



Return to 12th street

**A follow-up survey
of attitudes
of Detroit Negroes
October, 1968**

Return to 12th Street shows a good beginning

THE OVERRIDING impression emerging from the Free Press survey of opinion in Detroit's riot neighborhoods is that the city has begun to get something to build on. The rising optimism of Negroes about their own condition—coupled with their sense that they have power to alter it—affords an opportunity for further efforts to reconcile them to the American economic and political system.

At the same time, of course, the new hopefulness could be a source of great danger. What happens if the police do not continue to improve? If too little is done to help create new housing for low and middle-income people? If the commitment of industry and business to fair hiring practices should weaken? If the schools do not improve? Obviously, the danger of an explosion is heightened.

But we need not let ourselves be paralyzed by such fears. If we could do no more than tremble at what might be, then our only mistake

would have been to try to alter at all the conditions under which Negroes live. Repression would work better than an aborted attempt to begin playing fair with Negroes.

What Detroit needs, then, is to seize its opportunity rather than be overcome by the hazards. One of the most interesting results of the survey is the evidence it is providing that Negroes are accepting in good faith the efforts of business and industry to hire more Negroes and to treat them more fairly. The community's business leaders should be elated at this vote of confidence and try earnestly to reinforce it.

It has been our conviction for some time that the dark forebodings of some of our sociologists about race relations, as reflected in the Kerner commission report, need not be true. If trust can be rebuilt, then whites and blacks will discover they have more common interests than sources of division.

The Free Press survey, for in-

stance, showed a strong undercurrent of concern that police were not available readily enough. This reflects the same concern for an honest kind of "law and order" that many whites feel. Conflict is not inevitable.

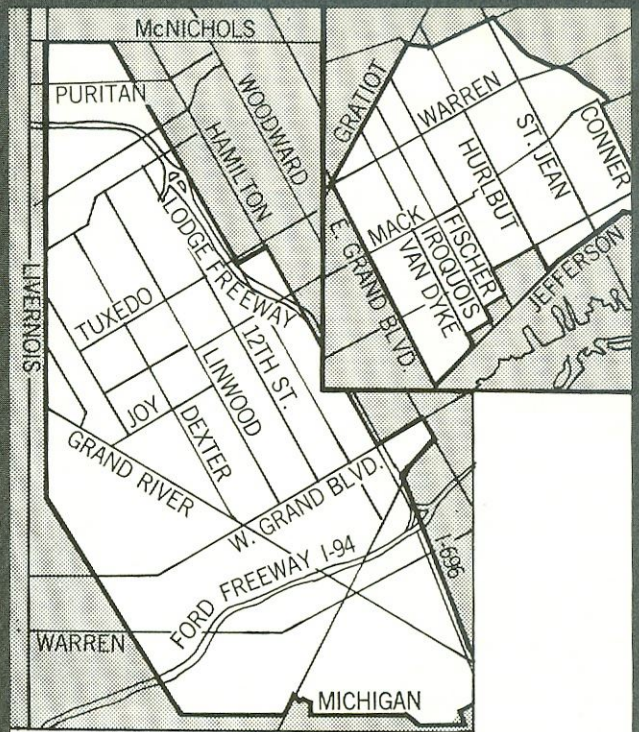
Blacks and whites, we are convinced, would like to overcome their prejudices and be able to trust one another. Fear and ineptitude get in our way.

This community can do better than most American big cities have done in recent years. And having made a good beginning, we in Detroit ought to make sure that the work goes on apace, that we build better schools, that we improve the police performance, that we open up more and better jobs, that we see that better housing gets built at a reasonable price.

Blacks are more determined than ever to change things — and are confident that they can. It is up to society to try to help them get the job done peaceably.

An editorial from the
Detroit Free Press,
October 29, 1968

Where survey was conducted



Both surveys—1967's and 1968's—were conducted in these two areas of Detroit, one on the East Side, and one on the West Side branching out from the 12th Street.

How the survey was made

The Detroit Free Press has completed a survey of Detroit Negro attitudes to examine the trends in the year since its pioneering study made after the riot of July, 1967.

The new Free Press survey of the riot areas of east and west Detroit is based on a probability sample of 452 Negroes who were chosen so that every Negro 15 years old and older had an approximately equal chance of being interviewed. It used the same sampling procedure designed by John P. Robinson of

the University of Michigan for the post-riot survey in 1967.

A staff of 22 Negro interviewers, most of them with previous interviewing experience, collected the data between Aug. 31 and Sept. 25, 1968, under the supervision of John Magney.

Information was transferred to computer cards by the Free Press data processing department.

Development of this project drew from previous work in investigating Negro attitudes by

Angus Campbell, Howard Schuman, and Nathan Caplan of the University of Michigan; Gary Marx and Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard; T. M. Tomlinson, Office of Economic Opportunity; and the Free Press city staff.

The computerized data will be made available to scholars for further study through the Louis Harris Political Data Center of the University of North Carolina, which has been designated the repository for this and other Knight Newspaper studies.



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New era dawns among the blacks

Riot-area slogan—let's get moving

The people around Twelfth St. are waking up.

Detroit's Inner City, where scars are fading 15 months after the nation's worst Negro riot, is tuning in to the outside world. Its residents express new readiness to join the city's social and economic mainstream.

This hopeful finding was uncovered by a new Free Press survey of the riot neighborhoods of east and west Detroit. Black interviewers talked to a carefully chosen probability sample of 452 persons to learn how things are going in the ghetto now.

They're going better.

Among the signs:

● Detroit Negroes express more awareness of their own problems than they did in 1967. They are quicker to gripe about jobs, education and housing than they were immediately after the riot.

● Despite the complaints,

black Detroiters who think they have moved ahead since the riot outnumber by seven to one those who think their lot is getting worse.

● To work within the existing system is the goal of all but the most extreme minority among black militants. Black power does not mean attacking whites or building a separate black nation to most Detroit Negroes. Instead, it means self-improvement and organization to get for black people their fair share of political and economic power.

"People are getting to be more demanding now," reported a young Ford assembly worker living on the East Side, when he was asked to tell how things had changed since the riot. "It used to be everybody was satisfied with the way things were going, as long as they were left alone."

"That's a lot of the reason

we're in the position we're now in," said a welder interviewed in his home on the other side of town. "Because we never took no action."

These responses and others like them suggest that Detroit's response to the riot is having a positive payoff. Negroes are shedding their passive acceptance of discrimination and lack of opportunity. And they are not looking for relief to be handed to them.

They expect to work, organize and apply pressure for a better deal, as other American minority groups have in the past.

Before the riot, Detroit enjoyed a reputation as a progressive city in matters involving race relations. It has maintained that reputation even after the riot. Where other cities stood still or concentrated on punishing black communities for disorders, De-

troit leaders were busy looking for ways to eliminate the causes of black discontent.

The effort, particularly that of the private sector, has been noted.

"Before the riots," said a middle-aged auto worker, "I didn't see as many Negroes in different trades as I see now. Like in banks and these big stores. And I notice on TV, they've got more colored advertising now."

"It looks to me like it's getting better. There are more jobs and more opportunities."

Detroit still has its race problems, and they will not be eradicated soon. But the survey results indicate that the city has been moving in the right direction in the year after the riot.

A full report of these results begins with an examination of the grievances, then and now.

What the big change since 1967 means

The survey's significance

All things considered, Detroit inner-city Negroes have a very high level of grievances. In most cases where comparisons can be made with the immediate post-riot study of August, 1967, the grievances now are even higher than they were then. And more people are speaking up now than before. The "don't know" responses were significantly lower in this year's survey.

There are several possible explanations for this change: More experienced interviewers were used in the second survey, and their skill in eliciting answers may have reduced the undecided category somewhat. Or those interviewed in 1967 might have been inhibited by fear from speaking frankly so soon after the riot.

Whatever the cause, the readiness of inner city residents to gripe can be construed as healthy. That the squeaking wheels gets the grease is a tradition as American as the Fourth of July.

Further evidence that the new, freely-complaining attitudes are a sign of forward motion came in another part of the survey. Borrowing a technique worked out by Hadley Cantril and Lloyd A. Free of the Institute for International Social Research, the Free Press interviewers asked a question that has successfully been used to measure progress in a wide array of cultures and nations.

EACH INTERVIEWER handed each respondent a card with a picture of a ladder, its steps numbered from 1 to 10. "Here is a picture of a ladder," the interviewers said. "Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom represents the worst possible life for you. Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?"

Those interviewed were subsequently asked to tell where they stood last summer, just before the riot, where they stood five years ago, and where they expect to be five years from now.

