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 endorsement 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.
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Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities

by

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June 1968

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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 Harris also kindly furnished us with additional unpublished data from these surveys.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, 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 Jeffrey M. Poole, Robert L. Grein, Gary T. Marx, Philip Moyer, 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. Canehill, 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, Irvin Kate, 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 interview supervisor 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 questionnaire. Interviewing done through the Survey Research Center was under
the general supervision of John Scott and day-to-day administration was provided by Tracy Berckmans.

Code construction and administration were carried out at the Survey Research Center by Joyce Tabor, Joan Schellier and Carolyn Jenne. Thirty-seven coders transformed the questionnaire closed and open answers into machine-readable data. Data processing and computer operations were performed by the Institute for Social Research Computer Service, under the supervision of Duane Thomas and the immediate administration of Karen L. Dickinson. Kendra Head of our project staff has been responsible for much of the computer processing.

Research assistance within the project has been provided by Barry Orumberg, Carolyn Jenne, and Vernon Moore at a senior level and by Lisa Rubins and Carl Smith at a junior level; Betty Jennings has administered secretarial aspects of the project and much of the typing has been carried out by Susan Hudson. William V. Haney, Institute Editor, helped in preparing the copy for printing.

We gratefully acknowledge the contributions of the above individuals and, of course, the cooperation of the nearly six thousand respondents. We thank the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, the Survey Research Laboratory of The University of Wisconsin, and the Institute for Survey Research at Temple University for their assistance in the conduct of the field work. We take special note of the fact that a grant from The Ford Foundation made the entire project possible. Of course none of these individuals or organisations is in any way responsible for the interpretations and conclusions which the authors present in this report.

June 15, 1968
Ann Arbor, Michigan

ANGUS CAMPBELL
HAROLD SCHUMAN

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 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 700,000 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 3,380,000 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
separate in thinking, but several different interpretations could 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 project a move toward separatism by about a third of the teenagers in a lifetime. 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 among young toward greater social integration. For the moment, 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 separation from whites and is much stronger than "separa-ratism." 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 49 percent of the Negro sample of the statement: "Negro school children should study an African language." Two out of five Negroes that subscribe to an emphasis on Negroid "black consciousness" that was almost unheard of a few years ago. The absence of an age trend on this item and a slight increase in endorsement between approval of it and the amount of education suggest that the discovery of 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 Disatisfaction

Partial or complete approval of spokesmen identified with separationism is seen and much stronger than is support for separatism itself. This is probably because the dis- content 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 to discrimination in employment, a third of the Negro sample believe they have experienced such discrimination—most of them in the past. An additional 30 percent of the Negro sample feel discrimination is serious enough to equal more than a few Negroes miss out on good jobs and housing because of it. At the same time, it is important to remember that Negroes perceive discrimination in employment as a severe problem, with one out of four tend to deemphasise its current significance. Perceptions of job and housing discrimination are not strongly associated with age, although they tend to be somewhat lower among the older age groups. If there is any age trend here, it is for the middle range to perceive more discrimination, with the peak occurring in the 30 to 39 age category. Men report more personal experience then 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 situations of 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 respondents perceive the existence of serious racial discrimination. About two-fifths of the white sample believe that many Negroes miss out on good jobs because of discrimination, as against 30 percent of the Negro sample who hold that same belief. With regard to housing, 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.

White respondents show little tendency to deny more general tension between Negroes and whites. Two-thirds say they believe that "Jim Crow" 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 strongly tend to perceive it coming from each race toward the other.

White respondents were asked whether the inferior education, employment, 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 "environentlal" cause is probably unfamiliar to many of the general population, which may operate more on the basis of an implicit bigotry of free will than of one or another type of determinism.

Age differences were examined for each of the above items. Although there is little evidence that younger people are more likely to perceive the existence of discrimination and to believe that it hampers Negro advancement, there does seem to be a sharp reversal at 30 years of age, with 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 questionaire.

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 "Support a similar program" to prevent housing discrimination receives the backing of 76 percent of the white sample. The number of years of education attained by white respondents has a weak but significant effect on the opinions of whites on this issue. Whites with more education are in favor of similar legislation. The college educated are much more in favor of similar legislation to prevent discrimination in housing.

There is a third trend, though it is not as clear-cut, for white support for government action in all these areas to be greater among 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 awareness on such issues as open housing. But for persons in their 20's or 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 sug-gest ing that the colleges themselves became a center of change in ideas about race during and after the war. The colleges also represent a relatively high level of education which the nation did not share in this intellectual transfor-mation.

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, the relation to race relations, as indicated by the difference in white suburban attitudes, is negligible in the area of employment, but is fairly substantial, approaching half the sample, in the area of housing.

Much the same relation to age appears here as on questions about desire 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 concerning 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. Negro respondents were asked about government action and treatment 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 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.
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 to the creation of new public housing in their city. This latter difference is 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 at 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 whites and Negroes report that their neighborhood gets worse services than do most other parts of their city.

Among both races, younger people are more likely to report and perceive police malpractice than are older people. On all items involving police, 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. A large percentage of Negroes, but a smaller percentage of whites, report that their neighborhood stores do not provide adequate service.

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 destruction as primarily against real grievances, which should be handled by removing the causes for grievance. Approximately 20 percent of the sample are in the category of people who believe that the riots are in some way justified by the treatment of Negroes. Some few Negroes (5 percent) identify the riots as a result of imprisonment or death in the midst of Negro neighborhoods. A third of the white city population does not differentiate between riots and various forms of nonviolent protest, while Negroes think of the white population as essentially peaceful. Negroes and whites do not perceive the riots in the same terms.

Advocates of Violence

The proportion of the Negro sample that appears to see violence as a rational way of solving urban problems shows that more than five percent of respondents consider the riots, or at least "riot-like" acts, to be legitimate. This, of course, is a tiny percentage of the total Negro population, but it is a reliable difference by race. Negroes are three to four times more likely to see the riots as a result of police brutality or of real grievances, which should be handled by removing the causes for grievance.

The Background of Black Advocates of Violence

Correlates of both theoretical 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 any 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 being "against the system," of having reached adulthood, just as was suggested for older 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 youths 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 violent activity is nearly as great (5 percent) as the percentage of Negroes who say they would engage in rioting. If we consider that the riot (in terms of participation) is a general measure, then we can also accept the hypothesis that Negroes and whites are equally likely to engage in rioting. This hypothesis is based on total cities, and cannot be tested in any way that distinguishes between the extent of rioting that occurred in these 15 cities and in cities that did not have serious riots in or before 1967. Despite the lack of association across cities between actual and hypothetical participation in rioting, the comparison is meaningful for several reasons.

In particular, individuals who report actual riot participation are nearly seven times more likely than "nonparticipants" to wish to 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 Strength of Negro Advocates of Violence

Persons who accept violence as a general strategy for solving urban problems were 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 comparison is meaningful for several reasons. It is translated into terms of actual behavior. In particular, individuals who report actual riot participation are nearly seven times more likely than "nonparticipants" to wish to 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.
phenomena may be more a reflection of desires to exhibit mainly to be 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 in-
volvement in serious automobile accidents.
This does not mean that support for the use of vio-
ence 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 plan to join a riot also indicate
that they sympathize with the aims and the frustra-
tions 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 summariz-
ing 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 char-
acter since the previous report. It is concerned exclu-
sively 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 deter-
mined 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 dis-
tribution of the attitudes and understanding of racial
problems held by the general Negro and white popula-
tion 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 Commis-
sion, 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 (Brook-
lyn only), Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, St. Louis,
and Washington, D.C.

b. By means of a rigorous procedure of selection known
to 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 selected to represent a
representative sample of the white and Negro popula-
tions 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 Commis-
sion 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. Sepa-
rate 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. 

b. 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 minute was allowed for the interview. The interview with white respondents averaged about 90 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 institutions. A total of 5,159 interviews were completed, 2,392 with white city respondents and 2,767 with Negro city respondents. An additional 365 white interviews came from the suburban areas.

c. 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 (unless noted) were available at the end of July.

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 "qualitative," 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 within 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 greater attention given to the interrelations of the various measures which the questionnaires provide. 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 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, but this comparison was made at a very general level. For example, we did have a measure of the size of the city, which is an important factor in the availability of data and the procedures of probability sampling. But from the procedures of probability sampling are followed, however, it is possible to estimate the limits of the errors which may be expected as the result 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.

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 inter-racial conflict 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.

*Numbers refer to more detailed methodological notes in Appendix A.
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Negro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly white</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed half and half</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes no difference</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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
The findings from this table are clear-cut. When Negro respondents are asked whether they wish their children to have Negro teachers, they reject this possibility by 9 to 1. When asked whether they favor "a separate black nation here" (the exact location unspecified), they again reject this by 13 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 Negro neighborhoods, publicized current issue, four out of five responders refuse to introduce race as a criterion for ownership or control. It may be argued that responses implying integration are chosen more for pragmatic reasons, as the main focus in Chapter IV, Negroes tend to perceive neighborhood services in white or mixed residential areas as better than those in largely Negro areas. White business may be an easier way of 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 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-1. The results of two such follow-up inquiries are shown in Tables II-1 and II-2. 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—59 percent in Table II-1 and 14 percent in the latter. But second, as large as 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 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. These 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.

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-2 who would like their children to have white as well as Negro friends may here be said to mention "practical faculties" to other questions are not intending to rule out an interest in integration for its own sake. On the other hand, the 200,000 Negroes to be presented in Chapter IV indicate that Negroes in these 15 cities have many specific dissatisfaction about their cities that have little to do directly with issues of integration. It is also worth noting that many 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. A standing Negro principal will have 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, for this was a nearly unanimous rejection of respondents for Negro principal 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, for this was a nearly unanimous rejection of respondents for Negro principal 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, for this was a nearly unanimous rejection of respondents for Negro principal 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, for this was a nearly unanimous rejection of respondents for Negro principal 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, for this was a nearly unanimous rejection of respondents for Negro principal 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, for this was a nearly unanimous rejection of respondents for Negro principal 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, for this was a nearly unanimous rejection of respondents for Negro principal 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, for this was a nearly unanimous rejection of respondents for Negro principal 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, for this was a nearly unanimous rejection of respondents for Negro principal 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, for this was a nearly unanimous rejection of respondents for Negro principal in all Negro schools, most Negroes in our sample do not believe that race should enter into the selection process.
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 selecting the right 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–a. 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–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-ideal 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 artifact, 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 for college 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 90s to the 16 to 10 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 the 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 increase 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.

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 individual mass media, one might assume that it would diffuse to some degree into the larger Negro population. 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 such speculation is based are not as steep or consistent as many readers might have expected. In fact, sharp 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 boisterousness, much of which may not persist with maturation.

At this point, then, it is useful to reiterate the main finding of the present 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.

Our results of four questions that point in this direction are presented in Table II–g. 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 that “Negroes should be a separate black citizen within...”

The most significant result is that only 10 percent of the sample agree to the proposition that Negroes “should have nothing to do with whites,” and only 6 percent “agree that Negroes should be discouraged from going into middle-aged acceptance.”

PLURALISM: AN ALTERNATE PATH

"Black separatism," both as preached and as practiced, actually has two distinguishable clearly aspects. One is largely political in character, calling for black control of institutions that serve the 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.

The results of the four questions that point in this direction are presented in Table II–g. 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 that “Negroes should be a separate black citizen within...”

Unfortunately all four conclusions that follow are significant at the .01 level.

A "second" question was also asked that of separation. Negroes were asked if they thought that Negroes should have nothing to do with whites, or that nearly as many agree that "Negroes should be discouraged from going into middle-aged acceptance." The result was a significant difference between the two groups at the .01 level. 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.


\* Unpublished data in this item are of an Agress/disagree type and worded in the same direction, that allowing for "favorable" or "agrees" scores. They are almost the only such items of this type in the questionnaire. It appears from internal evidence in the questionnaires that such effects may be raising/marginal percents 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.

The gap between the 42 percent agreement for 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:

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

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

"If I feel they should study all the answers."

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

And a few responses carry a negative edge:

"In which 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-b. 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 something of a new idea, but more an appeal to rather long-standing needs within the Negro community. In greater attraction to the less-educated may also indicate that its importance is more symbolic, since those least able to feel 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 further 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 too exact the meaning of this will have to be clarified through further analysis.

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 separation and might well have been listed in Table II-b. The percentage agreement, however, is so far out of line with any question in the separation set that we felt it was understated by adding 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 based out by examination of those who indicated agreement. They talk for the most part in terms of offering positive support for the struggling Negro businessmen who is trying to make a success of his business. They seldom relate this to not patronizing white-owned stores. Perhaps having earlier indicated their agreement that "there should be more Negro business, banks, stores," the need to patronize such stores appears then successful to respondents. In any case, we interpret one result here as more an emphasis on promoting Negro achievement than on separation 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 social, cultural symbols of achievement and identity, without confusing this interest with more social or political issues involving separation. As in the case of religious and ethnic groups in America, there seems to be widespread support for cultural individuality within a larger institutional social structure. This 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 separation can draw, especially if there is wide disliu­uishment 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. Consider 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, 1951 to 1964," one that the "most far-seeing of men standing at the beginning of the period, would have been quite unlikely to predict..." a

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

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groes 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 events of the last decade and a half. Negroes too young to have personally experienced the break-up of many traditional racial practices may 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 yet get unequal pay. Education is different in white and colored schools."

"We bought this nice furniture thought we so seeming you get things that you the same."

There has been some progress 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 prejudices 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 Negroes' perceptions of discrimination in their employment. The figure is somewhat smaller for women, 92 percent, 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 reporting an incident 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 now continues and has not been erased by the general perceptions to them during the same "past ten or fifteen years" referred to in the earlier question on change.

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1 In Chapter II we discuss in some detail white beliefs about current levels of discrimination.

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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 by 70 percent of the males in their 20's and 30's, and 67 percent for men and 30 percent for women over 40, and especially over 50 (Table II-I). 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 have never attempted to get jobs in competition with Negroes, but that of themselves and those in their prime working years have the most involvement in this area because much residential segregation

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Most knowledgeable white Americans agree that job discrimination is still a problem in American cities, but some comfort is offered 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 difference 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 experiences 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," or some," or "few" Negroes in the city who, if the respondent believed he "could not get a house," would be "pushed out by white people 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.
About the same proportion answered a more general question about whether Negroes "miss out on good housing" in their city because of race: 45 percent say "many" and 30 percent say "some." 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 deals with the income areas of different public spheres. Factual 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.2 Both from it and from the response 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 who do not perceive discrimination perceive discrimina-

tion 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 no job and housing discrimination as applying to only 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 leader such as the NAACP.

But while 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 Negroes in our 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 race. The perception 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

Even discrimination in such crucial areas as housing is the side of social 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 obvious forms of discrimination and economic advancement.

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 conditions between races are commonly 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 older age category. More than three Negroes in 10 describe the experience of the younger cohort than is true of our other age categories.

For example, Department Store executives in one 1968 study (June 15, 1968), which is seen by some 65 percent of the adults-Negro population in Detroit (Number of readers estimated by the Detroit Area Study, The University of Michigan, from data collected May, 1968)."The perception of discrimination was apparently not based on the threat of 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.

Table II-n

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II-n

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table contains only the numbers of those who answered the question, not the actual percentages of the total sample.

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-n. Putting together these two questions, we can summarize the trends as follows: Negro adults in their 20's and 30's—this generation that came of age in the years following World War II—perceive more hostility and less sympathy from whites than do 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.

There is a hint in the data that college-level education in earlier years was associated with a more optimistic view of whites. If this is 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. 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.

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.

* 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 meaning to most of the other questions discussed in this section.

**Detroit Press Out Black Residents" was a 1968 head-
line in the Michigan Chronicle (June 15, 1968), which is seen by some 65 percent of the adults-Negro population in Det-
roit (Number of readers estimated by the Detroit Area Study, The University of Michigan, from data collected May, 1968). The perception of discrimination was apparently not based on the threat of 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.

The word "dislike" was a compromise among several
terms—distrust, fear, depreciate, hate—that might have been chosen in phrasing the above ques-
tion. One specification of it may be seen in a question about whether most white people want to see Negroes get a better break, or to keep Negroes down, or don't care one way or the other (Table II-p).
More educated respondents are less likely to believe that all whites dislike Negroes or want to keep Negroes down, and they are 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 9-2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age &amp; Education Trends in Negro Perception of White Attitudes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Results for men and women treated separately in percent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**QUESTION ON HUNGER OF WHITES WHO DISLIKE NEGROES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-49</th>
<th>50-69</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wht</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngr</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**QUESTION ON WHITE STANCE TOWARDS NEGRO ADVANCEMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-49</th>
<th>50-69</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wht</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngr</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, the three questions reviewed in this section prove overwhelmingly that the majority of Negroes expect little from whites who are hostile to their situation, or at best indifference. 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 10 percent of the Negro sample express open rejection of whites. At a more indirect assimilation 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 (25 percent) indicated greater trust of Negroes than whites, while the rest reported no difference (38 percent) or claimed they trusted whites more than Negroes (7 percent). Age trends provide data 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. This suggests 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 seems to be limited to those who would express it on the basis of the "mirror-image" assumption. It may be that our interview simply did not pick up such emotinal hostility very well, but it is also possible that other factors serve to dilute the simple reciprocity implied by the assumption.

