are more difficult to reason with than Whites?

Yes...................................... ☐ 65-1

No....................................... ☐ -2

Don't know........................... ☐ -6

b) Negroes are, overall, more difficult to work with than Whites?

Yes...................................... ☐ 66-1

No....................................... ☐ -2

Don't know........................... ☐ -6

c) Negroes are more apt to cheat on the system?

Yes...................................... ☐ 67-1

No....................................... ☐ -2

Don't know........................... ☐ -6

d) Do you feel less safe walking through Negro neighborhoods than White ones?

Yes...................................... ☐ 68-1

No....................................... ☐ -3

Don't know........................... ☐ -6

e) Are you less optimistic about the outcome of Negro cases than White cases?

Yes...................................... ☐ 69-1

No....................................... ☐ -2

Don't know........................... ☐ -6

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f) Do you pay less attention to Negro cases than to White ones?

Yes ☐ 6-1   No ☐ -2   Don't know ☐ -6

g) Is your manner less relaxed when working with Negroes?

Yes ☐ 7-1   No ☐ -2   Don't know ☐ -6

21. What is the major function of this agency? That is, does it do mainly case work, group work, community organization, or does it do something else?

Case work..............................☐ 8-1

Group work..............................☐ -2

Community organization............☐ -3

Other (SPECIFY)_____☐ -4

22. Does your agency work with . . . (READ LIST AND CHECK AS MANY AS NECESSARY BELOW)

23. How about you—which of these do you work with? (READ LIST AND CHECK AS MANY AS NECESSARY BELOW)

	Q.22 Agency Works With		Q.23 Respondent Works With	
a) Infants?........................	☐ -1	9-	☐ -1	10-
b) Youths?........................	☐ -2	11-	☐ -2	12-
c) Adolescents?.................	☐ -3	13-	☐ -3	14-
d) Adults?.........................	☐ -4	15-	☐ -4	16-
e) Aged?...........................	☐ -5	17-	☐ -5	18-

24. Which of the following best characterize your job? (CHECK ONE UNLESS RESPONDENT HAS TWO SEPARATE JOBS.) Do you, for the most part, do . . .

. . . Case work (welfare, medical, adoption, neglect, legal aid, school, etc.)?..... ☐ -1   19-

. . . Counselling (marriage, jobs, school, birth control, etc.)?...................... ☐ -2   20-

. . . Psychiatric social work?... ☐ -3

. . . Recreation work?.. ☐ -4

. . . Group work (senior citizens, gangs, etc.)?...................... ☐ -5

. . . Community organization work?................................ ☐ -1   21-

. . . Jack-of-all trades work (like CAA counselor or detached youth worker)?... ☐ -2   22-

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As part of our survey of local communities throughout the country, we are interested in the way in which companies view their local labor market.

We are mainly interested in interviewing persons who have charge of setting employment policy or in actually hiring employees. We were told that your position involves such duties.

1. First of all, in what ways are you involved in this company's employment policies and practices?
   6-
   7-
_____ 8-
   9-
_____ 10-
   11-
   12-

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT GIVES REPLY WHICH SHOWS THAT HE DOES NOT EITHER SET POLICY, PARTICIPATE IN THE SETTING OF POLICY, OR ADMINISTER EMPLOYMENT FOR THIS COMPANY, TERMINATE INTERVIEW. HOWEVER, BEFORE LEAVING GET THE NAME OF THE PERSON WHO HAS THIS RESPONSIBILITY AND OBTAIN AN INTERVIEW FROM HIM.

As an employer in this city, what are your major problems?_____
   13-
   14-
_____ 15-
   16-
_____ 17-
   18-
_____ 19-

How many employees does your company have here in (CITY)?   20-
   21-
_____ Employees   22-
   23-
   24-

Does your company have any contracts with labor unions covering employees in this city?

No ☐ 25-1

Yes ☐ -2

5. I would like you to consider three classes of employees: Professional and white collar workers; skilled workers; and semi- and unskilled workers.

How does your company usually go about getting new workers in each of these three categories? I will read you a list of ways used by companies and I want you to tell me whether this is a means which is employed by your company.

a. (1) First, let us consider professional and white collar employees. In order to get new employees of this type do you use . . .

	Yes	No	Most effective (CHECK ONE)
. . . Want ads in newspapers?	☐ 26–1	☐ –2	☐ 32–1
. . . Labor unions?	☐ 27–1	☐ –2	☐ –2
. . . State employment services?	☐ 28–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
. . . Private employment services?	☐ 29–1	☐ –2	☐ –4
. . . The system of asking other employees to get referrals?	☐ 30–1	☐ –2	☐ 33–1
. . . Signs posted outside of the plant?	☐ 31–1	☐ –2	☐ –2

(2) Now which one of the means your company uses is most effective? (CHECK ABOVE)

b. (1) Now let us consider skilled workers. To get new employees in this group do you use . . .

	Yes	No	Most effective (CHECK ONE)
. . . Want ads in newspapers?	☐ 34–1	☐ –2	☐ 40–1
. . . Labor unions?	☐ 35–1	☐ –2	☐ –2
. . . State employment services?	☐ 36–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
. . . Private employment services?	☐ 37–1	☐ –2	☐ –4
. . . The system of asking other employees to get referrals?	☐ 38–1	☐ –2	☐ 41–1
. . . Signs posted outside of the plant?	☐ 39–1	☐ –2	☐ –2

(2) Now which one of the means is most effective? (CHECK ABOVE)

c. (1) Finally, how do you go about getting semi-skilled and unskilled workers? Do you use . . .

	Yes	No	Most effective (CHECK ONE)
. . . Want ads in newspapers?	☐ 42–1	☐ –2	☐ 48–1
. . . Labor unions?	☐ 43–1	☐ –2	☐ –2
. . . State employment services?	☐ 44–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
. . . Private employment services?	☐ 45–1	☐ –2	☐ –4
. . . The system of asking other employees to get referrals?	☐ 46–1	☐ –2	☐ 49–1
. . . Signs posted outside of the plant?	☐ 47–1	☐ –2	☐ –2

(2) Now which one of the means is most effective? (CHECK ABOVE)

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6. In choosing new employees from among applicants, what do you usually regard as important? That is, for white collar workers and professional employees do you consider (INSERT ITEMS LISTED BELOW) as very important, somewhat important or not important at all?

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not at all Important
a) Previous experience	☐ 50–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
b) Recommendations	☐ 51–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
c) Performance on tests of ability	☐ 52–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
d) Age	☐ 53–1	☐ –2	☐ –3

Now for unskilled workers, do you consider (INSERT ITEMS LISTED BELOW) as very important, somewhat important or not important at all?

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not at all Important
a) Previous experience	☐ 54–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
b) Recommendations	☐ 55–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
c) Performance on tests of ability	☐ 56–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
d) Age	☐ 57–1	☐ –2	☐ –3

Finally, for unskilled workers, do you consider (INSERT ITEMS LISTED BELOW) as very important, somewhat important or not important at all?

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not at all Important
a) Previous experience	☐ 58–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
b) Recommendations	☐ 59–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
c) Performance on tests of ability	☐ 60–1	☐ –2	☐ –3
d) Age	☐ 61–1	☐ –2	☐ –3

7. Do you get any Negro applicants for jobs here?

No ☐ 62–1 (SKIP TO Q.8)

Yes ☐ –2 (ASK Q.7b & 7c)

Out of the last 20 people applying for work in each of the following groups, about how many were Negro . . .

. . . Among professional and white collar applying?	63–
. . . Among skilled workers applying?	People 64–65–
. . . Among unskilled workers applying?	People 66–67–
	People 68–

Out of the last 20 people hired in each group, about how many were Negro . . .

. . . Among professional and white collar hired?	
. . . Among skilled workers hired?	People 69–70–
. . . Among unskilled workers hired?	People 71–72–
	People 73–74–

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8. What would you estimate the proportion of Negroes to be among your employees on these three levels:

a) Professional and white collar? _____ Percent 6-
7-
8-
b) Skilled workers?..................... _____ Percent 9-
c) Unskilled workers?................. _____ Percent 10-
11-

9. Some companies have been going out of their way lately to hire Negroes whenever possible. Is this mainly true, partially true, or not true at all of your company?

Mainly true.................. ☐ 12-1

Partially true............... ☐ -2

Not true at all.............. ☐ -3

10. Many companies who have tried to hire Negroes have given up because their workers objected so strongly to working with Negroes. How do you think your employees would react to Negroes working? Would they have a negative or positive feeling or would they feel indifferent if Negroes worked . . . (READ GROUPS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Negative	Indifferent	Positive	DK
. . . As professional and white collar workers?	☐ 13-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
. . . As skilled workers?.................................	☐ 14-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
. . . As semi-skilled and unskilled workers?.........	☐ 15-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

11. Other companies which have tried to go out of their way to hire Negroes have found that there were very few qualified Negroes to hire. In your experience is this statement justified in the hiring of . . . (READ GROUPS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Justified	Unjustified	DK
. . . Professional and white collar workers?........................	☐ 16-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
. . . Skilled workers?...	☐ 17-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
. . . Semi-skilled and unskilled workers?...........................	☐ 18-1	☐ -2	☐ -6

12. Do you think that companies in this city have a social responsibility to make strong efforts to provide employment to Negroes and other minority groups?

No........................ ☐ 19-1

Yes........................ ☐ -2

Don't know.............. ☐ -6

13. Some employers have had trouble with Negro workers. Therefore, they feel it is best to be especially aware of the potential problems with Negroes so that, if necessary, they can take special measures for the good of the company. Please indicate whether you strongly agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements that concern this problem. (READ STATEMENTS AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

a. Negroes are apt to be less well trained than Whites, so hiring many Negroes will either decrease production or increase training costs.

Strongly agree...................................... ☐ 20-1

Slightly agree... ☐ -2

Slightly disagree.................................... ☐ -3

Strongly disagree................................... ☐ -4

Don't know.. ☐ -6

b. Negroes generally tend not to take orders and instructions as well as Whites and, therefore, to hire too many of them may raise costs of production.

Strongly agree...................................... ☐ 21-1

Slightly agree... ☐ -2

Slightly disagree.................................... ☐ -3

Strongly disagree................................... ☐ -4

Don't know.. ☐ -6

c. Since many Negroes have been involved in civil rights demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience, by hiring too many Negroes you risk bringing trouble makers and agitators into your company.

Strongly agree...................................... ☐ 22-1

Slightly agree... ☐ -2

Slightly disagree.................................... ☐ -3

Strongly disagree................................... ☐ -4

Don't know.. ☐ -6

d. Since Negro crime rates are generally higher than White crime rates, hiring many Negroes could easily lead to increased theft and vandalism in the comapny.

Strongly agree...................................... ☐ 23-1

Slightly agree... ☐ -2

Slightly disagree.................................... ☐ -3

Strongly disagree................................... ☐ -4

Don't know.. ☐ -6

e. Negroes are apt to have a higher rate of absenteeism, therefore, hiring too many Negroes may upset production schedules.

      Strongly agree................................... ☐ 24-1

      Slightly agree.................................... ☐ -2

      Slightly disagree............................... ☐ -3

      Strongly disagree.............................. ☐ -4

      Don't know.. ☐ -6

(INTERVIEWER CHECK)

      Establishment in top 10 sample...................................... ☐ 25-1

      Establishment in sample of firms with 100 or more employees............ ☐ -2

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RETAIL MERCHANTS

Sometimes store owners and operators have a better knowledge of what is going on in the neighborhood than most city officials or even the average resident. We are interviewing retail merchants in this and other areas throughout the country for this reason.

1. As a retail merchant in this city, what are your major problems?_____ 6-
_____ 7-
_____ 8-
_____ 9-
Is there anything else? (PROBE)_____ 10-
_____ 11-
_____ 12-

2. Some merchants in neighborhoods like this feel that the main thing is to provide special services to their customers, like staying open late, cashing payroll checks, providing credit, and so on. Do you agree strongly, agree slightly, disagree slightly, or disagree strongly with this feeling?

      Agree strongly.................................... ☐ 13-1

      Agree slightly..................................... ☐ -2

      Disagree slightly................................. ☐ -3

      Disagree strongly............................... ☐ -4

      Don't know.. ☐ -6

Other merchants say the main thing to do is to buy bargain merchandise so that they can keep their retail prices low enough for people to afford. Do you agree strongly, agree slightly, disagree slightly, or disagree strongly with this feeling?

      Agree strongly.................................... ☐ 14-1

      Agree slightly..................................... ☐ -2

      Disagree slightly................................. ☐ -3

      Disagree strongly............................... ☐ -4

      Don't know.. ☐ -6

Still others feel that the best way to stay in business in a neighborhood like this is to bargain with each customer and take whatever breaks he can get. Do you agree strongly, agree slightly, disagree slightly, or disagree strongly with this feeling?

      Agree strongly.................................... ☐ 15-1

      Agree slightly..................................... ☐ -2

      Disagree slightly................................. ☐ -3

      Disagree strongly............................... ☐ -4

      Don't know.. ☐ -6

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5. Finally, other merchants feel that in business the main thing in a neighborhood like this is to learn how to price their merchandise to cover the extra costs of poor credit risks, petty thievery, and the likes. Do you agree strongly, agree slightly, disagree slightly, or disagree strongly with this feeling?

Agree strongly	☐	16-1
Agree slightly	☐	-2
Disagree slightly	☐	-3
Disagree strongly	☐	-4
Don't know	☐	-6

6. Here are some services that some stores often, sometimes or never extend to their customers. How about yourself. Do you . . . (READ STATEMENTS AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Often	Sometimes	Never
a) . . . Cash payroll checks?	☐ 17-1	☐ -2	☐ -3
b) . . . Help fill out applications and other forms?	☐ 18-1	☐ -2	☐ -3
c) . . . Extend credit to people other stores wouldn't help?	☐ 19-1	☐ -2	☐ -3
d) . . . Make contributions to local churches and charities?	☐ 20-1	☐ -2	☐ -3
e) . . . Give advice to customers on personal problems?	☐ 21-1	☐ -2	☐ -3

7a. Do you have customers whom you could call you personal friends?

Yes ☐ 22-1 (ASK Q.7b)

No ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.8)

b. How many customers whom you consider personal friends do you have?

_____ People 23-
24-

Some store owners complain about problems they have in dealing with Negro customers. How about your dealings with Negro customers? In other words, for each of the following statements that I will read to you, do you agree strongly, agree slightly, disagree slightly, or disagree strongly? (READ EACH STATEMENT AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

8. Some merchants claim that Negroes are poorer credit risks than Whites, and therefore, they should be given less credit and charged higher interest rates. How do you feel—do you . . . (READ LIST)

. . . Agree strongly?	☐	25-1
. . . Agree slightly?	☐	-2
. . . Disagree slightly?	☐	-3
. . . Disagree strongly?	☐	-4
Don't know	☐	-6

9. Some merchants claim that Negroes are less apt to appreciate a good bargain than Whites; therefore, they are more apt to be cheated than Whites. How do you feel about this statement. Do you . . . (READ LIST)

. . . Agree strongly?	☐	26-1
. . . Agree slightly?	☐	-2
. . . Disagree slightly?	☐	-3
. . . Disagree strongly?	☐	-4
Don't know	☐	-6

10. Some store owners say Negroes are less likely to complain if they feel they are not treated fairly; and therefore, they are less likely to be treated as fairly as Whites. Do you . . . (READ LIST)

. . . Agree strongly?	☐	27-1
. . . Agree slightly?	☐	-2
. . . Disagree slightly?	☐	-3
. . . Disagree strongly?	☐	-4
Don't know	☐	-6

11. Merchants sometimes complain that because Negroes are more likely to be involved in shoplifting and vandalism than Whites, it is necessary to keep a watchful eye on them when they are in the store. How do you feel about this? Do you . . .

. . . Agree strongly?	☐	28-1
. . . Agree slightly?	☐	-2
. . . Disagree slightly?	☐	-3
. . . Disagree strongly?	☐	-4
Don't know	☐	-6

12. Store owners who have locations in Negro areas of the city often spend a lot of money making their stores burglar-proof because Negro neighborhoods are high crime areas. These store owners feel they are acting wisely. How do you agree with this? Do you . . .