When averaged, the scores show upward movement, both since last summer and over the long run:

Five years ago:.....	4.2
Last summer:	4.9
Now:	5.7
Next five years:.....	7.7

The events since the summer of 1967, then, have given Detroit Negroes the feeling that they are on the way to better things. There is still the question of how they are going to get there. The Free Press survey uncovered surprising agreement on that. Negroes have decided they want a bigger piece of the economic and political action.

Beyond the anger, a sense of Progress

Profile of Detroit Negroes in '68: What the Free Press Survey shows



A NEW MOOD — Pride and a sense of effectiveness

Detroit Negroes are franker, more outspoken, and quicker to complain than they were a year ago.

Yet, when asked how things are going for them in general, they tend to report that things have improved since the riot.

A paradox? Not really. The new mood is one of black unity, pride, and a sense of newly discovered effectiveness. Blacks complain because they expect complaints to lead to action, and this is the sign of a people on the move.

Since the riot, said a black militant who lives near Twelfth Street, "the white man will stand up and take notice of you when before he has not."

A Free Press survey found that with one exception, Detroit Negroes have the same list of 10 top complaints they had a year ago. The most basic of these complaints—police brutality, poor housing, lack of jobs and poverty—were expressed by from 7 to 16 percent more people when the question was asked the second time around.

The exception is the feeling of anger against local business people. It, alone among the foremost complaints, dropped significantly—by 10 percentage points.

In a similar survey in 1967, the first of its kind, a close correspondence was noted between the kinds of businesses complained about and the kind of businesses burned. Most of those burned businesses have not been rebuilt; others have reopened with black, rather than white, ownership or management.

Therefore, it may be that there are fewer price gougers and insulting store clerks left to be angry at. But there is more to the change in attitude than that.

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DETROIT NEGROES are also aware of positive contributions of business, in the form of better employment practices, for example. Fifty-two percent agreed that private companies in Detroit are "trying as hard they as can" to solve the main problems here.

Only labor unions match that kind of confidence. Together, Detroit business and labor are given more credit than the federal government (48 percent say its officials are trying as hard as they can), the state government (35 percent) and Mayor Cavanagh's city government (42 percent).

To measure the current level of grievances, the Free Press interviewers read a list of complaints and asked those interviewed to rate them as potential riot causes.

The list was the same used in the 1967 survey, when Negroes were asked to indicate which grievances had caused the riot which had ended less than two weeks before the survey was made.

Two other questions in the new survey verified the finding that Negroes in Detroit are feeling better about business, both as employees and as consumers, than they did a year ago.

In the first survey, people in the riot

What the Free Press Survey shows

areas were asked: "If you were employed to do the same work as a white person, do you feel you would likely get less pay, about the same pay, or more pay?"

A majority—58 percent—said in 1967 that they would get the same pay. This year, when the question was put again, 67 percent believed Negroes would get the same pay.

Asked how businessmen have been treating them as customers since the riot, Negroes in the survey tended to see some improvement. Thirty-nine percent called business "more fair" since the riot, compared to 14 percent who think stores and merchants are less fair now than before.

Despite this feeling of improvement, the level of complaints is still high. Grocery stores remain the top target, with 57 percent calling them unfair, compared to 54 percent last year.

Overcharging is the main complaint. Fifty-five percent said they are overcharged for goods often and 22 percent said it happens sometimes.

* * *

THIS INDICATES far more discontent with merchants than is expressed by northern, urban Negroes in general. A 15-city study for the Kerner Commission by the Michigan Survey Research Center found that only 24 percent of the Negroes in those cities felt they were often overcharged. In part, this difference could reflect the fact that the Free Press study concentrated on the immediate riot neighborhoods, whereas the Michigan study covered the entire Negro population in each of its 15 cities including Detroit. Other research has shown that inner city prices are indeed generally higher than elsewhere.

After the riot, the most frequently expressed grievance in the riot area was against police brutality. This is still the number one complaint, and people are talking about it more than ever.

Last year, 57 percent said police brutality had "a great deal" to do with causing the riot. This time, 71 percent said police brutality would have "a great deal" to do with another riot.

But this increased tendency to blame police appears to be less a reflection of a real increase in police misbehavior than a new willingness on the part of blacks to talk openly about it.

Elsewhere in the survey, those interviewed were asked whether "police treatment of people in this part of town has been better since the riot last summer, worse than before, or about the same."

There were more who thought police behavior was better than who thought it was worse — 22 percent to 15 percent. The largest group, 48 percent, thought police treatment was about the same.

* * *

WHETHER POLICE practices have changed or not, there is no doubt that law enforcement is a very important source of black grievances. And not all the criticism comes from people who say that police lack respect (57 percent) or use unnecessary force in making arrests (53 percent).

Even more people in the riot neighborhoods, blame police for not being around when they need them. Only a third of those interviewed said they are generally satisfied with their police protection.

"If you call the police, they most likely don't even come, or else they show up after everything's over," complained a

woman on the near west side.

A teen-ager in the same neighborhood said burglary was common in her block. "If police were around and doing a little more, people might be scared to do these things," she said. "But you never see them."

At an apartment house near Twelfth Street, a young mother refused at first to open the door for an interviewer, even though he had made an appointment in advance. When she finally let him in, releasing two chain locks and a sliding bolt in addition to the conventional night lock, she began to contrast Detroit with her home town in Mississippi.

"Everybody's one big, happy family down there," she said. "You're not afraid to go outside. Here, I'm afraid to take my baby out for a stroll in the evening. I'm afraid to answer the door. That's why I didn't let you in. There, you can go out all night long, sit outside, and nobody bothers you. It's really terrible the way the cities are. I'm even afraid for my husband to go out."

Comparison with other surveys indicates that there is far more unhappiness with police in Detroit than in other northern cities.

Questions dealing with police, similar to those asked in the Free Press survey, were included in the Survey Research Center's 15-city study for the Kerner Commission. A comparison with the Free Press results reveals that hostility toward police in the Detroit riot area is considerably higher than the 15-city average.

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IN THE 15-CITY study, 38 percent of the Negroes interviewed said police lack respect and use insulting language. In Detroit, 57 percent said so. Twenty-six percent in the 15 cities said this had happened to someone they knew, compared to 41 percent in Detroit.

Thirty-five percent of the Negroes in the 15-city study said police rough up people unnecessarily when making arrests and 24 percent said it had happened to someone they knew.

In Detroit, 53 percent accused police of using unnecessary force in arrests, and 38 percent said it has happened to someone they knew.

There was a difference on the law enforcement side of this picture as well. In the 15 cities, nearly half the Negroes were "generally satisfied" with police protection, compared to Detroit's one-third who were satisfied.

In Detroit, there were a few cynical dissenters to the view that police don't come quickly enough when called to Negro neighborhoods.

"Yeah, they're quick to respond," said a rioter arrested on the east side. "We have a red light district up in the next block. The police are constantly around."

Although hiring more black policemen is generally considered one solution to the problem of police community relations in the inner city, there was not unanimous agreement in the survey.

Forty-nine percent agreed that "things would be better in this part of town if more of the policemen were black." But 32 percent disagreed.

The race of the policeman does not by itself give ghetto residents any more sense of control over the policing of their neighborhoods. In fact, some believe that black

How Merchants Treat Negroes

Three questions about treatment by merchants were asked by both the Free Press in Detroit and the University of Michigan Survey Research Center in 15 northern cities.

The results indicate that Negroes have more problems than whites and Detroit Negroes have more than other Negroes. Numbers in this table give the percent who say each problem happens to them "often" when they shop at stores in or near their neighborhoods.

	Northern White	Northern Negro	Detroit Negro
Unfairly Overcharged for Goods	9	24	55
Sold Spoiled or Inferior Goods	1	13	15
Treated Disrespectfully	2	3	7

The Black Man's Urban Services

A study of 15 northern cities for the Kerner Commission showed that Negroes are less satisfied than whites with the quality of their city services. The Free Press study found that inner-city Detroit Negroes are more dissatisfied than Negroes in the 15 cities taken as a whole. The comparisons in the following table give the percent "very dissatisfied" for each group.

"Very Dissatisfied"

	Northern White	Northern Negro	Detroit Negro
Quality of Public Schools	9	14	16
Parks and Play- grounds for Children in This Neighborhood	18	27	36
Sports and Recreation Centers for Teen-agers in This Neighborhood	21	30	40
Police Protection in This Neighborhood	10	26	34
Garbage Collection in This Neighborhood	8	15	24



'Many businesses have reopened — with black rather than white ownership'

policemen are harder to get along with than whites.

The black policeman is "being used as a flunky, going against his own people," said a young father who claimed to have been beaten by police during the riot.

* * *

"A BLACK policeman, before he would hit a white man, he would think twice. But he don't think twice before hitting a black man. He'd knock him down and stomp on him."

Another complaint still high on the list for inner city residents is bad housing. One housewife who rattled off a long list of complaints against her landlord was asked if the riot had changed the landlord's attitude any.