**Figure 11-9**

Percentages of Negroes Trusting Other Negroes More Than Whites

![Figure 11-9](image)

11 Since younger Negroes are more educated, age and education tend to work against each other in this population. Youths are associated with greater perceived distance from whites, but greater education makes it more difficult to believe that there would be all whites hostile. This suggests a "reaction" 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. With regard to 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 rejected 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 would 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 black policemen. 12 With regard to stores in Negro neighborhoods, Negro and white owned stores are thought to be 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 is 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 be a crusader for Negro rights. A white politician leader with such a reputation might well have a great deal of support. If this is the case, it indicates considerable 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 Negro support 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 controlling implications. The results are generally strongly influenced by sex in Table II-1, since they show some differences in clarity if not in trend. Education has a clear positive association with a 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 66 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 these occurs.

The age trends are more complex and also less certain. But it appears that for men those age differences are connected largely to the belief that education, more years of schooling, will in fact cause Negroes to get ahead. 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 to believe the "general age trend—that is, males of all ages believe that some of the causes of failure are 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.
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.

**TABLE I-I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age 16-19</th>
<th>Age 20-29</th>
<th>Age 45-60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8th grade or less</td>
<td>12 grades</td>
<td>Some college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th grade or less</td>
<td>12 grades</td>
<td>Some college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can get ahead</td>
<td>Don't have much chance</td>
<td>Doesn't have much chance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 72 74 82 82 85 88 6 6 6</td>
<td>79 83 81 85 81 81 82 6 6 6</td>
<td>79 83 81 85 81 81 82 6 6 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100</td>
<td>100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100</td>
<td>100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This group combines all educational categories.

**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 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you think that in (Central City) many, some, or only a few Negroes can get a job and progress because of racial discrimination?</th>
<th>In percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know or not ascertained</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only a few</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only a few and self-employment</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than a few</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than a few and self-employment</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 evinced any of such discrimination even though this option was not given in the alternatives presented in the question.
A somewhat different 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).

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 saw 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.

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, mainly due to some failure in Negro themselves. As we see in Table III-e, the majority of our white respondents felt that Negroes themselves were responsible for these apparent difficulties and an additional fraction believed that both discrimination and Negro inadequacies contributed to their circumstances.

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 cooperation with the intentions 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.

One indication of the impression white people themselves have of white attitudes toward Negroes may be obtained from the question from the interview which read: "Do you think that there are any 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 with white opinion, and the other categories are somewhat smaller.

We cannot say precisely how these people interpreted the word "dislike" in that sense 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 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 relationships can be seen in the following comparisons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White who think Negroes dislike</th>
<th>Negroes dislike</th>
<th>White who think whites dislike</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53 percent believe few Negroes dislike whites</td>
<td>More believe Negroes dislike whites</td>
<td>8 percent believe few Negroes dislike whites</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems evident that our white respondents tend strongly to hold a rather general view of racial hostility; they see on one side they also see on the other side. We did not ask these people to report their own opinions of Negroes any time; 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 general perceptions exist within the white population in the way they perceive and respond to those 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 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.

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 is it 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 Negro them-
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 insignificant.

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. White people believe the presence of discrimination white people show a strong tendency to blame the disadvanaged dimensions 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 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 overal distribution of beliefs is similar to the different generations but younger people are clearer in their willingness to admit that discrimination exists and that it is due to racial characteristics of Negroes. The direction of the generational differences we noted above is now strongly suggesting that a long-seated habit is occuring in the white population away from the traditional racial attitudes of an earlier time in this country. While this appears to be a pattern, 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 inter racial 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 one that we have placed in 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 patterns in American cities, the issue has taken on a certain symbolic importance. When we asked our white respondents their opinions on the "right" of whites and Negroes regarding housing we found a strong majority who supported the basic principle of open housing (Table III-b).

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

Those respondents who expressed some degree of approval of the right of Negroes to live wherever they wished were asked a subsequent question intended to measure their willingness to convert this sentiment into a specific legal requirement (Table III-c). We now discover that a significant fraction of those who support the principle of open housing are opposing to specific legislation to prevent discrimination in housing. If we combine those who are forthrightly opposed to legislative action with those who prefer to leave the matter open, we find that they outnumber those who favor such laws.

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 a few per year. Approximately one in five of those people who felt there should be a limit 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 their 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 in 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-d). 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 "indulged it a lot."

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; 55 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-I). 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.
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. Although there were some difference in opinion among the white minority who thought they would find this situation difficult, the majority of the sample classified themselves as being not at all concerned with this prospect (Table III-g).

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 having a Negro for mayor in their city. 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-h). Apparently they saw this as a violation of the principle of equal treatment in job placement which they had earlier supported so overwhelmingly.

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-i). When we asked the respondents in Cleveland and Gary how they had actually voted in the recently held mayoral 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.

We then divide our sample by age categories and find that integrationist attitudes are stronger in the younger cohorts than they are in the older. This generalization holds true in the question posing the principle of the prospect of seeing Negro children in their neighborhoods. Differences between age groups in response to some of the other questions were not as great, there are some inconsistencies, especially among the men, but the overall pattern of Table III-j is unmistakable. If we carry this analysis one step further by dividing our sample by both age and education simultaneously, we find a complex 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 than to express lack of concern about having a Negro family next door than those 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 whose formal education has not gone beyond high school do not differ from older people of similar educational level. However, those who have attended college and to a lesser extent those who have some college education, 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 reflect attitudes 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. (Most individual differences were present, of course, but these apparently developed out of factors other than those affected by schooling or by the age group we have studied.) It is clear that a sizable minority of people have gone to college have been very exposed to attitudes which have deserted 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 exposure to attitudes in the college community but it is clear that a sizable proportion of these college generation students were affected. In contrast, the high schools which our respondents attended during the postwar years have had little more than the involvement in the national racial problems than they were in the prewar period. Of course, to be more precise, their environment has been peopled with others who have 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 also have drawn attention to this in the introduction. 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 this younger cohort moves through the life cycle, replacing their elders and being followed by generations with even larger proportions of college-exposed people, the potential for major 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 those 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-e**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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-d). Although no reference is made to Negro unemployment in the question and we cannot assume that our respondents had Negroes in mind in thinking the answer, there is no doubt that such a policy would have special meaning to the urban Negro.

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 acceptable area of neighborhood integration.

2. The prospect of passing laws to protect Negro rights is equal treatment is accepted by white people more 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 equally 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 involved. Attitudes 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. They may indicate a movement away from the traditional pattern of intra-racial segregation. An important component of this movement is contributed by those members of the below-40 generation who have attended college.

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 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.

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.

Finally we asked the respondents to face the problem of what to do about the urban riots and to choose between the alteration of police control or a greater effort to improve the conditions 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.
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-a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE III-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD PROPOSALS FOR ACTION AMONG AGE CATEGORIES (in percent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age by age</th>
<th>16-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-69</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree that government should provide more help to Negroes</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree that government should improve schools</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree that government should help Negroes find jobs</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would go along with parents who want to move to the suburbs</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willing to pay more taxes for programs to help Negroes</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer to live farther from improved conditions of Negroes</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 optimism is not unanimous; there is a substantial minority who oppose the suggestion of such programs. But, there is a consistent majority on all those proposals which 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 won 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 that they are better off economically than Negroes, more similarly educated 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 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 to 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
Somewhat generally satisfied...

Generally satisfied...

Don't know...

100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100

[In percent]

Sports and recreation centers for teenagers

Police protection

Security satisfaction...

Sexual satisfaction...

Garbage collection

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. Consid- ering 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 rules 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 com-plain about.

The differences between generations in attitudes expressed in response to these questions are small and inconsistent. It cannot be said from these data that dissatisfaction with these special 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 ques- tions were asked concerning the mayor of the city, the state government, and the federal government in Washington (Table IV–B).

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 more consistent.

Somewhat larger racial differences are found when we ask specifically about the federal antipoverty programs and in this case Negro attitudes are more fa- vorable than white. Nine out of ten of both races 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
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 whites 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 likely than whites to feel that people in their neighborhoods 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 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 "frighten 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 neighborhoods. Three times as many Negroes do believe it happens in their neighborhoods and report that it has happened to them personally.

```
TABLE I-F

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Negro Men</th>
<th>Negro Women</th>
<th>White Men</th>
<th>White Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has it ever happened to you?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Men</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Women</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Men</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Women</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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TABLE I-G

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Negro Men</th>
<th>Negro Women</th>
<th>White Men</th>
<th>White Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Has it ever happened to you?&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Men</td>
<td>42</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Women</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Men</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Women</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

```

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-J). 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 saw 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 the same, is not found in the white population. These findings are consistent, of course, with police records of the age characteristics of arrests of both races.