. . . Agree strongly?	☐	29-1
. . . Agree slightly?	☐	-2
. . . Disagree slightly?	☐	-3
. . . Disagree strongly?	☐	-4
Don't know	☐	-6

13. Sometimes you hear that Negroes are more likely to pass bad checks. Therefore, it is best not to cash their personal checks. How do you feel about this statement?

Agree strongly... ☐ 30-1

Agree slightly.. ☐ -2

Disagree slightly.. ☐ -3

Disagree strongly.. ☐ -4

Don't know... ☐ -6

14. Some merchants feel that since Negroes many times seemingly don't care much about good manners, there is no special need to make an effort to treat them as politely as Whites. How do you agree with this?

Agree strongly... ☐ 31-1

Agree slightly.. ☐ -2

Disagree slightly.. ☐ -3

Disagree strongly.. ☐ -6

Don't know... ☐ -6

15. Finally, some people feel that, because Negroes are seemingly so different from Whites, there is no point in trying to be friends with people of another race or color. How strongly do you agree or disagree with this?

Agree strongly... ☐ 32-1

Agree slightly.. ☐ -2

Disagree slightly.. ☐ -3

Disagree strongly.. ☐ -4

Don't know... ☐ -6

16a. Last summer, did your store suffer damage from vandalism?

Yes ☐ 33-1 (ASK Q.16b)

No ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.17a)

b. (IF "YES" TO Q.16a, ASK:) How much damage occurred?

_____ 34-
_____ 35-
_____ 36-
_____ 37-
_____ 38-
_____ 39-
_____ 40-

c. Do you feel that the damage was especially directed at your store, or was it a result of more general disturbances?

Damage done especially directed............................. ☐ 41-1

Damage result of more general disturbances............ ☐ -2

d. Why do you feel that way?_____ 42-
_____ 43-
_____ 44-
_____ 45-
_____ 46-
_____ 47-
_____ 48-

(ASK Q.17a)

17a. (ASK EVERYONE) if there were a riot in this section of the city, do you expect that your store would be damaged?

Yes ☐ 49-1

No ☐ -2

b. Why?_____ 50-
_____ 51-
_____ 52-
_____ 53-
_____ 54-
_____ 55-
_____ 56-

c. Have you taken any special precautions to protect your store in case there are riots here in the future?

Yes ☐ 57-1

No ☐ -2

18. Store owners and managers usually have some complaints about their customers. Would you say that it is largely true, only partially true, or not true at all that . . . (READ EACH STATEMENT BELOW AND CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Largely True	Partially True	Not True At All	Don't Know
a) . . . Customers around here are rude to retail merchants?	☐ 58-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
b) . . . Customers in this neighborhood try to take advantage of shopkeepers?	☐ 59-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
c) . . . Customers hereabouts are slow in paying bills?	☐ 60-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
d) . . . Customers around here often try to steal from the stores?	☐ 61-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
e) . . . Customers in this neighborhood are hostile to shopkeepers?	☐ 62-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

19a. There has always been a certain amount of disagreement between many merchants and their customers. Now, with regard to prices and quality of merchandise, do you feel that the merchants are trying to take advantage of the customers, that the customers around here are trying to take advantage of the merchants, or is it about equal?

Most merchants take advantage of customers.. ☐ 63-1

About equal.. ☐ -2

Most customers take advantage of merchants....................................... ☐ -3

Neither taking advantage of either.. ☐ -4

Don't know.. ☐ -6

b. With regard to manners, do you feel the merchants hereabouts are impolite to the customers, that the customers are impolite to the merchants, or is it about equal?

Most merchants are impolite to the customers...................................... ☐ 64-1

About equal.. ☐ -2

Most customers are impolite to the merchants...................................... ☐ -3

Neither, both are polite... ☐ -4

Don't know.. ☐ -6

c. With regard to credit, do you feel that the merchants around here charge too much interest, that the customers generally are bad credit risks and should be charged high interest rates, or that there is a pretty equal balance on this score?

Most merchants charge too much interest... ☐ 65-1

About equal.. ☐ -2

Customers bad credit risks and should be charged higher interest rates........... ☐ -3

Don't know.. ☐ -6

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I would now like to ask you some specific questions about your store and your job in it.

20. Do you personally deal with customers as they come in?

Yes ☐ 66-1

No ☐ -2

21a. Do you live in this neighborhood?

Yes ☐ 67-1 (SKIP TO Q.22)

No ☐ -2 (ASK Q.21b)

b. How far away do you live? _____ Miles 68-
69-

22. Which of the following best describes your store? (READ LIST AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

Small grocery store...

Supermarket.. ☐ 70-1

Hard goods store (furniture, appliances, etc.)................. ☐ -2

Soft goods store (clothes, linen, etc.)........................ ☐ -3

Restaurant, snack shop, bar................................. ☐ -4

Liquor store... ☐ -5

Car dealer... ☐ 71-1

Drug store... ☐ -2

Novelty shop.. ☐ -3

Department store or Discount house (variety of goods).......... ☐ -4

Other (Specify)_____ ☐ -5

☐ 72-1

23. Are you the owner, manager or employee of this store?

Owner.. ☐ 73-1

Manager.. ☐ -2

Employee... ☐ -3

24. How long have you been personally working in this neighborhood?

_____ Months 74-
_____ Years 75-
76-
77-

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25. What is the approximate annual gross income of this store?

$_____

26. How difficult is it to keep up with your competition? Is it very difficult, somewhat difficult, or easy?

Very difficult.................................... □ 13–1

Somewhat difficult............................. □ –2

Easy.. □ –3

27. How many people are employed in this store? _____ People

28. How many of the: re Negroes? _____ Negroes

29. About what percent of your customers are Negroes? _____ Negroes

30a. Do you extend credit?

No □ 22–1 (SKIP TO PAGE "A", Q.1)

Yes □ –2 (ASK Q.30b)

b. (IF "YES" TO Q.30a, ASK:) Do you charge for this service?

No □ 23–1 (SKIP TO PAGE "A", Q.1)

Yes □ –2 (ASK Q.30c THROUGH 30g IN SEQUENCE)

c. (IF "YES" TO Q.30b, ASK:) About how much do you charge a customer per $100.00 of credit?

$_____ Week

$_____ Month

d. Are there any people or groups to whom you do not extend credit?

No □ 28–1 (SKIP TO Q.30g)

Yes □ –2 (ASK Q.30e)

e. (IF "YES" TO Q.30d, ASK:) What people or groups are these? _____

_____

_____

30f. Do you collect overdue bills, or do you have some collection agency do it?

Self........................ □ 36–1

Agency.................. □ –2

g. Do you sell your credit installment contracts to banks or other finance businesses?

No □ 37–1

Yes □ –2

Card 4
5–4

POLITICAL PARTY WORKERS

1. From your experience with the people who live in this district, what are the major things they are concerned with as problems?

_____ 6-
_____ 7-
_____ 8-
_____ 9-
_____ 10-
_____ 11-
_____ 12-

Is there anything else? (PROBE)_____

2. Compared to other parts of the city, do you think people in your district feel they are better off, worse off, or about the same?

Better off ☐ 13-1   Worse off ☐ -2   About the same ☐ -3   Don't know ☐ -6

3. Every district is made up of different groups who may have different opinions about the way things are going. I will read you a list of different groups of people. Please tell me how satisfied you feel each group is with the general way in which this city is run. Do you feel __(GROUP)__ are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the general way this city is run? (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH GROUP LISTED)

	Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Don't Know
a) Old people	☐ 14-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) Adolescents	☐ 15-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) Young adults	☐ 16-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) Store owners	☐ 17-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
e) Landlords	☐ 18-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
f) Negroes	☐ 19-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
g) Whites	☐ 20-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

4. In some districts party workers have noticed changes in people's attitudes in the last few years. How about your district? Here are changes that some have noticed. Have changes like this occurred here? (READ EACH CHANGE AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

	Yes	No	Don't Know
a) People are more determined to get what they believe they have coming to them	☐ 21-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
b) People are more fed up with the system, and are becoming unwilling to work with politicians	☐ 22-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
c) Young people have become more militant	☐ 23-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
d) Middle-age people have become more militant	☐ 24-1	☐ -2	☐ -6

I want to ask you a few things about your own background and activities.

5. How long have you been a political party worker in this district? (RECORD EXACT NUMBER OF YEARS)

_____ Years 25-
26-

6. What is your present position within the party in this district?

_____ 27-
28-

7. How did you get this position – that is, were you elected by voters, elected by a local party organization, selected by party officials or by some other means?

Elected by voters.. ☐ 29-1

Elected by local party organization.............. ☐ -2

Selected by party officials............................ ☐ -3

Other (SPECIFY)_____ -4

8. On the average, about how many voters do you talk with every week?

_____ Voters Per Week 30-
31-
32-

9a. About how many hours a week, on the average, do you spend talking with voters in your district?

_____ Hours Per Week 33-
34-

b. Do you have regular hours at which voters can come to talk about their complaints and their problems?

Yes ☐ 35-1   No ☐ -2

10a. Do you have any say in who gets jobs in this district?

Yes ☐ 36-1 (ASK Q.10b)   No ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.10c)

b. (IF "YES" TO Q.10a, ASK:) Are persons cleared with you or do you recommend people for job vacancies?

Cleared ☐ 37-1 (SKIP TO Q.11)   Recommended ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.11)

c. (IF "YES" TO Q.10a, ASK:) Does anyone in your political party have a say over who gets jobs?

Yes ☐ 38-1 (ASK Q.11)   No ☐ -2 (ASK Q.11)   Don't know ☐ -6 (ASK Q.11)

11a. (ASK EVERYONE) Do you receive requests for help from the voters?

        Yes ☐ 39-1 (ASK Q.11b)   No ☐ -2 (SKIP TO Q.12)

  b. (IF "YES" TO Q.11a, ASK:) Can you help them almost always, usually, or just sometimes?

        Almost always............... ☐ 40-1 (ASK Q.11c)

        Usually......................... ☐ -2 (ASK Q.11c)

        Sometimes................... ☐ -3 (ASK Q.11c)

        Don't know................... ☐ -6 (ASK Q.11c)

    c. What kinds of requests for help do you receive most often?

    41-
    42-
_____ 43-
_____ 44-
_____ 45-
_____ 46-
    47-

12. If you wanted to, could you get in touch with (NAME OF PERSON) to discuss problems in your district? (ASK AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH PERSON LISTED IN GRID BELOW)

13. Have you ever gotten in touch with (NAME OF PERSON)?

	Q.12 Could Get In Touch With		Q.13 Have Gotten In Touch With	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
a) The Mayor?	☐ 48-1	☐ -2	☐ 49-1	☐ -2
b) Your City Councilman?	☐ 50-1	☐ -2	☐ 51-1	☐ -2
c) Your U.S. Congressman?	☐ 52-1	☐ -2	☐ 53-1	☐ -2
d) The Police Chief or Commissioner?	☐ 54-1	☐ -2	☐ 55-1	☐ -2
e) The Head of Sanitation in your area?	☐ 56-1	☐ -2	☐ 57-1	☐ -2
f) The Head of Welfare in your area?	☐ 58-1	☐ -2	☐ 59-1	☐ -2
g) The Head of Building Inspection in your area?	☐ 60-1	☐ -2	☐ 61-1	☐ -2

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Now, I want to ask you a few things about the people in your district.

14. About how many voters live in your district?

        ——————— Voters

    62-
    63-
    64-

15. Of those eligible to be registered in your district, about what percentage actually are registered at the present time?

        ——————— Percent

    65-
    66-
    67-

16. Now, of those who actually have registered, about what percentage vote in a <u>local</u> election?

        ——————— Percent

    68-
    69-

17. Some people in this district are more politically active than others. Are old people, for example usually active, or usually inactive in registering and getting out to vote? (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH GROUP LISTED)

    70-
    71-

Card 4
5-4

	Usually Active	Usually Inactive	DK
a) Old people?	☐ 6-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
b) How about middle-aged people?	☐ 7-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
c) The young adults?	☐ 8-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
d) The high-income people—those in business and professions?	☐ 9-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
e) The low or moderate-income people—workers and clerks?	☐ 10-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
f) The unemployed?	☐ 11-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
g) The Negroes in general?	☐ 12-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
h) The Whites in general?	☐ 13-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
i) The civil rights militants—particularly Negroes?	☐ 14-1	☐ -2	☐ -6

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Now I would like to ask you a few questions about the young people of voting age.

18. About how many of them are (<u>READ STATEMENTS BELOW</u>)? Is it almost everyone, many of the young people, some, or just a few of them? (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH STATEMENT LISTED)

	Almost Everyone	Many	Some	Few	DK
a) Very interested in getting the best man elected?	☐ 15-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) Restless and hard to control?	☐ 16-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) Industrious and want to learn in order to be successful?	☐ 17-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) Too militant to work inside a political party?	☐ 18-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
e) Afraid of authorities that they do not know personally?	☐ 19-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
f) Apathetic?	☐ 20-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

Now, I would like to find out how the people in your district feel about the councilman.

19. Do most people in this district feel that the councilman is a friend who is fighting hard for them, or is he thought of as a part of the city government which must be asked continually and repeatedly in order to get things done?

Friend fighting for the people.............. ☐ 21-1

Part of city government...................... ☐ -2

Don't know..................................... ☐ -6

20. How do the voters feel about the councilman for this district? (READ EACH STATEMENT BELOW)

	Yes	No	DK
a) Do they think he is militant enough?	☐ 22-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
b) Does he get things done quickly?	☐ 23-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
c) Does he follow the line of his party too much?	☐ 24-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
d) Does he help the people in this district a lot?	☐ 25-1	☐ -2	☐ -6
e) Do they think he is powerful?	☐ 26-1	☐ -2	☐ -6

21. How easy is it for a person to get a parking ticket fixed in this city? Is it very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult or very difficult?

Very easy...................... ☐ 27-1

Somewhat easy............. ☐ -2

Somewhat difficult.............. ☐ -3

Very difficult...................... ☐ -4

Now, let us consider the services available to people in your district.

22. From the city or other organizations, is (are) the (NAME OF SERVICE) excellent, good, fair, or poor? (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH SERVICE LISTED)

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Don't Know
a) Telephone service	☐ 28-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
b) Garbage service	☐ 29-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
c) Street lighting	☐ 30-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
d) Street cleaning	☐ 31-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
e) Street repair	☐ 32-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
f) Police protection	☐ 33-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
g) Recreational facilities	☐ 34-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
h) Schools	☐ 35-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
i) Building inspection	☐ 36-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
j) Fire department	☐ 37-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6
k) Ambulance service	☐ 38-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -4	☐ -6

Now let's talk about leadership of organizations in your district.

23. Is (are) the ___(NAME OF ORGANIZATION)___ very influential, somewhat influential, or not at all influential in your district? (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH ORGANIZATION LISTED BELOW)

	Very Influential	Somewhat Influential	Not at all Influential	Doesn't Exist Here
a) Churches..............................	☐ 39-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -9
b) NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)...........	☐ 40-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -9
c) CORE (Congress of Racial Equality).....	☐ 41-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -9
d) City newspapers..........................	☐ 42-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -9
e) Local newspapers.........................	☐ 43-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -9
f) SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee).................................	☐ 44-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -9
g) Urban League.............................	☐ 45-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -9
h) Labor Unions.............................	☐ 46-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -9
i) Merchants Associations...................	☐ 47-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -9
j) PTA (Parent-Teachers Association).......	☐ 48-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -9

24. Now let us consider how militant are different groups of Negroes in your district in insisting on their rights. Are the ___(NAME OF GROUP)___ very militant, somewhat militant, or not at all militant?