"He went up on the rent," she said. "He said it was because of the insurance or something in this area."

About the only hopeful note in the housing picture is a strong indication that Detroit Negroes are not following black nationalist entreaties to reject integration as a strategy. Asked whether it was more important to improve housing in areas where Negroes already live or to open up new, integrated housing in other parts of the city and the suburbs, they were about evenly divided.

And a large majority—even larger than a year ago—said they would prefer to live in integrated housing. Seventy-five percent now hold this view, compared to 61 percent just after the riot.

A minority of the Negro families covered in the survey, 46 percent, own their own homes. Most would like to move. Asked, "is this the kind of a neighborhood you would like to continue living in?" 54 percent said, "no."

Taken together, the responses suggest that Detroit's inner city Negroes would like integrated neighborhoods partly as a shortcut to better housing and partly because they still believe in integration for its own sake.

But if the quickest way to improve their housing conditions is to improve the existing housing in the ghetto, they'll settle for that, too.

* * *

MOST NEGROES in Detroit's inner city tend to see discrimination as a root cause of their problems. They were asked if Detroit city officials pay more, less, or the same attention to a request or complaint from a Negro as from a white person.

Fifty-two percent said Negroes get less

attention. Thirty-four percent said there was no difference, and three percent said Negroes get more attention.

However, asked about city services—such as schools, parks, and garbage collection—54 percent said their inner city neighborhoods get about the same treatment as other parts of the city. Twenty-seven percent said their neighborhoods got worse service and 12 percent said it was better.

In the Survey Research Center's 15-city study, Negroes were far less happy with their city services than whites. And Detroit Negroes, as measured by the Free Press survey, are even more unhappy than the Negroes in the 15-city sampling.

For example, the 15-city study found that in the urban north as a whole, 8 percent of the whites and 15 percent of the Negroes are "very dissatisfied" with their garbage collection. In the Detroit riot area, 24 percent are very dissatisfied with their garbage collection.

In the urban north as a whole, 21 percent of the whites and 30 percent of the Negroes are "very dissatisfied" with sports and recreation centers for teenagers in their neighborhoods. There is significantly more discontent in the Detroit riot area where 40 percent are very dissatisfied with teenage recreation facilities.

Top complaints:

black bars are 1968 percentages;
white are 1967

	UNFAIR	FAIR
Grocery stores	57 54	39 39
Loan offices	41 48	21 17
Real estate	34 47	29 16
Home improvement	42 47	19 14
Furniture stores	43 40	30 29
Insurance	27 39	51 35
Car dealers	33 36	27 20
Automobile repair	28 36	29 23

Many of the kinds of businesses that drew Negro resentment in 1967 are still drawing it today. But some among those most complained about in last year's survey—insurance, real estate, auto repair shops and loan offices—showed significant improvement. The comparison shows 1967 figures in white, today's in black.

Police brutality	71 57
Poor housing	61 54
Poverty	60 44
Lack of Jobs	57 45
Overcrowded living conditions	55 55
Failure of parents to control children	49 39
Dirty neighborhoods	43 44
Teenagers	43 32
Too much drinking	42 40
Broken political promises	40 39

Here's how the top 10 complaints among Detroit Negroes in the 1968 survey (shown in black) compared with those of 1967 (in white). The numbers are the percentages of those who think the problems listed could have a great deal to do with causing a riot.

Negroes and the police

Negroes in northern cities have more trouble with insulting or needlessly rough police than whites, and Detroit inner-city Negroes complain of more such trouble than other northern Negroes. The Free Press asked questions in Detroit similar to those used in 15 cities by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center.

There were minor differences in the phrasing of the two questions, and the wording given here is from the Free Press study. The numbers show the percent in each group who said, "yes."

* * *

Some people say policemen lack respect or use insulting language. Do you think this happens to people in this area?

	Northern White	Northern Negro	Detroit Negro
Yes:	16	38	57

Has it happened to anyone you know?

	Northern White	Northern Negro	Detroit Negro
Yes:	11	26	41

Has it happened to you?

	Northern White	Northern Negro	Detroit Negro
Yes:	7	15	17

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Some people say policemen use unnecessary force in making arrests. Do you think this happens to people in this area?

	Northern White	Northern Negro	Detroit Negro
Yes:	10	35	53

Has it happened to anyone you know?

	Northern White	Northern Negro	Detroit Negro
Yes:	7	24	38

Has it happened to you?

	Northern White	Northern Negro	Detroit Negro
Yes:	1	4	9



Will an integrated department ease the Negro-Police tensions?

Black Power means unity to the Negroes

The old Negro militancy is dead. A new, power-oriented, black militancy has taken its place in Detroit.

This change is not the alarming development that many whites might think it is. Indeed, all it means is that blacks are beginning to become as aggressive and ambitious as whites.

The great majority of riot-area Negroes believe that their future depends on unified activity to vote together, organizing political and business groups together, and, at the same time, working on self-improvement through education and better family relationships.

Black power defined in this way has nothing to do with the extreme separatists who want their own black nation. It has nothing to do with rioting, past or future. It has nothing to do with hatred or rejection of whites.

Two University of Michigan political scientists, Joel Aberbach and Jack Walker, reached much the same conclusion when they reported last month on a survey which asked both blacks and whites in Detroit to define the term, "Black Power."

Negroes tended to define it in terms of black unity or getting a fair share for blacks. Whites, in contrast, were so frightened of these two words that they were "almost hysterical" in their response.

* * *

A FREE PRESS survey, using a more elaborate statistical technique confirmed the finding that Black Power, defined as unified political and economic effort, is not related to extremism.

The name of the technique is factor analysis, which uses a computer to sift through a set of survey findings and determine the basic, underlying attitudes they represent.

The Free Press analysis showed that knowing a person's position on black political and economic power was no help at all in guessing his feeling toward black nationalism.

Thus, the analysis bore out the words of a black insurance man in the Twelfth St. area:

"Black Power is merely a means of black people coming together and being a united black people for build-

ing businesses, building pride, and what have you," he said. "That's all Black Power means. A lot of white people think that when you say 'Black Power,' it means rioting. Black Power does not mean that.

"Now if the final phase comes to fighting, well that could mean Black Power, too. But Black Power does not mean going up and down the road throwing bottles and bricks."

A resident of a large but run-down house on the East Side put it more succinctly: "White people got the money," he said. "We got to try to get it."

Black Power has become the dominant idea among Detroit Negroes at the expense of the older kind of militancy which stressed integration and legal action instead of black unity.

* * *

IN 1964, a landmark study by Gary Marx, now an assistant professor at Harvard, measured the old militancy with a series of questions dealing with open housing, public accommodations, dissatisfaction with the speed with which government was pushing integration, and a sense of being held down as indicated by disagreement with statements like "Negroes who want to work hard can get ahead just as easily as anyone else."

Four years ago, attitudes like these hung together statistically. A Negro who favored open housing, for example, was also likely to feel that Negroes could not get ahead just by working hard. Earlier this year, when the Miami Herald surveyed Negroes in its southern environment, the same index still worked.

In Detroit, it doesn't work. The items are no longer relevant to the existing mood or to each other. In the new spirit of pride and forward movement, a militant can now find himself agreeing with the statement, "Negroes who want to work hard can get ahead just as easily as anyone else."

Clearly, Detroit Negroes have found a new direction.

To define it and figure out who is following it, the Free Press gave each of the 452

blacks in the new survey a Black Power score of zero to six, depending on the number of items in the Black Power cluster he called "very important."

These Black Power items indicated agreement that Negroes should:

- Get more political power by voting together to get officials who will look out for the Negro people.

- Get more economic power by developing strong businesses and industries that are controlled by Negroes.

- Be active in political and civil rights organizations.

- Have better relationships within the family.

- Stop quarreling among themselves and unite efforts on issues that involve Negroes.

- Get more education.

Eighty-two percent of those surveyed said three or more of these actions were "very important." Two-thirds called at least five of the six "very important."

* * *

FOR THE purpose of drawing a statistical profile of the new Black Power advocate, the Free Press interviewees were divided into two groups. Those who called five or more items "very important," were separated from the others for comparison.

The Black Power people tend to be tolerant, thoughtful Negroes who are opposed to violence and favor integration.

They are not the rioters.

Only 51 percent of those who admitted rioting in 1967 scored high on the Black Power scale, compared to 70 percent of the non-rioters.

People who prefer mixed neighborhoods are stronger Black Power advocates: 67 percent of those who want an integrated neighborhood are for Black Power, compared to 53 percent of those who do not.

A telling combination of political sophistication and frustration appears to move people toward Black Power. Both political knowledge and personal sense of political effectiveness were measured for each person interviewed.

The outcome:

Among people lowest in knowledge of political affairs, only 51 percent were strongly for Black Power. In the group with the highest political knowledge, 74 percent were for Black Power.