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TABLE IV-I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Negro Men</th>
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<th>White Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Has it ever happened to you?&quot;</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Men</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Women</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Men</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Women</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

```

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 whites and Negro respondents regarding their experience in the stores in their
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 school 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; suburbs generally feel well taken care of.

Suburban people also feel more confident than do those in the cities in their ability to get a complaint resolved. These differences 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.

### 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 white people 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 responses 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 city than do the federal government or the state government. Negroes are less satisfied with their government's performance at all three levels. The dissatisfaction programs of the federal government are widely known to both races but less 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 goods they buy has 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 feel the police less favorably and report more unpleasant contacts with them than do their elders. This is true of both races.

#### Table IV-4

| COMPLAINTS ABOUT POLICE BEHAVIOR AMONG AGE CATEGORIES |
|----------------|-----------------|
| (Results for men and women combined, In percent) |

### Table IV-5

| 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. |

### Table IV-6

| 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. |
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 20 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nwgo</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probe</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly protest</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly a way of looting and things like that</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, "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."
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 in immediately in terms of such social and economic changes. On the other hand, only half of 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-e), 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. Likely, 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 attention 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 (49 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 mainly been harmful in effect.

The reasons offered by Negroes for the belief that riots helped 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 in start up retail business ... trying to get more Negro national guardianship."

"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 Negro problems in America. A solid, and at points overwhelming, majority of Negroes (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 bitten. It's getting us in an understanding. 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 thing hurt them very much. ... People have had nightmares of them when they think about these things."

Sixty percent of the white sample report the riot in such anti-Negro sentiments, but only 10 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 residents have not been presented in Tables V-a to V-b; but in general they are very similar to white city results. For example, where 35 percent of white city males see the riots as "mainly a way of testing 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 35 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 Negro respondents in this study (64 percent) see Negroes in the larger cities as rioting 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 quite close.

Only about 10 percent of the Negro sample disent from clearly this viewpoint and consider the riots criminal activity to be encouraged primarily by police control. Tables V-a to V-b 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 order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to perception of the riots as mainly protest or order to penetration...
people than of older people seeing the riot as a form of protest. The age trend is supported by the results in Table V-5, which deals with whether the riots helped or hurt the cause of Negro rights. In this case there is also 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. Indeed, 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 seemed 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 untenable 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 similar 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 obviously intertestable as opposition to violence, looting, and destruction. This is

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

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 "hit-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 "non-violent" demonstration is not very meaningful, as Table V-1 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 non-violent 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."

"Just plotting a riot."

"All I know is it's a mess. They are trouble-makers."

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-1 was quite general and implied: 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 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 discriminating 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

\[ TABLE V-5 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Negroes (% of sample)</th>
<th>R1-9</th>
<th>10-11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>Seven</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>20-29</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>60</td>
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<td>30-39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-69</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This group contains all educational categories.

\[ TABLE V-6 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Negroes (% of sample)</th>
<th>R1-9</th>
<th>10-11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>Seven</th>
<th>College</th>
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<td>70</td>
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<tr>
<td>40-69</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This group contains all educational categories.

\[ TABLE V-7 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Negroes (% of sample)</th>
<th>R1-9</th>
<th>10-11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>Seven</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>20-29</td>
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<td>40-69</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This group contains all educational categories.
The categories into which responses have been coded are shown in Table V-b, ordered as far as practical from complete passivity to outright use of violence. Many Negro respondents were willing to ignore such discrimination or rely on a mild protest such as a petition. Furthermore, despite the fact that action—a finding consistent with the position—ignored" to the question for the nonviolently oriented person might have risen higher, however, in another type of situation described by Negroes as such, the storekeeper apparently would probably participate.

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 previously. It is also interesting to observe that the proportion of about eight percent riot participants that we obtain for 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.

It is also important to note that as about as many people say they would attempt to stop a riot as they would 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 reflects an understandable reluctance to speak frankly to the interviewer on this particular subject.

The resolution of this difference may lie in the fact that the hypothesis riot question, although worded as a prediction of probabilities of action, in fact probably taps ideologically-oriented intentions. "Burning a store" is a way of expressing conscious hostilities; loot- ing may be apt to involve personal apprehension in a situation where this suddenly becomes easy and seemingly legitimate. The "don't know" in many cases probably assumes this role as a result of the total situation; insofar as he may feel tempted in this direction, he is less likely to think it legitimate or want to admit it to an interviewer. The "burning a store" in the Negro way is of course somewhat more clear-cut than the white sense, and the more people who should report actual participation can only have occurred in this direction.

Although the differences in degree of antisocial behavior between Negro and white respondents are small here, the trend is quite consistent with the expectations that the greater the riot, the more people who should report actual involvement. The fact that many 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 areas cited are shown in Table V-o.

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-o 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.

Further evidence for the self-conscious character of the choice of violence in response to the 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.

The only Negro in an all-white crew. 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. Thus there 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 we have thus far. Participation can only have occurred to any substantial degree in cities that had large-scale riots before March 31, 1968 (the end of our interviewing period). Evidently for this reason when we look at the results for the 15 cities following the classification presented in the Commission's Report for riots occurring in 1967 (see Table V-p).
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 cannot 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

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**TABLE V-3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage indicating they would do so in a future riot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cities having major riots (Cincinnati, Detroit, Minneapolis, Honolulu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities having minor riots (St. Louis, San Francisco)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities classified as having no riots (Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Seattle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

The classification of cities is from the "Report of the National Commission on the Causes and Conditions Underlying Urban Riots," in 1967. The percentages of self-reported rioters for each level of participation would of course be higher than the actual rates of riot participation, since the present survey is a sample survey of the population. A small number of the riots reported by the Commission were not included in other studies.

---

**TABLE V-4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage indicating they would participate in an actual riot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who would join in a hypothetical riot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would join in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would try to stop it or would stay away</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**TABLE V-5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage indicating they would participate in an actual riot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cities having major riots (Cincinnati, Detroit, Minneapolis, Honolulu)</td>
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---

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

"Because they were fighting for what they believe in, I guess." *Because we have been mistreated.* Because they're doing what we have to do.*

"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 rioters, but they define their 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 another should be kept in mind in later sections of this chapter.
represent a sizable opposition within the Negro community. These people say such things as:

"Well, in my opinion, it's just don'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 if we were 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.

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 responses to the government's reponse to violence (and unlike other tactics), shows an inverse relation to age (see Figure V-a). Thus younger Negroes are not only more 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 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 the relative 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 dissatisfaction 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. 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 join a riot could be high in 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 rioter to 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 proportions who are satisfied with their housing (59 percent), report no personal experience with job discrimination (57 percent), have white friends (63 percent), and believe that race should not be a criterion in selecting a principal for a 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 inter racial violence in American history has been directed toward Negroes by whites, rather than the reverse. Whether in the form of race riots or race discriminations, Negroes have been the victims of violence, and have much more to learn from the data before a more coherent picture can be presented of those who advocate violence.

**TABLE V-v**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In percent*

*This group includes white respondents only.

Percent of Negroes advocating violence on each of four questions by age and education (results for men and women averaged)*

**Figure V-v**: Relation of Age to Appeal for Government Intervention

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In percent*
The relationship of Negro willingness to riot to its attitude questions has been of central importance to this study. Table V-1 presents questions asked Negroes and results for both Negroes and whites.

Table V-1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>12-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Males</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-19 years of age</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29 years of age</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39 years of age</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50 years of age</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total percentage (five percent) of 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 riot participation question asked of Negroes (see Table V-1). 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 15 percent (see Figure V-1) 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 are 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-1 suggests some relation of education to white propensity to riot, while Table V-4 shows 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 just similar mechanisms yet to be uncovered are at work for both Negroes and whites, but that differences of 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 consideration of white tendencies, may lead to one to miss characteristics which are common to most Americans, if not indeed to men everywhere.

Table V-2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Males</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-19 years of age</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29 years of age</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39 years of age</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50 years of age</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 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 majority—a full third of this urban sample—that does 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 manifested earlier, is mistaking much better. Whether they are cor-
rect or incorrect in their beliefs, these disinterested peo-
ple 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 num-
bers. More important, these individuals have the sym-
pathy and perhaps to some extent the support of the
larger minority discussed above. The most important
fact about these inclined toward violence is that they
are not an isolated band of deviants, condemned by al-
mont other Negroes, but are linked to a much larger
group by a common definition of the problems that
boast the Negro in America.

The use of violence as a form of protest has special
meaning for this group at this point in history. The sud-
den outbreak of mass violence in the inner cities of
the nation probably astonished the black popula-
tion almost as much as it did the white. But their re-
action 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
brought 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 helpful to the
Negro cause than harmful.

This is not to say that all Negroes support the most
radical group. There are many as aghast at the idea
of violence as a middle-class white person. There is
indeed a large number of Negroes who deny that dis-
 crimination is a serious issue at all and who feel that
racial problems in America are exaggerated. We must
be careful to try 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 connota-
tion and choose a more purgatory 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 distur-
bances. Like the Montgomery bus boycott, the sit-
ic-ins, and the marches on Washington, to most Negroes the
justification of the riots lies in their character as dra-
matic protests against racial injustice. They are louder
and they are more dangerous, but their purpose is 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 con-
cern to be openly and proudly black. These interests
sometimes occur in forms that seem impractical, on
the whole it appears to be a positive impulse toward
racial identity which is genuine enough to be of sig-
ificant note in these 5,759 Negroes and in our sub-
sequent analyses.

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, as-
sembled 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 resent-
ment of Negroes, much white support of segregated
social patterns, much white resistance to equal rights in
housing, and much white unwillingness to confront
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 scene. 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
on their Negro violence, and in some degree hostile 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 main-
tain it, and white society condones it.” Racial segre-
genation and discrimination of racial superiority have been
part of the American culture for generations and is
some sense every white American is implicated in the
aspect of the American way of life. But broad cultural
patterns, especially those in transition, provide a per-
basis of prediction of the behavior of any specific in-
dividual within the society. Individuals differ and whe-
to certain attitudes and to the development of the traditions
pattern then the pattern itself must change.

These individual differences appear in many form
in the answers our white respondents gave to our ques-
tions. It will require a careful analytical work to discover
the extent to which the attitudes and behaviors they re-
port form a coherent pattern. Can these various ex-
pressions of belief and value be organized along a
single dimension or do they divide into separate dis-
mensions 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 willing-
ness to accept direct personal contact. These two
patterns, as they do not have a close relationship to
each other. A white person who is strong for the prin-
ciple 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 struc-
ture of these attitudes.

We do not expect to develop a statistical device
which will permit us to announce that this or that pro-
portion 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 opinions of the problems in the cities and
are looking for solutions. Opinion is divided be-
tween reliance on traditional methods of police con-
trol and dependence on new forms of governmental in-
tervention to change the conditions of inner city life.

We are not able to assess precisely the strengths of these
two points of view in the white community or as yet
to locate those points in white society where these con-
trasting views are strongest. It appears that in the win-
ter of 1968 white people in those 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 prelimi-
nary 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 underlining patterns in them will become reasonably
clear. In attempting to provide some results at this
early date, we have raised many problems for
ourselves and for the careful reader. Solution of these
problems will involve not only going deeper in single direc-
tions, 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 con-
nection 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 differ-
ences between types of cities, between Negroes and
suburbs, to reflect some of the results presented here
in 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
common-sensical similarities. Sometimes, as in the study
of educational effects, there are important differences
by race which must be explained within a larger theo-
retical 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 understand-
ing must ultimately take as focal its 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 event-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 current college students or members of the armed services, except inssofar 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 rates 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 .60 and for whites well above .80 (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-home" (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 65 to 92 percent, with a mean of 74 percent for Negroes, 66 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 back-
ground 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 30's and 40'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 differ-
ences, 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 half 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 in-
stances) from those presented here. Such inconsistencies be-
tween printed values are unfortunate, but they are of

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### Table: Sample Sizes by Age in Decades

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>N1-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-69</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro men</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro women</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White city men</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White city women</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White suburban men</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White suburban women</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>1650</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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### Appendix B

**Format of Tables**

1. Question 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

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2. The percentages by sex given in most tables are based on the total number of cases (weighted) 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.

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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 cate-

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4. When a question contained 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
Peter H. Rossi
Richard A. Berk
David P. Boscet
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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
JUNE 1968
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 ghettos 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.
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' assessments 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 with 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 the 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 many 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 employees generally took positions on most issues which strongly denoted that there was inequality for Negroes in the ghetto, 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 had riots; forty-two percent of the police thought that Negroes were more likely to know who were leaders among Negro adults.

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 that 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.

THE POLICE IN 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 police with favor but the three 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 on the ghetto streets.

In short, the police see themselves as outsiders to 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 school 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 the quality of the schools they work in or the teachers' compensation in their schools.

The police, the teachers, and the 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.

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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 offices, 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 the Negro condition in the city tended to be the worst. There was a sense of hopelessness, a feeling that their constituents have been dealt a deep, sharp blow from which there is no way out. And in many cases, the political workers felt that their constituents were responsible for the conditions of the city, and in which the condition of Negroes was still deeply depressed and not improving fast enough.

Like other political workers, they labored a great many requests from their constituents but felt relatively impotent to obtain real help. They also saw their constituents as rejecting the present set of politicians, hoping for something fresh. It was 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 force 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.

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 schools. Work with the problem families tends to be watched, and the workers are often more clerical than professional social work. But the welfare worker sees the problem of the ghetto as real and as a problem in his own area.

RETAIL MERCHANTS

The most heterogeneous of the six occupational groups studied, the retail merchants, tend to be older and are more critical of the conditions of the ghetto. They see themselves as targets during the civil disorders. They have a sense of being dealt a severe blow from which there is no way out. They believe that the damage was not directed particularly at their stores but rather against stores in general. According to the views, they were more the victims of circumstences 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 any contractual interest charges. Nor were the merchants subscribers to most condoning policies which could be labelled as exploitative, although a small minority upheld a view which could be summarized as "casual emitter."

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.

Each of the six occupational groups was questioned in some detail concerning the special problems experienced by their members in the ghetto. 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 major employers in each of the fifteen cities are represented by their employees or other persons empowered to set personnel policies within their own organizations. These men do not work in the ghetto; rather they are the men who regulate the economic and social conditions of the ghetto. They are the men who regulate the economic and social conditions of the ghetto. They are the men who regulate the economic and social conditions of the ghetto. They are the men who regulate the economic and social conditions of the ghetto. They are the men who regulate the economic and social conditions of the ghetto.

The personnel officers are not deeply prejudiced men. They do not directly deprive Negroes through actions designed to accomplish that end. They are not in a position of active denial, believing that the main social problems that plague the ghetto are not very serious and that Negroes are making considerable gains toward equality in their cities. They believe that the main employers in their cities are making considerable gains toward equality in their cities.

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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 facts 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 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 blame on "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 way 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 trend 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.

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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 cultural institutions.

To a native, his city may be mainly his home, and perhaps a representative of central institutions. Of civil disorders. 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 assumption 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 frontline personnel of central local institutions. It was further hypothesized that the quality and tone of encounters between Negroes and these persons had some 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 exploit-
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 precincts which dealt mainly with the ghetto. Retail merchants were selected from among those whose stores were located in the same area. State and city 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 B.

The desired sizes of the samples of each occupational group are given 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 interviewers from the Audits & Surveys, Inc. 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 Milwaukee, Chicago, and St. Louis—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.

Interviews with merchants, employers and political workers were made in fifteen cities. In these 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.

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 in interviewing police in these other places at off-duty times.

Interviewing was started early in March, 1969 and was mainly completed before the April 1966 civil disorders sparked by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. With momentum lost by this interruption, interviewing has continued through May 1969. At this writing (early June 1969) some cleanup interviewing is still going on.

Occupational group size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational group</th>