	Very Militant	Somewhat Militant	Not at all Militant	DK
a) Older people.............................	☐ 49-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
b) Middle-aged people.......................	☐ 50-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
c) College students.........................	☐ 51-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
d) Non-college young adults.................	☐ 52-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
e) Adolescents..............................	☐ 53-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
f) High-income people—those in business and the professions.......................	☐ 54-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
g) Low or moderate-income people—workers and clerks................................	☐ 55-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
h) Unemployed people........................	☐ 56-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6
i) Civil servants and city employees....................	☐ 57-1	☐ -2	☐ -3	☐ -6

Who Riots? A Study of Participation in the 1967 Riots

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July, 1968

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Chapter 1

Introduction

During the past four years the United States has experienced a series of extraordinary and probably unprecedented racial disorders. These disorders erupted first in Harlem and then—to mention only a few of the other communities—in southcentral Los Angeles, Cleveland's Hough District, Newark's Central Ward and Detroit's West Side. They left hundreds dead, thousands injured, and tens of thousands arrested, thousands of buildings damaged and millions of dollars of property destroyed, the Negro ghettos devastated and white society shocked. Though the long-term implications of the 1960s riots are not yet clear, their historic significance is already emerging. The riots have assumed a place in the course of American race relations perhaps more important than the East St. Louis, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. race riots of 1917 and 1919. They have also confronted the nation's urban centers with the gravest threat to public order since the terrible industrial disputes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[1] And in view of the rioting in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and about a hundred other cities after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in April, 1968, there is good reason to believe that the riots have not yet run their course.

A great many public figures—including the mayors and the governors of the stricken areas—have already given their views on the 1960s riots. This was their privilege and responsibility. That they have disagreed sharply on a number of crucial issues—among them, the degree of organization and advanced planning, the amount of violence and destruction, the conditions in the Negro ghettos, and, perhaps most important, the implications for public policy—is not surprising.[2] The differences between California Governor Ronald Reagan and New Jersey Governor Richard J. Hughes and between former Acting-Mayor of New York Paul Screvane and the late Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker were marked. And so were the differences between the Los Angeles (1965), Newark (1967), Detroit (1967), and Washington, D.C. (1968) riots, on the one hand, and the Rochester (1964), Chicago (1965), San Francisco (1966), and Boston (1967) riots, on the other. What is surprising is that most of these public figures (and, as the public opinion surveys reveal, most of their constituents) have agreed substantially on probably the most perplexing question raised by the 1960s riots: who riots?

Their answer is what we refer to as the "riffraff theory" of riot participation.[3] At the core of this "theory" are three distinct, though closely related,

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[1] *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (N.Y.: Bantam Books, March, 1968), Chapter 5 (hereafter referred to as the *Kerner Report*); Robert M. Folgelson, "Violence as Protest," *Urban Riots: Violence and Social Change*, Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, XXIX, 1 (July, 1968); Elliott M. Rudwick, *Race Riot at East St. Louis, July 2, 1917* (Carbondale, Illinois, 1964); Arthur Waskow, *From Race Riot to Sit-In* (Garden City, New York, 1966).

[2] New York *Times*, June 30, July 12, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24–28, 1967.
[3] Robert M. Fogelson, "White on Black: A Critique of the McCone Commission Report on the Los Angeles Riots," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXXII, 3 (September, 1967), p. 342.

themes. First, that only an infinitesimal fraction of the black population (2 percent according to some, including several prominent Negro moderates, and 1 percent according to others) actively participated in the riots. Second, that the rioters, far from being representative of the Negro community, were principally the riffraff—the unattached, juvenile, unskilled, unemployed, uprooted, criminal—and outside agitators. Indeed, many public figures have insisted that outside agitators, especially left-wing radicals and black nationalists, incited the riffraff and thereby provoked the rioting. And third, that the overwhelming majority of the Negro population—the law-abiding and respectable 98 or 99 percent who did not join in the rioting—unequivocally opposed and deplored the riots.[4]

For most white Americans the riffraff theory is highly reassuring. If, indeed, the rioters were a tiny fraction of the Negro population, composed of the riffraff and outside agitators and opposed by a large majority of the ghetto residents, the riots were less ominous than they appeared. They were also a function of poverty, which, in American ideology, is alterable, rather than race, which is immutable; in which case too, they were peripheral to the issue of white-black relations in the United States. Again if the riffraff theory is correct, the riots were a reflection less of the social problems of modern black ghettos than of the personal disabilities of recent Negro newcomers. And the violent acts—the looting, arson, and assault—were not political protests, but rather, in the words of the McCone Commission, "formless, quite senseless," and, by implication, "meaningless" outbursts.[5] Lastly, if the prevailing view of riot participation is accurate, future riots can be prevented merely by elevating the riffraff, and by muzzling outside agitators, without transforming the black ghettos. Without, in other words, radically changing the American metropolis by thoroughly overhauling its basic institutions or seriously inconveniencing its white majority.

In view of the profound implications of the riffraff theory, it is disconcerting that very few of its adherents have offered solid supporting evidence. Their estimates of participation were based largely on the impressions of subordinates, who had good reason to play down

the rioting, and not on interviews with lower-class and working-class Negroes. Their descriptions of the rioters were drawn primarily from personal observations and, in a handful of cases, casual, and often poorly informed, glances at arrest statistics. Their opinions about ghetto attitudes were formed mainly from cursory soundings of moderate Negroes, who strongly opposed the rioting, and not of militant blacks.[6] The adherents of the riffraff theory have also overlooked a good deal of evidence which sharply questions and sometimes directly contradicts their position. For example, unless the police caught most of the rioters—which is highly unlikely—the large number of arrests alone indicates that more than 1 or 2 per cent of the Negroes participated. The written and graphic descriptions of the riots reveal that many working- and middle-class blacks joined in the looting and assaults (if not the burning). And the remarks of Negroes during and after the rioting suggest that many who did not themselves participate tacitly supported the rioters anyway.[7]

Why, then, has the riffraff theory been so widely adopted to explain the 1960s riots? Why was it adopted to explain the Harlem riots of 1935 and 1943 and many earlier riots in America as well? The answer, we believe, can be traced to the American conviction that no matter how grave the grievances there are no legitimate grounds for violent protest—a conviction shared by most whites that reflect the nation's traditional confidence in orderly social change. To have accepted the possibility that a substantial and representative segment of the Negro population participated in or supported the riots would have forced most Americans to draw one of two conclusions. Either that the long-term deterioration of the black ghettos has destroyed the prospect for gradual improvement and provided the justification for violent protest, or that even if conditions are not so desperate a great many Negroes believe otherwise. Neither conclusion could have been reconciled with the commitment to orderly social change; either one would have compelled most Americans to re-examine a fundamental feature of the ideology of their race, class, and country. And, not

surprisingly, they were no more inclined to do so than previous generations of Americans.[8]

Hence it was not until 1966, when the U.C.L.A. Institute of Government and Public Affairs released a survey of participation in the Los Angeles riots of 1965 and the California Department of Justice issued a report on the persons arrested therein, that the riffraff theory was even questioned. And it was not until 1968, when the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, the Governor of New Jersey's Select Commission on Civil Disorder, and the U.S. Department of Labor completed similar studies of the Newark and Detroit riots of 1967, that the theory was seriously challenged.[9] Although these studies did not employ precisely the same methods or arrive at exactly the same findings, they did reach certain conclusions which contradict one or more of the three central points of the riffraff theory. First, that a substantial minority of the Negro population, ranging from roughly 10 to 20 per cent, actively participated in the riots. Second, that the rioters, far from being primarily the riffraff and outside agitators, were fairly representative of the ghetto communities. And third, that a sizable minority (or, in some cases a majority) of the Negroes who did not riot sympathized with the rioters.[10]

These conclusions have very different implications than the riffraff theory. If the rioters were a substantial and representative segment of the Negro population, widely supported in the black communities, the riots were every bit as ominous as they seemed. They were also a manifestation of race more than poverty. Indeed, there is considerable evidence that working- and middle-class Negroes resent the indignities of ghetto life as much as, if not more, than lower-class Negroes do; thus, the riots were central to the relationship of whites and blacks in America.[11] If these conclusions are warranted, the riots were a reflection of social problems endemic to the black ghettos and not of personal disabilities peculiar to the Negro newcomers from the South. And the violent acts were indeed political protests against ghetto conditions. Finally, if the revisionist view of riot participation is valid, future riots can only be prevented by transforming the black ghettos and, by implication, the white metropolises. If for no other purpose than to test the riffraff theory, then, an investigation of riot participation is very much in order.

This report is divided into five additional chapters. Chapter Two presents a discussion of the methodological problems involved in trying to study riot participation by using arrest and survey data. It contains a brief overview of some studies that have employed both types of data for this purpose. An attempt is made, in Chapter Three, to test the first component of the riffraff theory by determining the total number of Negroes who participated in riots in various cities during 1967. In order to obtain this number by using arrest, survey, and census data, we first derived an estimate of the proportion of rioters who were not arrested. The second component of the riffraff theory (that is, the component from which the theory derives its name) is tested in Chapters Four and Five. In Chapter Four, various characteristics of riot arrestees are compared with those of residents of riot areas in order to determine which "riffraff" traits are over- or under-represented among the arrestees. Chapter Five examines the social characteristics of the arrestees according to their booking offense, their day of arrest, and the severity of the riot in which they were alleged to have participated. In Chapter Six, findings which relate to the third component of the theory (that is, the attitude of the black community toward rioting) are presented from recent surveys and polls.

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[4] New York Times, July 16, 20, 22, 26, 1967; New York Times, July 22, August 4, 1964; Newark Evening News, July 20, 1964; New York Journal-American, July 26, 1964. Some officials, like former Detroit police chief Ray Girardin, rejected the riffraff theory.

[5] Violence in the City—An End or a Beginning? A Report by the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots (December 2, 1965), pp. 4–5 (hereafter referred to as the McCone Report).

[6] New York Times, June 30, July 22, 26–28, 1967; Bayard Rustin, "The Watts 'Manifesto' and the McCone Report," Commentary, XLI (1966), pp. 29–35; Robert Blauner, "Whitewash over Watts," Trans-Action, III, 3 (March–April, 1966), p. 3.

[7] David O. Sears, "Riot Activity and Evaluation: An Overview of the Negro Survey" (1966), pp. 1–2, unpublished paper written for the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity; Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, Archives, II, in the University of California Library, Los Angeles (hereafter referred to as the McCone Archives).

[8] Allan A. Silver, "Official Interpretations of Racial Riots," Urban Riots: Violence and Social Change, Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, XXIX, 1 (July, 1968); Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America (New York, 1955), Chapter One. It must be noted, however, that this tendency on the part of officials to dismiss rioters as "riffraff" or "criminals" is not unique to America. Rude has shown that similar terms were used by both French and British officials during the eighteenth century and nineteenth century European riots. His statistical analysis of the social characteristics of the rioters demonstrated that such descriptions were unfounded. See George Rude, The Crowd in the French Revolution (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1959) and The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730–1948 (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964).

[9] Sears, "Riot Activity"; Bureau of Criminal Statistics, California Department of Criminal Justice, "Watts Riots Arrests: Los Angeles, August 1965" (June 30, 1966); Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder, State of New Jersey, Report for Action, February, 1968 (hereafter referred to as the N.J. Riot Report); U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, "The Detroit Riot," (March, 1968); Nathan S. Caplan and Jeffrey M. Paige, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. See Caplan and Paige's data on Newark and Detroit Negro residents in the Kerner Report, Chapter 2, fn. 111–143, pp. 171–178.

[10] Kerner Report, Chapter 2; California Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "An Analysis of the McCone Commission Report" (January, 1966); Blauner, "Whitewash"; Harry M. Scoble, "The McCone Commission and Social Science" (August, 1966), unpublished paper written for the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity; Anthony Oberschall, "The Los Angeles Riot of August 1967," Social Problems, Vol. 15, No. 3, Winter, 1968, pp. 322–341.

[11] McCone Archives, III, Testimony of Councilman Thomas Bradley, 29–36; V, Testimony of John A. Buggs, Executive Director of the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission, 18–23; VI, Testimony of Assemblyman Mervyn M. Dymally, 48–49; VIII, Testimony of Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins, 82–85; X, Testimony of Councilman Billy G. Mills, 9–10.

Chapter 2
Methodology

To analyze participation in peaceful protests is hard enough; but to analyze participation in riots is immeasurably harder. For riot participation, by its very nature, just about defies meticulous analysis. And the 1960s riots were not exceptions to this rule. Unlike peaceful demonstration such as the August, 1963 March on Washington, the April, 1967 Spring Mobilization Peace Rally, or the June, 1968 Solidarity Day March of the Poor People's Campaign,[12] the riots were not orderly gatherings—directed by leaders, and sanctioned by the authorities—that proceeded during the daytime along fixed and highly visible routes selected well in advance. The rioters did not march past a single spot or assemble in a special place; nor did they identify themselves to newsmen or sign their names to public statements; and, unlike counter-demonstrators, the non-rioters had little opportunity to make known their opinions. For these reasons even the few reporters who covered the riots first-hand found it virtually impossible to estimate the number of rioters with accuracy, determine their character with precision, or gauge community sentiment with confidence.[13]

Therefore, the journalists have yielded to the social scientists, the most active of whom were David O. Sears of U.C.L.A.'s Institute of Government and Public Affairs and Nathan S. Caplan, assisted by Jeffrey M. Paige, of the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center. Applying the standard techniques of survey research, Sears interviewed about 600 Negroes from Southcentral Los Angeles, and Caplan interviewed 393 Negroes 15 years and older from the Detroit ghetto and 233 Negro males between the ages of 15 and 35 from the Newark ghetto.[11] Sears asked the Negroes whether they had been very active, somewhat active, or not at all active in the riots, while Caplan asked them first whether or not they had participated, either as rioters or counter rioters, and then in what ways they had participated. Both Sears and Caplan also posed a number of questions about the desirability, efficacy, and inevitability of riots; questions that were designed to tap the black community's over-all attitude towards rioting. Then, they analyzed the responses for the samples as a whole, as well as for selected demographic categories.[15]

These studies suffer from severe methodological problems. Some are common to almost all kinds of survey research: are the samples random, or are they biased? Are the respondents honest, or are they lying? Others, however, are peculiar to survey research about

[12] New York *Times*, August 29, 1963, April 16, 1967, May 13, 1968.

[13] New York *Times*, July 19–23, 1964, July 4, 5, 1966. In fact, even the number of participants in peaceful marches or rallies is in constant dispute. Inevitably, leaders of such demonstrations complain that police estimates of the number of participants are far below their own figures.

[14] Sears, "Riot Activity," Table 6; Caplan and Paige in the *Kerner Report*, fn. 111 on p. 171. Sears failed to indicate the exact number of his respondents and the range of the ages. But extrapolation of his tables reveals that about 600 people were in his sample.

[15] Sears, "Riot Activity," p. 5; Caplan and Paige in the *Kerner Report*, fn. 136 on p. 176.

deviant behavior.[16] After all, rioting is against the law; and many Negroes were probably reluctant to admit their involvement even to black interviewers. In all likelihood, the Negroes' strong suspicion of curious strangers—who might be from the welfare bureau, the housing authority, or even the police department—may have reinforced this reluctance. Furthermore, the Los Angeles and, to a lesser degree, the Newark and Detroit surveys defined participation so vaguely that it was probably susceptible to different interpretations by the respondents. To be very active or somewhat active—indeed, even to riot or to loot—may have meant one thing to an employed, middle-aged teeen-ager or and quite another to an unemployed teeen-ager or young adult. Lastly, the 1960s riots and the official responses changed so markedly from one day to the next that it would not be surprising if the non-rioters (and, for that matter, even the rioters) held one attitude about the rioting while it was underway and a very different one once it was over.[17]

Moreover, these methodological problems have certain substantive implications. To begin with, the surveys were made so soon after the riots, when many of the respondents feared arrest, that they probably underestimated participation. Conversely, if other surveys are made later on, when the rioting is embedded in the folk history of the black ghettos, people may tend to overestimate participation.[18] Also, the surveys may have exaggerated the extent of participation by the riffraff, which was probably more prone than better-off Negroes to admit its involvement. By the same token, the surveys very likely played down the role of outside agitators, who, as outsiders, would have been

[16] Herbert H. Hyman, *Survey Design and Analysis* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955); Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (eds.), *Language of Social Research* (N.Y.: Free Press of Glencoe, 1955); Patricia Kendall and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis," *Continuities in Social Research; Studies in the Scope and Method of the American Soldier* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950). Numerous studies that have relied upon self-reported deviant behavior have found the responses to be reliable. See F. Ivan Nye, James F. Short, Jr., and Virgil T. Olson, "Socioeconomic Status and Delinquent Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXII (January, 1958), pp. 381–389; William J. Bowers, *Student Dishonesty and Its Control in College* (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1964); Robert B. Hill, "Parental and Peer Group Pressures Toward Deviant Behavior," a report for the Bureau of Research, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968. And especially, Lee N. Robins and George Murphy, "Drug Use in a Normal Population of Young Negro Men," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 57, No. 9, September, 1967, pp. 1580–1596.

