

Questionnaire

Next week you will be going to Mississippi under the sponsorship of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). We are interested in why you chose to go, what you expect to accomplish there as well as your opinions about the civil-rights struggle in general.

In this questionnaire you will find a series of sometimes detailed questions. Work rapidly and answer the questions as you feel not as you think you should feel. Your answers to this questionnaire will be considered confidential and will not be utilized in the evaluation of your participation in Mississippi. Let us thank you in advance.

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I. First tell us some obviously basic things about yourself:

1. Name _____
2. Home Address _____
(number) (street) (town) (state)
3. Student Address _____
(residence) (college) (town & state)
4. Address at which you can be contacted October 1, 1964. _____

II. Now we would like to learn something about your decision to join the COFO Mississippi Project. For each question simply circle the letter beside the appropriate response category.

1. When did you first learn about the COFO Mississippi Summer Project?
 - a) fall of 1963 or before
 - b) January-February, 1964
 - c) March, 1964
 - d) April, 1964
 - e) May, 1964
2. Where or from whom did you first hear about it?
 - a) close friend
 - b) acquaintance
 - c) professor
 - d) campus civil-rights groups
 - e) non-campus civil-rights group
 - f) other campus organization (specify) _____
 - g) other non-campus organization (specify) _____
 - h) other (specify) _____
3. How long did it take you to decide to apply?

a) several months	e) several days
b) about a month	f) one day
c) several weeks	g) immediately
d) about a week	
4. How difficult was the decision for you, judging by the amount of concern it caused you and the number of pros and cons you considered?

a) very difficult	c) somewhat difficult
b) moderately difficult	d) not difficult at all
5. If you had complete freedom of choice, in what part of the summer program would you choose to specialize?
 - a) community cultural and recreational projects in a single location
 - b) touring musical and theatrical groups
 - c) Freedom schools
 - d) Democratic delegate convention
 - e) voter registration at official stations

6. How many fellow participants in the COFO project have you known prior to the project itself?

- | | | |
|---------|----------|-----------------------|
| a) none | d) three | g) six to ten |
| b) one | e) four | h) eleven to fourteen |
| c) two | f) five | i) more than fifteen |

7. State the three most important reasons for your personal participation in the Project:

a) most important:

b) second most important:

c) third most important:

8. State the single most important worry that you have about the summer:

9. We are interested in how your participation in Mississippi will be financed. What percentage comes from each of the following sources?

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a) own money _____% | e) friends _____% |
| b) parents _____% | f) civil-rights groups _____% |
| c) other relatives _____% | g) civic organizations _____% |
| d) religious groups _____% | h) other (specify) _____% |

10. What would you be doing this summer if you were not going to Mississippi? Circle the category that is most accurate, where full-time means all but two weeks.

- a) working full-time in my career job
- b) working full-time in a summer job
- c) going to school full-time
- d) vacationing full-time
- e) working part-time; going to school part-time
- f) working part-time; vacationing part-time
- g) going to school part-time; vacationing part-time
- h) other (please specify) _____

People have sacrificed different things to participate in the Mississippi Project. For each series of statements on the next page, circle the one that is most appropriate to you.

11. Which statement best describes the summer's effect on your financial situation?
- a) The loss of savings and/or earnings will mean that I will have to change my plans drastically for next year.
 - b) The loss will mean that I will have to work especially hard next year to pay for what I had planned to do.
 - c) The loss is not a severe handicap, though it will mean less money than I had counted on.
 - d) The summer is not a financial hardship to me at all.
 - e) Other (Please Specify) _____
12. Which statement best describes the effect on your academic plans?
- a) Participation will mean that I won't be able to attend school next year until I make up the loss of funds.
 - b) Participation will mean that I will be less effective in school next year since I will have to make up the money with added part-time work.
 - c) Participation means sacrificing the summer school that I had originally planned.
 - d) Participation will keep me from studying on my own this summer for academic purposes.
 - e) Participation does not affect my school schedule at all.
 - f) I am not in school.
 - g) Other (Please Specify) _____
13. Which statement best describes the summer's effect on your future career?
- a) The summer will not only take crucial time away from my career, but it will also hurt my chances because of the reputation it will give me.
 - b) Although the summer will not affect my career time-wise, it may seriously jeopardize the career I had hoped for because of the reputation it will earn me.
 - c) I expect no repercussions from the summer because of what people will think, but the summer will take valuable time away from my career.
 - d) Neither the time nor the reputation will be important factors in my career.
 - e) Other (please specify) _____
14. Is there any other way in which the summer will require you to sacrifice? If so, would you please indicate what it is and describe it briefly.
- _____
- _____
- _____

III. Now we are interested in finding out something about your family, your friends, and other close personal relationships. Remember that all your answers are confidential.