<th>Desired sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social workers</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major employers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Occupational group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational group</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social workers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major employers</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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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 Danamore, 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 purposes, range and file members of central community institutions take toward 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.

Some were problems of integration, highway and traffic control, and crime and juvenile delinquency. Each was mentioned by about one of ten. Also included among this group of problems was the category "riots and civil disorders" mentioned by ten percent of the respondents. Considering that on third of the cities studied had experienced very serious disorders in the summer previous to interviewing, and that these cities were about to experience serious levels of disorder, it may be that 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 focusing 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 see the 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 expectedly, 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 mention from political workers and employers as well.

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 tension, and the 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 mention] were problems of integration, highway and traffic control, and crime and juvenile delinquency. Each was 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 on third of the cities studied had experienced very serious disorders in the summer previous to interviewing, and that these cities were about to experience serious levels of disorder, it may be that the interviewing was over, riots and civil disorders did not achieve a very high level of salience."

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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 rich cities, medium-rice cities, and non-rich cities. The proportion being more than twice as high in the latter type as compared with the first (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. 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.

The improvements perceived tend to be in the same areas in which there are problems. Although about one in five respondents claim that no improvements have been made or that an 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 much lower in non-riot cities than in riot cities.
uniformly lower than the levels of problems. An extreme example is shown by crime and juvenile delinquency. Only twenty-two percent of the respondents see crime 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 are twenty-three percent and those who see improvement were only five percent.

The differences among types of cities are not very striking. Systematic bias seems to characterise the answers. 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.

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 rate the control of crime as a very serious problem.

Table 2.5 shows variations among cities 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, crime and preventing disorder, while the educators, social workers, and political workers, have given per­centages of very serious ratings of over fifty percent to these problems and in addition to race relations, education, and unemployment.

Unemployment was asked only with respect to two problem areas, race relations and civil disorders. Respondents from riot cities from non-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.

Interaction and other civil disorders in Canada are far less likely to be considered as a very serious problem than crime, even in the medium and large cities. Indeed, only in the medium cities is it at all a problem, scoring a very serious rating from somewhat less than one in five to just over one in five respondents.

The regular pattern of differences with respect to these two problems—race relations and civil disorders—appears in Table 2.7. It is more dramatic for a question of interpretation which has been present in previous tables and which will remain 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 serious it is likely to be cities in which riots were to occur. It is also plausible that in cities which had riots respondents would be especially aware that race relations were true and strained. Similarly it seems equally plausible that the occurrence of riots leads to a higher rating of the seriousness of riots as to enthrall the converse. Indeed, a stronger case can 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 much more remote from the riots themselves—e.g. unemployment, air pollution, etc.—are less open to logical interpretation, but as we shall see, the

differences among types of cities (as in Table 2.7) that occur will appear to 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 local 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 condemnation. For example only one out of four agreed 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
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 denial 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 work by their superiors nor hold their superiors back by bureaucratic foot dragging, and in which the average citizen has neither complete access nor denied access.

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 seem to more likely to provide access to the average citizen.

**TABLE 2.8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STYLES AND CITY TYPES</th>
<th>Rating by type of city</th>
<th>Single Cities</th>
<th>Medium Cities</th>
<th>Riot Cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political leaders are imaginative</td>
<td>Much better than average</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City has no gay issues?</td>
<td>About average</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whopping situation</td>
<td>Less than average</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More imaginative</td>
<td>Much better than average</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From respondents concerned whether the non-riot cities are doing better than average, cities are more likely to be considered cities lagging in innovativeness, and seem to more likely to provide access to the average citizen.

**Chapter 3**

**Images of the Urban Negro**

Our respondents deal with the Negroes in their cities in a more extensive way than the usual residents. 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 of our respondents have a bias towards those Negroes in the position of the Negro in their communities as described by 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 of our respondents have a bias towards those Negroes in the position of the Negro in their communities as described by 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.

How do we know if our respondents have the same view of the Negro? We have tabulated the answers to the question, "How well are Negroes treated in your city?" Surprisingly, one out of five 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 better. Another one out of four believe they are treated equally. Another one out of four believe they are treated better than any other part of the population. A little more than half acknowledge the existence of discrimination against Negroes in most, if not all, of our places. Secondly, they are the views which they bring to their occupational tasks, which determine in part the quality of services which they render to Negroes in those cities.
ing views which run counter to generally accepted views among the Negro as similar to that of others in the same cities. A majority of our respondents, then, are expressing views which run counter to generally accepted views among experts and one 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 discrimination, but they tend to see the position of the two groups of occupations. are like the police and merchants in not seeing discrimination, but they tend to see the position of the Negroes is a rather global one covering the treatment of Negroes in general. If we turn to rather specific types of treatments, as in Table 3.5, 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 3.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Better than others</th>
<th>Same as others</th>
<th>Worse than others</th>
<th>More than any group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educators</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social workers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political workers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Medical care</th>
<th>Recreation</th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Treatment with respect to medical care</th>
<th>Treatment with respect to recreation</th>
<th>Treatment with respect to housing</th>
<th>Treatment with respect to employment opportunities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educators</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social workers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political workers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Badly treated</th>
<th>Very badly treated</th>
<th>Not badly treated</th>
<th>Not at all badly treated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educators</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social workers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political workers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 3.5, 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 3.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Badly treated</th>
<th>Very badly treated</th>
<th>Not badly treated</th>
<th>Not at all badly treated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educators</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social workers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political workers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 as well off or better off 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 this respects than as disadvantaged.

It is not easy to reconcile these findings (in Table 3.3) with those of Table 3.5. 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 patternings of differences observed earlier holds: police, merchant 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 group v the that Negroes are the same as or better off than do educators, social workers, and public workers.
cities. A majority of our respondents, then, are expressing views which run counter to generally accepted views among experts and which run counter to their own experiences in dealing with Negroes in the ghetto or in educational employment.

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 worse off than do educators, social workers, and political workers. Note particularly the roseate views of 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 or better off than others.

Table 3.2 illustrates three occupational groups 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 or better off than others.

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Table 3.2 illustrates three occupational groups 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 or better off than others.
PERCEIVED LEADERSHIP IN WORKING FOR police

Elected public officials and school teachers (each five percent or more) were garnered by landlords and homeowners. Approximately one-half of the respondents viewed whites, Negroes, and themselves as being concerned about 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, are depicted in Figure 3.9. In this table, we show the breakdown by occupational groups. Note that there are three proportions shown for each problem for each of the occupational groups. The percentages in the top row, which is the left hand corner of the table, refer to the proportion of whites who are reputed to be very disturbed, the percentages in the middle of each box refer 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 they themselves are less disturbed from 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, whites and Negroes. To measure the perception of social distance between the respondents and each of these groups, we have calculated the absolute sum of differences between Occupational group, as in

### Table 3.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Police</th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Social workers</th>
<th>Political workers</th>
<th>Merchants</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem Area</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Negroes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro political power</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro socializing with whites</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes moving into white areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes bidding for political power</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Numbers are absolute sums of differences in percentages between designated group (e.g., whites and Negroes) summed over an occupational group. As in the first 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 education, social workers, and political workers show smaller differences in their views and 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 differences 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 bad. Of course, Negro housing and employment opportunities are bad,
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 as 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 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 sites 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 some differences in the types of disturbances reported, but there were also several common themes. Most of the respondents did not mention specific incidents or details about the disturbances, but they did report that something significant had occurred.

Turning now to those respondents who said that a mass disturbance had occurred in their communities, Table 4.2 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. Why did the riots occur? To get at the sample’s view, we asked two types of questions. First, we asked 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 4.9 contains the reasons given spontaneously by the respondents. Note that their frame of reference in replying was mainly in terms of understanding long-standing conditions rather than in terms of specific events or in terms of the activities of "agitators". One out of four respondents 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 the main reason for the disorders throughout the country.

Some more discriminating patterns are shown with respect to the other ratings in Table 4.4. We see that a bare majority of the respondents feel that while attitudes have become less favorable to Negroes, and that those from riot cities are more likely to see the movement as a 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 percent 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.
ing conditions, poor schools, and social welfare were also cited very frequently, especially by those who claimed there was no disturbance from cities in which they claimed there was no disturbance. Criminality, lack of respect for law, and anomie last year. Three percent of those who experienced disturbances in their cities and by seventeen percent of the other respondents: 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. Therefore we 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.### TABLE 4.6 \"THEORIES\" OF RIOT CAUSATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Subgroups</th>
<th>Topmost</th>
<th>Next most</th>
<th>3rd most</th>
<th>Lowermost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educators</td>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Workers</td>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants and Workers</td>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.7 \"THEORIES\" OF RIOT CAUSATION AMONG SIX OCCUPATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Negroes</th>
<th>Police</th>
<th>Merchants and Workers</th>
<th>Educators</th>
<th>Political Workers</th>
<th>General Citizens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Racial or ethnic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three of these 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 that 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 the 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, while they were more sympathetic generally toward the plight of the urban Negroes. The police, merchants, and workers tended to be alike in viewing the riots as criminal elements, the agitation of nationalists and militants, and in denying that police brutality played a 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.

A somewhat different view of the popular attitudes to 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.
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 employees 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.1</th>
<th>AWARENESS OF ADVISORY COMMISSION’S REPORT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aware of report?</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know and no answer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99
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**

(Only those aware of Report)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Police</th>
<th>Educators</th>
<th>Social Workers</th>
<th>Merchants</th>
<th>Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree with Report</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know and no answer</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

(Only those aware of Report)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Police</th>
<th>Educators</th>
<th>Social Workers</th>
<th>Merchants</th>
<th>Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When the effects will be felt</td>
<td>More than 5 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(In percent)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 their lack of government funds to implement the program 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 content 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.

*By W. Eugene Groves.

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 adamant 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.

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. This task is a measure of the most difficult in society. Furthermore, the conscientious policeman in the predominantly Negro areas of our central cities faces perhaps the greatest difficulties of all. He presents 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 sixty-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 the public, from the courts, from other officials and agencies were among the major problems in doing their job in the neighborhood to which they were assigned.

The policemen 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 support from residents a very serious problem; and sixty-four percent thought it was very serious. Nine percent of the policemen thought that most of the police officers were among the major problems facing them. As Table 6.1 shows, the second most frequent complaint voiced by the policemen was the lack of internal support for their work: manpower, facilities, supervision, etc. Twenty-one percent of the policemen listed major problems of the city as problems 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 the three major problems facing them.

Even though the policemen felt disliked by so many citizens, and operated with inadequate facilities and manpower, very few policemen perceived the job 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 the 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 had special training in riot control and prevention, and seventy-eight percent had had some training in human relations, psychology, counseling, etc. Very few policemen reported lack of training as a major problem they were facing 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 satisfaction 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 in the community in which they are assigned. Unquestionably, much of the large rest on exaggerated notions 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 authority. In this chapter, we shall examine how the police tend to explain or justify actions that are deemed by many to be provocative and punitively directed against a large class of people—those with black skins and little money.

From their own reporting (Table 6.3), forty-five 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 policemen 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 saw the police as 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 the police on the side, the largest portion (forty percent) perceived the residents as indifferent.

TABLE 6.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6.5</th>
<th>THE POLICEMAN'S SATISFACTION WITH DISAGREEMENTS WITH HIS JOB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disagreed</td>
<td>Satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police work safer or more hazardous than in other assignments</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your supervisor understands you</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You know how to do your job</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You have the respect of the people you work with</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You are given the credit you deserve</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You are paid fairly</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 community"
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 relative hostility perceived by 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 youth, the police seem to be least in touch with the people. While it is beyond the scope of this study to analyze whether the generation and racial gaps between police and youth are more an artifact than a consequence of a reported increase in antisocial and criminal behavior among that group, we can quite clearly see that police thinking often is less than in touch with the people. Fifty-one percent of the Negroes 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.

What lies behind this perception of hostility? The Commission's report 

| Page 151 |

Table 6.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Reporting Hostility to Police</th>
<th>To whites</th>
<th>To Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Per cent Hostility towards police</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although we cannot compare these types of activity with one another because they were possibly affected by the same 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 a proper subject of forceful interference. The police may be called upon to mediate those 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 endure to the residents. About a third are frequently stopping people to question 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 the justification of due cause to a court. More than a third frequently interrogate suspected drug users. Since the use of the less habitual drugs is considered less dangerous by drug users 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 hostility 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 that 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 reported that, in some high crime areas only ten percent of those stopped and frisked were 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 claimed to be carrying something that might lead to a crime when stopped and frisked is 51, according to our policemen. Furthermore, the police also claim that a minority of those involved in the neighborhood is to have committed some criminal or to have committed some illegal act.

Table 6.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Reporting Hostility to Police</th>
<th>To whites</th>
<th>To Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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</table>

Although we cannot compare these types of activity with one another because they were possibly affected by the same 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 a proper subject of forceful interference. The police may be called upon to mediate those 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 endure to the residents. About a third are frequently stopping people to question 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 the justification of due cause to a court. More than a third frequently interrogate suspected drug users. Since the use of the less habitual drugs is considered less dangerous by drug users 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 hostility 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 that 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 reported that, in some high crime areas only ten percent of those stopped and frisked were 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 claimed to be carrying something that might lead to a crime when stopped and frisked is 51, according to our policemen. Furthermore, the police also claim that a minority of those involved in the neighborhood is to have committed some criminal or to have committed some illegal act.

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. 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 the public 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 reported that, in some high crime areas only ten percent of those stopped and frisked were 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 claimed to be carrying something that might lead to a crime when stopped and frisked is 51, according to our policemen. Furthermore, the police also claim that a minority of those involved in the neighborhood is to have committed some criminal or to have committed some illegal act.
should "deal aggressively and authoritatively from the start, but be polite until a hostile move is made by the suspect." Similarly, as shown in Table 6.12, sixty-two percent of the white policemen felt that Negroes are treated equally or even better than any other part of the population, while only eight percent of the Negroes agreed. The pervasive feeling among white policemen is not confined to the Negro community alone. As suggested earlier, the conflict stems from the overall nature of the relationship between the Negro community and the population, including the power to wield some restraint upon police.

The relationship between the police and the Negro residents is partially characterized as extensive "anti-crime" activity by the police and many outraged complainers, sometimes leading to collective expressions, by the residents. The desire by city and police leadership for some measure of caution is understandable. The police, in general, do not have the resources to cope with the problems that are immediately apparent. It is clear that Negro neighborhoods, as a result of the way in which they are organized, are handicapped in their ability to handle such situations. While Negroes are treated worse than any other part of the population, large majorities in both Negro and white neighborhoods expressed the belief that these differences should be eliminated.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE COMMUNITY

What do the policemen think of the people in the neighborhoods to which they patrol? Some earlier studies have indicated that a large fraction of white policemen view Negro neighborhoods with suspicion toward Negroes. Albert Reiss reported to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders that three out of four of the white policemen in predominately Negro neighborhoods in one city studied exhibited some prejudicial attitudes. 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 felt to be equal rights. In Table 6.13, Negro and white policemen were asked about their views toward 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 the other hand, overall Negroes were viewed positively more than the whites were, but a large fraction held low opinions. Comparing positive to negative assessments, both Negro and white policemen rated the residents better on "honesty." Negroes thought somewhat better of the residents than did whites, on the average.
POLICE ASRIPTION 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 responsible was the general nature of the Negro disturbances.

The policeman, who is the most visible agent of the system, perceives the cause of disturbances and assigns them to the Negro community. The policeman's perception of the causes of disturbances is quite different from that of citizens. He assigns the blame to the Negro community, while citizens attribute blame to the failures of the system and the white community. In cities where the police considered the disturbances were the result of the Negro community, the police considered the riots and subsequent rationalizations for the riots and subsequent rationalizations for the riots and subsequent rationalizations for the riots considered to be the result of the Negro community.

Table 6.17 illustrates again how the causes differ. Laws and courts were most frequently perceived as an obstacle by whites, but only third most frequently by Negroes. Table 6.18 and Berruda point out, enforcement of the laws is not expected to clear the cause 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 decisions.

Likewise, we might add to this conflicting expectation another—that enforcement is separated from prevention. Prevention of many of the situations a policeman handles exists in hands other than his own—city officials, poverty workers, employers, teachers, etc. He has at his disposal only the resources of persuasion and force. With this he must handle quite different situations of the inadequacies of all other segments of the system.

The policeman's perception of other people who work on the same problems as policemen, 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 of riots, the Negro policemen were the most militant organizations as most deleterious to the law enforcement. For every one policeman 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 deleterious and courts to harm their jobs than any of the others three problems.

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Our respondents, however, seem strikingly isolated from the neighborhoods in which they patrol. It is noted earlier, fifty-one percent of the police thought adolescents, and thirty-nine percent thought young adults, regarded police as enemies. In contrast, thirty-four percent of the police perceived storekeepers is 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 teenager or youth leader in the neighborhood well enough to speak to him when they see him (Table 6.19). Fifty-nine percent know six or fewer well. On the other hand over fifty-five percent of the policeman report that they know more than twenty-five shop owners, managers, and clerks well enough to speak to 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 police, the property of the white merchants.