[17] Sears, "Riot Activity," pp. 5–8.

[18] The extent to which people over- or under-estimate their own participation in deviant activities has yet to be systematically determined. See Nye, *et al.*, "Socioeconomic Status;" Bowers, *Student Dishonesty*; Robins and Murphy, "Drug Use in a Normal Population of Young Negro Men," pp. 1584–1586.

unavailable, and, as agitators, would have been unreliable. Whether the timing of the surveys tended to increase or reduce the reported degree of community support for the riots is less clear. It depends, we suspect, on whether the respondents were, at the time, more impressed by the deaths, injuries, and destruction or by the widespread public attention. Later, as the Negroes slowly forget their losses and the whites once again ignore the ghettos, most critics and enthusiasts will presumably soften their positions. Hence the Sears and Caplan surveys, while valuable sources of information on riot participation, are, by their nature, more likely to be biased in favor of the riffraff theory.

Surveys are not, of course, the only sources. No less valuable, though much less well known, are the official reports on the riot arrestees, the most thorough of which were prepared by the California Department of Justice and the Governor of New Jersey's Select Commission on Civil Disorder.[19] Both reports relied heavily on arrest sheets (also known as blotters)—written forms filled out by either the arresting officer or the booking officer, at the time of arrest or shortly after, partly on the basis of information supplied by the arrestees. (The blotters included material not only about the arrest—time, place, charge, circumstances, about the arresting officer, and so forth—but also about the arrestee—age, sex, birthplace, occupation, and, among other things, prior criminal record.) The California Department of Justice collected approximately 4,000 sheets from the Los Angeles riots of 1965, while the Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder gathered together roughly 1,500 sheets from the Newark riots of 1967. Both agencies then analyzed the arrest sheets, along with various other documents, and afterwards, compiled profiles of the arrestees (and, by implication, of the rioters.[20]

These analyses also suffer from serious methodological problems. In the first place, while arrest data can reveal a good deal about the probable characteristics of rioters, by themselves they reveal very little—and that only by extrapolation—about the extent of participation and the degree of community support. Also, though they do not depend on post-facto data, they do depend on the reliability of the arrestees, who, according to an analysis in Detroit, are not consistently honest.[21] Just as important, these studies using arrest data assume the objectivity (or the non-selectivity) of the arrest process, even though the police, through no fault of their own, apprehended only a small fraction of the rioters. That the arrest process is somewhat selective there is little doubt. Since arrest statistics indicate

[19] "Watts Riots Arrests," N.J. Riot Report.
[20] "Watts Riots Arrests," p. 37; N.J. Riot Report, pp. 270–277.
[21] Mr. Tom Kneeshaw, who was in charge of tabulating the data for adult arrestees in Detroit, indicated that an independent check of their residences revealed that a sizable minority of the arrestees had lied about their home address.

that lower-class individuals—who tend to have most of the traits of the riffraff: unattached, unskilled, unemployed and criminal—are much more likely to get arrested than middle-class individuals, the riffraff element would be expected to be over-represented among riot arrestees.[22] But there is much uncertainty whether the arrest process is highly selective: from the available evidence, it is not possible to tell whether the worst or the slowest rioters were more likely to be caught. What is more, the sheets are for arrests and not, as a rule, for convictions; they do not usually distinguish between the guilty and the innocent, nor do they tend to allow for mistakes in the charge. And, as if all this were not enough, arrest sheets, like police practices, can vary considerably from one city to the next.

These methodological problems have certain substantive implications also. The arrestees might, for one reason or another, tend to falsify certain information such as place of residence and employment. Although the police might have ignored the differences between the disreputable and the respectable in making arrests, they certainly did not do so to the extent of favoring the riffraff at the expense of arresting the better-off Negroes. Also, though the distinction between arrest and conviction cannot be lightly dismissed, the timing of the arrests, the evidence from several cities indicates, coincides closely with the timing of the riots.[23] And the arrest sheets, for all their variations, do contain several demographic items—such as age, sex, and race—and criminal charges (such as looting and arson) which are widely comparable from city to city. Rather than pursue the question further, it is safe to conclude that the analyses that rely solely on arrest data also tend to be biased in favor of the riffraff theory.

For the above reasons our investigation of riot participation will rely heavily on two complementary sources of information—survey and arrest data. However, since we are using both of these data, our analysis will have many of the same methodological weaknesses that were cited in the above studies. The major weakness is that we are using data which tend to be biased in favor of a theory which we would like to evaluate objectively. Nevertheless, we feel that the

[22] Richard K. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle, *Criminology and Penology* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959).

[23] At the end of its report, the Kerner Commission charted the levels of violence (i.e., the intensity of the incidents of looting, sniping, arson, etc.) according to the day and time in several cities that experienced rioting during 1967. We superimposed on the Commission's chart a graph that charted the rioters according to time of arrest for many of these cities. Our arrests graph bore a strong resemblance to the Commission's incidents graph. As the intensity of riot increased, the volume of arrests immediately increased; and as the intensity declined, the volume of arrests similarly declined. Whether the individuals arrested were responsible for the violence we cannot, of course, say.

profile obtained of the rioters from survey and arrest data can be sharpened somewhat by also using census data to develop profiles of the potential rioters living in the riot areas. Unfortunately, since 1960 figures are the latest that can be obtained for census tract information, we are forced to use these out-dated statistics in making our estimates of the extent of riot participation for different riot areas.

The arrest data for this study were obtained from the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (which is commonly known after its chairman, former Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, as the Kerner Commission), which in late 1967 reached the conclusion that arrest blotters, despite their limitations, were very important sources of information about the composition of rioters that should not be overlooked. Hence the Commission, with the cooperation of most police departments, gathered arrest sheets from throughout the country. After making use of some of the data for its main report, the Kerner Commission turned over to Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, for further analysis, arrest data for about 10,000 arrestees from 19 cities which experienced rioting during 1967.

Since the Commission provided us with census maps of the riot areas for only Detroit, Newark, Cincinnati, Grand Rapids, New Haven and Dayton, our estimates of the proportion of rioters—in the next chapter—will be derived for the riot areas in just these six cities. In the later chapters of this report, when dealing with the social composition of the arrestees, four additional cities—Boston, Buffalo, Plainfield and Phoenix—will be included in our analysis. We selected these ten cities from the 19 cities available on the basis of two additional factors: one, the number of arrestees in each of them was at least 70 or more and two, the Kerner Commission had designated their riots as either "major" or "serious" disorders.[24]

[24] For a list of the cities, see Table 1 in the Appendix. The Bureau has also obtained the police blotters of the arrestees in most of the major riots of the 1960s, including the Harlem and Rochester riots of 1964, the Los Angeles riot of 1965 and the Cleveland riot of 1966. Since the Commission's mandate was restricted to the 1967 riots, however, we have focussed this report on the 1967 riots. But the Applied Research Branch of the National Institute of Mental Health has provided the Bureau with a research grant to systematically analyze the characteristics of the pre-1967 arrestees, too. With the aid of the NIMH grant, we hope to compare the social characteristics of these arrestees and answer such questions as: is the participation of the unemployed in riots greater or less in 1967 than it was in 1964? And has the proportion of snipers, arsonists, and looters increased, decreased, or remained about the same over the years? In the NIMH study we will also employ a more sophisticated multivariate approach.

The Kerner Commission classified 164 racial disorders that occurred during 1967 into three categories of violence and damage: "major," "serious," and "minor" disorders. See the *Kerner Report*, pp. 112–113.

Chapter 3
The Extent of Participation

There is little hard evidence that supports the first point of the riffraff theory—that an infinitesimal fraction of the Negro population, no more than 1 or 2 per cent, actively participated in the 1960s riots. For, if only 1 or 2 per cent of the Negroes rioted in, say, Detroit or Newark, then, in view of the large number of persons arrested there, one would have to conclude that the police must have apprehended almost all of the rioters,[25] a conclusion which, as noted above, is sharply contradicted by the eye-witness accounts of these riots. Also, as previously noted, surveys of riot areas have obtained much higher rates of participation. According to the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, for example, 11 per cent of the Negroes 15 years and older rioted in Detroit, and 45 per cent of the Negro males between the ages of 15 and 35 rioted in Newark.[26] It is, however, much harder to reach a more precise estimate of how large a segment of the Negro population actively participated in the riots. For any estimate depends on the answers to two very difficult questions: How many Negroes in a community might have joined in the riots? and how many Negroes there did join in the riots? Nonetheless, the survey research and arrest data provide the basis for tentative, if highly speculative, answers to these questions and for rough estimates of riot participation.

To determine how many Negroes in a community

might have joined in the riots, it is incorrect to use the total number of Negroes living there. The reason why is well illustrated by a brief discussion of the McCone Commission report, which based its estimate of riot participation on all of Los Angeles County's 650,000 Negroes.[27] Such a base figure was wrong for at least two reasons. First, the 1965 riots occurred principally in southcentral Los Angeles, and not in Los Angeles County's other small and dispersed black enclaves. Negroes from these other communities should not have been counted any more than Negroes from Chicago's South Side should be counted to determine how many might have joined in the West Side rioting of 1966. Second, southcentral Los Angeles—like any other community—contains a sizable number of residents who, for a variety of reasons, could not possibly have participated in the 1965 riots. Neither the infants and the elderly, the lame, the halt, and the blind, nor the residents in prisons, hospitals, and the armed forces should have been counted either. Thus to determine how many Negroes in a community might have joined in the riots, it is essential to compute the number of potential rioters living there.

Who, then, are the potential rioters? They are, to begin with, the Negro residents of the riot area—not the metropolis, nor the city, and not necessarily even the poverty area, but rather the neighborhood which experienced the rioting. To chart the riot area—or, in effect, to fix the boundaries of the rioting, looting, ar-

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[25] The 5,637 Negro arrestees in Detroit, themselves, constituted 1.2 per cent of the city-wide nonwhite population. Similarly, the 1,387 Negro arrestees in Newark were 1.0 per cent of the nonwhite population in the city.

[26] Caplan and Paige in *Kerner Report*, fn. 112, p. 172.

[27] See, for example, Scoble, "The McCone Commission," p. 11; and Fogelson, "White on Black," p. 345.

TABLE 1
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITES IN RIOT AREAS

City	Total nonwhite population	Under 10	Over 59	Total potential rioters
Detroit	219,730	54,263	16,479	148,988
Newark	69,915	19,158	4,265	46,492
Cincinnati	65,676	17,809	5,845	42,022
Grand Rapids	9,068	2,814	512	5,742
New Haven	7,839	2,138	455	5,246
Dayton	4,700	1,028	575	3,097

son, and assault—is an overwhelming task, and one well beyond the scope of this brief report. Fortunately, the Kerner Commission mapped the riot areas for several cities—among them, Detroit, Newark, Cincinnati, Grand Rapids, New Haven, and Dayton—in the course of its investigation.[28] And it was on the basis of the Commission's maps that we computed the number of Negroes living in the riot areas. Only some of the Negroes living in the riot areas—namely, the males and females between the ages of 10 and 59 inclusive—are defined by us as the potential rioters. This definition is a rather broad one. It excludes children under 10 and adults over 59 not only for reasons of common sense, but, more important, because together they constitute only one per cent of the arrestees. It includes, however, the handicapped and the institutionalized, who are admittedly few in number, and women, even though they were less likely than men to join in the riots.[29]

This definition of potential rioters as all Negroes living in the riot areas between the ages of 10 and 59 inclusive tends to maximize the base of the population and thereby minimize the extent of participation. It is, if anything, biased in favor of the riffraff theory. In any event, if this definition is applied to the six cities for which the Kerner Commission mapped the riot areas, the number of Negroes who might have joined in the riots is, as Table 1 indicates, 149,000 in Detroit, 46,500 in Newark, 42,000 in Cincinnati, 5,700 in Grand Rapids, 5,200 in New Haven, and 3,100 in Dayton.

[28] Kerner Report, p. 113.
[29] In his survey or riot participation in the Rochester riots of 1964, Schulman defined the "riot eligible" population as persons from 11 to 50 years old. We have used a slightly wider age range to define "potential rioters" than he did. Our data reveal that only one-tenth of one per cent of riot arrestees are less than 10 years old and only one per cent of riot arrestees are less than 10 years old and only one per cent are 60 years and older. The census data indicate that about 27 per cent of the nonwhite residents in the riot areas are under 10 years old, whereas about 8 per cent of these residents are over 59 years old. Thus, we are subtracting about 35 per cent of the total nonwhite population in the riot areas from the base figures in our computations. The remaining 65 per cent constitute the "potential rioters." See Jay Schulman, "Ghetto Residence, Political Alienation and Urban Riot Orientation," Urban Disorders, Violence and Urban Victimization, L. Masotti, ed (Sage Publishers, July, 1968), fn. 10, p. 32.

It is important to point out, however, that since we are using 1960 census tract data, the total number of potential rioters presented in Table 1 for each city is much smaller than the total number of Negroes between the ages of 10–59 who resided in these areas when the riots occurred in 1967, because all of these cities have increased their Negro population since 1960. Thus, we will be sharply underestimating the actual number of rioters in our analysis.[30]

In order to derive estimates of the total number of Negro rioters in the above six cities we relied upon the three surveys of riot areas that were available to us—the 1967 Caplan surveys of Newark and Detroit and the 1965 Sears survey of southcentral Los Angeles.[31] Unfortunately, each of these surveys had either age or sex limitations for its respondents that hampered our efforts somewhat. The Newark survey, for example, was limited to Negro males between the ages of 15 and 35; the Detroit survey, while including both males and females, did not interview anyone under the age of 15. And, in the Los Angeles survey, which also included both males and females, the lowest age limit was never made explicit. Since each of these surveys contained only a segment of our potential riot population, we had to find a way by which we could calculate the rate of participation for all the Negro riot area residents between the ages of 10 and 59. We decided to select, wherever possible, an age category that was known to have a high proportion of arrestees (such as between 15 and 35 years old) and to use its reported rate of participation in our calculations.

The approach that we used to derive our estimates of riot participation (with the aid of survey, arrest and census data) requires two fairly simple, though not totally reliable, calculations. First, we obtain a "riot ratio" by dividing the number of potential rioters in a given age interval by the number of arrestees (which are the same age interval for each of the three cities Detroit, Newark and Los Angeles) where surveys had been taken. Second, we apply the average of the three ratios to the other cities (where no surveys had been conducted) by multiplying the ratio times the total

[30] U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1962. All of the figures are based on 1960 U.S. Census statistics because these are the only figures available by census tracts. The census tracts that make up the riot area for the six cities are as follows: Cincinnati, Final Report PHC(1)-27, 19 tracts: 3, 8, 11, 14, 15, 21, 23, 34–39, 41, 66–68, 77, 86–B; Dayton, Final Report PHC(1)-36, one tract: 0008–1A; Detroit, Final Report PHC(1)-40 74 tracts: 11–16, 20, 24, 28, 31–33, 40, 42, 120, 121, 151–157, 161–165, 167–169, 176–A, 176–N, 176–C, 176–D, 177–189, 211, 212, 301–B, 519, 525, 530–533, 545, 551–559, 759–764, 793; Grand Rapids, Final Report PHC(1)-102, 3 tracts: 23–25; New Haven, Final Report PHC(1)-105, 4 tracts: 6, 7, 15, 22; and Newark, Final Report PHC(1)-105, 22 tracts: 29–32, 37–40, 53, 55–57, 59, 61–67, 81–82.
[31] Caplan and Paige in the Kerner Report, fn. 115, p. 172.