A. First, there are several questions that apply separately to your father, your mother, and the brother or sister to whom you feel closest. For each person, circle the category that is most appropriate for each person.

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Closest Sibling</u>
1. Which category best describes this person's political preference?	a. Socialist b. Liberal Democrat c. Conservative Democrat d. Liberal Republican e. Conservative Republican f. John Birch Society Supporter	a. Socialist b. Liberal Democrat c. Con. Democrat d. Lib. Republican e. Con. Republican f. John Birch Society Supporter	a. Socialist b. Liberal Democrat c. Con. Democrat d. Lib. Republican e. Con. Republican f. John Birch Society Supporter
2. How would you rank this person's views on the racial situation?	a. strong integrationist b. moderate integrationist c. mixed feelings d. moderate segregationist e. strong segregationist	a. str. integrationist b. mod. integrationist c. mixed feelings d. mod. segregationist e. str. segregationist	a. str. integrationist b. mod. integrationist c. mixed feelings d. mod. segregationist e. str. segregationist
3. How do these people feel about your personal participation in summer project?	a. strong support b. cautious support c. no opinion expressed d. mild disapproval e. strong disapproval	a. strong support b. cautious support c. no opinion expressed d. mild disapproval e. strong disapproval	a. strong support b. cautious support c. no opinion expressed d. mild disapproval e. strong disapproval
4. Has your decision to join the project affected your relationship?	a. yes b. no	a. yes b. no	a. yes b. no
5. If yes, how did it affect your relationship?	a. strong positive effect b. mild positive effect c. mild negative effect d. strong negative effect	a. str. positive effect b. mild positive effect c. mild negative effect d. str. negative effect	a. str. positive effect b. mild positive effect c. mild negative effect d. str. negative effect
6. Have any of your relatives ever been active in the civil rights movement, including relatives not mentioned above?	a. yes b. no		

If yes, briefly identify their relationship to you and note the nature of the activity.

Next, consider the five persons closest to you, outside of your parents and your brothers or sisters. These may include your spouse, your fiancée, your girl (or boy) friend, or friends of the same sex. In the numbered places below, enter their first names only. Now answer each of the following questions for each of these persons, again circling the appropriate categories.

	1 (Name)	2 (Name)	3 (Name)	4 (Name)	5 (Name)
1. What is this person's relationship to you?	a. spouse b. fiancée c. potential fiancée d. friend e. teacher f. religious figure g. other Specify	a. spouse b. fiancée c. potential fiancée d. friend e. teacher f. religious figure g. other Specify	a. spouse b. fiancée c. potential fiancée d. friend e. teacher f. religious figure g. other Specify	a. spouse b. fiancée c. potential fiancée d. friend e. teacher f. religious figure g. other Specify	a. spouse b. fiancée c. potential fiancée d. friend e. teacher f. religious figure g. other Specify
2. What is this person's sex?	a. male b. female	a. male b. female	a. male b. female	a. male b. female	a. male b. female
3. How old is this person?	_____ years	_____ years	_____ years	_____ years	_____ years
4. What is this person's race?	a. Negro b. white c. other	a. Negro b. white c. other	a. Negro b. white c. other	a. Negro b. white c. other	a. Negro b. white c. other
5. Which category best describes this person's political preferences?	a. Socialist b. Liberal Democrat c. Conservative Democrat d. Liberal Republican e. Conservative Republican f. John Birch Supporter	a. Socialist b. Liberal Democrat c. Conservative Democrat d. Liberal Republican e. Conservative Republican f. John Birch Supporter	a. Socialist b. Liberal Democrat c. Conservative Democrat d. Liberal Republican e. Conservative Republican f. John Birch Supporter	a. Socialist b. Liberal Democrat c. Conservative Democrat d. Liberal Republican e. Conservative Republican f. John Birch Supporter	a. Socialist b. Liberal Democrat c. Conservative Democrat d. Liberal Republican e. Conservative Republican f. John Birch Supporter