The political effectiveness test used questions asking for agreement or disagreement to questions such as, "I don't think public officials care much what people like me think." It produced the opposite result:

Among those who felt politically effective, 50 percent were strongly for Black Power, compared to 71 percent of those who felt they were ineffective politically.

Black Power, therefore, appears to be a rational approach to filling a genuine need.

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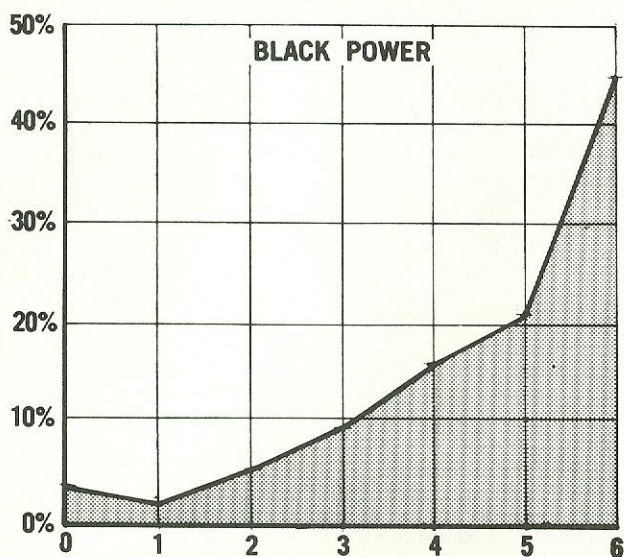
THE BLACK Power concept attracts people of strong religious conviction. The exact opposite was true of the older Negro militancy in other surveys. The more religious people were, the less likely they were to become militant. Religion was an opiate.

But that old rule of thumb does not hold for the new militancy. Among those who call religion "extremely important" to them, 74 percent are strong Black Power supporters. Of those for whom religion is "quite important" or "fairly important," only 57 percent are strongly for Black Power.

Black Power is weakest as a philosophy among the well-to-do and the very poor. It is strongest among members of families with incomes between \$2,500 and \$7,500.

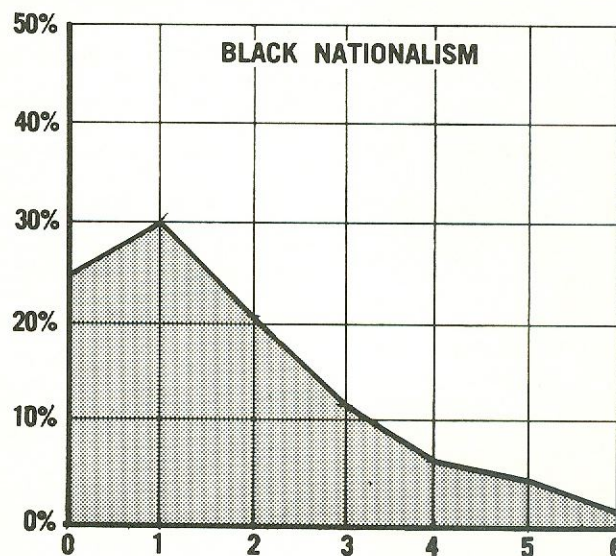
It is at this level, perhaps, that Detroit blacks can taste just enough of the good life to want more. "We're not poor," said a young bearded auto worker in the upper part of this income range. "But we're not very well off, either. Seems like every time you get an increase in pay, prices are going up."

Getting blacks their fair share of economic power is an appealing idea to him and persons like him.



Measuring intensity of attitudes on a scale of zero to six, chart shows that most Detroit Negroes are strong believers in black power.

What Black Power really means



Measuring intensity of attitudes on the same zero-to-six scale, chart shows that most Detroit Negroes are not strong black nationalists.



Here is what black power means to Detroit Negroes. The numbers are the percentage calling each activity "very important."

Negroes should get more political power by voting together to get officials who will look out for the Negro people — 80 percent.

Negroes should get more economic power by developing strong businesses and industries that are controlled by Negroes — 72 percent.

Negroes should be active in political and civil rights organizations — 72 percent.

Negroes should have better relationships within the family — 85 percent.

Negroes should stop quarreling among themselves and unite efforts on issues that involve Negroes — 82 percent.

Negroes should get more education — 95 percent.



Black extremism blunted among Detroit's Negroes

Hard-core black nationalism remains a potentially dangerous force among Negroes in the Detroit riot areas. But these angry, white-hating extremists are a small minority. There is no evidence they are a growing minority.

The importance of this group stems not from its numerical size, but from the intensity of its feeling.

These are the people who overreact to the Negro's bitter history of discrimination and frustration. They reject the white man's system, are inclined favorably toward violence, and look with ill-concealed delight on such open manifestations of white racism as the support for third-party candidate George Wallace.

Acceptance of Wallace by northern whites, they reason, is proof that the black man cannot do business with the white devil.

"Last week I was in Georgia," said a young militant who lives in a shabby house not far from Twelfth St. "I saw only four or five Wallace posters down there. But up here, I see nothing but Wallace buttons."

"If the American people elect him president, well it will only prove one thing. The black man really will know exactly where he stands and what he was elected for. It is to put the brakes on the black man, and say: 'This is as far as you are going.'"

The extreme separatist position could wither away in Detroit, or at least continue to be numerically insignificant, as long as the new feeling of black unity could find expression in the pursuit of traditional American political and economic goals.

To flourish, the extremists need a repressive atmosphere, and this is not the atmosphere of Detroit.

One indicator of the lack of strength of the extremists is the response to the question: "If the United States got into a big world war today, would you personally feel this country was worth fighting for?"

It reflects a thought expressed by the late Malcolm X, when he spoke at the King Solomon Baptist Church in 1963 and said: "If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and

black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her."

In the August, 1967, survey, a few weeks after the riot, 67 percent of the riot area respondents said this country was worth fighting for. In the new survey, that number increased to 77 percent.

Another rough indicator of extremism is the belief that Negroes have more to gain than lose by resorting to violence. In 1967, 53 percent said Negroes had more to lose. Their number has now risen to 63 percent.

These figures suggest that the extremist position is weakening. But it is still here, ready to grow if the responsible efforts to improve life for blacks do not move forward.

Black nationalism was isolated in the new survey through a statistical technique called factor analysis. This analysis produced a cluster of six indicators which measured different degrees of nationalistic feeling.

* * *

IN ITS MOST benign form, this feeling represents no more than a sense of black-cultural identity not unlike that of other American ethnic groups. Far more Detroit Negroes say that Negro schoolchildren should study an African language (60 percent) than say Negroes should avoid having anything to do with white people (five percent).

In the analysis of the Free Press data, each Detroit respondent was given a black-nationalism score of zero to six, depending on his approval of six programs, ranging from the popular one of African language study to the extremist proposal for Negroes to build a black society completely apart from whites.

Most Detroit Negroes scored quite low on this index. Seventy-five percent agreed with no more than two of the six statements.

Black nationalism, as measured in this way, has no relationship to black power—when black power is defined as the use of Negro unity to gain more political and economic control. In other words, knowing a person's feeling toward black nationalism is of no help in estimating his feeling toward black power. They are different things.

There are, of course, some people who have a foot in both camps.

"We believe in building our nation within a nation," said a member of the congregation of the Rev. Albert Cleage's Shrine of the Black Madonna. "Say we want a separate state. I don't think the white man is going to give us five states — say, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee and Mississippi and South Carolina. I don't think he is going to give us something that it has taken years to build. It is possible, but I think it is highly improbable. So we have to work within the system."

"And that's why we believe in building a nation within a nation, so we can control our neighborhoods, our schools and everything that is in our neighborhoods. Now that's what is meant by self-determination . . . It doesn't mean we want to cut off all communications with whites."

* * *

THE MOST striking finding that emerged was the tendency of former rioters to follow black nationalism.

Seventy-nine percent of those who admitted rioting in 1967 ranked in the upper half of the black nationalism scale compared with 37 percent of the non rioters.

This finding is a good indication of the difference between black nationalism and black power. The black-power advocates were less likely than other Negroes to have been rioters.

There is another key difference. Religious people tend toward black power. Those who are alienated from religion tend toward black nationalism.

Of those who called religion "extremely important," only 37 percent had tendencies toward nationalism. Of those who called religion "very important," 44 percent were nationalistic. And of those for whom religion was only fairly important or not important at all, 60 percent tended toward nationalism.

Black nationalism, then, may be a kind of substitute for religion.

* * *

IN MANY WAYS, the portrait of the black nationalist resembles the portrait of the rioter which emerged from last year's survey. Income and education are not indicators of black nationalism, although age is, with young people tending to be more nationalistic.