TABLE 2
ESTIMATES OF RIOTERS IN RIOT AREAS FOR SIX CITIES

City	Riot ratio [a]	Total number of Negro arrestees	Total number of Negro rioters [b]	Percent of riot area residents who rioted [c]
Detroit	3:1	5,642	16,900	11
Newark	5:1	1,387	6,900	15
Cincinnati	5:1	350	1,800	4
Grand Rapids	5:1	189	900	16
New Haven	5:1	353	1,800	35
Dayton	5:1	160	800	26

[a] The "riot ratio" was derived by dividing the number of nonwhite residents within a particular age category by the number of Negro arrestees within the same age category.
[b] The total number of Nego rioters was derived by multiplying the total number of Negro arrestees by the riot ratio for each city.
[c] The percent of residents who rioted was derived by dividing the total number of Negro rioters by the total nonwhite residents of the riot area who were between the ages of 10 and 59 inclusive.

number of arrestees in each city—and so derive our estimates of the total number of rioters in each city.

Using the above approach, we obtained the following results. Of the 33,600 or so Negroes in the Los Angeles ghetto between the ages of 25 and 34, approximately 1,200 were arrested in the 1965 riots, and (according to the Sears survey) roughly 22 per cent, or 7,200, were active in the riots. Hence the ratio of rioters to arrestees for Los Angeles was about six to one. Of the 9,800 or so Negro males in the Newark riot area between the ages of 15 and 35, approximately 900 were arrested in the 1967 riots, and (according to the Caplan survey) roughly 45 per cent, or 4,400, participated in the riots. Hence the ratio of rioters to arrestees for Newark was about five to one. Of the 147,000 or so Negroes in the Detroit riot area 15 years and older, approximately 5,400 were arrested in the 1967 riots, and (again, according to the Caplan survey) roughly 11 per cent, or 16,200, joined in the riots. Hence the ratio of rioters to arrestees for Detroit was about three to one. Whether the ratios which hold for Los Angeles, Newark, and Detroit would also hold for the other cities is impossible to say. But we can say that the ratios are fairly similar in the three cities and that they are extremely conservative.[32]

Since Newark's five to one ratio fell between Los Angeles' six to one ratio and Detroit's three to one ratio, it was arbitrarily applied to the remaining four cities. Consequently, the total number of Negroes who participated in the riots is, as Table 2 indicates, 16,900 in Detroit, 6,900 in Newark, 1,800 in Cincinnati, 900 in Grand Rapids, 1,800 in New Haven and 800 in Dayton. As these figures do not reflect the rise in the Negro population of these cities since 1960, they are conservative estimates of the minimum number of rioters for each city. The Negro population in Newark, for example, increased from 34 per cent in 1960 to an estimated 47 per cent in 1965. Thus, our estimate of the total number of rioters in Newark is probably underestimating the true figure by at least 13 per cent. There is probably less of an underestimation with regard to Detroit and Cincinnati, each of which experienced only slight increases in its Negro population

[32] These ratios provide estimates of the proportions of the rioters not apprehended by the police. In Detroit, for example, two-thirds of the rioters escaped apprehension, whereas in Newark 80 per cent of the rioters were estimated to have avoided arrest. Caplan and Paige in the Kerner Report, fn. 112, p. 172.

since 1960; Detroit's Negro population rose by 4 per cent from 1960 to 1965 and Cincinnati's by 2 per cent over the same period.[33]

These estimates, to repeat, are highly speculative: our figures are based on 1960 census data, riot areas are not precise boundaries, ghetto residents are constantly on the move, the reliability of self-reports about deviant behavior in surveys is questionable, and police arrest practices differ from one city to another. But these estimates are no more speculative than the personal impressions of courageous, but terribly harried, newspaper reporters or the official statements of concerned, but hardly dispassionate, public figures.[34] Furthermore, these estimates far exceed the riffraff theory's estimates, and, perhaps even more noteworthy, nowhere, except in Cincinnati, do they even remotely approximate 1 or 2 percent of the black population. Hence the rioters were a minority, but hardly a tiny minority—and, in view of the historic efficacy of the customary restraints on rioting in the United States, especially among Negroes, hardly an insignificant minority either. And to characterize them otherwise, as the first point of the riffraff theory does, is not only to distort the historical record, but, even worse, to mislead the American public.

[33] For 1965 estimates of the Negro population in various cities, see Kerner Report, p. 248.
[34] Because of their smaller Negro populations, the smaller communities have a higher per cent of residents who rioted than the larger communities; this result is partly due to the mathematical artifact of having a smaller base figure. The greater severity of the riot in the larger communities is undoubtedly due to the fact that although a small percentage of the populace rioted, the absolute number of rioters was extremely large.

Chapter 4

The Composition of the Rioters

The second component of the riffraff theory—that the rioters, far from being representative of the Negro community, were principally the riffraff and outside agitators—is perhaps the most difficult to test using arrest statistics because of their built-in biases in favor of this theory. For it is a fact that for similar offenses, lower-class persons (who tend to have most of the traits of the riffraff: unattached, uprooted, unskilled, unemployed and criminal) are much more likely to get arrested than middle-class persons.[35] Therefore, it is to be expected that the riffraff element would be over-represented among riot arrestees.

At the same time, however, since most Negroes are either lower- or working-class persons, it is also to be expected that these so-called riffraff traits can be found among large segments of the Negro community. Many Negroes, whether rioters or not, are single, or otherwise unmarried; many are juveniles or young adults, many are recent immigrants from the South, many unemployed or unskilled, and many have criminal records.[36] Hence to test the second point of the riffraff theory, it is not enough just to ask whether many of the rioters have these traits; the answer, obviously, is they do. It is also necessary to ask whether a greater proportion of the actual rioters than of the potential rioters possess these traits. But even if we do find that a higher pro-

portion of actual rioters than potential rioters have certain riffraff characteristics, our task is not yet complete. We must still assess the proportion of the actual rioters that these traits account for.

Therefore, despite the built-in biases of the arrest statistics in favor of the riffraff theory, we shall use these data in conjunction with census data—and, whenever possible, survey data—to assist us in determining the social composition of rioters.

Before we examine the so-called riffraff traits it seems instructive to begin with a discussion of the sex distribution of riot arrestees and the potential rioters.

Since 90 per cent of those arrested for non-riot offenses in the general population are males, it should come as no surprise that riot arrestees are also predominantly male—and, by the same proportion of nine to one.[37] According to arrest statistics, therefore, it seems safe to conclude that men are much more likely to participate in riots than females.

A different picture of sex involvement in riots is obtained, however, when one observes the findings of survey reports of riot participation. In the Detroit survey 39 per. cent of the self-reported rioters were females, whereas only 10 per cent of the Detroit riot arrestees were females. Thus, assuming the survey findings are reliable, the Detroit arrest data are under-

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[35] Korn and McCorkle, *Criminology and Penology.*
[36] Caplan and Paige in the *Kerner Report,* pp. 172–175.

[37] Korn and McCorkle, *Criminology and Penology,* pp. 23–24.

representing the participation of women in riots by almost 30 per cent. A similar under-representation of the extent of female participation in riots was found in the Los Angeles survey of 1965. Fully one-half of those who reported they were "active" in the riot were females, whereas only 13 per cent of the Los Angeles females were females. If the survey data are reliable, the Los Angeles arrest data are grossly under-representing the participation of females in the 1965 riot by almost 40 per cent.[38]

Since about 50 per cent of the potential rioters in the riot area are males, the 90 per cent for males among riot arrestees would indicate that males are heavily over-represented in riots. Yet, if the 60 per cent figure for males from the Detroit survey or the 50 per cent figure for males from the Los Angeles survey is compared to the 50 per cent figure for the potential rioters, one would have to conclude that males are only slightly over-represented, if at all, in riots. Eye-witness accounts of the riots also indicate that a higher proportion of males participate in riots than females. In view of the above data, it appears that the safest conclusion that we can make about sex involvement in riots is that although males are more likely than females to participate in riots, their differential rates of participation are much closer than arrest statistics indicate. Policemen, for one reason or another, are permitting large numbers of female rioters to go unapprehended.

Although one may not ordinarily consider being young a riffraff characteristic, it is a trait that is commonly identified with the undesirable elements in riots. In fact, it is widely assumed in some quarters that teenagers are primarily responsible for most riots. In Table 3 we compare the relative proportions of juveniles (defined as youths between the ages of 10 and 17 inclusive) among the arrestees and the potential rioters (that is, the riot area residents between 10-59 inclusive) for each city. With the exception of two cities (New Haven and Boston), it is noteworthy that the proportion of juveniles is considerably higher among the arrestees than among the potential rioters. Yet it is also important to note that in no city is the proportion of juveniles a majority of the arrestees. In fact, the highest proportion of juvenile arrestees is 32 per cent (in Cincinnati) and the lowest proportion is 8 per cent (in New Haven). Thus, the riot arrestees are overwhelmingly adults. It may very well be, however, that as with the case of female involvement in riots, higher proportions of juveniles are participating than are reflected by arrest statistics. Since we do not have survey data available on the rate of participation in riots of persons under the age of 15, we cannot draw upon that data to make generalizations about the participation of juveniles in riots. It would appear, however, that descriptions of the riots tend to indicate a higher degree

[38] Sears, "Riot Activity," Table 4.

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TABLE 3
PROPORTION OF JUVENILES AND ADULTS AMONG ARRESTEES AND RESIDENTS [a]

City	Total Negro arrestees [b]	Arrestees (percent)		Residents [c] (percent)	
		Juveniles	Adults	Juveniles	Adults
Detroit	5,642	16.6	83.4	7.2	92.8
Newark	1,387	18.4	81.6	12.8	87.2
New Haven	353	8.1	91.9	12.0	88.0
Cincinnati	350	32.4	67.6	18.9	81.1
Buffalo	190	22.1	77.9	13.9	86.1
Grand Rapids	189	25.4	74.6	16.0	84.0
Plainfield	161	10.1	89.9		
Dayton	160	15.2	84.8	11.9	88.1
Phoenix	111			15.0	85.0
Boston	62	11.3	88.7		

[a] We define "juvenile" as those persons under the age of 18. This definition of juvenile is consistent with that employed by most police departments. For Detroit, however, juveniles refer to those persons 16 years and under. The arrestee data throughout this report will refer only to Negro arrestees.
[b] Although these base rates for Negro arrestees will not be presented in any of the succeeding tables, when necessary, they should be used to compute the absolute frequencies of particular categories.
[c] The residents (or the "potential rioters") refer only to the nonwhite persons between 10-59 years old residing in the riot area; whites residing in the area are excluded from our analysis. The juveniles among the residents are defined as those nonwhite youths between the ages of 10 and 17. The figures for the nonwhite residents were obtained from 1960 census tract data. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, "U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts" U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1962.

of involvement by juveniles than is reflected in the arrest statistics. But even this degree of participation by juveniles appears to be much less than the involvement of adults in riots.

In Table 4 we are provided with a more detailed breakdown of the age distribution among the arrestees and potential rioters. It reveals that if any age-group is over-represented in the riots, it is not primarily the juveniles. It is rather the young adults between the ages of 15 and 24. Forty-five per cent to 73 per cent of the arrestees in the ten cities are between 15 and 24 years old. But only 13 per cent to 23 per cent of the potential rioters fall within that age category. Even among the ten cities (Cincinnati, Buffalo and Dayton) do those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 constitute a clear majority. However, the young people between the ages of 15 and 34 constitute an overwhelmingly majority of the arrestees; these proportions range from 70 per cent in Detroit to 93 per cent in Buffalo. Yet the similar proportions of those between 15 and 34 among the potential rioters—with the exception of one city (New Haven)—

TABLE 4
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF ARRESTEES AND RESIDENTS OF RIOT AREAS
[In percent]

City	Arrestees				Residents			
	10-14	15-24	25-34	35-59	10-14	15-24	24-34	35-59
Detroit	3.6	49.7	27.1	19.6	12.4	17.1	22.7	47.8
Newark	5.3	45.2	29.0	20.5	11.6	23.5	28.1	36.8
New Haven	0	47.4	35.4	17.2	14.2	20.1	22.1	43.6
Cincinnati	7.0	73.4	15.6	4.0	13.7	19.8	25.0	41.5
Buffalo	0	71.7	21.0	7.3	9.5	15.8	22.0	38.5
Grand Rapids	19.7	45.2	35.1	18.9				
Plainfield	1.2	45.2	24.3	17.1	12.2	16.3	20.5	51.0
Dayton	0	58.6	30.7	16.2	16.7	23.0	20.6	39.7
Phoenix	0	53.1	30.7	16.2	13.3	21.0	24.4	41.3
Boston	1.6	51.6	29.1	17.7				

are all under 50 per cent. In all, those persons between 15-24 are highly over-represented among the arrestees, those between the ages of 25 and 34 are slightly over-represented, whereas the elderly (35-59) and the children (10-14) are under-represented in the riots.

Thus, we conclude that on the basis of the arrest data, individuals between the ages of 15 and 34 and especially those between the ages of 15 and 24 are most likely to participate in riots.

Since Table 4 revealed that the age category with the highest proportion of arrestees are young adults between the ages of 15 and 24, we would expect a large proportion of the arrestees to be single. And, if we can assume that single persons are more likely than married persons to participate in riots, then we would expect a higher proportion of the arrestees to be single than the potential rioters. And, indeed, Table 5 reveals this to be the case. In every city, there are at least twice as many arrestees who are single, as there are potential rioters who are single. In Detroit, for example, about one-fifth of the riot area residents are single, but almost half of the arrestees are single. On the other hand, between 56 to 60 per cent of the potential rioters are married, but only 23 to 48 per cent of the arrestees are married. Thus, arrestees are for the most part, more likely to be single, but less likely to be married, separated, widowed, or divorced than are the potential rioters. Yet it is also important to note that in only two out of the five cities (Cincinnati and Buffalo) do the single persons constitute a clear majority of the arrestees. In fact, when those two cities are excluded, the differences between the proportions of single arrestees and married arrestees vary from a low of 3 per cent to a high of 9 per cent. Consequently, there are almost as many arrestees who are married as there are those who are single. Nevertheless, it is clear that single persons are over-represented among the arrestees, whereas married, separated, widowed, and divorced persons are under-represented among the arrestees. In short, one unattached group (the single

TABLE 5
MARITAL STATUS OF ARRESTEES AND RESIDENTS OF RIOT AREAS [a]
[In percent]

City [b]	Arrestees			Residents		
	Single	Married	Other	Single	Married	Other
Detroit	48.4	38.4	13.2	19.2	60.1	20.7
Cincinnati	75.6	22.5	1.9	20.2	58.3	21.5
Buffalo	69.0	28.7	2.3	21.2	59.6	19.2
Grand Rapids	44.8	38.6	16.6	20.9	58.5	20.6
Boston	51.6	48.4	0	24.2	55.7	20.1

[a] The figures for marital status of both arrestees and residents are presented only for persons 14 years and over.
[b] Newark, Plainfield, Dayton, Phoenix and New Haven are omitted from the above table because marital status information on their arrestees were not available. It will be our practice to omit a city whenever we do not have arrest data information on the item in question. The Detroit figures were obtained from a study of 500 Detroit male Negro arrestees conducted for the U.S. Department of Labor. See Sheldon Lachman and Benjamin Singer, "The Detroit Riot of July 1967", Behavior Research Institute, Detroit Michigan, 1968, p. 19.

persons) is over-represented, whereas the other unattached group (the formerly married) is under-represented among the arrestees.

One popular assumption about riot participation is that the rioters are primarily the uprooted—those immigrants from the rural South who have not been able to make a successful adjustment to the demands of urban life. According to this view we would expect the Southern-born to be over-represented among the arrestees. The data in Table 6, however, do not indicate this. In each of the three cities (Detroit, Cincinnati, and Boston) for which we have comparative information on both arrestees and residents, we find that the arrestees are somewhat less likely to be Southern-born than are the potential rioters. Among the arrestees, however, we find that in three cities (Detroit, New Haven, and Grand Rapids) a majority was born in the South and in the remaining three cities (Cincinnati, Plainfield, and Boston) a majority was born in the North. Thus, it appears that southerners may be just as likely to participate in riots as northerners. But arrestees are more likely to be born in the state where the riot occurred than are the potential rioters. In Cincinnati, for example, whereas less than half (45 per cent) of the potential rioters were born in the state of Ohio, almost three-fourths (72 per cent) of the arrestees were native-born.