	1 (Name)	2 (Name)	3 (Name)	4 (Name)	5 (Name)
6. How would you rank this person's views on the racial situation?	a. strong integrationist b. moderate integrationist c. mixed feelings d. moderate segregationist e. strong segregationist	a. strong integrationist b. moderate integrationist c. mixed feelings d. moderate segregationist e. strong segregationist	a. strong integrationist b. moderate integrationist c. mixed feelings d. moderate segregationist e. strong segregationist	a. strong integrationist b. moderate integrationist c. mixed feelings d. moderate segregationist e. strong segregationist	a. strong integrationist b. moderate integrationist c. mixed feelings d. moderate segregationist e. strong segregationist
7. How does this person feel about your personal participation in the project?	a. strong support b. cautious support c. no opinion expressed d. mild disapproval e. strong disapproval	a. strong support b. cautious support c. no opinion expressed d. mild disapproval e. strong disapproval	a. strong support b. cautious support c. no opinion expressed d. mild disapproval e. strong disapproval	a. strong support b. cautious support c. no opinion expressed d. mild disapproval e. strong disapproval	a. strong support b. cautious support c. no opinion expressed d. mild disapproval e. strong disapproval
8. How often has this person been involved in civil rights activities?	a. frequently b. several times c. once d. never	a. frequently b. several times c. once d. never	a. frequently b. several times c. once d. never	a. frequently b. several times c. once d. never	a. frequently b. several times c. once d. never
9. Will this person participate in the Mississippi Summer Project?	a. yes b. no	a. yes b. no	a. yes b. no	a. yes b. no	a. yes b. no
10. Has your decision to join the project affected your relationship,	a. yes b. no	a. yes b. no	a. yes b. no	a. yes b. no	a. yes b. no
11. How did it affect the relationship?	a. strongly positive b. mild positive c. mild negative d. strongly negative	a. strongly positive b. mild positive c. mild negative d. strongly negative	a. strongly positive b. mild positive c. mild negative d. strongly negative	a. strongly positive b. mild positive c. mild negative d. strongly negative	a. strongly positive b. mild positive c. mild negative d. strongly negative

12. Can you think of any other important relationships that have been affected by your decision to join the COFO project?

a. yes

b. no

If yes, please indicate whom the relationship involved and how it was affected.

13. Family and friends aside, was there anyone else who was important in encouraging or discouraging you to join the project?

a. yes

b. no

If yes, would you briefly indicate who this was, whether he was approving or disapproving, and how much influence he (she) had on you.

- IV. Participants will vary in their contact with Southern whites and Southern Negroes. They will also differ in their prior experience with the Civil Rights movement. The following questions try to obtain information on these items.

1. Have you ever lived or visited in the South (i.e., Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and, of course, Mississippi)? [Yes] [No]

If so, where, when, and for how long? _____

2. How many personal friends have you had who expressed support for segregation?

a) none

d) seven to ten

b) one to three

e) more than ten

c) four to six

3. How many times have you personally discussed civil rights with a Southern white segregationist?

a) never

d) seven to ten times

b) one to three times

e) ten to twenty times

c) four to six times

f) more than twenty times

4. How many personal friends have you had who were from the Deep South (i.e., South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana)?

a) none

d) seven to ten

b) one to three

e) more than ten

c) four to six

5. (IF WHITE) We are interested in the amount of contact you have had with Negroes generally. For each category below, indicate whether you have experienced it never, once, or more than once. Circle the appropriate number.

a) have dated a Negro

1. never

2. once or twice

3. several times

- b) have had Negroes in my home as guests or have been guests in Negro homes
 - 1) never
 - 2) once or twice
 - 3) several times
- c) have attended small social gatherings with Negroes
 - 1) never
 - 2) once or twice
 - 3) several times
- d) have lived with Negroes in close quarters in dormitories, etc.
 - 1) never
 - 2) once or twice
 - 3) several times
- e) have worked with Negroes in situations requiring sustained cooperation as equals
 - 1) never
 - 2) once or twice
 - 3) several times

6. (IF NEGRO) We are interested in the amount of contact you have had with Whites generally. For each category below, indicate whether you have experienced it never, once, or more than once. Circle the appropriate number.

