

Negroes Believe U.S. Is Best Help

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the other, the responses were:

	Pct.
Federal	69
State	11
Local	20

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

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

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

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

for preschool children.

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

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

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

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

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





Most City Negroes Think Riot Could Happen Again

Most Detroit Negroes believe that there could be another riot.

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

there is more to gain.

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

Negroes believe it can happen that way.

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

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

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

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

True	20.4
False	65.0
DK, NA	14.6

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

More education	24.5
Less education	10.3
Same amount	46.2
DK	19.0

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

More income	45.5
Less income	8.2
Same amount	30.2
DK	16.1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

31. Which of these things, if any, did you try to do during the riot?

Stop the riot	3.7
Call the fire department	6.6
Protect own property	32.5
Help paint "Soul Brother" signs.	4.8
Help put out fires	7.1
Give sandwiches or coffee to the soldiers	9.4
Help people who were hurt or homeless	10.3

32. Which of the following, did you do?

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

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

Negro	16.5
Negro and white	61.3
DK, NA	22.2

34. Are you registered to vote?

Yes	72.1
No	27.2
DK	0.7

35. Did you vote in the election for President in 1960 when Nixon and Kennedy ran?

Voted	60.4
Did not vote	26.1
DK, NA	13.5

36. Did you vote for Nixon or Kennedy?

Nixon	01.1
DK, NA	39.9
Kennedy	59.0

37. Did you vote in the election for President in 1964 when Goldwater and Johnson ran?
Voted 59.5
Did not vote 23.3
DK, NA 17.2
38. Did you vote for Goldwater or Johnson?
Goldwater 0.0
Johnson 59.0
DK, NA 41.0
39. In the next presidential election, do you think you would vote for a Republican or a Democrat?
Republican 2.7
Democrat 45.8
DK, NA 51.5
40. In the next five years, do you think the attitude of the white people about Negro rights will get better, worse, or stay about the same?
Better 56.5
Worse 8.0
Stay the same 19.5
DK, NA 16.0
41. Do you feel that Negroes have more to gain or more to lose by resorting to violence in the civil rights movement?
More to gain 24.0
More to lose 53.5
Not sure 21.5
NA 1.0
42. Do you feel a riot like the one that just occurred in Detroit could happen again or couldn't happen again?
Could happen 84.0
Could not happen 4.1
DK, NA 11.9
43. Sex
Male 43.7
Female 54.7
NA 1.6
44. Age
15-24 28.6
25-35 17.2
36-50 28.8
over 50 24.7
NA 0.7
45. How much schooling have you completed?
None, less than grade school 4.8
Grade school 17.4
Some high school 31.1
High school grad. 27.7
Some college 11.2
Graduated college 1.1
Graduate work 1.1
NA 5.6

46. Are you working now?
Yes 54.5
No 44.4
DK, NA 1.1
47. (If male or breadwinner) Have you been unemployed for as long as a month or more over the last two years?
Yes 19.9
No 30.9
DK, NA 49.2
48. (If yes to No. 47) For how long?
One month 2.3
2 to 3 months 5.3
4 months to year 2.5
More than year 8.0
DK, NA, inapt 81.9
49. Please look at the income ranges on this card and give me the letter corresponding to your income for a year. About how much do you earn a year?
\$2,000 or under (A) 11.4
\$2-\$5,000 (B) 17.8
\$5-\$7,500 (C) 20.6
\$7,500 to \$10,000 (D) 15.6
\$10,000 to \$12,500 (E) 4.8
\$12,500 to \$15,000 (F) 1.4
\$15,000 or over (G) 1.1
NA 27.3

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

50. Which of the following sentences should be imposed on different kinds of rioters? Let's start with looters.
- | | Looters | Burners | Shooters |
|--------------------|---------|---------|----------|
| No penalty | 14.7 | 2.8 | 1.4 |
| Small fine | 43.6 | 11.1 | 2.5 |
| Jail or heavy fine | 26.2 | 60.0 | 48.8 |
| Life imprisonment | .8 | 11.7 | 32.0 |
| DK | 14.7 | 14.4 | 14.3 |
51. Have you or any member of your family ever been involved with any of the following federal anti-poverty programs?
Community Action Center 13.3
Neighborhood Youth Corps 8.3
Head Start 13.6
Upward Bound 1.7
Job Corps 10.0
Other federal anti-poverty program 8.9
52. Please tell me whether any of the following kinds of bad treatment are commonly used by police against Negroes in this area.
Insults, lack of respect 41.1
Frisking, searching unnecessarily 41.4
Stopping and searching cars unnecessarily 42.5
Unnecessary force in making arrests 33.4
Beating people up 29.4
Searching homes unnecessarily 19.2
53. Have you ever been in military service?
World War I or World War II 10.5
Korean Conflict 2.5
During war in Vietnam .8
Peacetime service 3.1
54. Which of these, if any, have been used against you?
Insults, lack of respect 16.1
Frisking, searching unnecessarily 11.4
Stopping and searching cars unnecessarily 10.8
Unnecessary force in making arrests 5.0
Beating up 2.8
Searching homes unnecessarily 4.2
55. How did you first hear about the riot?
Saw it or heard it 18.0
Told by friends, neighbors, or family 50.3
Radio or TV 28.4
Newspapers .3
Other, DK, NA 3.0
56. When the riot began, should police have acted more firmly, including shooting looters; more firmly but without shooting; about the same; or more gently?
More firmly, including shooting 10.0
More firmly, without shooting 58.0
About the same 13.1
More gently 6.9
DK 12.0

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Frustration, Alienation Led to This City's Riot

WHO RIOTED in Detroit? Why?

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

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

Who rioted in Detroit?

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

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

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

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

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

Why the riot?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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