Therefore, we conclude that the "uprooted" thesis of riot participation is not supported by our data. Northerners are just as likely as southerners to participate in riots; and, more important, native-born residents of the state are more likely than those born in other states to become involved in riots.

Another important theme of the riffraff theory is that the rioters are recruited primarily from those who are poorly-trained and who lack the skills to obtain good-paying jobs. Thus, it would be expected that the unskilled are over-represented among the riot arrestees. This expectation is confirmed by the figures presented in Table 7. For we find that the arrestees are much more likely to be unskilled than are the potential

TABLE 6
BIRTHPLACE OF ARRESTEES AND RESIDENTS OF RIOT AREAS [a]
[In percent]

City [b]	Arrestees			Residents		
	Born In State	Outside of State North	Outside of State South	Born In State	Outside of State North	Outside of State South
Detroit	35.5	5.7	58.9	26.9	8.2	64.9
New Haven	18.0	16.0	66.0			
Cincinnati	72.4	8.5	19.1	44.5	2.5	53.0
Grand Rapids	21.5	20.3	58.2			
Plainfield	53.2	8.2	38.6			
Boston	41.0	16.4	42.6	40.5	11.1	48.4

[a] Our definition of "South" includes the following eleven states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. All the remaining states constitute the "North."
[b] Newark, Buffalo, Dayton, and Phoenix have been omitted from the above table because of lack of birthplace information on its arrestees.

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TABLE 7

OCCUPATION OF MALE ARRESTEES AND RESIDENTS OF RIOT AREAS ᵃ
(In percent)

City ᵇ	Arrestees				Residents			
	White collar	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	White collar	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled
Detroit	10.2	10.7	29.0	50.1	18.4	12.8	41.2	27.6
Newark		18.0	23.0	59.0	24.6		45.6	29.8
Cincinnati	9.4	6.5	16.7	67.4	18.0	10.8	22.9	48.3
Buffalo	10.6	3.5	33.3	52.6	10.9	13.9	36.8	38.4
Grand Rapids	6.4	14.2	27.4	51.9	7.7	15.8	34.9	41.6
Boston	29.4	11.8	11.8	47.1	20.3	13.5	29.7	36.5

ᵃ The above figures for occupation among the arrestees refer only to those arrestees who are Negro males 18 years and older; similarly, among the residents, the figures are given for nonwhite males 14 years and older. The "unskilled" category includes both laborers and all service occupations; the "semi-skilled" grouping includes only operatives; the "skilled" category includes only craftsmen; and the "white-collar" category includes sales, clerical, managers and proprietors, and professionals.

ᵇ Since the occupations of the Detroit and Newark arrestees were not available to us, the figures presented in the above table were obtained from other sources. The Detroit figures are based upon a sample of 500 male arrestees interviewed by the Behavior Research Institute. We recomputed their percentages after excluding the "miscellaneous" category. See Sheldon Lachman and Benjamin Singer, *The Detroit Riot of July 1967*, Behavior Research Institute, Detroit, Michigan, 1968, p. 14. The figures for Newark were obtained from the Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder, *Report for Action*. State of New Jersey, February 1968, p. 271. Since the N.J. Commission included the "white-collar" figures in the "skilled" category, we have placed the figures midway between the two columns for both Arrestees and Residents to make them comparable.

rioters. The smallest difference between the proportions of the two groups is 10 per cent (in Grand Rapids) and the largest difference is 29 per cent (in Newark). Among the arrestees, we find that in all the cities, except Boston, the proportion of unskilled persons is over 49 per cent; it ranges from 47 per cent in Boston to 67 per cent in Cincinnati. Among the potential rioters, however, the proportion of the unskilled goes from 28 per cent in Detroit to 48 per cent in Cincinnati. Although the arrestees are over-represented on the lowest skill level, there are, nonetheless, strong similarities between the occupational distributions of the arrestees and the potential rioters. In both groups, for example, the proportion of these holding either semi-skilled or unskilled jobs include (for the most part) more than 70 per cent of the members of each group. It is clear that the over-whelming majority of Negroes, whether rioters or not, hold low-skilled jobs. On the other hand, only a slightly smaller proportion of arrestees than potential rioters hold skilled or white-collar jobs.

Consequently, although our data clearly support the thesis that a large proportion of the rioters hold unskilled jobs, it must also be pointed out that about just as many potential rioters as arrestees have low-skilled jobs as operatives or laborers.

Closely related to the assertion that rioters consist primarily of the unskilled is the contention that a large proportion of the rioters are unemployed. Since we cannot use the 1960 employment figures of the riot areas, because of their sharp fluctuations from year to year, we can only make comparisons for the two cities for which we do have recent unemployment figures—Detroit and Newark. In the New Jersey riot report, *Report for Action*, it was indicated that while

27 per cent of the arrestees were unemployed, 12 per cent of the Newark Negro population in the city as a whole were unemployed.[39] Similarly, whereas our arrest data reveal that 24 per cent of the Negro adult males in Detroit were unemployed, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that 10 percent of the non-white residents in the central city were unemployed.[40] Thus, a higher proportion of the arrestees are unemployed than the potential rioters in the general population. But this discrepancy is not as large as it appears, for two reasons. First, since the Department of Labor includes in its count only those persons\actively seeking a job, it severely underestimates the actual rate of unemployment. It excludes completely the "sub-employed," which consists of a large proportion of men in the ghetto who have given up looking for work.[41] Furthermore, since our arrestees are heavily over-represented by the young adults between the ages of 15 and 24, an age group which is itself greatly over-represented in the unemployed, it should not be surprising that our arrest data should indicate higher proportions of the unemployed than exist in the Negro population for the city as a whole. But, and more important, it should be noted that about three-quarters of the riot arrestees are employed. Hence the overwhelming majority of those who participate in riots are gainfully employed—even though it is usually in a semi-skilled or unskilled occupation. Thus, although unemployment may be a factor in riot participation, it does not account for the riot participation of the three-fourths who are employed.

At the heart of the riffraff theory is the notion that rioters represent the criminal element of the Negro community. In fact, the arrest data tend to support this contention. With the exception of Buffalo and Newark, a sizable majority of the arrestees—ranging from 40 per cent in Buffalo, 45 per cent in Newark, 57 per cent in Detroit, 67 per cent in New Haven, 70 per cent in Grand Rapids and 92 per cent in Dayton—had

[39] *N.J. Riot Report*, p. 271.

[40] The Detroit figures were obtained from "Unemployment in 15 Metropolitan Areas," *Monthly Labor Review*, 91: v-vi, January, 1968, v-vi; the Newark unemployment figures were obtained from *N.J. Riot Report*, p. 271.

[41] Of course, our unemployment statistics are not really comparable to the U.S. Census' unemployment statistics since different criteria for inclusion are employed. All males 18 years and over who said that they were not working were classified as "unemployed." Whenever possible, full-time students were excluded. But even the Bureau of Labor Statistics criteria for estimating unemployment rates are being challenged by some observers. In a door-to-door survey of three Chicago poverty areas, it was found that an "actual" unemployment rate for these areas was more than a third higher than it would have been under the definition of joblessness used by the BLS. See "New Jobless Count Ups the Figure," *Business Week*, Dec. 10, 1966, pp. 160–162. Also *Kerner Report*. p. 257.

prior criminal records.[42] But it is one thing to have a record and quite another to be a criminal; what is more, there are a number of reasons why these figures do not prove that the riot arrestees were principally criminals.

First, a criminal record in the United States simply means an arrest, as opposed to a conviction, record; probably no more than one-half of the arrestees with a record have been convicted, and probably no more than one-quarter for a major crime. Second, according to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, which has made the only estimate we know of on the subject, roughly 50 to 90 per cent of the Negro males in the urban ghettos have criminal records.[43] Third, if the findings of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia are applicable elsewhere, convicted felons are much more likely to be unemployed and to have criminal records than riot arrestees.[44] Fourth, our inspection of the prior criminal records of the riot arrestees revealed that their past arrests were for offenses which, on the whole, were much less serious than the offenses committed by the typical non-riot felons. The Bureau of Criminal Records in California's Department of Justice arrived at a similar conclusion after inspecting the prior criminal records of those arrested for participating in the Los Angeles riot of 1965.[45]

[42] Many of the Negroes with previous arrest records, technically, were not even arrested; as many were picked up for suspicious conduct and then later released. This is particularly true in the case of juveniles, many of whom were brought to the police station, but not arrested. Therefore, in many cases we are really referring to previous police "contact records" and not actual arrest records. The percentage for Dayton is higher than it ought to be; it resulted from an ambiguity in the coding instructions for that city.

[43] For nationwide estimates of the prevalence of arrest records, see President's Commission on Law Enforcement, *The Challenge of Crime*, p. 75 and R. Christensen, "Projected Percentages of U.S. Population with Criminal Arrest and Conviction Records" (August 18, 1966), report paper for the Commission. See also Jerry Cohen and William S. Murphy, *Burn, Baby, Burn* (New York, 1966), p. 208.

[44] Eighty per cent of the "typical" felons in Washington (who are 80 per cent Negro) have previous arrest records whereas only 60 per cent of the riot arrestees (who are 90 per cent Negro) have previous arrest (or "contact") records. About 50 per cent of the typical felons are unemployed, whereas only half as many (26 per cent) riot arrestees are employed. Furthermore, the typical felons more often have unstable marital relationships than riot arrestees; about 27 per cent of the typical felons are either separated, widowed or divorced, while only 7 per cent of the riot arrestees are either separated, widowed or divorced. Many of these differences are probably due to the age disparity between the two groups; the average age of the typical felon in Washington is 29 years old, whereas the average age of the riot arrestee is about 25 years old. See the *President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia*, Chapter 3.

[45] "Watts Riot Arrests," p. 37.

Hence, to label most rioters as criminals is simply to brand most members of the Negro community—and, particularly, the majority of Negro males—as criminals. Therefore, the criminal element is not over-represented among the rioters. Since the close surveillance of the Negro community by the police results in a disproportionately high number of arrests among male Negroes, it is to be expected that a majority of the rioters—who are predominantly young Negro males—would have criminal records.

The riffraff theory also holds that the riots were primarily the result of demagogic agitation by outsiders. Many first-hand descriptions of the riots do indicate that a few individuals and organizations—radicals as well as nationalists—encouraged some rioters and tried to exploit the rioting. Indeed, it would have been surprising if they had done otherwise. According to the arrest data, however, whether agitators or not, the overwhelming majority of the rioters were not outsiders. In seven of the nine cities for which information is available on the proportion of the arrestees who were residents of the cities involved was 97 per cent or more. Ninety-seven per cent of the arrestees in Boston, Detroit and Grand Rapids, 98 per cent in Buffalo and New Haven, and 100 per cent in Cincinnati and Dayton were residents of the cities that experienced the rioting. And in Newark and Plainfield 92 per cent and 77 per cent of the arrestees were residents in the riots, the arrest sheets are, of course, less informative. On the basis of other evidence, however, it is clear that, whether outsiders or not, the agitators did not plan or organize the 1960s riots. This was the conclusion reached by the F.B.I. in 1964 and reiterated by its director J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney-General Ramsey Clark in 1967. This was also the conclusion confirmed a year later by the Kerner Commission, which made a thorough survey of the federal, state, and municipal reports on the 1967 riots.[47]

In sum, we have found that many of the social traits predicted by the second component of the riffraff theory to characterize rioters were over-represented among the arrestees, and in some instances, decidedly so. Much of this, of course, was due to the biases of the arrest data. But "over-representativeness" is quite a different matter from saying that the arrestees had predominantly riffraff characteristics. In spite of the heavy

[46] Altogether about 95 per cent of the 1967 arrestees were residents of the city in which the disorders took place; 4 per cent were residents of other cities within that state and only one per cent were residents of other states. Thus, the assertion that the riots were primarily the work of out-of-towners or out-of-state agitators appears to be without empirical foundation. In fact, most of the rioters were not only residents of the riot city, but also were long-term residents of the city. See the *Kerner Report*, p. 131.

[47] Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Report on the 1964 Riots* (September 18, 1964), p. 9; *Kerner Report*, Chapter 2.

over-representation of young, single males, the striking facts are—again in view of the historic efficacy of the customary restraints on rioting in the United States, especially among Negroes—that one-half to three-quarters of the arrestees were employed in semi-skilled or skilled occupations, three-fourths were employed, and three-tenths to six-tenths were born outside the South. So to claim, as the second point of the riffraff theory does, that the rioters were principally the riffraff and outside agitators—rather than fairly typical young Negroe males—is to seriously misconstrue the 1960s riots.

Chapter 5
Further Specification of Riot Participation

Before concluding our discussion of the second point of the riffraff theory, however, it is necessary to evaluate it from a somewhat different perspective. For even though the theory is not confirmed when the arrestees are treated as a group, it may be confirmed when they are considered according to the type of offense, the day of arrest, the severity of the riot, the region of the country, or the year of the riot. In other words, even if the theory fails to account for the rioters as a whole, it may account for the rioters who were arrested for looting or arson, on the first or second day, in the more or less serious riots, in the North or the South, or in 1964 or 1967. Whether there were differences in riot participation from one region to another and from one year to the next is not possible to say in this report because the arrest sheets have been analyzed for too few cities and for none of those cities which experienced rioting in 1964, 1965, and 1966. But it is possible to say whether there are differences between one type of offender and another, from one day to the next, and from one kind of riot to another because the criminal charge and time of arrest are included on the arrest sheets and the riots were classified by the Kerner Commission.[48] And

under these circumstances it is possible to evaluate further the accuracy of the riffraff theory.

To begin with, the riffraff theory is not confirmed when the arrestees are classified according to criminal charge. For, as Table 8 indicates, the profile of the rioters—whether as disorderly persons, looters, arsonists, or assaulters—does not consistently resemble the profile of the riffraff. Those arrested for disorderly conduct were most likely to be young and unemployed and second most likely to be previously arrested; but they were also least likely to be born in the South. The looters were most likely to be born in the South; but they were also least likely to be young and unemployed and second least likely to be previously arrested. The arsonists were most likely to be previously arrested and second most likely to be born in the South; but they were also second least likely to be young and unemployed.[49] The assaulters were second most likely to be young and unemployed; but they were also least likely to be previously arrested and second least likely to be born in the South. There are, of course, differences among the arrestees—perhaps the most striking of which is between the disorderly persons, who were younger, unemployed, and native-born, and the looters, who tend to be older, less employed, and Southern-born. But these differences cannot be explained by the second point of the riffraff theory.

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[48] For the purpose of this analysis, we will focus upon the severity of only four of the "major" disorders—Detroit, Newark, Buffalo and Cincinnati, since we have sufficient comparable data for each of them. For the NIMH study we will more systematically relate the severity of all 19 riots in 1967 to the characteristics of their arrestees.

[49] Kerner Report, p. 130.

TABLE 8

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO ARRESTEES BY TYPE OF OFFENSE

[In percent. Totals in parentheses]

Characteristics	Assault [a]	Arson	Looting	Disorderly conduct
Sex: Male	92.0	92.9	93.8	93.1
Total	(499)	(85)	(6,099)	(1,344)
Age range:				
10 to 14	4.5	4.9	1.5	3.5
15 to 24	52.3	43.9	46.6	64.4
25 to 34	26.1	36.6	30.2	23.3
35 to 59	17.1	14.6	21.7	8.8
Total	(491)	(82)	(6,016)	(1,337)
Employment status: Unemployed	30.1	29.1	25.6	39.6
Total	(186)	(48)	(2,924)	(321)
Birthplace:				
In riot State	44.4	42.0	29.0	48.9
Outside South	21.8	17.4	21.4	11.9
Inside South	33.8	40.6	49.5	39.1
Total	(275)	(69)	(3,833)	(511)
Prior record: Previous arrest	56.6	69.4	59.4	63.8
Total	(251)	(62)	(4,093)	(652)

[a] The "Assault" Category consists primarily of persons arrested for throwing rocks and fighting with law enforcement officials, but also includes persons arrested for possession of weapons.