- a) have dated a White
 - 1) never
 - 2) once or twice
 - 3) several times
- b) have had Whites in my home as guests or have been guests in White homes
 - 1) never
 - 2) once or twice
 - 3) several times
- c) have attended small social gatherings with Whites
 - 1) never
 - 2) once or twice
 - 3) several times
- d) have lived with Whites in close quarters in dormitories, etc.
 - 1) never
 - 2) once or twice
 - 3) several times
- e) have worked with Whites in situation requiring sustained cooperation as equals
 - 1) never
 - 2) once or twice
 - 3) several times

7. How long have you been a supporter of civil rights for Negroes?

- a) more than ten years
- b) five to ten years
- c) three to four years
- d) two years
- e) one year or less

8. Was there ever any period when you were opposed to integration?

a) yes

b) no

9. Are you a member of any organizations seeking Negro civil rights?

a) yes

b) no

(If yes) Please specify which one(s).

10. How many times, if any, have you engaged in each of the following civil rights activities in the North and in the South?

a) picketing

North _____

South _____

b) fund raising

North _____

South _____

c) circulating petitions

North _____

South _____

d) organizing boycotts

North _____

South _____

e) freedom rides

North _____

South _____

f) sit-ins, pray-ins, wade-ins

North _____

South _____

g) working in a civil-rights organization office

North _____

South _____

h) other (specify) _____

North _____

South _____

11. Did you participate in the March on Washington in August, 1963?

a) yes

b) no

V. Now we would like to find out some information about your past experiences and your expectations for the future. No doubt some of these questions will appear overly simple; it is not entirely possible to do justice to the subtleties of every person's beliefs. Nevertheless, we hope that you will answer them as honestly as possible.

1. There are a number of civil rights organizations which differ in approach, tactics, and membership. We are interested in your evaluation of the effectiveness of each of these organizations in reducing discrimination against Negroes and eliminating segregation. For each organization listed, indicate the effectiveness of the organization by placing the appropriate number before the name of each organization.

Very Effective		Slightly Effective		Slightly Ineffective		Very Ineffective		I Haven't Enough Information
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	"0"

____ (a) Black Muslims (Elijah Muhammad)

____ (b) Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) (James Farmer)

____ (c) Freedom Now Party (Rev. Albert Cleague)

____ (d) Malcolm X's new movement

____ (e) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Roy Wilkins)

____ (f) Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) (Martin Luther King)

____ (g) Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (John Lewis)

____ (h) Urban League (Whitney Young)

- | Very
Effective | Slightly
Effective | | Slightly
Ineffective | | Very
Ineffective | | I Have
Enough
Information |
|-------------------|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |

Now consider groups or organizations that present obstacles to integration. For each group or organization listed below indicate the effectiveness of the organization at present in creating obstacles to integration.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|---|---------------------|---|
| Very
Effective | | | Slightly
Effective | | Slightly
Ineffective | | Very
Ineffective | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | " |

organization at present in creating <u>obstacles</u> to integration.								I Haven't
Very			Slightly		Slightly		Very	Enough
Effective			Effective		Ineffective		Ineffective	Information
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	"0"
_____								(a) Ku Klux Klan
_____								(b) Local Mississippi police and other authorities
_____								(c) The Governor of Mississippi
_____								(d) Courts in the State of Mississippi
_____								(e) The Legislature of the State of Mississippi
_____								(f) White Citizens Council of Mississippi
_____								(g) Educational officials in the State of Mississippi
_____								(h) The Mississippi Highway Patrol
_____								(i) U. S. Congressmen from the state of Mississippi
_____								(j) The National Guard