The new survey, like the one in 1967, turned up about 10 percent who said they took part in the riot. Most of these said they would riot again if the opportunity came.

Both the former rioters and those who expressed a readiness to riot in the future were drawn strongly to the superficial aspects of black culture.

For example, those who said they have worn or have considered wearing African apparel—dashikis or bubbas — were three times as likely to be admitted rioters as those who stick to conventional dress.

Even a liking for "soul music" is associated with rioting. There were no admitted rioters among the 20 percent of the sample expressing a dislike for soul music. Though this group was small, odds of it not containing any rioters by sheer coincidence were less than one in 500.

The nature of this connection is not clear, but it may be that people who express themselves freely — by digging soul music and wearing dashikis — are more likely to talk about rioting regardless of whether they really are potential rioters.

* * *

IT DOES SUGGEST that support for rioting has become part of the new black culture for some people. But their number is small, and it does not seem to be growing.

Most Detroit Negroes do have a new appreciation for black cultural identity, but few have a desire to flaunt it.

An African hairdo is "not for me," one young mother said. "I don't have to wash my hair and have it kinked on my head so that you know I'm a Negro. I mean you can look at me and tell. I don't have to kink my hair."

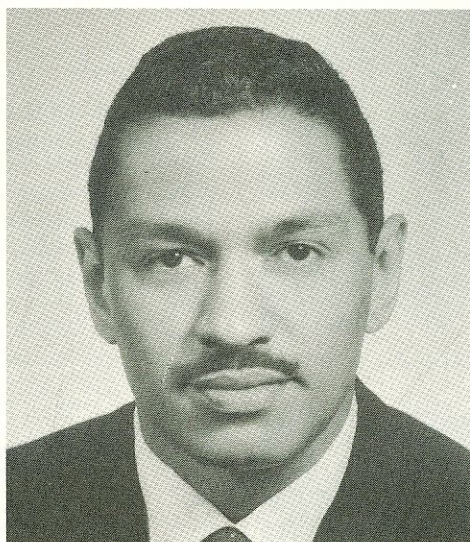
And there is far more support for black control of neighborhood business and political organizations than there is for the dream of a separate black nation.

"What," asked an assembly-line worker, "are we going to do in a black state surrounded by a white state? We still ain't free, 'cause we got to go to the white state to get something. We can't just grow corn and beans. I figure the only way we can make it, is to integrate."

Negroes in politics win praise of black community



Charles Diggs



John Conyers



Albert Cleage

When Detroit Negroes look for leadership, they tend to stay within the existing political system.

The best-known and most-respected black leaders—with one notable exception—are holders of elective office.

Charles C. Diggs Jr., who first was elected by a section of the Inner City to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1954, and who served in the Michigan Senate before that, is the most widely known Detroit Negro leader.

And two-term Congressman John Conyers Jr., younger and more militant than Diggs, is second.

The Rev. Albert Cleage, pastor of the Shrine of the Black Madonna and a pace-setter in the drive for black unity and black economic power, is the only non-politician in the exclusive group of Negro leaders whose names are recognized by more than three-fourths of the black population.

Each of the 452 persons in

the new Free Press survey was given a list of 24 leaders and asked to pick out the names he had heard of. Each was then asked to name the one "you think is doing the most good."

In addition to Diggs, Conyers and Cleage, the names of Common Councilman Nicholas Hood and State Reps. James Del Rio and Jackie Vaughn III were recognized by more than three-fourths of those surveyed.

The choices of those who

have done the most good tended to follow the name-recognition pattern.

Cleage's high ranking on the list is significant not only because he attained it without the advantage of a public office, but because his positions reflect in many ways the new mood of the black community.

"To help black people escape from powerlessness and to make possible self-determination for the black community" is his self-defined goal. His economic orientation of black power, with Negro-run businesses already coming into being under his direction, is right on target.

This kind of activity is strongly approved by the great majority of Detroit Negroes. Seventy-two percent of those interviewed in the survey called development of strong businesses and industries under Negro control "very important."

Where Cleage parts company with the majority of black Detroiters is on the issue of integration. His strategy is to use the racial segregation that already exists as a base for building black unity and self-improvement, in what he calls "a nation within a nation."

There is very little desire among Detroit Negroes to abandon the traditional civil rights goal of an integrated society. Political and economic power for blacks is a means of entering the mainstream. But Cleage's vision of the

How survey measured black extremism

Six questionnaire items in the Free Press survey give an indication of the extent of black nationalist sentiment in Detroit:

- It is very important for Negroes to avoid having anything to do with white people as much as possible—five percent.
- It is very important for Negroes to build a black society completely apart from whites, either in the United States or in Africa—seven percent.
- It is very important for Negroes to be ready to fight alongside other Negroes and participate in riots if necessary—17 percent.
- Negroes have more to gain than lose by resorting to violence in the civil-rights movement—20 percent.
- People of African descent are basically superior—23 percent.
- Negro school children should study an African language—60 percent.

Negroes in politics (continued)



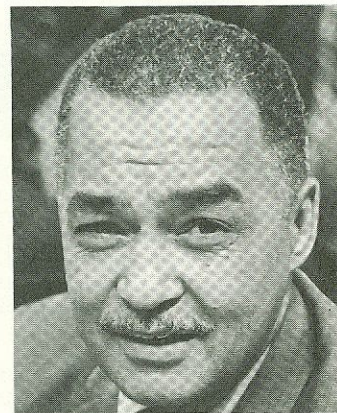
Nicholas Hood



James Del Rio



Jackie Vaughn III



Coleman Young

promised land is all black.

"One of the things I like about him is that in his church they are teaching Negro history," said one young housewife. "I don't think he has to push anti-white attitudes to get his point across. Now, my husband, he reads all the Negro history and everything he can about the Negro, but he's not prejudiced at all and he doesn't stop thinking about other things."

The tension between the old goals and the new strategies is found most clearly in comparing the kinds of people who support the two black congressmen, Diggs and Conyers.

Enough people rated each congressman as the one who had done the most good, so that it was possible statistically to compare their two followings.

Although only seven years older than Conyers, Rep. Diggs has followed a career much more in the pattern of old-line Negro leaders. Before entering politics, he was in his family's undertaking business—a career which, like teaching and the ministry, was one of the few paths to prominence

available to blacks in a segregated society. In the Democratic Party, he has been a loyal organization man.

Conyers is a product of the post-Korean War period when more varied opportunities were opening to Negroes. He first went to Washington as legislative assistant to a white congressman, Dearborn's John Dingell.

He is not an organization man, as evidenced by his involvement with the National Committee of Inquiry, a group which tried to mobilize black influence in the selection of presidential candidates. On racial matters, he is generally more militant than Diggs.

* * *

AS EXPECTED, the survey showed that Conyers appealed to a somewhat younger group. Forty-three percent of his followers are under 35, compared with 32 percent of those who consider Diggs the top leader.

Diggs has significantly stronger appeal among those Detroiters who were raised in the South, a group which

How Detroit blacks rate their leaders

	Have Heard of Him	Doing the Most Good
1. Charles Diggs	95	27
2. John Conyers	86	22
3. Nicholas Hood	85	13
4. James Del Rio	81	6
5. Jackie Vaughn III	80	4
6. Albert Cleage	77	4
7. Coleman Young	69	2
8. Horace Sheffield	63	2
9. William Patrick	57	2
10. Robert Tindal	57	0
11. Edward Vaughn	43	1
12. Ray Shoulders	41	2
13. Milton Henry	39	0
14. Francis Kornegay	37	2
15. Julian Witherspoon	35	0
16. Roy Allen	33	1
17. Fred Lyles	31	1
18. Frank Ditto	30	0
19. Dan Aldridge	24	0
20. Marc Stepp	24	0
21. Longworth Quinn	23	0
22. General Baker	21	0
23. Lorenzo Freeman	18	0
24. Lonnie Peek	14	0

traditionally has been less militant than the northern natives.

Negroes with strong black-culture identity and those who express complaints about jobs, housing and other familiar grievances are more likely to approve of Conyers than Diggs.

But when their two followings are compared on the Black-Power index—a measure among Negroes for stronger political and economic action and other forms of Negro self-improvement—there is no difference.

Perhaps the most striking thing about this effort to find out who speaks for Detroit Negroes is that the best-known leaders are so conventional. Since the riot, it has been all too easy to leap to the conclusion that the most extreme militant leaders are the most important.

But Milton Henry, perhaps the most radical separatist to gain public attention in the Detroit area, was known by only 39 percent of the Negroes surveyed.

And activists involved with other specific militant groups

and goals—Fred Lyles of the United Tenants for Collective Action; Lorenzo Freeman, formerly of the West Central Organization, and Lonnie Peek of Wayne State's Associated Black Students—ranked below Henry.