Nor is the riffraff theory supported when the arrestees are classified according to day of arrest. Table 9 reveals, that males, the unemployed and those with prior criminal records are just as likely to participate on any one of the first three days of the rioting. However, there is a clear relationship between age and the day of involvement; 64 per cent of those under 25 years old were arrested on the first day, whereas 54 percent of those under the age of 25 were arrested on the third or later days of rioting. Similarly, the highest proportion of native-born persons (41 per cent) and the lowest proportion of Southern-born persons (52 per cent) were arrested on the first day of rioting. However, the majority of these arrested on any one

TABLE 9

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO ARRESTEES BY DAY OF ARREST

[In percent. Totals in parentheses]

Characteristics	First day	Second day	Third and after
Sex: Male	89.8	86.8	92.0
Total	(1,240)	(3,285)	(2,302)
Age range:			
10 to 14	5.5	4.5	2.3
15 to 24	58.6	51.1	52.0
25 to 34	24.3	26.0	26.7
35 to 59	11.5	18.4	19.0
Total	(1,361)	(3,583)	(2,340)
Employment status: Unemployed	25.6	24.9	26.5
Total	(708)	(1,733)	(1,260)
Birthplace:			
In riot state	40.7	37.6	35.4
Outside South	7.1	6.9	6.8
Inside South	52.2	55.6	57.9
Total	(1,003)	(2,708)	(1,643)
Prior record: Previously arrested	58.5	56.9	57.3
Total	(1,063)	(2,835)	(1,970)

day were Southern-born. Consequently, these patterns cannot be accounted for by the second point of the riffraff theory either.

Whether the riffraff theory is more accurate when the arrestees are classified according to the gravity of the riots is more difficult to tell because the arrest sheets have not yet been analyzed for enough cities. Still, if the arrestees in Detroit and Newark, the sites of the two most serious riots in 1967, are compared with the arrestees in Buffalo and Cincinnati, the sites of two less serious, though not necessarily representative, riots, the differences are worth noting. For as Table 10 suggests, the arrestees in Detroit and Newark were less likely to be male, young, and unskilled—the information on employment status, birthplace and prior criminal record is not comparable—than the arrestees in Buffalo and Cincinnati. The differences in the age distribution of the arrestees may reflect, to some degree, the differences in the age distribution of the Negroes in these cities, but this is not so for sex distribution and occupational distribution. In any event, the available evidence suggests—and, it should be stressed, only suggests—that the second point of the riffraff theory is, if anything, more accurate for the less serious riots.[50]

[50] Other data not presented here indicate that the biggest difference between the more severe and less severe disorders is with regard to the most frequent type of offense. Over 75 per cent of the arrestees in both Detroit and Newark were charged with looting, while less than 15 per cent of those arrested in Cincinnati and Buffalo were arrested for looting. Most of the arrestees (over 60 per cent) in Cincinnati and Buffalo were charged with disorderly conduct.

TABLE 10

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO ARRESTEES BY SEVERITY OF RIOT [a]

[In percent]

Characteristics [b]	"More severe" disorders		"Less severe" disorders	
	Detroit	Newark	Buffalo	Cincinnati
Sex: Male	87.4	89.0	96.8	94.0
Age range:				
10 to 14	3.6	5.3	0	7.0
15 to 24	49.7	45.2	71.7	73.4
25 to 34	27.1	29.0	21.0	15.6
35 to 59	19.6	20.5	7.3	4.0
Male occupation: [c]				
White collar	10.2	18.0	10.6	9.4
Skilled	10.7	3.5		6.5
Semiskilled	29.0	23.0	33.3	16.7
Unskilled	50.1	59.0	52.6	67.4

[a] Although the Kerner Commission characterized the disturbance in Detroit, Newark, Buffalo and Cincinnati as "major" disorders, the number of deaths, injuries, arrests, and the amount of destruction was on a much larger scale in Detroit and Newark than in Buffalo and Cincinnati. See "Kerner Report," p. 113.

[b] The figures in this table refer to the characteristics of Negro arrestees only.

[c] The occupation figures for Detroit are based upon a sample of 500 male arrestees interviewed by the Behavior Research Institute. See Sheldon Lachman and Benjamin Ringer, "The Detroit Riot of July 1967," Behavior Research Institute, Detroit, Michigan, 1968, p. 14. The figures for Newark were obtained from the Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder, "Report for Action," State of New Jersey, February, 1968, p. 271. The N.J. Commission included the "white-collar" figures in the "skilled" category. The occupation figures for Buffalo and Cincinnati refer to Negro male arrestees 18 years and older.

Chapter 6

The Sentiment of the Negro Community

The third point of the riffraff theory—that the overwhelming majority of the Negro population, the law-abiding and respectable 98 or 99 per cent who did not join in the rioting, unequivocally opposed and deplored the riots—also has a certain plausibility. First of all, a sizable majority of the potential rioters, not to mention the ghetto residents, refrained from rioting, and their restraint and respect for the law might be construed as a repudiation of the riots. In one city after another, too, a host of local Negro leaders—among them, James Farmer of New York, John A. Buggs of Los Angeles, James Threatt of Newark, and Nicholas Hood of Detroit—labored valiantly to restrain the rioters.[51] And a good many ordinary Negroes registered sharp protest against the violence while the rioting was underway and expressed extreme dismay at the consequences when it was over. From Washington, too, a group of national Negro leaders—including Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young—criticized the riots as "ineffective, disruptive and highly damaging" and called on the Negroes to "forego the temptation to disregard the law." [52] This evidence, it could be argued, proves that the overwhelming majority of the Negro population unequivocally opposed and deplored the 1960s riots.

And yet it could also be argued that this evidence proves nothing of the kind. After all, about one out of five potential rioters did join in the riots, and the other four-fifths might have refrained from rioting because they feared the local policemen, national guardsmen, and federal soldiers and not because they disapproved of the riots. Moreover, the local Negro leaders labored in vain to restrain the rioters: no matter how strongly committed to their race or how deeply concerned about their community, they had little or no impact on the course of the riots.[53] By the same token, a good many ordinary Negroes objected to the violence not so much because they sympathized with the authorities as because they suspected that the blacks, not the whites, would suffer the worst losses. If Martin Luther King, Jr. and the other moderates appealed for non-violence, H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, and the other militants did not; and by the end of the summer of 1967 it was not clear which, if either, of the two groups spoke for the Negro people.[54] Hence this evidence proves nothing conclusively—except perhaps that to gauge community sentiment about the riots with any confidence it is essential to raise more revealing questions, probe more relevant sources, and offer more tentative answers.

[51] F.B.I., "Report on the 1964 Riots," pp. 5–6.
[52] New York Times, July 27, 1967.

[53] Fogelson, "Violence as Protest," p. 1.
[54] New York Times, July 14–18, 26–29, August 1, 2, 7, 10, 11, 16, 1967.

To begin with the questions, it is not particularly enlightening simply to ask whether the Negro population supported or opposed the riots. For to do so is to assume that the Negroes felt clearly one way or another about the rioting when, in all probability they had, mixed feelings, and second, that the Negroes agreed basically about the rioting when, in all likelihood, they had sharp disagreements. Hence it is more valuable to ask whether the Negroes believed that the riots were beneficial or essential or, even if not, inevitable, and then whether the Negroes objected to the rioting mainly on principled or pragmatic grounds. One may also ask what proportion of Negroes (and especially of the Negroes who did not participate as rioters or counter-rioters) and which groups of Negroes considered the rioting beneficial, essential, and/or inevitable. To phrase the questions in these ways is to allow for the ambiguities in the Negroes' positions and the differences among the ghettos' residents and to make it possible to gauge the black community's sentiment about the 1960s riots with a fair degree of confidence.

But not with much more than a fair degree. For, to turn from the questions to the sources, the information available is extremely scanty. The position of the moderate Negro leaders is, of course, well documented; so, for that matter, is the ideology of the militant black leaders. The activities of the rioters are also well known; and so, to a lesser extent, are the efforts of the counter-rioters. But the leaders—moderates and militants—and the participants—rioters and counter-rioters—are a minority, even if a substantial one, of the Negro population. And about the Negro rank-and-file and the uninvolved Negroes, very little is known and not much information is available. The studies of arrest sheets are not particularly helpful either, except perhaps for comparative purposes. There are, however, a handful of opinion surveys—some local and others national, a few illuminating but none comprehensive—made throughout the 1960s.[55] There are also first-hand descriptions of the riots and on-the-spot interviews with the ghetto residents reported during or shortly after the rioting.[56] Notwithstanding their limitations, the opinion surveys and impressionistic accounts convey—with reasonable accuracy—the black community's sentiment about the 1960s riots.

According to the opinion surveys, the black community's attitude towards rioting is ambivalent. Of the Negroes in Los Angeles interviewed by U.C.L.A.'s Institute of Government and Public Affairs in 1965,

only one-third favored the rioting, yet two-thirds believed that it would increase the white's awareness and sympathy and improve the Negro's position; only one-eighth thought that violent protest was the Negro's most effective weapon, yet two-thirds believed that the riots had a purpose and five-sixths that the victims deserved their treatment; three-fourths preferred negotiations and nonviolent protests, yet only one-fourth believed that there would be no more riots in Los Angeles.[57] Of the blacks interviewed across the nation by Louis Harris and Associates in 1966, 68 per cent felt that Negroes stood to lose by the rioting; yet 34 per cent thought that it has helped their cause, 20 per cent that it has hurt, and 17 per cent that it has made no difference; 59 per cent were confident that Negroes will win their rights without violence, but 21 per cent were convinced that violence will be necessary and 20 per cent were not certain; in any event, 61 per cent predicted that there will be further rioting, 31 per cent were not sure, and 8 per cent predicted that there will be no riots in the future.[58]

These surveys indicate that, in addition to the large number of people who felt the riots were inevitable, a large minority or a small majority of the Negro community regards them as beneficial, essential. According to the Institute of Government and Public Affairs, moreover, the Negroes in Los Angeles objected to the rioting mainly on pragmatic rather than principled grounds; they disapproved of the violent consequences of the riots rather than the riots themselves. Whereas 29 per cent disliked the burning and 19 per cent the looting, 21 per cent protested the shooting and the killing and 13 per cent the police action, and only 1 per cent objected to the Negro rioting and 1 per cent to the Negro assault.[59] According to the Institute of Government and Public Affairs, too, the relatively well-to-do and well-educated supported the Los Angeles riots as much as the less well-off and poorly-educated, though, according to the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, the counter-rioters in Detroit tended to be more affluent and better educated than the rioters. And according to the Harris organization, lower- and lower-middle-income Negroes were somewhat more likely to regard the riots favorably than middle- and upper-middle-income Negroes; and Negroes 34 years and younger were considerably more likely to do so than Negroes 50 years and older and even more than Negroes between the ages of 35 and 49.[60]

These findings are consistent with the impressionistic

accounts of the 1960s riots. The first-hand descriptions of the riots and the on-the-spot interviews with ghetto residents revealed a great deal of tacit support for the rioters among the non-rioters. Apparently many of them also saw the rioting as a protest, and a successful one at that, against the grievances of the Negro ghettos—a protest which, if need be, would be delivered again. Their feelings were well articulated by a middle-age Negro woman who ran an art gallery in southcentral Los Angeles: "I will not take a Molotov cocktail," she said, "but I am as mad as they (the rioters) are." [61] Nor are these findings inconsistent with a commonsense approach to the 1960s riots. After all, is it conceivable that (as the third point of the riffraff theory holds) several hundred riots could have erupted in nearly every Negro ghetto in the United States over the past five years against the opposition of 98 or 99 per cent of the black community? And is it conceivable that militant young Negroes would have ignored the customary restraints on rioting in the United States, including the commitment to orderly social change, unless they enjoyed the tacit support of at least a sizable minority of the black community?

If the survey research, arrest data, and impressionistic accounts are indicative, the rioters were a small but significant minority of the Negro population, fairly

[61] McCone Archives, XV, Interview 29; XVI, Interview 90; Anatomy of a Riot, pp. 138–139, 188–189.

representative of the ghetto residents, and especially of the young adult males, and tacitly supported by at least a large minority of the black community. Which, to repeat, means that the 1960s riots were a manifestation of race and racism in the United States, a reflection of the social problems of modern black ghettos, a protest against the essential conditions of life there, and an indicator of the necessity for fundamental changes in American society. And if the riffraff theory has not been accurate in the past, its accuracy in the future is seriously questioned. The riots appear to be gaining recruits from all segments of the Negro community. Of the Negroes asked by Louis Harris in 1966 if they would or would not join in riots, 15 per cent replied that they would, 24 per cent that they were unsure, and 61 percent that they would not. Thus, fully 39 per cent of the Negroes either would join a riot or were uncertain about what they would do. Moreover, the lower-middle-, middle-, and upper-middle-income Negroes were more likely to respond affirmatively than the lower-income Negroes. And of the Negroes 34 years and younger, the current generation, fully 19 per cent said that they would join a riot, 24 per cent that they were uncertain, and 57 per cent that they would not. On the eve of the summer of 1968, these responses are anything but reassuring.[62]

[62] Brink and Harris, Black and White, p. 266, question 18(i).

[55] William Brink and Louis Harris, Black and White (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), pp. 184–279; Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Demonstrations and Race Riots," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI, 4, Winter 1967–68, pp. 655–677; Sears, "Riot Activity;" Schulman, "Ghetto Residence."
[56] Frank Besag, The Anatomy of a Riot: Buffalo, 1967 (Buffalo: State University of N.Y. Press, 1967), pp. 138–139, 180–181, 188–190.

[57] Sears, "Riot Activity," table 35; Schulman, "Ghetto Residence," pp. 23–24, table 5, 5.1.
[58] Brink and Harris, Black and White, Appendix D, p. 264, question 18(f); p. 260, question 18(a); p. 266, question 18(h); Erskine, "The Polls," p. 671.
[59] Sears, "Riot Activity," table 17.
[60] Brink and Harris, Black and White, Appendix D, p. 264, question 18(f).

Appendix

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">TABLE 1</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">LIST OF RIOT COMMUNITIES FOR 1967</th></tr>
<tr><th></th><th>Number of arrestees [a]</th></tr>
<tr><td>Atlanta, Ga. (June 1967)</td><td>13</td></tr>
<tr><td>Boston, Mass. (June 1967)</td><td>70</td></tr>
<tr><td>Buffalo, N.Y. (June 1967)</td><td>206</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cincinnati, Ohio (June 1967)</td><td>411</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cincinnati, Ohio (July 1967)</td><td>28</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dayton, Ohio (June 14-18, 1967)</td><td>184</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dayton, Ohio (Sept. 19-21, 1967)</td><td>204</td></tr>
<tr><td>Detroit, Mich. (July 1967)</td><td>6,253</td></tr>
<tr><td>Elizabeth, N.J. (July 1967)</td><td>6</td></tr>
<tr><td>Grand Rapids, Mich. (July 1967)</td><td>264</td></tr>
<tr><td>Jersey City, N.J. (July 1967)</td><td>46</td></tr>
<tr><td>Newark, N.J. (July 1967)</td><td>1,454</td></tr>
<tr><td>New Brunswick, N.J. (July 1967)</td><td>80</td></tr>
<tr><td>New Haven, Conn. (August 1967)</td><td>531</td></tr>
<tr><td>New York, N.Y.: Brooklyn (July 1967)</td><td>75</td></tr>
<tr><td>New York, N.Y.: Bronx (July 1967)</td><td>67</td></tr>
<tr><td>New York, N.Y.: East Harlem (July 1967)</td><td>47</td></tr>
<tr><td>Paterson, N.J. (July 1967)</td><td>36</td></tr>
<tr><td>Philadelphia, Pa. (June 1967)</td><td>8</td></tr>
<tr><td>Philadelphia, Pa. (July 1-23, 1967)</td><td>34</td></tr>
<tr><td>Philadelphia, Pa. (July 24-31, 1967)</td><td>33</td></tr>
<tr><td>Philadelphia, Pa. (August 1967)</td><td>39</td></tr>
<tr><td>Philadelphia, Pa. (September 1967)</td><td>13</td></tr>
<tr><td>Phoenix, Ariz. (July 1967)</td><td>190</td></tr>
<tr><td>Plainfield, N.J. (July 1967)</td><td>161</td></tr>
<tr><td>Rockford, Ill. (July 1967)</td><td>40</td></tr>
<tr><td>Tampa, Fla. (June 1967)</td><td>45</td></tr>
</table>

[a] The number of arrestees refer to the total number of individuals—both Negro and white—arrested in a particular disturbance for whom we received arrest blotters. These numbers should be used as the base figures for the tables that follow. The figures for Cincinatti and Dayton throughout our report referred only to their June disturbances.