4. What percentage of white Mississippians do you think strongly opposes any integration at all. _____ %
5. What percentage of Mississippi Negroes do you think is prepared to protest segregation even though it means risking imprisonment and/or physical injury? _____ %
6. One goal of the summer project is the education of the Southern Negro. Of all Negroes exposed to the volunteer's teaching, what percentage do you think will experience educational improvement? _____ %

VI. Next there are a number of statements to which we would like your reaction. There will probably be a great many differences among you, and there are no correct answers. For each statement please circle the single category on the right which most nearly corresponds to your position. Here are what the categories mean, ranging from 1 to 6:

	Strongly Agree 1	Moderately Agree 2	Agree Somewhat 3	Disagree Somewhat 4	Moderately Disagree 5	Strongly Disagree 6
	SA	MA	AS	DS	MD	SD
1. My involvement in Mississippi will enable me to help uplift the educational level of many Mississippi Negroes	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. The U. S. Justice Department does as much as it possibly can, given the laws on civil rights within which it must work.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Most Northern state and local judges are usually willing to go along with a "frame" of anyone they consider to have "dangerous ideas".	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. If there has been no significant change in civil rights by 1970, it would be wise to consider a shift from non-violent to violent techniques.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. The problem of the Negro in America is basically economic; a final solution will require that all lower class groups, white and Negro, combine in common struggle.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Most white Mississippians feel a good deal of shame about segregation and would like an easy way to end it without a loss of pride.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. The continuing plight of American Negroes has caused me to have grave doubts about the superiority of democracy as a political system.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Northern police are generally recruited from among the least qualified segments of the population.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. I would be greatly disturbed if some of my fellow COFO participants are self-declared Communists.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. In general, the national mass media do an excellent job of reporting the civil rights struggle in the South.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Strongly Agree 1	Moderately Agree 2	Agree Somewhat 3	Disagree Somewhat 4	Moderately Disagree 5	Strongly Disagree 6						
						SA	MA	AS	DS	MD	SD
11. Most state and local courts in Mississippi tolerate illegal police methods.						1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Future historians will write that the most creative and moving force in America during the 1960's were the civil rights groups.						1	2	3	4	5	6
13. If the Freedom Schools accomplish nothing else they will at least increase the educational motivation of Mississippi Negroes.						1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Most white Mississippians oppose integration but they know that the society is changing and they will have to go along with it in the end.						1	2	3	4	5	6
15. In Mississippi, the greatest source of strength for most of the volunteers will be the encouragement of their co-participants.						1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Unprovoked police brutality is a rare occurrence in Mississippi.						1	2	3	4	5	6
17. The Mississippi segregationist is to be pitied rather than scorned because he is a victim of his circumstances.						1	2	3	4	5	6
18. It is important for COFO participants to be true to themselves at all times, even if this means contradicting the policy of COFO.						1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Mississippi police are generally recruited from among the least qualified segments of the population.						1	2	3	4	5	6
20. It is morally correct to use the threat of violence as a strategy to avoid violent attacks from others.						1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Even if things are not changed much in Mississippi this summer, what happens there will speed up integration in the North.						1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Most white Mississippians are willing to integrate in many areas but they are prevented from doing so by the white power structure.						1	2	3	4	5	6
23. When the case does not concern Negro civil rights, the Negro usually receives a fair trial in a state or local court in Mississippi.						1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Most white Mississippians are so hostile to integration that they are actually anxious to use violence as an expression of their feelings.						1	2	3	4	5	6
25. The proposed "stall-in" at the N. Y. World's Fair deserved wide support from participants in the civil rights movement.						1	2	3	4	5	6
26. The only progress that can be expected in Mississippi within the next <u>ten</u> years is token integration.						1	2	3	4	5	6