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 often 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 occasion, and meetings. But he knows as many of these neighborhood "continual troublemakers" and the white police are isolated in their neighborhood, the white policemen do not have relatives in the neighborhood. However, it is general practice to determine. However, it is

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a while." The more subtle form of 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," while only sixty 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 policemen (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 fighting groups. He stops and frisks two or three times as many people as are carrying dangerous weapons or are actually 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, whereas their job as one of short-term 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 fast enough 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 ever 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 were 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 are long gone by when workers lived close to their jobs and firms sought to locate within walking distance of their labor forces. Blue-collar and white-collar employers 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 employment and serves the local economy in various 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 he is a member of the labor force. In our society men may be more than their occupation, but if he does not have an occupation, he is not much of a man.

*By Bettye K. Ridwan.

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 or had supervision over 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 because the employers reportedly engaged in overt acts of repression against Negroes, nor even because they hold attitudes toward other 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 linchpins which test the various links of preparatory institutions for groups which face ultimately the prospect of having the worth of that preparation eval-
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 employers, they might reasonably be expected to be among the most enthusiastic and objective eyes upon the product of other institutions. Employers themselves put it succinctly, "After all, we're in business for 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 is a virtue in the job market is automatically rewarded)

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 the employer group chose this response) and that employers tend to put more emphasis upon the class component than does the general sample (thirty-six 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 other "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 in 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-five percent). (Of course, from the third column of Table 7.5, the widest contrasts with the general sample occur in the employers' evalu-

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 the traffic and highway problem, treated as 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 ranging "lack of recreation facilities" (eleven percent of employers and thirty-one percent of the general sample rated 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 male violence question, the items 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 situations 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 forty-one percent), but they themselves were slightly more likely to rate "not as good as others" (twenty-seven percent) than "very serious" (twenty-one percent).
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 companies which are headquartered in a city when 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 paralleled by the variations in the reported actions of the respondents in firms in the 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-nine percent of the employers said, 'mainly true', thirty percent said 'partially true', and the remaining twenty-six percent said 'not at all true'. When we consider that eight-six percent of these men stated they personally feel companies in their cities have a social responsibility to provide employment to Negroes, it is surprising that so many employers did not think their companies were doing anything about it. The combined sample is much less likely to rate major employers as leaders than the 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 "dragging their feet."

EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES

Table 7.5 shows the number of Negro applicants 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 proportion of Negro applicants; (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 one Negro applicant in the last twenty applications. In each case, the figures are separated for skill categories.

TABLE 7.4

LOCAL GROUPS RATED AS 'LEADERS' IN THE DRIVE FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO NEGROES AND EMPLOYERS AS THE GENERAL SAMPLE FOR THE SAME PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups rated as 'leaders'</th>
<th>Employers only</th>
<th>Major retail firms</th>
<th>Per cent saying Negroes are given the same opportunities as white (all respondents)</th>
<th>Per cent saying Negroes are given the same opportunities as white (major retail firms)</th>
<th>Per cent saying Negroes are given the same opportunities as white (all respondents)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 7.5

NUMBER OF NEGRO APPLICANTS AMONG LAST TWENTY APPLICANTS BY SKILL LEVEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill level</th>
<th>Professional and white-collar</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median number of applicants</td>
<td>0.5 (25%)</td>
<td>0.5 (25%)</td>
<td>0.5 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median number of applicants</td>
<td>0.6 (30%)</td>
<td>0.6 (30%)</td>
<td>0.6 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median number of applicants</td>
<td>0.7 (40%)</td>
<td>0.7 (40%)</td>
<td>0.7 (40%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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, only one in every four of the firms reporting 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 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 having that applied (Table 7.5) makes a difference in the probability of the Negro applicant's being hired.
is three percent; at the skilled level, the proportion also-
tripled to come up to six percent. The unskilled level is not
depicted in this manner because the bulk of the
firms do have Negro employees in these slots.

Table 7.1

PROPORTION OF NEGRO EMPLOYEES IN THE THREE SKILL LEVELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill Level</th>
<th>Professional and White Collar</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median Employer</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Employer</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest Employer</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If there is a trend discernible in these data, a very
cruel 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
working with Negroes. Repeating this procedure, we
see that whereas the median proportion of current
white-collar employees who are Negro is six 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
six percent of the currently employed, a less dramatic
but similar pattern. Unskilled Negro workers at the
skilled level holding

employed and skilled workers at the unskilled level held

Within their own firms as well; twenty-eight per

percent of those being hired and twenty percent of the
currently employed.

There is nothing startling in the finding that the
proportion of Negroes hired and skilled workers who
are 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
in the occupational structure and how these shifts may
occur. For what else

and white-collar employment, we refer to Table 7.2. 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 agencies which then seek to increase in effectiveness as the skill level
of the opening declines: eleven percent of the

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 best channel for Negroes 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
would be considered appropriate for the type of em-
ployee 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 unem-
ployed person is not certain what skill level he should apply to, for, his best hope is that

knows about openings where they work. For, asking
current employees for referrals is the method most con-
sistently 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 prob-
baby 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 effective channels of all. In the case of filling top-level jobs by a
difference of fifty-four percent.

The two methods—the most and the least con-
sistently used by employers—have a common character-
istic. Both are "filter" recruitment methods, and the
knowledge of openings they yield for an unemployed
person will be conditioned by (a) his access to gain-
fully employed friends, and (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
employer, his next best bet, according to Table 7.8, is
to refer to private employment agencies and to regis-

Now that we have estimated the cost and benefits of the various
openings, we can then evaluate a method (from the point of view of the
employed), we would need the same separate pieces of
information. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to make such
expenditure any of the various

The evidence suggests that the hypothesis of an infor-
information disadvantage at this point is masked. The effec-
tiveness of want ads is high in rank, and this does repre-
tent a direct recruitment strategy. Still, one could advertise
the figures around in Table 7.9 and show that sixty-

Table 7.11

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH A RECRUITMENT CHANNEL WAS RATED "THE MOST EFFEC-
TIVE," THE PROFESSIONAL AND WHITE COLLAR, SKILLED, AND SEMI-SKILLED AND
UNSKILLED OPENINGS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill Level</th>
<th>Professional and White Collar</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Want ads in newspaper</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper ads in special job categories</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment agencies</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classified advertisements in newspapers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Denotes channel volunteered by respondents as "most effective," set as the
neglected in parentheses. 
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, respectively), with recommendations considered the most important tool for screening applicants to the unskilled category (sixty-eight percent).

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 they were to hire 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 the Negroes would upset production schedules due to the 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-one percent) agree that the involvement of Negroes in civil rights activities might predict agitation and trouble for the company that employs them, 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 7.10</th>
<th>FACTORS CONSIDERED &quot;IMPORTANT&quot; IN THE SELECTION OF EMPLOYEES FROM AMONG APPLICANTS, BY SKILL LEVEL OF APPLICANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Percent of employers who &quot;Agree Strongly&quot; or &quot;Agree Slightly&quot; with the statement)</td>
<td>Professional and white collar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous experience</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

48. 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 expected results 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, sixteen employers for the Negro Ph.D. is a fallacy. Yet recent estimates are that between 1963 and 1966, our educational system produced about 100 of them, 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.

SUMMARY

1. Most employers do not see unemployment as a serious problem in their cities and, perhaps more importantly, have not been likely to experience discrimination among their employers, who view Negroes as less reliable than whites. Yet all but twenty-five percent of the Negroes among the last 20 persons applying to the firms for white-collar jobs. Forty-eight percent report no recent experiences with Negro applicants for skilled level openings. We can summarize then that the potential "Negro employee" is for a large number of our employers an applicant seeking laborer's work.
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 considerable 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.

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*By Richard Berk.
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RETAIL MERCHANTS

Retail merchandising is one of the fairest 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 in any group in the sample, from 17 to 80 years of age. As long as a merchant is competent enough to fill his role, there are few requirements. 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 relatively more Democratic. Sixty percent of the merchants had a high school education or less. Only sixty percent of the merchant had finished college, compared to an overall sample percentage of forty-nine.

The voting patterns for the retail merchants were similar to slightly more Democratic than the over-all 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 closest group in the sample.

With regard to religion, our sample seems to back up the popular notion that Jews are proportionally overrepresented in the ghetto business. The "typical" ghetto merchant was a man 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 only to one. He had only a few ties in civil rights organizations (only eleven percent are members of civil rights groups). Only twenty-one percent were women.

BUSINESS PRACTICES

The ghetto retail merchants of our sample generally ran very small stores. The median number of employees (other than an owner and/or a manager) was 3.5. A third of the merchants had two or less. Our sample was aimed at the owners and managers of ghetto businesses, but the breakdown shows that sixty-eight percent of those interviewed were owners, thirty percent were managers, and two percent were other employees. Ninety-five percent of these listed personal problems often gave advice on personal problems, and 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 "regular friends." The number of friends ranged from one to one hundred or more. Some merchants even said that all of their customers were persons, friends. Of those who named a specific number or percentage of customers, the median came to 22.2 percent.

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 twenty-five percent or more Negro.

Most of the stores employed some Negroes: twenty-six percent had none, sixteen percent had one, fifteen percent had two, nine percent had three, and the remaining one third employed more than three. The median fell at 1.8. 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 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, employees, and other people in the neighborhood. Table 8.3 shows the six most frequently cited problems.

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.

Shoplifting and theft easily ranked first as the most frequently cited complaints, 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, lewd, and rude.

The remaining one third employed more than three. The median fell at 1.8. 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 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.

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Customers-- It seems unlikely that a merchant would have much difficulty in finding out a merchant is making a profit or a loss. A merchant who is making a profit will probably have a good reputation in the community. A merchant who is making a loss will probably have a poor reputation in the community.

The second series of questions tried to find out if the merchants felt they were being treated fairly by their customers. The merchants were asked if they were trying to buy or not at all. Was the merchants rude or were the customers rude? Were credit charges too high, or were the customers rude? Were credit charges too high, or were the customers rude?

The most frequent response tabulated in Table 8.3 are denials that there were problems of these sorts in merchant-customer relationships. Forty-four percent of the merchants stated that the merchants were not taking advantage of the customers with regard to pricing and the quality of goods and services. Only twenty percent of the merchants felt that there were any problems in merchant-customer relationships, the reasons being that the merchants had not generalized this information to the neighborhood.

Table 8.4: RELATIVE BLAME FOR CUSTOMER-MERCHANT DISPUTES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage of Blame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Credit</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manners</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pricing</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In spite of the high level of complaints about theft, a summary analysis of the complaint against the general level of hostility towards shopkeepers can be made. Apparently more shopkeepers felt that their customers were rude and were rude towards the customers. A number of the customers, whose actions were directed at shopkeepers, were generally hostile. A number of these customers were also rude to the shopkeepers. A number of these customers were rude to the shopkeepers.

There were 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 dealing with customers who are not as interested in the relationship as they are in the services provided. If this is the case, the merchants may not feel that the customers are motivated by poverty.

The grievances described in this section can be summarized very simply. Ghetto merchants are plagued with problems of poverty, racism, and some degree of hostility from their customers. However, the hostility displayed is not generalized to the neighborhood at large. This is acknowledged by the merchants, who feel 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 smaller goods. They 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 approximate the problem by directly 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."

In summary, there is likely to be a lack of understanding of the customer and their business practices. 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 5, several questions from the "core" questionnaire pertain to this topic. 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 ghetto, a majority of the merchants believe that they must do more to be treated as Negroes.

Perhaps the most widely used business practice is to "bundle" goods. Bargain goods are likely to be "second class" or slightly spoiled. For the small retail merchants, who cannot buy in large quantities so as to get real bargain prices, cheaply priced merchandise may usually mean poorer quality. Thirty-one percent of the merchants endorsed this practice. Twenty percent of the merchants did so strongly. Once again, this is probably an attempt to reduce the costs of running a ghetto business. Thus, at least one store in three in the ghetto is likely to have poorer quality merchandise.

The next most frequently endorsed practices is not to return as many returns as are received. If running ghetto businesses caused especially high overhead from problems such as theft and vandalism, and if merchandise was priced to cover this unusual "overhead," thirty-six percent of the merchants endorsed, eleven percent strongly, the need to raise prices to cover extra expenses of running a ghetto business.

The last question in this series concerns providing extra services. About half of the merchants agreed to provide some extra incentive for shopping in their store. This can hardly be viewed as a question of ethics. In fact, it is just these kinds of extra services that are likely to improve relations between the ghetto merchant and his customers.

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.
A significant minority of the merchants felt that seven percent had five vast majority denied that Negroes different, attitudes expresses itself in actual and even fewer (five percent) believe that Negroes are so orders. This is reflected that Negroes do not merit being treated that Negroes are not appreciated because they cannot appreciate a

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 away from 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 interested if merchants expected to 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 store were poorly protected allowing very little risk in robbing their store.

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 Negro 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 their 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 observe all of the criticisms they receive. But a sizable 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.

---

### TABLE 6.1

| Statements about Negroes as customers | Agree strongly | Agree | Disagree | Disagree strongly | Don't know or have no opinion |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|------|----------|-----------------|----------------|---|
| Poorer credit risks, or charged higher interest rates | 9 | 14 | 52 | 13 | 2 |
| Left a better mark-up | 14 | 17 | 46 | 7 | 1 |
| Less apt to pass bad checks so less likely to be cheated | 12 | 14 | 54 | 10 | 2 |
| Don't feel they were made an example because they cannot appreciate anything | 39 | 22 | 9 | 26 | 3 |
| Don't even feel they were made an example | 37 | 23 | 30 | 12 | 8 |
| More apt to be attacked so more likely to be charged higher interest rates | 31 | 14 | 28 | 15 | 4 |
| Don't care about money, so no need to be polite | 4 | 8 | 12 | 7 | 6 |
| SHOPS IN THE Ghetto | 2 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 1 |

**Note:** This table shows the percentage of merchants who agreed or disagreed with statements about Negroes as customers. The percentages are as follows: Agree strongly (9%), Agree (14%), Disagree (52%), Disagree strongly (13%), Don't know or have no opinion (2%).

---

### TABLE 6.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flowchart of Riot Experiences</th>
<th>(Q 16-19-20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Suffering Damage from Riots</td>
<td>(in percent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store was damaged because it was not in a good location</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store was attacked because it was isolated or remote</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store was not in a good location</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store was not in a good location</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store was not in a good location</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** This table shows the percentage of merchants who suffered damage from riots. The percentages are as follows: Yes (40%), Yes (20%), Yes (60%), No (80%), and Total (100%). The reasons for the damage are: Store was damaged because it was not in a good location (40%), Store was attacked because it was isolated or remote (37%), Store was not in a good location (37%), Store was not in a good location (37%), Store was not in a good location (37%), and Store was not in a good location (37%).

---

### TABLE 8.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Store damaged?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** This table shows the proportion of merchants who suffered damage from riots. The percentages are as follows: Yes (15%), No (20%), and Total (45%). The table indicates 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.
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 competitive 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 assistant principals, amounting to one fifth of the total) 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.
themselves Republicans. The rest were split about evenly between Democrats and Independents, though the Independents voted Democratic as often as any group. Their political and social views, especially on the question of race, can best be characterized as liberal, both on 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-six 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.

The positive attitude of the teachers toward 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. In fact, the largest portion of teachers (seventeen percent) had been there only one year, and the proportion dropped dramatically to five percent after three years (Table 9.2). This suggests that teachers in ghetto schools do not stay there indefinitely, however satisfied they may be.

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 (thirteen percent and seventeen percent of the responses respectively), naming education most 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 the 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 Negroes were as well off.

What is wrong with the educational process, and 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 regarded by the respondents, was rivaled 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? It is often suggested that the lack of parent concern for education is at the root of the problem. 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 (eighty-one percent), that they had the respect of the parents (eighty-five percent), and that the parents generally thought of the teachers as being "on their side" in the educational effort (eighty-threethree percent). Most of the teachers (seventyseven 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.)

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, thirty-one percent; not true, fourteen percent.) There was little consensus on the proposition that "pupils can be taught only by the most skilful of teachers who can arouse their interest." (Mainly true, thirty-three percent; partially true, fortyone 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.

To 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 difficulty in acquiring the appropriate educational approach to them. The educators again failed to agree or disagree with

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1 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.)
the proposition that "pupils can be taught only by the
most capable teachers who can animate their interest.
(Mainly true, thirty-three percent; partially true, forty-
one percent; not true, twenty-five percent.) In response
to this 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 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. Signifi-
cantly, serious matters were mentioned most fre-
quently as the object of student interest. Twenty-three percent of the responses 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-to-day matters of a serious nature—rela-
tions 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 sub-
stantial minority of the references (thirty-seven percent) indicated that students were interested in a variety of leisure activities—joking, horning around, casual sex, and so on.

Hogan said that nothing is wrong with education in the ghettos, the educators have, on the whole, re-
jected 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 student
are not up to par. Why not? The educators, as noted, consider the ghettos as 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 relative to the sense of alienation evident in their rejection (seventy-four percent) of the assertion that "the average citizen's ability to contribute to the city government who is willing to help him solve his prob-
lem." (The average response was fifty-nine percent.)

While the main thrust of the responses to this survey of parent-facility, one also finds more encouraging "minority opinion" which suggests that it is possible for educators themselves to do some thing about the problems they face in the ghettos. 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 only with the teachers 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 school 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 more sanguine about the adequacy of their schools that were white teachers, as is seen in the fact that they were less likely to believe that the school was "above average" or "superior," as com-
pared with thirty-nine percent of the Negro teachers, and fifty-one percent of the white teachers. 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.

The tendency of the Negro educators to be more criti-
cal of their schools than white teachers did not lead
them to be less critical of the local community. Both
saw the "lack of political interest" as an obstacle to
education; both mentioned community apathy as a
major problem, in each case to the same degree:
seventy-two percent of the references. But the white
teachers were less likely to believe 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 9.9 shows the responses of Negro and white
 teachers to questions dealing with their students' abil-
ities. In response to the first question, thirty-four per-
cent of the Negroes said that their pupils were above 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 correspond-
ing figure for the white teachers was twenty-six percent.

While the Negro teachers saw more constructive
talent than did the whites in the relation between students and teachers, they also saw more in the relation between community and school. In two ques-
tions 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 re-
sponses by race. When the proposition was first posed, the white teachers rejected it fifty-eight percent to
thirty-eight percent. But the majority of Negro teachers (fifty-three percent) endorsed it to some ex-
tent. (The two "agree" categories are combined here.
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).

In another question fifty-six percent of the educators agreed to an item of the proposition that "any com-
munity provide such a terrible environment for
to pupils that education doesn't do much good in the
end." (An important fifty-five percent, however, dis-
agreed strongly with the statement.) And a solid major-
ity (eighty-one percent) agreed wholly or partly with the move student proposition that "teachers try to help their children get a good education, but far too many other influences distract the pupils." (Table 9.6.)

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 as 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 system, 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...
The most frequently cited complaints had to do with the internal affairs of their agencies. Thus, out in ten complained about the "red tape" in their agencies, and a similar group, generally complained about the caseloads. Almost as frequently mentioned (nineteen percent) 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 complaints are distributed so widely that no one condition received more than ten percent. It may be that the particular situation 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 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 task of social work is not perceived to be as limiting as is 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 part 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.