Although Dan Aldridge, a young militant who writes a column for the Michigan Chronicle, was as well known as Longworth Quinn, who edits the paper, most of the young black activists on the list were not so widely known as other leaders who have been around longer.

It is worth noting that the leadership question as used in the survey tends to measure past as well as present popularity. The high respect held for Rep. Diggs is the culmination of nearly two decades in public office.

* * *

Somewhere farther down the list there may be the name of a leader who has a viewpoint that is only beginning to take hold in the black community, and the leaders of tomorrow may be quite different from those of today and yesterday.

Detroit is trying harder to achieve racial peace

When historians of the next century look back at the progress of the black man in America, Detroit may have more than one claim to fame.

In addition to being the scene of the nation's worst Negro riot of this period, it may be remembered as the city that tried the hardest to do the most for racial peace.

Viewed from inside the city, Detroit's reservoir of good will is sometimes hard to see. As in all attempts at massive social change, there is far more talk than action.

But when you compare Detroit to other northern cities with similar problems, it looks far better. One team of political scientists which is trying to make systematic comparisons among riot cities has decided to give Detroit a high mark for effort.

The Detroit response is called "ameliorative" compared to cities which have done nothing or concentrated on punitive action against blacks in the wake of riots. The description of ameliorative, which means improving or making better, was used by David Olson of the Brookings Institute and Michael Lipsky of the University of Wisconsin in a preliminary report to a political science convention last month.

Detroit probably responded this way, they suggested, because it had a tradition of trying to improve its race relations long before the riot.

The two Free Press surveys, one in August, 1967, just after the riot, and the second last month, offer convincing evidence that Detroit is on the right track. The minority that believes in violence and the extreme black nationalists have gained no visible ground in the past year.

But whether they will gain ground in the future remains an open question.

While the year-to-year comparisons show no hardening of anti-white attitudes, there is a significant tendency for young Negroes to be more receptive to extremist views than their elders.

Angus Campbell and Howard Schuman of the University of Michigan noted the same thing in their 15-city study for the Kerner Commission earlier this year. As they pointed out, the fact that the young tend to

be rebellious does not mean they will stay that way as they get older.

Nevertheless, it is the young people whose loyalty is the main prize in the competition of ideas. They are flexible, mobile people who should be most directly affected by Detroit's efforts to bring blacks into the economic and political mainstreams.

* * *

ONE OF the most encouraging findings in the new Free Press survey was that Detroit Negroes believe that local business is trying hard to solve this city's problems. But young people feel this much less strongly than older people.

Considering only those in the survey who had opinions on the private sector's effort, the age differences came out like this:

Among those more than 50 years old, 71 percent said private industry is trying as hard as it can. Among those in the 35-to-50-year group, 61 percent shared this view. And in the under-35 group, 54 percent credited industry for its efforts.

Separatism, readiness for violence, alienation from religion, a belief that this country is not worth fighting for—all attitudes that threaten to split blacks deeply from whites—are strongest among the young.

These are still minority attitudes in all age groups. But minority attitudes can be important.

Of those Negroes who expressed a preference between integrated and segregated housing, the great majority wanted to live in integrated neighborhoods. But the group preferring all-black neighborhoods increases sharply as age decreases: From 9 percent among those over 50 to 23 percent among those aged 15-24.

The Free Press survey isolated two chief clusters of attitudes that are basically in competition: One, held by the vast majority, seeks black political and economic power through the existing social system. The other, a minority view, looks to the black nationalist goal of a separate system with whites shut out.

* * *

BLACK POWER, though strong in all age groups, is

weakest among the young people.

Black nationalism, weak in all age groups, is less weak among the young.

In the long run, the people in the riot area have more going for them than their parents did.

The average education among all those interviewed—and this includes the one-fifth who are still in school—was 10.6 grades. The fathers of those interviewed had attained only 7.6 grades of schooling, their mothers, 8.8 grades.

But the young people are not content with long-run improvement. They want equality now.

Therefore, the generally encouraging findings of this new survey must be qualified. Future developments may depend on how well Detroit's ambitious start at making things better is followed through and how directly these efforts affect the young.

Negroes, on the whole, are hopeful. A few, however, see the work of the city's leaders as being unrepresentative of white attitudes in general.

"I believe that your wealthy, middle-class, business white people are really trying," said one young militant. "But the hostility is going to build up among the lower-class white men against the blacks."

This view is carried to an alarming extreme by a small but significant minority. Four-

teen percent of the blacks in the survey said they had heard stories lately about groups of whites planning to attack Negro neighborhoods.

* * *

CONSIDERING how rumors circulated during the long newspaper strike, this is not too surprising. The worrisome part is that nearly half of the people who heard these rumors believed them.

There is still much work to be done, then, in establishing communication between the races.

Last year, when the smoke from the fires around Twelfth Street still hung in the air, there was a time when no one could be sure that what had just happened was not a general rebellion—a calculated declaration of war of black against white.

It was not. The first Free Press survey indicated that the riot was not so much a collective act of political protest as a way of expressing long pent-up grievances and frustration.

Negroes did not then and do not now want to destroy the city. They want to improve it. And so the potential for achieving a harmonious balance between black power and white power, at least as far as the blacks are concerned, still exists.

If Detroit can't solve its racial problems, probably no American city can.

How Negro attitudes vary by age groups

These figures show how Detroit Negro attitudes vary among the different age groups. Numbers are the percent in each category which holds the indicated attitude.

	15-24	25-34	35-50	Over 50
Prefer segregated housing	23	15	12	9
U.S. not worth fighting for	34	24	14	7
Religion extremely important	46	52	58	73
Would join another riot	23	9	6	2
Industry is trying hard to make things better	54	56	61	75
Lean strongly toward political, economic forms of black power	55	68	68	74

Table of survey findings

SEPTEMBER, 1968

Here are the questions in the September, 1968, Detroit Free Press survey and percentage giving each response. The percentages are based on the number who answered each question, which is in some cases less than the full 452-person sample, and they are rounded to the nearest full percentage point. Because of rounding, some totals do not add to 100.

In a sample of this size, the odds are roughly 19 to one that a percentage close to 50 will accurately reflect the total study population within five percentage points, plus or minus. As a rough guide to comparing results of the 1968 survey with those obtained in 1967, differences of seven or more percentage points may be considered statistically significant — unlikely to have occurred by chance alone. This estimate of the comparability of the two surveys may be conservative because the people interviewed in 1968 lived in the same blocks as those interviewed in 1967 and probably have similar characteristics.

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

- A. Quality of public schools
- B. Parks and playgrounds for children in this neighborhood
- C. Sports and recreation center for teenagers in this neighborhood
- D. Police protection in this neighborhood
- E. Garbage collection in this neighborhood

	Generally Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Don't Know
A.	38	25	16	22
B.	21	25	36	17
C.	18	22	40	21
D.	33	25	34	8
E.	55	18	24	3

- 2. Thinking about city services like schools, parks, and garbage collection, do you think your neighborhood gets better, about the same, or worse services than most other parts of the city?
Better12
About same54
Worse27
Don't know 8
- 3. If you have a serious complaint about poor service by the city, do you think you can get city officials to do something about it if you call them?
Yes14
No38
Don't know48
- 4. Have you ever called a city official with a complaint about poor service?
Yes23
No77
- 5. In general, do you think Detroit city officials pay more, less, or the same attention to a request or complaint from a Negro as from a white person?
More 3
Less52
Same34
Don't know11
- 6. Do you think the Mayor of Detroit is trying as hard as he can to solve the main problems of the city, or that he is not doing all he could to solve these problems?
Trying as hard as he can42
Fairly hard21
Not hard at all26
Don't know11

- 7. How about the state government? Do you think they are trying as hard as they can to solve the main problems of cities like Detroit, or that they are not doing all they could to solve these problems?
Trying as hard as they can35
Fairly hard22
Not hard at all27
Don't know16
- 8. How about the federal government in Washington? Do you think they are trying as hard as they can to solve the main problems of cities like Detroit, or that they are not doing all they could to solve such problems?
Trying as hard as they can48
Fairly hard19
Not hard at all21
Don't know12
- 9. How about private industry here in Detroit. Do you think private companies are trying as hard as they can to solve the main problems of cities like Detroit, or that they are not doing all they could to solve such problems?
Trying as hard as they can52
Fairly hard12
Not hard at all19
Don't know16
- 10. How about the labor unions in Detroit? Do you think they are trying as hard as they can to solve the main problems of cities like Detroit, or that they are not doing all they could to solve such problems?
Trying as hard as they can52
Fairly hard11
Not hard at all18
Don't know18
- 11. If you were employed to the same work as a white person, do you feel you would likely get less pay, about the same pay, or more pay?
Less pay26
Same pay67

- More pay** 2
Don't know 5
- 12. Here are some complaints you hear sometimes about stores and merchants. Would you tell me if these things ever happen to you when you shop in stores in or near this neighborhood?
 A. Do you think you are unfairly overcharged for goods often, sometimes, rarely, or never?
 B. Do you think you are sold spoiled or inferior goods often, sometimes, rarely, or never?
 C. In such store, are you treated disrespectfully often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

	A.	B.	C.
Often	55	15	7
Sometimes	22	40	11
Rarely	8	17	12
Never	11	26	67
Don't Know	3	2	3

- 13. In general, would you say that business has been more fair to Negroes since the riots last summer, less fair, or about the same?
More fair 39
Less fair14
About the same ...47
- 14. In your own neighborhood, do you think that the merchants in the following kinds of businesses treat Negroes fairly or unfairly? After I read each type of business, tell me if you think the merchants are fair or unfair to Negroes.