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree				
1	2	3	4	5	6				
				SA	MA	AS	DS	MD	SD
27.	Widespread violence in Mississippi this summer will ultimately speed up the process of integration.			1	2	3	4	5	6
28.	No matter how slow the progress, the civil rights campaign should continue to work within the existing Mississippi laws, although the movement should seek changes in them.			1	2	3	4	5	6
29.	Most Mississippi state and local judges are usually willing to go along with a "frame" of anyone they consider to have "dangerous ideas".			1	2	3	4	5	6
30.	If a COFO participant witnessed a Negro violating a federal law that had nothing to do with segregation, he should testify even before a southern local court.			1	2	3	4	5	6
31.	My real feeling of success or failure this summer will come from the change in attitudes I sense among the white Mississippians with whom I come in contact.			1	2	3	4	5	6
32.	Northern policemen are generally willing to "frame" people whom they feel are advancing "dangerous ideas".			1	2	3	4	5	6
33.	Under no circumstances whatsoever, should a participant place his judgment above the policy of COFO in determining how to act this summer.			1	2	3	4	5	6
34.	Any lasting changes in Mississippi civil rights will have to come from the Mississippians themselves rather than from outside pressures.			1	2	3	4	5	6
35.	The summer's voter registration campaign will produce a politically momentous increase in registered voters in Mississippi.			1	2	3	4	5	6
36.	Participants in the Mississippi summer program should assume the COFO leadership is more knowledgeable than they about any situation that will arise in Mississippi.			1	2	3	4	5	6
37.	When the case does not concern Negro civil rights, the Negro usually receives a fair trial in a state or local court in the North.			1	2	3	4	5	6
38.	As a result of the summer, a very large number of white Mississippians will move to more moderate positions on civil rights.			1	2	3	4	5	6
39.	Violence is proper when it is the only way of defending yourself or others.			1	2	3	4	5	6
40.	The COFO summer program will lead to a dramatic increase in militancy among Mississippi Negroes by the end of the summer.			1	2	3	4	5	6
41.	The American political system has proven itself incapable of coping with the problem of discrimination against Negroes.			1	2	3	4	5	6

Strongly Agree 1	Moderately Agree 2	Agree Somewhat 3	Disagree Somewhat 4	Moderately Disagree 5	Strongly Disagree 6
				SA MA AS DS MD SD	
42. Despite everything that we read about, Mississippi is more like a free society than a police state.	1	2	3	4	5 6
43. In order to be non-violent, you must love the person who violently attacks you.	1	2	3	4	5 6
44. The summer's program in Mississippi will not be a success unless several dramatic incidents focus the attention of the nation on the intolerable conditions of the Southern Negro.	1	2	3	4	5 6
45. I expect most Negroes in Mississippi to be afraid to be associated with the Mississippi summer project.	1	2	3	4	5 6
46. Any volunteer who does not believe in God or practice some religion will be at a great disadvantage trying to communicate with Mississippi Negroes.	1	2	3	4	5 6
47. It is unrealistic to expect Southern Negroes to be able to fully take over the Southern civil rights program in the next five years.	1	2	3	4	5 6
48. Occasional outbreaks of violence like those in Birmingham advance the cause of civil rights.	1	2	3	4	5 6
49. Mississippi policemen are generally willing to "frame" people whom they feel are advancing "dangerous ideas".	1	2	3	4	5 6
50. Most of the permanent field workers in the South have probably developed extraordinary sensitivity to the needs and wants of other people.	1	2	3	4	5 6
51. The civil rights movement may have to abandon the policy of non-violence if long-established Southern customs are to be changed.	1	2	3	4	5 6
52. Almost nothing that can happen in Mississippi this summer would make me feel my summer's work was not a success. Just being part of this movement means I'm adding to the number of voices calling for a change in the current situation.	1	2	3	4	5 6
53. If the civil rights movement remains non-violent in the face of violence, many white Mississippians will become more sympathetic.	1	2	3	4	5 6
54. The Supreme Court has made it clear that most civil rights demonstrators are within their rights and will not have to serve jail sentences.	1	2	3	4	5 6
55. In a democracy it is proper for a citizen to disobey any laws he thinks prejudicial or unjust.	1	2	3	4	5 6
56. It would be better for the Negro to remain in his current position if violence were the only way to change that position.	1	2	3	4	5 6
57. A major obstacle to the summer COFO project will be a lack of cooperation by Mississippi Negroes.	1	2	3	4	5 6