For example, far more of the Negro social workers suspected crime as "very serious" than did the whites. Similarly, with unemployment (seventy percent to fifty-four percent). Perhaps Negro social workers felt Negroes were treated worse than whites, as is shown in Table 10.3. Some of the findings by which Negro social workers are critical of the internal workings of their agencies are shown in Table 10.4. The social workers in our sample visited their clients in the city, and there was significant variation among social workers in the state of the residence of their clients. Table 10.5 shows that more than one-third of the clients lived in the home, while one-third of the clients lived in the home of the client's husband. Nearly half of the clients said they 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 time, but the remaining forty percent of the time being spent in the office and fifty percent in travel. Deviations from this pattern were more 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, because for substantial periods of time or more than one month. Ninety percent claimed the time lag between referral and action was less than twenty days. Fifty percent claimed it took a week or less. Action, however, not only means money; it means that the case had been reviewed and that a temporary worker had been assigned. It took from one to three months to find a worker to work with. The 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 the lag in mind, most workers (sixty-three percent) felt that it was easy to determine eligibility. 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 determining eligibility, but the time lag before money reaches the client is too 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
Thus, welfare clients are not the only group criticizing the welfare system. Social workers themselves are an extremity 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 a relationship as complex and potentially frustrating as that between social worker and a client, that there should be so few complaints about the client. Table 10.4 shows the response 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 welfare workers were more interested in white than in Negro clients. Seventy-five percent, moreover, felt that clients do not do enough to improve themselves. Broken by race, these percentages stayed virtually the same.

Problems in dealing with Negro clients specifically drew from twenty-three to fifty percent endorsing each problem at least partially true. Of particular interest is that fifty percent felt it was "more difficult to get resources for Negro clients." This indictment is from the inside strongly suggests that these social workers believe that Negro welfare workers are partial 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. Poor 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 not as well treated as anyone else. In spite of these protestations, it is still a fact that many feel that Negroes are simply a measure of the alienation the people in the Negro ghetto feel for welfare. That it is not an imbalance of prejudice can be seen from the fact that when the answers were broken by race, there was no much of a difference. Forty-five percent of the white social workers considered the welfare system as at least partially true, and thirty-eight percent of the Negroes. As for complaints that Negroes are especially arrogant, only twenty-three percent considered that as at least partially true. Negro and white social worker percentages were virtually identical.

A few more specific questions were asked. One concerning the client's response to complaints about client, 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 sensitive about the way they are treated by welfare workers. 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. Negro clients (less than fifty 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 between the races as the respondent was considered. Only one person, (and he is a Negro) felt that he paid less attention to Negro clients. And only five persons had stated working conditions were more difficult with Negroes. Sixty-three percent, that he felt clients do not do enough to improve themselves. Broken by race, these percentages stayed virtually the same.

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, a few questions were asked 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 for the fact that a person is almost unconsciously tailoring his approach mixing about equal amounts of objectivity and subjectivity. A crucial part of the way in which people deal with society workers is that they carry out their duties in a patronizing manner. A question was devised to try examining 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-five percent endorsed the first approach, thirty-eight percent of the respondents favored an approach mixing equal amounts of objectivity and subjectivity. No differences by race appeared.

One of the classic problems of the relationship between social workers is that they carry out their duties in a patronizing manner. A question was devised to try examining 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-five percent endorsed the first approach, thirty-eight percent of the respondents favored an approach mixing equal amounts of objectivity and subjectivity. No differences by race appeared.
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 rules. Here our sample came out about evenly ending with whites (with Negroes could control very little of what bad, and only four percent thought that people person who is likely to go and that there was little anyone could do about it.

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 my 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.

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 committee men, 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 members 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 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.

**By David Boesel.**
The political workers were divided on the question of whether the perception of white prejudice made them feel differently about their work. Some felt that it made them more determined to fight for their rights, while others believed it discouraged them from pursuing a political career. The question was further complicated by the fact that many of the workers were from lower-income families and were concerned about the lack of opportunities for their children. This had led some of them to feel that the struggle for civil rights was a personal and family affair, rather than a collective one.

Another aspect of the political workers' perception of white prejudice was their view of the role of the media in shaping public opinion. They were divided on whether the media were supportive or hostile to their cause. Some felt that the media were biased against them, while others believed that they were impartial. This was further complicated by the fact that many of the workers were from areas where the media had little presence, and therefore had limited exposure to the news.

The political workers were also concerned about the lack of political representation in their communities. They believed that the political system was rigged against them, and that their voices were not heard. This had led many of them to form their own organizations, in order to have a say in the decision-making process. However, this had also led to a lack of cooperation between different organizations, and a lack of coordination in their efforts.

Despite these challenges, the political workers were committed to their cause. They believed that the struggle for civil rights was a long-term one, and that they had to be patient and persistent in order to see results. They were also committed to working with other communities, and to building a broader base of support for their cause. This had led to a number of coalitions and alliances, which had helped to strengthen their position.

The political workers were also concerned about the economic aspects of the civil rights movement. They believed that economic opportunities were key to the success of the movement, and that the fight for civil rights was closely linked to the fight for economic justice.

Overall, the political workers were a hardworking and dedicated group, who were committed to their cause and to the struggle for civil rights.
of the ghetto. While only thirty-eight percent of the black politically aware 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 people 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.

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 political workers (thirty-five 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-modest 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 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 dissatisfication, 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.

For the most part the dissatisfied are also the militant. There is a strong positive correlation between age and militancy in today's ghettos. For instance, 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; fifty-one percent of adolescents. Middle-age people exhibit middle levels of militancy, and only fifteen percent of the older political workers 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 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 inequitable urban political systems, the young are the most dissatisfied with the way the city is being run; the young and the unemployed are the most militant segment 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-three 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 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, a 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, in that does the fact that they are politicians working within the constraints of the party machinery. In comparison to the young people in their districts, then, the black political workers are older, more middle-aged, and have greatly 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 imperious authority, and, to contrary to popular stereotypes, that he is not apathetic (seventy-three percent). In terms of numbers and initiatives, young people constitute a major political 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, managed 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 riter is young, Northern-born, and middle-class, if not well-to-do. The average riter 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 ghetto, but a product of political will, however diffuse and ill-focused. As such they call for a reasoned political response. If the black party workers and their allies in the community are to get the best man elected. 3 A 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 Who are Seeking Work." Project Directors, Melvin Horwitz and Stanford Boss, New York University Graduate School of Social Work, Center for the Study of Social Organization, New York 1967.

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 laws. 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 off-duty 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 separately 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."

**SELECTION EDUCATORS.**

Much the same procedure was followed with 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 Life and Bratstreet listings. Every one of the largest ten employers and twenty of the remaining were selected. Interviewers were instructed to determine in each case who was in charge of personnel or who at personnel hiring policies and then to interview that person. Because of the existence as in which their street listing it was possible to follow more rigorous sampling procedures, the only bias entered being that of nonresponde 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 ad hoc bias undoubtedly was at work here both from its 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 or local party officials in the areas in which their organizations worked. Three clubs (or similar organizations) were selected from the list so derived, and 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police officers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A more complicated set of quotas was 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 2,200 interviews at the time of the writing of this report only 1,953 were available for tabulations (2,171 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Actual</th>
<th>Intended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police officers</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,020</td>
<td>1,020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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 0
Post Card 0
1. Every city faces problems nowadays. What do you see as the two or three major problems facing your city?

2. Thinking back over the last few years and the problems your city has had to face, what have been the major improvements?

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Very Serious</th>
<th>Somewhat Serious</th>
<th>Slightly Serious</th>
<th>Not Serious</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Control of crime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Unemployment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Air pollution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Race relations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Providing quality education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Finding tax funds for municipal services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Traffic and highways</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Preventing violence and other civil disorder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Lack of recreation facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Corruption of public officials</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
- About average
- Less than average
- Don't know

Now I have a few questions concerning some of the social problems of urban life. I'll start with some questions about Negroes here.

1. In your opinion, how well are Negroes treated in (CITY)? Do you feel they are...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>As Well Off</th>
<th>Less Well Off</th>
<th>Better Off</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) . . . Educational opportunities?</td>
<td>48-1</td>
<td>43-1</td>
<td>44-1</td>
<td>46-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) . . . Employment opportunities?</td>
<td>49-1</td>
<td>48-1</td>
<td>47-1</td>
<td>46-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) . . . Treatment by the police?</td>
<td>45-1</td>
<td>44-1</td>
<td>43-1</td>
<td>42-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) . . . Housing?</td>
<td>46-1</td>
<td>45-1</td>
<td>44-1</td>
<td>43-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) . . . Treatment by public officials?</td>
<td>47-1</td>
<td>46-1</td>
<td>45-1</td>
<td>44-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) . . . Medical care?</td>
<td>48-1</td>
<td>47-1</td>
<td>46-1</td>
<td>45-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) . . . Recreation?</td>
<td>49-1</td>
<td>48-1</td>
<td>47-1</td>
<td>46-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely True</th>
<th>Mostly True</th>
<th>Somewhat True</th>
<th>Not True</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Most Whites are deeply prejudiced against Negroes but are afraid to show it out in the open. .......... □ 52-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Most Whites are for giving Negroes a fair deal and generally back up these beliefs.................................................. □ 53-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Most Whites are prejudiced and given the opportunity would send the Negroes back to the South........ □ 54-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Most Whites are not prejudiced, but they do not feel comfortable with Negroes in most situations... □ 55-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. As you see it, how does the average Negro 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely True</th>
<th>Mostly True</th>
<th>Somewhat True</th>
<th>Not True</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Most Negroes feel friendly towards Whites but don’t know how to show it........................................ □ 56-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Most Negroes feel friendly towards Whites and generally back up these feelings................................. □ 57-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Most Negroes dislike Whites intensely but are afraid to show it.................................................. □ 58-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Most Negroes hate Whites and given the opportunity would seek revenge........................................... □ 59-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Most Negroes feel friendly towards Whites but do not feel comfortable with Whites in most situations........................................... □ 61-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaders</th>
<th>Active But Not Leaders</th>
<th>Don’t Care One Way or the Other</th>
<th>Drag Their Feet</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Major employers................................ □ 62-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Major retail businesses..................... □ 63-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Bankers........................................... □ 64-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) The police....................................... □ 65-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Social Workers................................... □ 66-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Elected public officials like the Mayor...... □ 67-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Teachers in public school...................... □ 68-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Homeowners....................................... □ 69-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Landlords......................................... □ 70-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Unions............................................. □ 71-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
- Too fast
- Too slow

- About right
- Don't know

12a. Many Whites 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 most Whites are about (INSERT EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW)—very disturbed, slightly disturbed, or not disturbed at all? (CHECK BELOW FOR EACH ITEM LISTED)

b. Many Negroes are greatly disturbed by things they see happening in and around the communities across the country. How about this city? How disturbed do you think most Negroes 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 you feel about the matter of (INSERT EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW)—are you very disturbed, slightly disturbed, or aren't you disturbed at all? (CHECK BELOW FOR EACH ITEM LISTED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q. 12a</th>
<th>Q. 12b</th>
<th>Q. 12c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most Whites</td>
<td>Most Negroes</td>
<td>Respondent's Opinion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Disturbed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Disturbed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disturbed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Disturbed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Disturbed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disturbed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12b. Were there any other mass disturbances in this city last summer that were serious but not large enough to be called a riot or rebellion?

- Yes
- No

(ASK ONLY IN DETROIT, NEWARK, BOSTON, AND MILWAUKEE)

12c. As you see it, what were the main reasons for the disturbances in your city?

- 32-1
- 33-1
- 34-1
- 35-1
- 36-1

13. Were there any mass disturbances or disorders in this city last summer serious enough to be called riots or rebellions?

- Yes
- No

(IF "NO" TO Q.13, SKIP TO Q.15.)

14. Were there any mass disturbances or disorders in this city last summer that were serious but not large enough to be called a riot or rebellion?

- Yes
- No

15. As you see it, what were the main reasons for the disturbances in your city?

- 32-1
- 33-1
- 34-1
- 35-1
- 36-1

16a. Was there any way that the disturbances could have been prevented?

- Yes
- No

(IF "YES" TO Q.16a.) How could they have been prevented?

16b. Was there any way that the disturbances could have been prevented?

- Yes
- No

(IF "YES" TO Q.16b.) How could they have been prevented?

(ASK ALL OTHER CITIES)
17a. New 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More favorable</td>
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<td>About the same</td>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

b. Have White attitudes changed towards Negroes to be more favorable, less favorable, or remained much the same as before the riot?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Yes</th>
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<th>Don't know</th>
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<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

c. Have Negro attitudes changed towards Whites to be more favorable, less favorable, or remained about the same?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
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<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>More favorable</td>
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</table>

d. How about the police? Have they changed in their attitudes towards Negroes to be more favorable, less favorable, or remained about the same?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
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<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
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</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason Type</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Other Reasons</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major Reason:</td>
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<td>Reason 8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

19. How likely is it that a riot could occur here in (CITY)—is it . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood Level</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extremely likely?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Somewhat likely?</td>
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<td>Possible but not likely?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all likely?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

20. (IF "EXTREMELY LIKELY", "SOMETHING LIKELY", OR "POSSIBLE BUT NOT LIKELY" IN Q.19, ASK) Why do you suppose a riot did not occur here in (CITY) last summer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason Type</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Other Reasons</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</table>

21. Another 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason Type</th>
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</table>

22. (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)

<table>
<thead>
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</table>

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)

<table>
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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)

<table>
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<tr>
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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)

<table>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

26. (IF "EXTREMELY LIKELY", "SOMETHING LIKELY", OR "POSSIBLE BUT NOT LIKELY" IN Q.19, ASK) For what reason do you think the conditions were laid the way they were . . .

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
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104
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completely True</th>
<th>Mostly True</th>
<th>Somewhat True</th>
<th>Not True</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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
| 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
| c) One of the good things about this city's government is the tremendous cooperation various agencies give to each other........... ☐ 75-1
| 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
| 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
| f) The average citizen can always find someone in the city government who is willing to help him solve his problem................... ☐ 78-1 |

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| 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
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The main reason! ........................................... ☐ 72-1
Largely true but not the only reason? .......... ☐ -2
True but not a major reason? .................. ☐ -3
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| f) The average citizen can always find someone in the city government who is willing to help him solve his problem................... ☐ 78-1 |
6a. Do you belong to any unions, professional associations, social clubs, civic groups or other organizations?
No □ 18-1 (SKIP TO Q.7)
Yes □ 19-2 (ASK Q.6b)

b. (IF "YES" TO Q.6a, ASK:) What are they?------------------------

7. Have you been active with any civil rights groups in the past 2 years?
No □ 26-1
Yes □ 27-2 (ASK Q.6b)

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 your place here, considering the number of people around here who have some of your skills and resources? Would it be...

Very likely?.......................... □ 27-1
Somewhat likely?.......................... □ 28-2
Possible but not likely?.......................... □ 29-3
Not at all likely?.......................... □ 30-4
Don't know?.......................... □ 31-5

9. To what religious denomination do you belong?
Protestant.......................... □ 28-1
Catholic.......................... □ 29-2
Jewish.......................... □ 30-3
Other (SPECIFY).......................... □ 31-4

10. Do you own or rent your home or apartment?
Own.................. □ 29-1
Rent.................. □ 30-2

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.......................... □ 31-2
$7,500 to $9,999.......................... □ 32-3
$10,000 to $12,499.......................... □ 33-4
$12,500 to $15,000.......................... □ 34-5
Over $15,000.......................... □ 35-1

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 □ 33-2 (TERMINATE INTERVIEW)
DK □ 34-3 (TERMINATE INTERVIEW)

a. (IF "YES" TO Q.12, ASK:) In general, do you agree or disagree with the statements of the Commission?
Agree.......................... □ 33-1
Disagree.......................... □ 34-2
DK.......................... □ 35-3

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 □ 35-2 (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, true, or not true at all? (READ EACH STATEMENT AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

1) Lack of practical suggestions in the report... [] 36-1
2) White public opinion which will not support the findings and recommendations of the Commission........................................... [] 37-1
3) Local politicians who will not act on the recommendations of the Commission............. [] 38-1
4) Federal politicians who will not act on the recommendations of the Commission............ [] 39-1
5) Lack of Government funds to implement the recommendations of the report............. [] 40-1

Thank you very much. You have been most helpful.

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: ______________ Minutes

Policing

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?

2. 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

3. Is the work safer, isn't there any difference, or is it more hazardous here than elsewhere in the city?

Safer............................. [] 14-1
No difference................... [] -2
More hazardous................... [] -3

4. 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

5. 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
Don'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...... □  4
Some contempt....................... □  1
A great deal of contempt.......... □  4
Don't know.......................... □  4

6. In some precincts most people regard the police almost as enemies. In others, they regard the police as being essentially 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police Regarded as Enemies</th>
<th>Police Regarded As On Their Side</th>
<th>Indifferent Towards Police</th>
<th>DK</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ 18-1</td>
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<td>□ 25-1</td>
<td>□  2</td>
<td>□  3</td>
<td>□  6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7a. Looking back over the last three or four years, have the attitudes of Negroes toward the police changed here in this city?

No □ 28-1 (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...................... □  2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generally True</th>
<th>Partially True</th>
<th>Not True At All</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generally True</th>
<th>Partially True</th>
<th>Not True At All</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) These people do not care very much for law and order........................ □ 28-1 □  2 □  3 □  6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) They are honest people............................................. □ 29-1 □  2 □  3 □  6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) They don't look after their health very well............................. □ 30-1 □  2 □  3 □  6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) They are industrious people............................................. □ 31-1 □  2 □  3 □  6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Often they are hostile to outsiders...................................... □ 32-1 □  2 □  3 □  6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) They are respectable, religious people................................... □ 33-1 □  2 □  3 □  6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequently</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If 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, etc., etc.)?

-------- Out of ten 40-  Don't know □ 41-6

If every ten people you stop to question and frisk, about how many actually turn out to be 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 the suspect knows who is in control? ................................................... □ 41-1
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? ................................................... □ -3
- 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? . □ -3
Don't know ............................................................................................................ □ -4

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? . □ -3
