

Sociologist Predicts Increasing Negro Militancy

By PETER KIHSS

A Harvard sociologist has predicted that "as time passes, larger proportions of the Negro community will become aroused and militant" in demanding equal rights.

Declaring that a third of the country's Negroes are now "consistently militant" he has made his prediction on the basis of an eight-point "index of conventional militancy," which defines militants as those who agree with six or more of these eight beliefs:

That the Federal Government pushes integration too slowly; that Negroes who want to work can't get ahead as easily as whites, that Negroes should spend more time demonstrating; that those queried would take part in demonstrations themselves; that there should be more demonstrations; that restaurants should have to serve Negroes; that Negroes don't have to "show that they deserve" equal rights and that property owners should have to sell to Negroes.

One impetus for increasing militancy, the sociologist, Dr. Gary T. Marx, says, actually items from "continued progress," in which whites are gaining faster in education, health and welfare.

As other factors he cite Negro movement out of rural areas and the South, Negro concentration in central area of cities and an increasing proportion of youth among Negroes — all predisposing to militancy.

Antiwhite Criteria

However, Dr. Marx reports that militants by his standard are also "the most tolerant Negroes" and the least antiwhite. He scores 23 per cent of Negroes as antiwhite on a index using factors such as these:

The belief that almost all white merchants take advantage of Negroes; suspicion of whites who try to help Negroes and being upset by the success of immigrants and the preference for Negro — instead of mixed — neighborhoods.

Dr. Marx's views are based on a University of California

survey of Negro attitudes directed under auspices of the Anti-Defamation League. B'nai B'rith. Since July 1 he has been associate professor of social relations at Harvard University.

A preview of his study was made public by the league last May. The full report is being published as a 255-page book by Harper & Row Oct. 25 under the title, "Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black Community."

New York City Negroes scored as the most militant of five groups polled — 45 per cent so classified here, as compared with 27 per cent in "metropolitan areas of the nation outside the South," 27 per cent in Chicago, 19 per cent in Birmingham and 16 per cent in Atlanta.

Reason for Shifts

On Dr. Marx's antiwhite index, 25 per cent scored antiwhite in New York. This was close to Chicago's 26 per cent and Birmingham's 25, and the 23 per cent in Atlanta and the general metropolitan sample.

"Increased awareness of, and frustration over, the massive obstacles to real integration and an increased pride in blackness" are causing a shift in attitudes, according to Dr. Marx.

"For black power advocates," he says, "the emphasis is increasingly put on equality rather than integration and on developing a strong black community, rather than in dispersing that community throughout the white community."

He also asserts that Negroes "must control their own communities and organizations and find means of making those in power locally and nationally more responsive to the needs."

Dr. Marx says "it would be wishful thinking to deny the antiwhite sentiment of an active minority and the increasing possibility of violent and self-destructive outbursts, where Negroes on a large scale would come to attack whites instead of white-owned buildings."

But he contends that "while such events may be encouraged

by slogans and agitation, their ultimate source would be the inability of white society to change." Bayard Rustin, one of the Negro civil rights figures, declares in a foreword that there are "ominous signs" of bitterness, among Negro masses, even though Mr. Rustin agrees with the over-all finding that "most Negroes still maintain their commitment to nonviolent social change and willingness to work with men of good will in the white community."

Mr. Rustin calls for uniting Negroes and whites to replace ghettos and slums with decent integrated communities.

Dr. Marx's nationwide survey of major Negro centers was carried out in interviews with 1,119 Negro adults, about 90 per cent by Negro interviewers, in October, 1964. He says surveys by others since then indicate its continuing validity.

As to his national findings, he writes:

"That one-half the sample said riots do some good and one-third felt that violence can't change ghettos and slums with decent ready know, namely, that the race situation in this country has become unstable and volatile."

A Cautionary Note

"On the other hand, the results should not be interpreted as indicating a predilection for a commitment to violence. More likely they reflect a realistic appraisal of the actual situation."

Thus, he goes on, the 196 Los Angeles Watts riots, with 35 deaths and more than 1,000 injuries, "led to the prompt release of [antipoverty] funds that had previously been tied up for months and millions of dollars in government aid to rebuild the area and improve community conditions."

His measures of militancy indicate a rise from 19 per cent militancy among Negroes

raised in the Deep South to 35 per cent outside the South and 37 per cent among those raised on farms to 37 per cent for those growing up in big cities.

By age, he reports 31 per cent of those aged 18 to 19 scored as militant, and 34 per cent between the ages of 30 and 44. This declined to 23 per cent between 45 and 59, 16 per cent between 60 and 75, and 9 per cent of those over 75.

The more educated and the better off tend to be more militant, by Dr. Marx's findings. The score for those with grammar school education or less is 15 per cent militant; high school education, 31; partial or complete college education, 42.

Militancy is scored by 24 per cent of those in service occupations, rising to 48 per cent among professionals; 13 per cent for those earning less than \$2,000 a year, but 38 per cent for those with incomes of \$4,000 to \$6,000.

"The fact that militancy is more pronounced among the privileged than among the unprivileged suggests that the privileged have a broader perspective, derived from their greater education and social participation," Dr. Marx writes.

He says "lower-status people and those socially isolated are more likely to be apathetic about issues of public policy."

"Reports of a 'rising tide' of black nationalism," Dr. Marx says, "at least in late 1964, were widely misleading: strong and consistent support for the Muslims was at best an infinitesimal ripple in the Negro community."

He reports "only 1/3 of 1 per cent of our respondents offered strong and consistent support for the Muslims, and only 4 per cent indicated moderate support."