Strongly Agree 1	Moderately Agree 2	Agree Somewhat 3	Disagree Somewhat 4	Moderately Disagree 5	Strongly Disagree 6
				SA MA AS DS MD SD	
58. I expect to find COFO a highly efficient and well-coordinated organization.				1 2 3 4 5 6	
59. Most white Mississippians strongly deplore violence.				1 2 3 4 5 6	
60. The Southern Negro is the real current leader in the civil rights struggle.				1 2 3 4 5 6	
61. Most state and local courts in the North tolerate illegal police methods.				1 2 3 4 5 6	
62. It is essential that the civil rights movement continue to be non-violent or the mass of white Americans outside the South will become much more antagonistic.				1 2 3 4 5 6	
63. Most agents of the FBI are personally antagonistic towards the movement for Negro civil rights.				1 2 3 4 5 6	
64. There is no hope of ever changing the segregationist feelings of the adult white Mississippians.				1 2 3 4 5 6	
65. Unprovoked police brutality is a rare occurrence in the North.				1 2 3 4 5 6	
66. Eventually, the U. S. Supreme Court may stop supporting civil rights groups in their efforts to right the wrongs done to Negroes.				1 2 3 4 5 6	
67. The selection process for this summer's program means that those of us who are going will be the best possible people for this particular job.				1 2 3 4 5 6	
VII. Now there are several other questions that have a different format. Below are two sets of experiences that are possible during your Mississippi stay. Answer both sets, regardless of your race. For each item, circle the appropriate numbers.					
Very Likely 1	Somewhat Likely 2	50-50 Chance 3	Somewhat Unlikely 4	Very Unlikely 5	

A. How probable is it that you will do each of the following this summer? Rate each category according to the scale above:

	VL	SL	50	SU	VU
1. date a white Mississippian	1	2	3	4	5
2. live in the home of a white Mississippian for at least several days	1	2	3	4	5
3. visit the home of a white Mississippian	1	2	3	4	5
4. attend church with white Mississippians	1	2	3	4	5
5. develop a few lasting friendships with white Mississippians	1	2	3	4	5
6. have several rational discussions with white Mississippians	1	2	3	4	5
7. have several honest discussions with white Mississippians about the issues of civil rights	1	2	3	4	5
8. have friendly casual conversations with white Mississippians along the streets	1	2	3	4	5
9. The differences between us will preclude any pleasant or constructive contact with white Mississippians	1	2	3	4	5

B. How probable is it that you will do each of the following this summer?

	VL	SL	50	SU	VU
1. date a Mississippi Negro	1	2	3	4	5
2. live in the home of a Mississippi Negro for at least several days	1	2	3	4	5
3. visit the home of a Mississippi Negro	1	2	3	4	5
4. attend church with Mississippi Negroes	1	2	3	4	5
5. develop a few lasting friendships with Mississippi Negroes	1	2	3	4	5
6. have several rational discussions with Mississippi Negroes about non-civil rights issues	1	2	3	4	5
7. have several honest discussions with Mississippi Negroes about the issues of civil rights	1	2	3	4	5
8. have friendly casual conversations with Mississippi Negroes along the streets	1	2	3	4	5
9. The differences between us will preclude any pleasant or constructive contact with Mississippi Negroes	1	2	3	4	5

C. There are a number of possible results from this summer's activities that might lead to integration. How would you personally feel about the following possibilities? Rate them according to the scale below:

Highly Desirable	Moderately Desirable	Slightly Desirable	Slightly Undesirable	Moderately Undesirable	Highly Undesirable				
1	2	3	4	5	6				
				HD	MD	SD	SU	MU	HU
1. Stationing of federal troops in Mississippi on a semi-permanent basis				1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Complete halting of Northern businesses locating in Mississippi				1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Cutting off all federal funds for public projects in Mississippi				1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Mass increases in Negro migration out of Mississippi				1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Formation of a worker's political party in Mississippi, including both whites and Negroes				1	2	3	4	5	6

- D. Below are a number of goals that various people in the civil rights campaign have advocated. To what extent do you personally approve of each as a specific objective of the civil rights movement? Use the numbered scale following; place an appropriate number after each item:

Strongly Approve	Moderately Approve	Approve Slightly	Disapprove Slightly	Moderately Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove				
1	2	3	4	5	6				
				SA	MA	AS	DS	MD	SD
1. equal opportunity in housing, education and employment				1	2	3	4	5	6
2. interracial marriage made completely acceptable				1	2	3	4	5	6
3. equal access to privately supported clubs and facilities				1	2	3	4	5	6
4. preferential education and employment for Negroes				1	2	3	4	5	6
5. elimination of all prejudicial attitudes (in addition to discrimination)				1	2	3	4	5	6
6. equal voting rights and equality before the courts				1	2	3	4	5	6

- E. Compared with the other volunteers who are going to Mississippi this summer, how effective do you think you would be in coping with the following situations?