- Very few people respond to reason and respect. Most people respond primarily to power and force? . □ -4
Don't know ............................................................................................................ □ -4

14. 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 efforts more difficult ................................................... □ -2
- Making no difference ........................................................................................ □ -3
Don't know ............................................................................................................ □ -6

15. 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

16. 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

17. 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
Don’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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Very Serious</th>
<th>Somewhat Serious</th>
<th>Not at All Serious</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) The residents do not cooperate very well in your efforts to control them?</td>
<td>□ 52-1</td>
<td>□ 52-1</td>
<td>□ 52-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) The laws and court decisions about evidence and treatment of suspects prevent adequate investigations and convictions in order to control crime?</td>
<td>□ 52-1</td>
<td>□ 52-1</td>
<td>□ 52-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) The police department does not have enough resources—men, cars, facilities, etc.—to do a good job in controlling crime?</td>
<td>□ 54-1</td>
<td>□ 54-1</td>
<td>□ 54-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Other city agencies do not have adequate resources to eliminate the social and economic conditions that breed crime?</td>
<td>□ 55-1</td>
<td>□ 55-1</td>
<td>□ 55-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your activities on the job.

17. How long have you been a policeman? ________ Years 66-67

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)

19b. How many months have you been on your present beat?

Months 60-61

21a. Do you generally patrol by yourself, or with a partner?

By yourself.................. □ 62-1
With a partner................. □ -2

21b. 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 "NEGRO," INSERT THE WORD "NEGRO," INSERT THE WORD "NEGRO"

No □ 63-1 (SKIP TO Q.22)
Yes □ -2 (ASK Q.21b)

22. Do you travel with this officer most of the time, sometimes, or just once in a while?

Most of the time.............. □ 64-1
Sometimes ..................... □ -3
Once in a while................ □ -3

23. About what percentage of your work day is spent in a car, how much on foot in the community, and how much in the station or other office of the area, and how much on other things?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In a car</td>
<td>65-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On foot in the community</td>
<td>86-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the station or other office</td>
<td>62-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (SPECIFY)</td>
<td>69-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (SPECIFY)</td>
<td>70-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (SPECIFY)</td>
<td>71-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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)

- Shop owners, managers, clerks, etc.:
  - None: □
  - 1-5: □
  - 6-10: □
  - 11-25: □
  - 26-50: □
  - 51-100: □
  - 101+: □
  - DK: □

- Important adult leaders in the neighborhoods:
  - None: □
  - 1-5: □
  - 6-10: □
  - 11-25: □
  - 26-50: □
  - 51-100: □
  - 101+: □
  - DK: □

- Residents in general:
  - None: □
  - 1-5: □
  - 6-10: □
  - 11-25: □
  - 26-50: □
  - 51-100: □
  - 101+: □
  - DK: □

- Important teenage and youth leaders:
  - None: □
  - 1-5: □
  - 6-10: □
  - 11-25: □
  - 26-50: □
  - 51-100: □
  - 101+: □
  - DK: □

- People from various government and private agencies who also work in the neighborhoods. For example, welfare, religious and utilities people:
  - None: □
  - 1-5: □
  - 6-10: □
  - 11-25: □
  - 26-50: □
  - 51-100: □
  - 101+: □
  - DK: □

- The continual troublemakers:
  - None: □
  - 1-5: □
  - 6-10: □
  - 11-25: □
  - 26-50: □
  - 51-100: □
  - 101+: □
  - DK: □

- Organisers of unlawful activities like crime syndicates, numbers racket, drug pushing people:
  - None: □
  - 1-5: □
  - 6-10: □
  - 11-25: □
  - 26-50: □
  - 51-100: □
  - 101+: □
  - DK: □

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: □ 21-1
- About average for the city: □ 22-1
- Below average for the city: □ 23-1
- Very low compared to other parts of the city: □ 24-1
- Don't know: □ 25-1

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: □
- Partly residential: □
- Very little residential: □
- Not residential at all: □

8. 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)

- Policemen are physically brutal to people in the streets:
  - Often: □
  - Sometimes: □
  - Seldom: □
  - Never: □
  - DK: □

- They are corrupt and take bribes from those with money:
  - Often: □
  - Sometimes: □
  - Seldom: □
  - Never: □
  - DK: □

- Policemen are generally hostile to the residents:
  - Often: □
  - Sometimes: □
  - Seldom: □
  - Never: □
  - DK: □

- They do not understand the problems of the residents:
  - Often: □
  - Sometimes: □
  - Seldom: □
  - Never: □
  - DK: □

- They give too many tickets and do not help the residents:
  - Often: □
  - Sometimes: □
  - Seldom: □
  - Never: □
  - DK: □

- Policemen do not adequately prevent crime because they are not tough enough:
  - Often: □
  - Sometimes: □
  - Seldom: □
  - Never: □
  - DK: □

11. Have you had any special training in riot control and prevention since you joined the police force?
- Yes: □
- No: □
- Don't know: □

3a. Have you had any special training in general human relations, psychology, counseling, etc., since you joined the police force?
- Yes: □
- No: □
- Don't know: □

3b. If "YES" to Q.28a, (ASK) In what areas (SPECIFY): □

3c. Do you live in the same area of the city in which you work most frequently?
- Yes: □
- No: □

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20. 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, some-
   what satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with how this job is treating you with
   respect to pay, for example?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ 44-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) Pay.......................... □ 44-1

b) How about working
   conditions?.................. □ 45-1

c) What about the other
   policemen with whom you
   have to work?................ □ 46-1

d) How about the physical
   danger you often face?...... □ 47-1

e) The respect you get from
   citizens?..................... □ 48-1

f) The flexibility you have in
   doing your job?............. □ 49-1

g) Your supervisors?......... □ 50-1

h) What about the resources
   and facilities you have avail-
   able to help you do your job? □ 51-1

6. 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
   1. The pupils are uneducable and that teachers can do little more than maintain discipline? . . . □ 21-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -6
   2. The pupils can be taught only by the most skillful of teachers who can arouse their interest? . . . □ 22-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -6
   3. 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
   4. These are ordinary pupils with just about average interest in schooling and with average ability? . . . □ 24-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -6
   5. 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 particular 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 Whites? ... □ -2

... Both have about the same concern? ... □ -4

Don't know ... □ -6

In some schools teachers have a great deal of contact with the parents of their pupils and in other there is very little.

7a. Approximately, what proportion of your pupils' parents have you met? ... □ 30-1

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-
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Slightly Agree</th>
<th>Slightly Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) ... Many communities provide such a terrible environment for the pupils that education doesn't do much good in the end?...............................</td>
<td>□ 48-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) ... If the average community was given more voice in running the school, it would better meet the needs of the pupils?.................................</td>
<td>□ 49-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) ... Most of the people in the average community are hostile to the efforts of the city to educate the children?..................................................</td>
<td>□ 50-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
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<td>d) ... Most parents try to help their children get a good education but far too many other influences distract the pupils?............................................</td>
<td>□ 51-1 □ -2 □ -3 □ -4 □ -6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Slightly agree</th>
<th>Slightly disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ 52-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. How long have you been teaching in this school? _______ Years 53-54

16. How long have you been teaching altogether? _______ Years 55-56
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)

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ 52-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Permanent career choice</th>
<th>Temporary career</th>
<th>Something you can take up when you want to</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ 57-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hold as long as I am teaching</th>
<th>Prefer some other assignment</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ 68-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ 59-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. Your colleagues?

| □ 60-1 | □ -2 | □ -3 | □ -4 | □ -6 |

21. Your supervisors?

| □ 61-1 | □ -2 | □ -3 | □ -4 | □ -6 |

22. Your working conditions in general?

| □ 62-1 | □ -2 | □ -3 | □ -4 | □ -6 |

23. The teaching load?

| □ 63-1 | □ -2 | □ -3 | □ -4 | □ -6 |

24. The pupils?

| □ 64-1 | □ -2 | □ -3 | □ -4 | □ -6 |

25. The community?

| □ 65-1 | □ -2 | □ -3 | □ -4 | □ -6 |

26. The flexibility permitted in the classroom?

| □ 66-1 | □ -2 | □ -3 | □ -4 | □ -6 |

(Has your professional training included . . . (READ EACH STATEMENT AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ 68-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ 69-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ 70-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ 71-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
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

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?

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

26. Do you think, generally speaking, that people can control what happens, or are they
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

27. What is your case load—in other words, how many people do you work with or serve?
   People
   18- 1
   14- 1
   15- 1

28. What percentage of your clients are Negro?
   Percent

29. On the average, how often do you visit with each client or group?
   Times per week
   Times per month
   Other (SPECIFY):
   Per

30. 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

31. About what percentage of your contacts with clients are in the clients home or in his
neighborhood?
   Percent of total

32. What is the time lag between referral and action?
   Days
   Weeks
   Months

33. Is it very difficult, slightly difficult or easy for a potential client to gain the services of
our agency?
   Very difficult .............. □ 35-1
   Slightly difficult .............. □ -2
   Easy .............. □ -3
   Don't know .............. □ -6
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

11. Following is a list of complaints one often hears in talking to social workers. Please tell us 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Serious</th>
<th>Somewhat Serious</th>
<th>Not Serious</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Lack of money for clients</td>
<td>□ 40-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Lack of time</td>
<td>□ 41-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Poor supervision from top management of agency</td>
<td>□ 42-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Hampering rules and regulations</td>
<td>□ 43-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Lack of cooperation from city government</td>
<td>□ 44-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Agency disorganization</td>
<td>□ 45-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Lack of agency enthusiasm</td>
<td>□ 46-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Better Treatment</th>
<th>Average Treatment</th>
<th>Poorer Treatment</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Aged persons</td>
<td>□ 47-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Teenagers</td>
<td>□ 48-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Urban Negroes</td>
<td>□ 49-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Middle class people</td>
<td>□ 50-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Mentally ill people</td>
<td>□ 51-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Juvenile delinquents</td>
<td>□ 52-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Working class Whites</td>
<td>□ 53-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mostly True</th>
<th>Partially True</th>
<th>Not True</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Clients in general don't do enough to improve themselves?</td>
<td>□ 54-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Negro clients are generally harder to reach?</td>
<td>□ 55-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) It is more difficult to get resources for Negro clients?</td>
<td>□ 56-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Clients in general tend to take your services for granted?</td>
<td>□ 57-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Negro clients are often especially arrogant?</td>
<td>□ 58-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As 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 do you tend to agree.

- Largely objective
- About equal
- Largely subjective
- Don't know

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
- Give equal amounts of both
- Mostly give means to live
- Don't know
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 who 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

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... □ -2
- 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
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
   □ -1 9-
   □ -2 11-
   □ -3 13-
   □ -4 15-
   □ -5 17-

   Q.23
   Respondent
   Works With
   □ -1 10-
   □ -2 12-
   □ -3 14-
   □ -4 16-
   □ -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.)?...
   . . . Counselling (marriage, jobs, school, birth control, etc.)?...
   . . . Psychiatric social work?...
   . . . Recreation work?...
   . . . Group work (senior citizens, gangs, etc.)?...
   . . . Community organization work?...
   . . . Jack-of-all trades work (like CAA counselor or detached youth worker)?...

EMPLOYERS

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 actually hiring employees. We were told that your position involves such duties.

First of all, in what ways are you involved in this company's employment policies and practices?

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT GIVES REPLY WHICH SHOWS THAT HE DOES NOT HAVE 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.

How many employees does your company have here in CITY? 20-

Employees

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 . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Most effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(CHECK ONE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Want ads in newspapers?</td>
<td>□ 36-1 □ -2 □ 32-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Labor unions?</td>
<td>□ 27-1 □ -2 □ -2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . State employment services?</td>
<td>□ 28-1 □ -2 □ -3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Private employment services?</td>
<td>□ 29-1 □ -2 □ -4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . The system of asking other employees to get referrals?</td>
<td>□ 30-1 □ -2 □ 33-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Signs posted outside of the plant?</td>
<td>□ 31-1 □ -2 □ -2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Most effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(CHECK ONE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Want ads in newspapers?</td>
<td>□ 34-1 □ -2 □ 40-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Labor unions?</td>
<td>□ 35-1 □ -2 □ -2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . State employment services?</td>
<td>□ 36-1 □ -2 □ -3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Private employment services?</td>
<td>□ 37-1 □ -2 □ -4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . The system of asking other employees to get referrals?</td>
<td>□ 38-1 □ -2 □ 41-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Signs posted outside of the plant?</td>
<td>□ 39-1 □ -2 □ -2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Most effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(CHECK ONE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Want ads in newspapers?</td>
<td>□ 42-1 □ -2 □ 48-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Labor unions?</td>
<td>□ 43-1 □ -2 □ -2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . State employment services?</td>
<td>□ 44-1 □ -2 □ -3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Private employment services?</td>
<td>□ 45-1 □ -2 □ -4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . The system of asking other employees to get referrals?</td>
<td>□ 46-1 □ -2 □ 49-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Signs posted outside of the plant?</td>
<td>□ 47-1 □ -2 □ -2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Now which one of the means is most effective? (CHECK ABOVE)
8. What would you estimate the proportion of Negroes to be among your employees on these three levels:
   a) Professional and white collar? Percentage 7–
   b) Skilled workers? Percentage 9–
   c) Unskilled workers? Percentage 10–

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 there be a negative or positive feeling or would they feel indifferent if Negroes worked? (READ GROUPS BELOW AND CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

   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)

   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
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

(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-

2. Is there anything else? (PROBE) ______________ 7-

3. 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: □ 13-1
- Agree slightly: □ -2
- Disagree slightly: □ -3
- Disagree strongly: □ -4
- Don't know: □ -6

4. 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: □ 14-1
- Agree slightly: □ -2
- Disagree slightly: □ -3
- Disagree strongly: □ -4
- Don't know: □ -6

5. 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.

- Agree strongly: □ 10-1
- Agree slightly: □ -2
- Disagree slightly: □ -3
- Disagree strongly: □ -4
- Don't know: □ -6

6. 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: □ 15-1
- Agree slightly: □ -2
- Disagree slightly: □ -3
- Disagree strongly: □ -4
- Don't know: □ -6
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 thieves, and the likes. Do you agree strongly, agree slightly, disagree slightly, or disagree strongly with this feeling?

- Agree strongly: || 16-1
- Agree slightly: || 2-0
- Disagree slightly: || 3-0
- Disagree strongly: || 4-0
- Don't know: || 6-0

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Cash payroll checks</td>
<td>17-1</td>
<td>1-0</td>
<td>3-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Help fill out applications and other forms</td>
<td>18-1</td>
<td>2-0</td>
<td>8-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Extend credit to people other stores wouldn't help</td>
<td>19-1</td>
<td>3-0</td>
<td>9-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Make contributions to local churches and charities</td>
<td>20-1</td>
<td>2-0</td>
<td>3-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Give advice to customers on personal problems</td>
<td>21-1</td>
<td>2-0</td>
<td>3-0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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: || 2-0
- Disagree slightly: || 3-0
- Disagree strongly: || 4-0
- Don't know: || 6-0

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.

- Agree strongly: || 26-1
- Agree slightly: || 2-0
- Disagree slightly: || 3-0
- Disagree strongly: || 4-0
- Don't know: || 6-0

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: || 2-0
- Disagree slightly: || 3-0
- Disagree strongly: || 4-0
- Don't know: || 6-0

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: || 2-0
- Disagree slightly: || 3-0
- Disagree strongly: || 4-0
- Don't know: || 6-0

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: || 2-0
- Disagree slightly: || 3-0
- Disagree strongly: || 4-0
- Don't know: || 6-0
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: 32
- Disagree slightly: 33
- Disagree strongly: 34
- Don't know: 35

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: 32
- Disagree slightly: 33
- Disagree strongly: 34
- Don't know: 35

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: 33
- Disagree slightly: 34
- Disagree strongly: 35
- Don't know: 36

16. Last summer, did your store suffer damage from vandalism?

- Yes: 33-1 (ASK Q.16b)
- No: 34 (SKIP TO Q.17a)

b. (IF "YES" TO Q.16a, ASK:) How much damage occurred?

- Damage done especially directed: 41-1
- Damage result of more general disturbances: -2

17a. (ASK EVERYONE) if there were a riot in this section of the city, do you expect that your store would be damaged?

- Yes: 42-1
- No: 43

b. Why?

- Yes: 44-1
- No: 45

17b. Have you taken any special precautions to protect your store in case there are riots here in the future?

- Yes: 46-1
- No: 47-2

17c. Why?

- Yes: 48-1
- No: 49-2
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Largely True</th>
<th>Partially True</th>
<th>Not True At All</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) . . . Customers around here are rude to retail merchants?</td>
<td>□ 55-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) . . . Customers in this neighborhood try to take advantage of shopkeepers?</td>
<td>□ 59-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) . . . Customers heretofore are slow in paying bills?</td>
<td>□ 60-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) . . . Customers around here often try to steal from the stores?</td>
<td>□ 61-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) . . . Customers in this neighborhood are hostile to shopkeepers?</td>
<td>□ 62-1</td>
<td>□ 2</td>
<td>□ 3</td>
<td>□ 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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 ........................................ 0
- Somewhat difficult ................................ 0
- Easy ................................................... 0

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?

- Self .................. □ 36-1
- Agency .............. □ -2

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
**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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Very Satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Old people</td>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>0-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Adolescents</td>
<td>15-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>0-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Young adults</td>
<td>16-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>0-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Store owners</td>
<td>17-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>0-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Landlords</td>
<td>18-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>0-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Negroes</td>
<td>19-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>0-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Whites</td>
<td>20-1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>0-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

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.

   - Yes [ ] 21-1
   - No [ ] -2
   - Don't know [ ] -6

   **b**. People are more fed up with the system, and are becoming unwilling to work with politicians.

   - Yes [ ] 22-1
   - No [ ] -2
   - Don't know [ ] -6

   **c**. Young people have become more militant.

   - Yes [ ] 23-1
   - No [ ] -2
   - Don't know [ ] -6

   **d**. Middle-age people have become more militant.

   - Yes [ ] 24-1
   - No [ ] -2
   - Don't know [ ] -6

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

9. About how many hours a week, on the average, do you spend talking with voters in your district?

   - Hours Per Week 33-34

10. Do you have regular hours at which voters can come to talk about their complaints and their problems?

    - Yes [ ] 35-1
    - No [ ] -2

11. Do you have any say in who gets jobs in this district?

    - Yes [ ] 36-1 (ASK Q.10b)
    - No [ ] -2 (SKIP TO Q.10c)

    **a**. 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)

    **b**. 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?  

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  Q.13  Q.14
Could Get  Have Gotten  Usually  Usually
In Touch With  In Touch With  Active  Inactive  DK

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

210
Now I would like to ask you a few questions about the young people of voting age.

18. About how many of them are (READ STATEMENTS BELOW)? Is it almost everyone, many of the young people, some, or just a few of them? (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH STATEMENT LISTED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Almost Everyone</th>
<th>Many</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Few</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Very interested in getting the best man elected?</td>
<td>□ 15-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Restless and hard to control?</td>
<td>□ 16-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Industrious and want to learn in order to be successful?</td>
<td>□ 17-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Too militant to work inside a political party?</td>
<td>□ 18-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Afraid of authorities that they do not know personally?</td>
<td>□ 19-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Apathetic?</td>
<td>□ 20-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>( √ )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friend fighting for the people</td>
<td>□ 21-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of city government</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. How do the voters feel about the councilman for this district? (READ EACH STATEMENT BELOW)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Do they think he is militant enough?</td>
<td>□ 22-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Does he get things done quickly?</td>
<td>□ 23-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Does he follow the line of his party too much?</td>
<td>□ 24-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Does he help the people in this district a lot?</td>
<td>□ 25-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Do they think he is powerful?</td>
<td>□ 26-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difficulty</th>
<th>Very easy</th>
<th>Somewhat easy</th>
<th>Somewhat difficult</th>
<th>Very difficult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( √ )</td>
<td>□ 27-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now, let us consider the services available to people in your district.

1. From the city or other organizations, is (are) the (NAME OF SERVICE) excellent, good, fair, or poor? (CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH SERVICE LISTED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Telephone service</td>
<td>□ 28-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Garbage service</td>
<td>□ 29-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Street lighting</td>
<td>□ 30-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Street cleaning</td>
<td>□ 31-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Street repair</td>
<td>□ 32-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Police protection</td>
<td>□ 33-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Recreational facilities</td>
<td>□ 34-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Schools</td>
<td>□ 35-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Building inspection</td>
<td>□ 36-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Fire department</td>
<td>□ 37-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) Ambulance service</td>
<td>□ 38-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -4</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Very Influential</th>
<th>Somewhat Influential</th>
<th>Not at all Influential</th>
<th>Doesn't Exist Here</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Churches</td>
<td>□ 39-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)</td>
<td>□ 40-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)</td>
<td>□ 41-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) City newspapers</td>
<td>□ 42-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Local newspapers</td>
<td>□ 43-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee)</td>
<td>□ 44-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Urban League</td>
<td>□ 45-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Labor Unions</td>
<td>□ 46-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Merchants Associations</td>
<td>□ 47-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) PTA (Parent-Teachers Association)</td>
<td>□ 48-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Very Militant</th>
<th>Somewhat Militant</th>
<th>Not at all Militant</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Older people</td>
<td>□ 49-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Middle-aged people</td>
<td>□ 50-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) College students</td>
<td>□ 51-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Non-college young adults</td>
<td>□ 52-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Adolescents</td>
<td>□ 53-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) High-income people—those in business and the professions</td>
<td>□ 54-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Low or moderate-income people—workers and clerks</td>