	Fair	Unfair	Don't Know
Grocery stores	39	57	4
Car Dealers	27	33	40
Furniture stores	30	43	27
Auto repair shops	29	28	43
Real estate agents	29	34	37
Insurance agencies	51	27	22
Record shops	66	7	26
Loan offices	21	41	37
Home improvement	19	42	39

15. Do you think the TV stations in Detroit reported last summer's riot fairly or unfairly?
Fairly49
Unfairly39
Don't know12
16. Do you think the newspapers in Detroit reported the riot fairly or unfairly?
Fairly43
Unfairly40
Don't know18
17. Now I am going to read a list of publications. Please tell me whether you read them regularly, sometimes, or not at all.
- | | | | |
|--------------------|----|----|----|
| Not at All | | | |
| Sometimes | | | |
| Regularly | | | |
| Michigan Chronicle | 48 | 37 | 15 |
| Detroit News | 47 | 33 | 21 |
| Detroit Free Press | 35 | 35 | 31 |
| The Courier | 4 | 15 | 81 |
| Inner City Voice | 3 | 8 | 89 |
18. How long have you been living at this address:
Less than one year 17
Over a year 83
19. How long have you lived in Detroit?
Under 1 year 3
Under 5 years11
Over 5 years 63
Born in Detroit ... 23
20. Where were you brought up as a child?
Southern State ... 56
Northern State42
Elsewhere 2
21. Do you or your family own this home or do you rent?
Own46
Rent51
Other 2
22. Is this the kind of neighborhood you would like to continue in?
Yes42
No54
Don't know 4
23. Would you say this neighborhood is better than the one you grew up in, worse, or about the same?
Better38
Worse26
Same33
Don't know 3
24. For the most part, were you raised on a farm, in a small town,

- or in a city?
Farm12
Small town (under 50,000) 35
City (50,000 or over) 53
25. Would you rather live in a neighborhood with only Negro families or in a neighborhood that had both Negro and White families?
Negro13
Negro and white ...75
Don't know12
26. Which do you think is more important now—to get more and better housing in and around areas where Negroes already live, or to open housing for Negroes in other parts of the city and suburbs?
Get more and better housing44
Open up new integrated housing41
Both equal in importance14
Don't know 1
27. Compared to Negroes in other northern cities, do you think Negroes in Detroit have better than average education, about the same amount of education, or less education?
More education ...13
Less education 8
Same amount of education64
Don't know15
28. Compared to Negroes in other northern cities, do you think Negroes in Detroit have better than average income, or less income?
More income44
Less income 4
Same amount 39
Don't know 13
29. Compared to Negroes in other northern cities, do you think Negroes in Detroit have better jobs, about the same kinds of jobs, or worse jobs?
Better jobs42
Worse jobs 2
Same kind of jobs 44
Don't know 12
30. In your opinion are government officials pushing integration too slow, too fast, or about right?
Too slow 62
Too fast 1
About right 23
Don't know 13

31. Now I am going to ask you some questions about government and politics. Very few people would know all the answers, so if you don't know, please say so.
- A. How many years does the governor of Michigan serve?
Four54
Other 11
Don't know 35

- B. Name one U.S. Senator from Michigan.
Hart 37
Griffin11
Other10
Don't know42
- C. To what political party did President Franklin D. Roosevelt belong?
Democrat77
Other 4
Don't know20

32. Here is a list of Negro leaders in the Detroit area. Please look at it and tell me which ones you have heard of.

33. Which one of the black leaders do you think is doing the most good?

	Heard of	Doing Most
Charles Diggs	95	27
John Conyers	86	22
Nicholas Hood	85	13
James Del Rio	82	6
Jackie Vaughn III	80	4
Albert Cleage	77	4
Coleman Young	69	2
Horace Sheffield	63	2
William Patrick	57	2
Robert Tindal	57	0
Edward Vaughn	43	1
Ray Shoulders	41	2
Milton Henry	39	0
Francis Kornegay	37	2
Julian Witherspoon	35	0
Roy Allen	33	1
Fred Lyles	31	0
Frank Ditto	30	0
Dan Aldridge	24	0
Marc Stepp	24	0
Longworth Quinn	23	0
General Baker	21	0
Lorenzo Freeman	18	0
Lonnie Peek	14	0

34. Now I'm going to read you a list of statements. For each statement, please tell me whether it's true for you or not.

	Yes True	No, Not True	Don't Know
A. I often feel quite lonely	34	64	2
B. To tell the truth, I would be afraid to take part in civil right demonstration	34	62	4
C. Sometimes I can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile anymore	44	53	3
D. I think a person nowadays has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself	43	54	3
E. It bothers me to see Foreigners succeeding more than Americans who were born here	51	44	5
F. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on	71	25	4
G. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think	63	32	5
H. Voting is the only way people like me (my parents) can have			

	Yes True	No, Not True	Don't Know
a say about how the govern- ment runs things	78	18	3
I. When I make plans ahead, I usually get to carry things out the way I expected	53	44	3
J. I often have trouble making up my mind about important de- cisions	41	58	1
K. I don't particularly care for "soul" food	16	84	0
L. "Soul music" isn't especially appealing to me	20	78	2
M. I don't much care for those new African clothing styles	53	41	6

35. If you could take a trip abroad, would you rather go to France, England, China or Nigeria?	Don't know11
France	35
England	12
Ghana	14
Nigeria	29
36. Have you ever consid- ered wearing a dash- iki (bubba) or a tiki?	Yes29
	No61
	Has worn one 7
	Doesn't understand the question 4

37. Now, I am going to read some more statements,
and I would like to know whether you agree or
disagree with each one.

Dis- Don't
Agree agree Know

A. Negroes who get ahead do it by fighting for their rights	78	18	4
B. If Negroes would try harder, they could solve their prob- lems without any help from whites	50	46	4
C. Civil rights groups which have both Negro and white leaders would do better without the whites	21	70	9
D. Racial discrimination is here to stay for a long time	60	28	13
E. Negroes who get ahead do it by being "Uncle Tom"	13	83	4
F. An owner of property should not have to sell to Negroes if he doesn't want to	38	54	8
G. A restaurant owner should not have to serve Negroes if he doesn't want to	18	78	4
H. Negroes should spend more time praying and less time demonstrating	40	49	11
I. Negroes who want to work hard can get ahead just as easily as anyone else	58	40	2
J. Before Negroes are given equal rights, they have to show that they deserve them	32	65	2
K. People of African descent are basically superior	23	67	11
L. Black leaders go too far when they praise and encourage vi- olence	68	24	8
M. There should be more Negro businesses, banks, and stores	97	2	1
N. Negroes should shop in Negro- owned stores whenever pos- sible	83	15	2
O. Negroes should take more pride in Negro history	97	2	1

Dis- Don't
Agree agree Know

P. Negroes should not have any- thing to do with whites if they can help it	13	84	2
Q. There should be a separate black nation here	8	87	5
R. Negro school children should study an African language	59	31	10
S. It is better to be called "black" than "Negro"	43	46	11
T. Too many Negroes start acting and thinking like white people as soon as they begin to get ahead	58	34	9
U. Things would be better in this part of town if more of the policemen were black	49	32	18
V. People with "natural" hair are trying to be different just for the sake of being different	39	49	12
W. Most of our problems would be solved if we could take a pill that would make us white	10	86	4

38. Are most of the un- happy things in peo- ples lives due to bad luck or due to the mis- takes they make?	out of life depends upon ability or upon being in the right place at the right time?
Bad luck	20
Mistakes	75
Don't know	5
39. Do you think that get- ting what you want	Ability..... 71 Being in the right place 24 Don't know..... 4

40. People have different ideas about what causes riots
like the one in Detroit last summer. Let me read
you a list of possible riot causes, and you can pick
out the ones which you think might be most likely to
cause another riot here. As I read each problem on
the list, please tell me whether it might have a
great deal to do with causing a riot, something to
do with causing a riot, or nothing at all to do with
causing a riot.