TABLE 2

COMMUNITY BY SEX

(In percent)

Community	Sex	
	Male	Female
Atlanta, Ga.	100.0	0.0
Boston, Mass.	78.6	21.4
Buffalo, N.Y.	97.1	2.9
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	94.1	5.9
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)	89.3	10.7
Dayton, O. (6/67)	93.4	6.6
Dayton, O. (9/67)	93.5	6.5
Detroit, Mich.	87.4	12.6
Elizabeth, N.J.	100.0	0.0
Grand Rapids, Mich.	94.7	5.3
Jersey City, N.J.	95.7	4.3
Newark, N.J.	89.2	10.8
New Brunswick, N.J.	92.5	7.5
New Haven, Conn.	96.0	4.0
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn	94.7	5.3
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx	98.5	1.5
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem	95.7	4.3
Paterson, N.J.	97.2	2.8
Phila., Pa. (6/67)	100.0	0.0
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)	100.0	0.0
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)	75.8	24.2
Phila., Pa. (8/67)	89.7	10.3
Phila., Pa. (9/67)	92.3	7.7
Phoenix, Arizona	93.7	6.3
Plainfield, N.J.	92.5	7.5
Rockford, Ill.	87.5	12.5
Tampa, Florida	91.1	8.9
Totals	89.1	10.9

TABLE 3
COMMUNITY BY ETHNICITY
[In Percent]

Community	White	Negro	Other
Atlanta, Ga	0.0	100.0	0.0
Boston, Mass	10.1	89.9	0.0
Buffalo, N.Y	6.9	93.1	0.0
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	12.5	87.5	0.0
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)	14.3	85.7	0.0
Dayton O. (6/67)	11.1	88.9	0.0
Dayton, O. (9/67)	7.1	92.9	0.0
Detroit, Mich	9.2	90.4	0.4
Elizabeth, N.J	0.0	83.3	16.7
Grand Rapids, Mich	25.8	72.7	1.5
Jersey City, N.J	15.2	84.8	0.0
Newark, N.J	3.0	95.4	1.7
New Brunswick, N.J	2.5	97.5	0.0
New Haven, Conn	23.8	67.4	8.9
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn			
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx			
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem			
Paterson, N.J			
Phila., Pa. (6/67)	0.0	100.0	0.0
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)	0.0	100.0	0.0
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)	75.8	24.2	0.0
Phila., Pa. (8/67)	38.5	61.5	0.0
Phila., Pa. (9/67)	5.38	46.2	0.0
Phoenix, Arizona	13.2	74.2	12.6
Plainfield, N.J			
Rockford, Ill	8.6	91.4	0.0
Tampa, Florida	6.7	93.3	0.0
Totals	10.1	88.7	1.2

TABLE 4
COMMUNITY BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE
[In Percent]

Community	In Riot City	Riot State	Another State
Atlanta, Ga	100.0	0.0	0.0
Boston, Mass	92.9	7.1	0
Buffalo, N.Y	97.5	2.5	0
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	99.0	0.7	0.2
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)	100.0	0	0
Dayton, O. (6/67)	100.0	0	0
Dayton, O. (9/67)	97.5	2.0	0.5
Detroit, Mich	95.9	2.9	1.2
Elizabeth, N.J	100.0	0	0
Grand Rapids, Mich	93.1	5.7	1.1
Jersey City, N.J	100.0	0	0
Newark, N.J	91.6	7.0	1.4
New Brunswick, N.J	87.5	12.5	0
New Haven, Conn	94.5	4.9	0.6
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn	100.0	0	0
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx	100.0	0	0
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem	97.9	0	2.1
Paterson, N.J	97.1	2.9	0
Phila., Pa. (6/67)	100.0	0	0
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)	100.0	0	0
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)	93.9	0	6.1
Phila., Pa. (8/67)	84.6	0	15.4
Phila., Pa. (9/67)	100.0	0	0
Phoenix, Arizona			
Plainfield, N.J	76.6	22.2	1.3
Rockford, Ill	90.0	2.5	7.5
Tampa, Florida	95.6	2.2	2.2
Totals	95.2	3.6	1.2

TABLE 5
COMMUNITY BY PLACE OF BIRTH
[In Percent]

Community	In Riot State	In South	Outside South
Atlanta, Ga	0.0	81.8	18.2
Boston, Mass	42.0	37.7	20.3
Buffalo, N.Y			
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	73.5	17.4	9.6
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)	82.1	14.3	3.6
Dayton, O. (6/67)			
Dayton, O. (9/67)			
Detroit, Mich	37.1	55.4	7.5
Elizabeth, N.J			
Grand Rapids, Mich	33.0	45.6	21.4
Jersey City, N.J			
Newark, N.J			
New Brunswick, N.J	39.2	39.2	21.6
New Haven, Conn	22.2	46.7	30.3
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn			
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx			
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem			
Paterson, N.J			
Phila., Pa. (6/67)	100.0	0.0	0.0
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)	75.0	21.9	3.1
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)	82.6	0.0	17.4
Phila., Pa. (8/67)	59.5	10.8	29.7
Phila., Pa. (9/67)	100.0	0.0	0.0
Phoenix, Arizona			
Plainfield, N.J	50.6	38.6	10.8
Rockford, Ill			
Tampa, Florida	0.0	91.9	8.1
Total	39.9	50.8	9.2

TABLE 6
COMMUNITY BY MARITAL STATUS
[In Percent]

Community	Single	Married	Separated	Divorced	Widowed	Other
Atlanta, Ga	72.7	18.2	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0
Boston, Mass	52.9	47.1	0	0	0	0
Buffalo, N.Y	66.5	29.8	2.7	0	1.1	0
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	76.2	22.2	0.5	0.8	0.3	0
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)	84.0	16.0	0	0	0	0
Dayton, O. (6/67)						
Dayton, O. (9/67)						
Detroit, Mich						
Elizabeth, N.J						
Grand Rapids, Mich	40.6	32.3	7.4	4.8	2.6	12.2
Jersey City, N.J						
Newark, N.J						
New Brunswick, N.J	67.2	32.8	0	0	0	0
New Haven, Conn						
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn						
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx						
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem						
Paterson, N.J						
Phila., Pa. (6/67)	44.8	47.8	3.0	3.0	0	0
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)						
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)						
Phila., Pa. (8/67)						
Phila., Pa. (9/67)						
Phoenix, Arizona						
Plainfield, N.J						
Rockford, Ill						
Tampa, Florida						
Totals	63.8	28.3	2.5	1.6	0.9	2.9

TABLE 7
COMMUNITY BY OCCUPATION
[In percent]

Community	White Collar	Craftsmen	Operative	Service	Laborers
Atlanta, Ga	18.2	0.0	36.4	0.0	45.5
Boston, Mass	33.4	9.5	9.5	0	47.6
Buffalo, N.Y	9.8	5.6	29.6	5.6	49.3
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	9.0	9.7	18.9	10.8	51.4
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)	0	0	33.3	11.1	55.5
Dayton, O. (6/67)					
Dayton, O. (9/67)					
Detroit, Mich					
Elizabeth, N.J					
Grand Rapids, Mich	11.2	11.7	21.9	2.9	52.2
Jersey City, N.J					
Newark, N.J					
New Brunswick, N.J					
New Haven, Conn	2.1	10.6	25.5	4.3	57.4
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn	29.2	8.3	14.6	2.1	45.8
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx	17.6	7.8	27.5	2.0	45.1
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem	26.5	11.8	2.9	8.8	50.0
Paterson, N.J					
Phila., Pa. (6/67)					
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)					
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)					
Phila., Pa. (8/67)					
Phila., Pa. (9/67)					
Phoenix, Arizona					
Plainfield, N.J					
Rockford, Ill					
Tampa, Florida	5.9	5.9	23.5	5.9	58.8
Totals	13.5	9.4	20.8	5.4	50.8

TABLE 8
COMMUNITY BY EMPLOYMENT
[In percent]

Community	Not Employed	Employed
Atlanta, Ga		
Boston, Mass	30.0	70.0
Buffalo, N.Y		
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	39.9	60.1
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)	52.9	47.1
Dayton, O. (6/67)		
Dayton, O. (9/67)		
Detroit, Mich		
Elizabeth, N.J	29.3	70.7
Grand Rapids, Mich	32.7	67.3
Jersey City, N.J		
Newark, N.J		
New Brunswick, N.J	66.7	33.3
New Haven, Conn		
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn		
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx		
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem		
Paterson, N.J		
Phila., Pa. (6/67)		
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)		
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)		
Phila., Pa. (8/67)		
Phila., Pa. (9/67)		
Phoenix, Arizona		
Plainfield, N.J		
Rockford, Ill		
Tampa, Florida	38.5	61.5
Totals	30.4	69.6

TABLE 9
COMMUNITY BY TYPE OF OFFENSE
[In percent]

Community	Assault	Weapon	Arson	Looting	Disorderly Conduct	Other
Atlanta, Ga	7.7	7.7	0.0	0.0	84.6	0.0
Boston, Mass	11.4	0.0	0	12.9	64.3	11.4
Buffalo, N.Y	8.9	2.5	0	7.0	77.7	3.8
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	10.1	12.1	0.2	15.8	58.4	3.2
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)	3.6	7.1	0.2	17.9	64.3	0
Dayton, O. (6/67)	2.2	6.0	1.1	22.4	38.8	29.5
Dayton, O. (9/67)	3.0	2.0	0	25.2	55.4	14.4
Detroit, Mich	1.8	1.4	1.8	89.2	2.2	3.4
Elizabeth, N.J						
Grand Rapids, Mich	3.8		0	83.3	16.7	0
Jersey City, N.J	19.6	9.8	1.1	6.1	75.0	4.2
Newark, N.J	4.0	5.8	0.6	15.7	73.9	6.5
New Brunswick, N.J	12.5	25.	0	26.2	13.2	0.8
New Haven, Conn	1.5	7.5	0.8	11.7	58.7	0
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn					62.6	15.8
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx						
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem						
Paterson, N.J						
Phila., Pa. (6/67)	69.4	5.6	0	5.6	13.9	5.6
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)	37.5	25.0	0	0	37.5	0
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)	20.6	32.4	8.8	5.9	32.4	0
Phila., Pa. (8/67)	15.2	12.2	0	3.0	69.7	0
Phila., Pa. (9/67)	20.5	20.5	15.4	17.9	25.6	0
Phoenix, Arizona	30.8	0	0	0	69.2	0
Plainfield, N.J	0	1.1	0	5.8	81.1	12.1
Rockford, Ill	7.6	12.0	0	55.1	22.2	3.2
Tampa, Florida	0	0	4.5	79.5	15.9	5.0
Totals	3.2	2.4	1.2	74.8	13.6	4.8

TABLE 10
COMMUNITY BY PREVIOUS ARREST
[In percent]

Community	Yes	No
Atlanta, Ga		
Boston, Mass	66.7	33.3
Buffalo, N.Y		
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	39.0	61.0
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)		
Dayton, O. (6/67)		
Dayton, O. (9/67)	90.5	9.5
Detroit, Mich	90.8	9.2
Elizabeth, N.J	53.8	46.2
Grand Rapids, Mich	100.0	0
Jersey City, N.J	66.0	34.0
Newark, N.J		
New Brunswick, N.J		
New Haven, Conn	100.0	0
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn	64.4	35.6
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx		
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem		
Paterson, N.J		
Phila., Pa. (6/67)		
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)	85.7	14.3
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)	61.5	38.5
Phila., Pa. (8/67)	32.3	67.7
Phila., Pa. (9/67)	86.6	31.4
Phoenix, Arizona	53.8	46.2
Plainfield, N.J		
Rockford, Ill		
Tampa, Florida		
Totals	56.6	43.4

TABLE 11
COMMUNITY BY ORDINAL DAY OF ARREST
[In percent]

Community	Ordinal Day of Arrest					
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth-Eighth
Atlanta, Ga	0.0	30.8	53.8	15.4	0.0	0.0
Boston, Mass	63.8	27.5	1.4	0	0	7.2
Buffalo, N.Y.	2.4	24.9	41.5	26.8	4.4	0
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	10.7	48.3	16.4	11.2	7.0	6.5
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)	0	0	0	0	0	100.0
Dayton, O. (6/67)	6.5	46.2	24.5	20.1	1.6	1.1
Dayton, O. (9/67)	28.4	63.7	7.8	0	0	0
Detroit, Mich.	17.0	49.7	11.1	6.9	4.1	11.2
Elizabeth, N.J.	16.7	83.3	0	0	0	0
Grand Rapids, Mich.	56.7	39.2	3.4	0	0	0
Jersey City, N.J.	43.5	45.7	2.2	0	0	8.7
Newark, N.J.						
New Brunswick, N.J.	20.8	76.4	0	2.8	0	0
New Haven, Conn	3.0	23.2	29.6	25.7	6.8	11.7
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn	28.0	20.0	6.7	6.7	9.3	29.4
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx	1.5	35.8	9.0	31.3	7.5	15.0
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem	10.6	14.9	46.8	6.4	10.6	10.6
Patterson, N.J.	2.8	2.8	36.1	55.6	2.8	0
Phila., Pa. (6/67)	25.0	0	62.5	12.5	0	0
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)	11.8	5.9	8.8	0	20.6	52.9
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)	0	3.1	0	12.5	6.2	78.0
Phila., Pa. (8/67)	7.7	25.6	10.3	2.6	23.1	30.8
Phila., Pa. (9/67)	38.5	0	38.5	23.1	0	0
Phoenix, Arizona	0	100.0	0	0	0	0
Plainfield, N.J.	8.8	51.6	22.0	8.8	5.7	3.1
Rockford, Ill.	100.0	0	0	0	0	0
Tampa, Florida	2.2	37.8	26.7	13.3	13.3	6.7
Totals	17.2	45.7	13.5	8.9	4.3	10.5

TABLE 12
COMMUNITY BY TIME OF ARREST
[In percent]

Community	Time of Arrest				
	12:31–3:30 a.m.	3:31–9:30 a.m.	9:31–3:30 p.m.	3:31–9:30 p.m.	9:31–12:30 a.m.
Atlanta, Ga					
Boston, Mass	14.3	11.4	1.4	44.3	28.6
Buffalo, N.Y.	21.3	0.5	1.5	17.3	59.4
Cincinnati, O. (6/67)	26.5	6.4	5.4	24.2	37.2
Cincinnati, O. (7/67)	67.9	0	0	7.1	25.0
Dayton, O. (7/67)	33.0	12.0	8.2	11.5	35.2
Dayton, O. (9/67)	35.0	3.0	1.0	14.7	46.3
Detroit, Mich.	18.6	16.3	23.6	25.8	15.6
Elizabeth, N.J.	0	0	0	0	100.0
Grand Rapids, Mich.	16.5	14.6	5.5	25.2	38.2
Jersey City, N.J.					
Newark, N.J.					
New Brunswick, N.J.	64.9	2.7	5.4	2.7	24.3
New Haven, Conn.	15.7	6.9	5.4	26.2	45.8
N.Y., N.Y.: Brooklyn	23.0	12.0	8.2	11.5	35.2
N.Y., N.Y.: Bronx	68.7	6.0	3.0	7.5	14.9
N.Y., N.Y.: E. Harlem	36.2	31.9	17.1	0	14.9
Paterson, N.J.					
Phila., Pa. (6/67)	0	0	0	37.5	62.5
Phila., Pa. (7/1/67)	0	0	35.3	32.3	32.4
Phila., Pa. (7/24/67)	6.7	6.7	56.7	16.6	13.3
Phila., Pa. (8/67)	20.5	2.6	17.9	43.6	15.4
Phila., Pa. (9/67)	0	23.1	23.1	7.7	46.2
Phoenix, Arizona	55.8	1.1	1.0	10.5	31.6
Plainfield, N.J.					
Rockford, Ill.					
Tampa, Florida	67.6	8.1	13.5	0	10.8
Total	21.3	13.7	18.4	24.1	22.6

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END