<td>□ 55-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Unemployed people</td>
<td>□ 56-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Civil servants and city employees</td>
<td>□ 57-1</td>
<td>□ -2</td>
<td>□ -3</td>
<td>□ -6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Who Riots? A Study of Participation in the 1967 Riots

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July, 1968
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We wish to express our appreciation to the many people who assisted, cooperated and otherwise encouraged us in this project. We acknowledge our indebtedness to the following: Allan Silver and Sigmund Diamond for their helpful suggestions; David Caplovitz for meticulously reading the manuscript and making a number of recommendations, many of which were incorporated; Nancy Kirk for taking the time to edit our work; Sandee Sheldon for graciously typing it, and our wonderful research assistants and coders: Arthur Koko, Paula Shapiro, Harvey Sohnes, Ann Sullivan, Barbara Trainin, Jeanette Weisbraun, and Jeffrey Wheeler for their diligence. But we wish most to thank the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders for supplying the funds to make this study possible, and especially Dr. Robert Shellow, Henry B. Taliaferro, Jr., and Colonel Norman J. McKenzie for the patience in guiding this work to completion.
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. 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 organisation 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. The differences between California Governor Ronald Reagan and New Jersey Governor Richard J. Hughes and between former Acting-Mayor of New York Paul Svan and the late Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker were marked. And as 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. At the core of this “theory” are three distinct, though closely related,
themes. First, that only an infinitesimal fraction of the black population (2 percent according to some, including prominent Negro spokesmen 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, unemployed, uneducated, unrooted, criminal—and outside agitators. Indeed, many public figures have insisted that outside agitators, especially left-wing radicals and black nationalists, influenced the riots.

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 Negro residents, the riots were less wounding to them 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 Negro blacks than of the traditional stereotypes of recent Negro newcomers. And the violent acts, the rioting, and not on interviews with lower-class and middle-class blacks joined in the looting and assaults that reflect the nation's traditional views of white efficiency, rural blacks and in the absence of more accurate, future riots can be predicted by applying the same methods or arrive at exactly the same conclusions, they did reach certain conclusions which they did not accept.

In order to obtain this aim I selected the riots of August 1967 and census data, we first derived an estimate of the number of rioters who were not arrested. The second component of the riffraff theory (that is, the component from which the theory derived its principal name) is various characteristics of riot arrestees are compared with those of residents of riot areas in order to determine which "riffraff" traits are over- or underrepresented among arrestees. Chapter Five examines the social characteristics of riot arrestees according to their race, class, and activities, to test the riffraff theory. Chapter Three, to test the validity of the riffraff theory by determining the total number of rioters who participated in riots in various cities during 1967. In order to obtain this aim I selected the riots of August 1967, and the riots of New York and Los Angeles in 1965 and 1966. A comparison of arrestees according to their race, class, and activities, to test the riffraff theory. Chapter Three, to test the validity of the riffraff theory by determining the total number of rioters who participated in riots in various cities during 1967. In order to obtain this aim I selected the riots of August 1967, and the riots of New York and Los Angeles in 1965 and 1966. A comparison of arrestees according to their race, class, and activities, to test the riffraff theory. Chapter Three, to test the validity of the riffraff theory by determining the total number of rioters who participated in riots in various cities during 1967. In order to obtain this aim I selected the riots of August 1967, and the riots of New York and Los Angeles in 1965 and 1966. A comparison of arrestees according to their race, class, and activities, to test the riffraff theory.


4Allan D. Street, "Violence in the City—An End or a Beginning? A Report by the Governor's Committee on the Los Angeles Riots (December 2, 1965), pp. 4-5 (hereafter referred to as the McCone Report).


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 riot 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.14 Sears asked the Negroes whether they had been very active, somewhat active, or not at all active in the riot, 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

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12 New York Times, July 18–23, 1964, July 4, 5, 1965. In her, 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.
13 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 age. But extrapolation of his tables reveals that about 600 people were in his sample.
deviant behavior. After all, Negroes were probably reluctant to admit
and many Negroes were probably reluctant to admit
have reinforced this reluctance.

For example, the Negroes' strong suspicion of outside agitators, who, as outsiders, would probably more than the riffraff, which was probably more prone than

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In the first place, while arrest data can reveal a good deal about the probable characteristics of rioters, by themselves they say about the extent of participation and the degree of community support for the riots.

such studies using arrest data on rioters, the Bureau with a recent report on the 1967 riots.

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 rffraff theory.

For the reason that we will discuss in the next chapter—will be derived from the riot data in the current survey. We do not 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 another.

Of two additional factors: one, the number of arrests in each of these cities falls under 70 or under 2, the Kerner Commission had designated their riots as either 'major' or 'serious' disorders.

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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, 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. It is, however, much harder to reach a more precise estimate of how many Negroes in a community might have joined in the riots, and how many 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. Such a base figure was wrong for at least two reasons. First, the 1965 riots occurred principally in south-central 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, south-central 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 See, for example, Scoble, "The McCone Commission," p. 11; and Fogelson, "White on Black," p. 345.
It is important to point out, however, that since we are using 1960 census data, the total number of potential rioters presented in Table 1 for each city will be larger than the number of arrestees who resided in these areas when the riots occurred in 1967, because all of these cities were active in 1967. Thus, we increased their Negro population ratio from 1:5 to about 10. This will be sharply underestimated the actual number of rioters in our analysis.9

To derive estimates of the total number of Negro rioters in the same area, we relied upon the three surveys of riot areas that were available to us—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Total number of Negro rioters</th>
<th>Under 10</th>
<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>Over 59</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>1,208</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1,208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>451</td>
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<td>223</td>
<td>207</td>
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<td>Newark</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>71</td>
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<td>140</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Rapids</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayton</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1,600</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

This estimate 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 included in our analysis, and therefore reduces the extent of participation. It is, however, biased in favor of the refrain theory. In any event, if this definition is applied to the riot areas for which the Kerner Commission mapped the riot areas, it will reduce the number of Negroes who might have joined in the riots, as Table 1 indicates, 149,000 in Detroit, 46,300 in Newark, 42,900 in Cincinnati, 5,700 in Grand Rapids, 5,200 in New Haven, and 3,400 in Dayton.

9 Kerner Report, p. 112. It is necessary to take into account the extent of participation. It is, however, biased in favor of the refrain theory. In any event, if this definition is applied to the riot areas for which the Kerner Commission mapped the riot areas, it will reduce the number of Negroes who might have joined in the riots, as Table 1 indicates, 149,000 in Detroit, 46,300 in Newark, 42,900 in Cincinnati, 5,700 in Grand Rapids, 5,200 in New Haven, and 3,400 in Dayton.

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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 is questionable, and police arrest practices differ from one city to another. But these estimates are not more speculative than the personal impressions of courageous, but terribly harassed, newspaper reporters or the official statements of concerned, but hardly dispassionate, public figures. 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 restraint 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.

*For 1963 estimates of the Negro population in various cities, see Kerner Report, p. 481.

† Because of their smaller Negro populations, the smaller communities have a higher percentage of residents who rioted than the larger communities; this result is 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 population riot, the absolute number of rioters was extremely large.10
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. 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. 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 proportion 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. 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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Korn and McCorkle, *Criminology and Penology,* pp. 172-175.
representing the participation of women in riots by
almost 30 per cent. A similar underrepresentation of
women in riots was found in the extent of female participation in 1965. Fully one-half of
the Los Angeles survey of 1965, participated in the
extent of females being "active" in the riots were
females, whereas only 10 per cent of the Los Angeles
were males. In the Los Angeles survey, females are greatly underrepresen-
ting the participation of females in the 1965 riots
by almost 40 per cent.

Since 60 per cent of the potential rioters in
the riot area are males, the 30 per cent of those among
the riot area are males, whereas 10 per cent of the Los Angeles
ars at riot data are reliable. The Los Angeles riot data are greatly underrepresen-
ting the participation of females in the 1965 riot
by almost 40 per cent.

Since 60 per cent of the potential rioters in
the riot area are males, the 30 per cent of those among
the riot area are males, whereas 10 per cent of the Los Angeles
ars at riot data are reliable. The Los Angeles riot data are greatly underrepresen-
ting the participation of females in the 1965 riot
by almost 40 per cent.

Since 60 per cent of the potential rioters in
the riot area are males, the 30 per cent of those among
the riot area are males, whereas 10 per cent of the Los Angeles
ars at riot data are reliable. The Los Angeles riot data are greatly underrepresen-
ting the participation of females in the 1965 riot
by almost 40 per cent.

Since 60 per cent of the potential rioters in
the riot area are males, the 30 per cent of those among
the riot area are males, whereas 10 per cent of the Los Angeles
ars at riot data are reliable. The Los Angeles riot data are greatly underrepresen-
ting the participation of females in the 1965 riot
by almost 40 per cent.

Since 60 per cent of the potential rioters in
the riot area are males, the 30 per cent of those among
the riot area are males, whereas 10 per cent of the Los Angeles
ars at riot data are reliable. The Los Angeles riot data are greatly underrepresen-
ting the participation of females in the 1965 riot
by almost 40 per cent.

Since 60 per cent of the potential rioters in
the riot area are males, the 30 per cent of those among
the riot area are males, whereas 10 per cent of the Los Angeles
ars at riot data are reliable. The Los Angeles riot data are greatly underrepresen-
ting the participation of females in the 1965 riot
by almost 40 per cent.

Since 60 per cent of the potential rioters in
the riot area are males, the 30 per cent of those among
the riot area are males, whereas 10 per cent of the Los Angeles
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ting the participation of females in the 1965 riot
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ting the participation of females in the 1965 riot
by almost 40 per cent.
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, where unemployed persons is over 49 per cent; it ranges from 47 per cent in Boston to 67 per cent in Cleveland. Among the potential rioters, however, the proportion of the unemployed goes from 28 per cent in Detroit to 49 per cent in Cincinnati. Although the arrestees are over-represented on the lower 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 those 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-representation of the unemployed, whether in the arrest or riot populations, is not due to any occupational factors. We are left, then, with the question of the manner in which the arrestees are more largely unemployed in the riot city than in the non-riot city, and the potential rioters are more largely unemployed in the non-riot city than in the riot city.

27 per cent of the arrestees were unemployed, 12 per cent of the Newark Negro population in the city as a whole were unemployed, whereas the 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 were unemployed in both cities.

Thus, a higher proportion of the arrestees are unemployed than the potential rioters in the general population. This difference is large as it appears for two reasons. First, since the Department of Labor's statistics includes in its count only those persons actively seeking a job, it severely understates the actual rate of unemployment. As a result, it excludes completely the "subemployed," which consists of a large proportion of persons in the ghetto who have given up looking for work.46 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 importantly, it should be noted that about three-quarters of the riot arrestees are employed. Hence, the overwhelming majority of those who participate in the riot are gainfully employed, although 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 rifahtory 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 Detroit—had prior criminal records.47 But it is one thing to have a record and quite another to be a criminal; what is more, there is 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; a record does not mean conviction, and probably not one-quarter of a year of imprisonment. Second, according to the President's Commission on Crime in Law Enforcement, only the extent is known of the subject, roughly 40 per cent of the Negro arrests have criminal records.48 Third, if the findings of the Commission on Crime in Law Enforcement are applicable elsewhere, convicts have criminal records and not riot arrestees. Fourth, our arrestees revealed that their past arrests were for offenses which, on the whole, were relatively 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 arrestees participating in the Los Angeles riot of 1965.49

Many of the Negroes with previous arrest records, technically, were not on probation; as many were picked up for possessing drugs. To an extent, this is true of the juvenile, many of whom were brought to the police station, but not arrested. Therefore, in many cases and not actual arrest records. The percentage for Daytona results from an ambiguity in the coding instructions for that city.50 For national data, see President's Commission on Crime in the United States, "Projected Crimes, 1962," in Commission's Report, 1963, p. 69. In the city of Watts, the percentage for riot arrestees, 90 per cent of the arrestees were residents of the city. Our analysis is performed here on the basis of prior criminal records because, it could be argued, rioters are rioters because they are criminals; the arrest data are, of course, less accurate than the riot data. Nevertheless, therefore, the typical felonsubgroups data are higher than our estimate based on the results of this study.

To a large extent, however, the arrest sheets are, of course, what is available. It cannot be said that all those persons who were arrested as members of the 1967 riots were rioters. Some rioters, for example, had a history of involvement in the Watts riot, but for reasons which we are really referring to previous police contacts. Of course, some rioters were not apprehended, but police officers are not aware of that. Many others were not even aware of their involvement in the Watts riot, the arrest sheets are, of course, less accurate than the riot data. Nevertheless, therefore, the typical felonsubgroups data are higher than our estimate based on the results of this study.

The rifahtory theory also holds that the riots were primarily the result of demagoguery, and that rioters, with first-hand descriptions of the riots, are radicals as well as nationalists—encouraged some and tried to exploit the rioting. Indeed, it would have been surprising if they had done otherwise. According to the riot data, however, whether agitators or not, the overwhelming majority of the rioters were not radicals. In seven of the nine cities, the proportion of the arrestees were not radicals or more. Ninety-seven per cent of the 1967 arrestees in Watts were residents of the city. 51

Hence, to label most rioters as criminals is simply to bring riot members of the Negro community into the general category of Negroes—as criminals. Therefore, the arrest data seem to over-represent Negro arrestees by the police results in a disproportion; it is to be expected that a majority of the rioters—who were young Negro males—would have criminal records. The rifahtory theory also holds that the riots were primarily the result of demagoguery, and that rioters, with first-hand descriptions of the riots, are radicals as well as nationalists—encouraged some and tried to exploit the rioting. Indeed, it would have been surprising if they had done otherwise. According to the riot data, however, whether agitators or not, the overwhelming majority of the rioters were not radicals. In seven of the nine cities, the proportion of the arrestees were not radicals or more. Ninety-seven per cent of the 1967 arrestees in Watts were residents of the city. 51
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 Negro 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 assaulted—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 assailants 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 rioters, who tend to be older, less employed, and Southern-born. But these differences cannot be explained by the second point of the riffraff theory.

48 For the purpose of this analysis, we will focus upon the severity of only four of the “major” disorders—Detroit, Newark, Buffalo and Cleveland, 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.
Ner the riffraff theory supported when the arrestees are classified according to age 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 three days of the rioting. However, there is a clear relationship between age and the day of involvement: 66 per cent of those under 25 years old were arrested on the first day, whereas 54 per cent of those under the age of 25 were arrested on the third or later days of looting. Similarly, the highest proportion of native-born persons (41 per cent) and the lowest proportion of Southern-born persons (25 per cent) were arrested on the first day of rioting. However, the majority of these arrested on any one day were Southern-born. Consequently, these patterns cannot be accounted for by the second day of the rift fraff theory either.

Whether the rift fraff theory is more accurate when the arrestees are classified according to the gravity of the situation 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 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 for sex distribution and occupational distribution. In any event, the available evidence suggests—and, it should be stressed, only suggests—that the second p-i t of the rift theory is, if anything, more accurate for the less serious riots.²⁶

²⁶ Other data not presented here indicate that the greatest 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 arrests in both Detroit and Newark were charged with looting, whereas less than 15 per cent of those arrested in Cincinnati and Buffalo were arrested for looting. Most of the arrests (over 60 per cent) in Cincinnati and Buffalo were charged with disorderly conduct.

Chapter 6
The Sentiment of the Negro Community

The third point of the rift theory—that the overwhelming majority of the Negro population, the law-abiding and respectable 90 or 99 per cent who did not play the riots—also has a certain plausibility. First of all, since there is no mention of the ghettos residents, refrained from rioting, and their restraint and respect for the law might be after another, too, a host of local Negro leaders and among them, James Farmer of New York, John A. Dukas of Los Angeles, James Threatt of Newark, and others from the violence while the arrests were underway and expressed extreme dislike 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 and called on the Negroes to "forbear the temptation to disparage the law."²⁷ This evidence, it could be argued, disproves that the overwhelming majority of the Negro population unequivocally opposed and deplored the 1960s riots.

To begin with the questions, it is not particularly enlightening simply to ask whether the Negro population supported or opposed the riots. To do so is to assume that the Negroes felt clearly one way or another about the rioting when, in all probability they had, when asked, no idea at all, that the Negroes agreed basically about the rioting when, in all likelihood, they had sharp disagreements. Hence it is more valuable to ask what proportion of 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 purely emotional 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 riots either helpful or essential, and, if not, inevitable. To phrase the questions in these ways is to allow for the ambiguities in the Negroes' positions and the differences among the ghetto 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 leader 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—just as 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. 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. Nonetheless, of 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 awareness and sympathy and improve the Negro's position. And they disagreed basically about the rioting when, in all likelihood, they had sharp disagreements. Hence it is more valuable to ask what proportion of 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 purely emotional 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 riots either helpful or essential, and, if not, inevitable. To phrase the questions in these ways is to allow for the ambiguities in the Negroes' positions and the differences among the ghetto residents and to make it possible to gauge the black community's sentiment about the 1960s riots with a fair degree of confidence.

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Appendix

### TABLE I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Number of Arrestees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>1,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>1,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland, Ohio</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore, Md.</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston, Tex.</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland, Ore.</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle, Wash.</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix, Ariz.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, Calif.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul, Minn.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The number of arrestees refer to the total number of individuals—both Negro and white—arrested in a particular disturbance for which we compiled arrest histories. Arrests in Brooklyn, N.Y., Paterson, N.J., Newark, N.J., Elizabeth, N.J., and Paterson, N.J., were compiled from records of the New York State Division of Detention Facilities. Arrests in all other communities were compiled from the files of the local police agencies for Grand Rapids and Dayton throughout our report unless only their local disturbances.*

### TABLE II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland, Ohio</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore, Md.</td>
<td>97.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston, Tex.</td>
<td>92.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>89.3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>89.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland, Ore.</td>
<td>89.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle, Wash.</td>
<td>85.9</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix, Ariz.</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, Calif.</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul, Minn.</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paterson, N.J.</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark, N.J.</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth, N.J.</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paterson, N.J.</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>99.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 1
COMMUNITY BY ETHNICITY
(In Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, O.</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston, Tex.</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver, Colo.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Tex.</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Tex.</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, Calif.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, Calif.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, Wis.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2
COMMUNITY BY PLACE OF BIRTH
(In Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>In State</th>
<th>Out of State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, O.</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston, Tex.</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver, Colo.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Tex.</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Tex.</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, Calif.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, Calif.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, Wis.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3
COMMUNITY BY OCCUPATION
(In Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, O.</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston, Tex.</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver, Colo.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Tex.</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Tex.</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
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<td>San Francisco, Calif.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, Calif.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>29.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, Wis.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4
COMMUNITY BY MARRITAL STATUS
(In Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, O.</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston, Tex.</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver, Colo.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Tex.</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Tex.</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, Calif.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, Calif.</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, Wis.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 5
COMMUNITY BY EMPLOYMENT
(In Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, O.</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston, Tex.</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver, Colo.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
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<td>43.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, Wis.</td>
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<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 6
COMMUNITY BY PREVIOUS ARREST
(In Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Ga.</td>
<td>27.7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, O.</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston, Tex.</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, N.Y.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
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<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, Wis.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Ga</td>
<td>61.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore, Md</td>
<td>75.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boston, Mass</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo, N.Y</td>
<td>55.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, O. (6/67)</td>
<td>53.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, O. (6/67)</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dayton, O. 9/67)</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich</td>
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<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick, N.J</td>
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<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix, Arizona</td>
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<td>11.0</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
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