	A great deal	Some- thing	Nothing at all	Don't Know
Poverty	60	22	16	2
Lack of jobs	57	25	17	2
Poor housing	61	22	15	2
Black nationalism	34	31	24	11
Broken political promises	40	22	32	6
Not enough integration	26	34	35	5
Teenagers	43	39	14	4
Police brutality	71	19	6	4
Lack of strong Negro leaders	33	31	29	7
Hatred of whites	31	37	27	5
The failure of the schools	20	30	44	6
Anger with the fire department	4	13	75	8
Anger with the police	62	25	10	3
Anger with politicians	28	26	42	4
Anger with local business people	33	28	32	6
The failure of parents to control their children	49	32	15	4
The frustration of middle class Negroes	16	31	35	18

	A great deal	Some-thing	Nothing at all	Don't Know
Lack of recreation families	35	33	25	8
Disappointment with white public officials	37	31	25	7
Disappointment with Negro public officials	19	28	45	9
Poor transportation	8	14	71	7
Dirty neighborhoods	43	31	23	3
Overcrowded living conditions	55	26	16	2
Too much drinking	42	23	31	4
Not enough welfare services	13	23	47	17

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

Worth fighting for ..77

Not worth fighting for18

Don't know 4

42. If a situation like the one in Vietnam were to develop in another part of the world, do you think the United States should or should not send troops?

Should22

Should not67

Don't know11

43. Which do you think is the more important issue facing the country today: civil rights or the war in Vietnam?

Civil rights67

Vietnam 9

Both important23

Don't know 2

44. Which of the following do you think can best help the Negro?

Federal

government31

State government... 4

City government ... 8

Neither 2

All equal46

Don't know 8

45. All in all, compared with three years ago, do you think things for you and your family are better, worse or about the same?

Better54

Worse7

Same 37

Don't know 2

46. Now, here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom represents the worst possible life

for you.

A. Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time? (01 to 10)

Mean 5.7

B. Where on the ladder would you say you stood last summer, just before the riot?

Mean 4.9

C. Where on the ladder would you say you stood 5 years ago?

Mean 4.2

D. Where do you think you will be on the ladder five years from now?

Mean 7.7

47. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what? (IF R or D) Would you call yourself a strong (R, D) or a not very strong (R, D)?

(IF INDEPENDENT) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or closer to the Democratic party?

Strong Democrat 71

Not very strong

Democrat 10

Independent closer to Democrats 4

Independent (not closer to either) 5

Independent closer to Republicans 0

Not very strong

Republican 1

Strong Republican 2

Other, minor party 0

Don't know,

refused to say 6

48. Are you registered to vote, or do you plan to register this year?

Yes74

No26

Don't know 0

(If registered or plans

to register:)

A. Did you vote in the election for President in 1960 when Nixon and Kennedy ran or did something come up to keep you from voting?

Voted 86

Did not vote 12

Don't know 1

B. (IF VOTED) Did you vote for Nixon or Kennedy?

Nixon 4

Kennedy 93

Don't know 3

C. Did you vote in the election for President in 1964 when Goldwater and Johnson ran, or did something come up to keep you from voting?

Voted 89

Did not vote 10

Don't know 1

D. (IF VOTED) Did you vote for Goldwater or Johnson?

Goldwater 2

49. I am going to read a list of different things that have been suggested which Negroes could do to get ahead. Please look at the card and then tell me which things you think would be very important, somewhat important, unimportant, useless, or harmful.

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Unimportant	Useless	Harmful	Don't Know
A. Get jobs and hang on to them no matter what	67	17	4	2	8	3
B. Get more education	95	4	1	0	0	0
C. Be active in political and civil rights organization	72	22	4	0	1	2
D. Get more economic power by developing strong businesses and industries that are controlled by Negroes	72	21	3	0	0	4
E. Get more political power by voting together to get officials who will look out for the Negro people	80	13	2	0	0	4
F. Swing their weight by mass demonstrations, boycotts, and other public demands	44	31	7	5	7	6
G. Have better relationships within the family	85	10	3	0	0	2
H. Depend on the better white people to help the Negroes	31	36	14	9	7	3

Johnson 95

Don't know 3

E. In the election next November, do you plan to vote for Richard Nixon, the Republican, Hubert Humphrey, the Democrat, or George Wallace, the third-party candidate from Alabama?

Nixon 1

Humphrey 74

Wallace 1

Undecided 25

F. (IF UNDECIDED)

As of right now, which way are you leaning? More toward Humphrey, more toward Nixon, or more toward Wallace?

(Total vote after leaning question:)

Nixon 2

Humphrey81

Wallace 1

Don't know17

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Unimportant	Useless	Harmful	Don't Know
I. Avoid having anything to do with white people as much as possible	5	10	23	14	45	3
J. Be ready to fight alongside other Negroes and participate in riots if necessary	17	20	10	7	41	4
K. Go to church and keep out of trouble	58	20	11	7	2	3
L. Stop quarreling among themselves and unite efforts on issues that involve Negroes	82	13	2	1	0	1
M. Get ahead on your own and don't be held back by others who won't work as hard	76	16	4	2	2	1
N. Be more militant	31	29	11	5	18	7
O. Be more ready to compromise so as to get any gain, even if it's small	27	31	12	6	19	5
P. Build a black society, completely apart from whites, either in the United States or in Africa	7	5	16	13	53	6

50. Some people say policemen lack respect or use insulting language. Do you think this happens to people in this area?	Yes	57
	No	29
	Don't know	14
A. Has it happened to anyone you know?	Yes	41
	No	55
	Don't know	4
B. Has it happened to you?	Yes	17
	No	81
	Don't know	2
51. Some people say policemen use unnecessary force in making arrests. Do you think this happens to people in this area?	Yes	53
	No	32
	Don't know	15
A. Has it happened to anyone you know?	Yes	33
	No	58
	Don't know	4
B. Has it happened to you?	Yes	33
	No	58
	Don't know	4

	Yes	9
	No	89
	Don't know	2
52.	In general, would you say that police treatment of people in this part of town has been better since the riot last summer, worse than before, or about the same?	
	Better	22
	Worse	15
	About the same	48
	Don't know	15
53.	In the next five years, do you think the attitude of the white people about Negro rights will get better, worse, or stay about the same?	
	Better	60
	Worse	8
	Stay the same	20
	Don't know	12
54.	Do you feel that Negroes have more to gain or more to lose by resorting to violence in the civil rights movement?	
	More to gain	20
	More to lose	63
	Not sure	17

55. Do you feel a riot like the one last summer in Detroit could happen again or couldn't happen again?	Could happen	78
	Could not happen	14
	Don't know	8
(IF COULD HAPPEN)	A. How soon?	
	This year	10
	Next year or later	26
	Don't know	64
56. Would you join in something like that (a riot) or not?	Probably would join	10
	Probably would not join	79
	Not sure	11
57. Were you in Detroit last summer, during riot?	Yes	91
	No	9
A. (IF YES) Would you say that you took active part in that disturbance, somewhat active, or just slightly active?	Very active	3
	Somewhat active	2
	Slightly active	5
	Not active	
	(volunteers)	85
	No answer	4
58. Have you heard any stories lately about groups of whites planning to attack Negro neighborhoods?	(IF YES) Do you think these stories are true or false?	
	Heard stories and think they are true	7
	Heard stories and think they are false	7
	Heard stories and don't know if true or false	3
	Have not heard stories	83
59. Is the head of the household (are you) working at the present time, out of a job, or what?	Working	76
	Laid off temporarily	2
	Out of a job	4
	Retired	12
	Student	1
	Military	0
	Housewife	6
(IF RESPONDENT IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD).		

A. How about yourself? Are you working, unemployed, a student, or something else?	Working	43
	Laid off temporarily	2
	Out of a job	3
	Retired	5
	Student	18
	Military	0
	Housewife	28
60. What is your religion?	Protestant	81
	Catholic	6
	Muslim	1
	Other	7
	None	4
	Don't know	1
All in all, how important would you say that religion is to you?	Extremely important	57
	Quite important	18
	Fairly important	15
	Not too important	6
	Not important at all	3
	Don't know	1
62. Have you ever served in the armed forces?	Yes	19
	No	81
63. Highest grade of school completed (mean):	Father	7.6
	Mother	8.8
	Self	10.7
	Head of house	10.2
64. Income of family:	Less than \$2,500	11
	\$2,501 to \$4,999	22
	\$5,000 to \$7,499	33
	\$7,500 to \$9,999	16
	\$10,000 to \$12,499	7
	\$12,500 to \$14,999	2
	\$15,000 or more	4
	Don't know, refused to say	6
65. (Married men only): Is your wife working at a job 20 hours or more a week at present?	Yes	39
	No	61
66. Respondent's sex:	Male	44
	Female	56