1. Averting violence when faced alone by a small group of drunken, hostile white Mississippi youths
 - a. much better than most
 - b. somewhat better than most
 - c. about average
 - d. somewhat worse than most
 - e. much worse than most
2. Teaching an unmotivated Mississippi Negro youth
 - a. much better than most
 - b. somewhat better than most
 - c. about average
 - d. somewhat worse than most
 - e. much worse than most
3. Communicating with an older Negro woman in Mississippi who does not intend to vote in the COFO-run primary election
 - a. much better than most
 - b. somewhat better than most
 - c. about average
 - d. somewhat worse than most
 - e. much worse than most
4. Adjusting to extremely poor physical living conditions
 - a. much better than most
 - b. somewhat better than most
 - c. about average
 - d. somewhat worse than most
 - e. much worse than most

5. Working with a moderate white minister in a small Southern town to avoid violence and improve communication

- a. much better than most
- b. somewhat better than most
- c. about average
- d. somewhat worse than most
- e. much worse than most

6. Remaining non-violent in the face of police brutality against a Negro female whom you have personally persuaded to register for voting.

- a. much better than most
- b. somewhat better than most
- c. about average
- d. somewhat worse than most
- e. much worse than most

F. People have widely differing views about the situation in Mississippi. What would be your answers to each of the following?

1. The proportion of Negroes in Mississippi is:

- a. less than 20 per cent
- b. approximately 30 per cent
- c. approximately 40 per cent
- d. approximately 50 per cent
- e. approximately 60 per cent
- f. approximately 70 per cent

2. The approximate number of registered Negro voters in Mississippi is:

- a. none
- b. 6,000
- c. 11,000
- d. 25,000
- e. 60,000
- f. 100,000
- g. more than 130,000

3. The proportion of Negro school children attending integrated primary and secondary schools in Mississippi is approximately:

- a. none
- b. less than 1 per cent
- c. 2 per cent
- d. 5 per cent
- e. 10 per cent

4. The approximate proportion of all adult Mississippians, both white and Negro, who have ever attended high school is approximately:

- a. 25 per cent
- b. 35 per cent
- c. 45 per cent
- d. 55 per cent
- e. 65%
- f. 75%

5. The name of the present Governor of Mississippi is:

- a. Orval Faubus
- b. George Wallace
- c. Ross Barnett
- d. Paul B. Johnson
- e. J. P. Coleman

- G. Below is a list of descriptions than can be applied to different people to different degrees. Rate each of the five categories of people (Mississippi whites, Mississippi Negroes, Northern Whites, Northern Negroes, and COFO participants) on each description using the scale in the box below:

- | |
|--------------------------------|
| 1. very characteristic |
| 2. moderately characteristic |
| 3. slightly characteristic |
| 4. slightly uncharacteristic |
| 5. moderately uncharacteristic |
| 6. very uncharacteristic |

For example, suppose the description were "speaks with a Southern accent". You might rate Mississippi whites as "1", Mississippi Negroes as "1" also, Northern whites as "6", Northern Negroes as "3", and COFO participants as "4". These are the figures in the illustration below. For the other description, be sure to put a number in every space.

Illustration:

	<u>Miss. Whites</u>	<u>Miss. Negroes</u>	<u>Northern Whites</u>	<u>Northern Negroes</u>	<u>COFO Participants</u>
--	-------------------------	--------------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------------	------------------------------

"speaks with a Southern accent"	1	1	6	3	4
personally warm					
informed					
ambitious					
of poor moral character					
family centered					
insecure					
rational					
assertive					
likeable					
cynical					
adaptable to change					
hot-headed					
dishonest					
authoritarian					
democratic					
deeply religious					

- H. Below are listed a number of things to which people have or feel varying degrees of loyalty or obligation. In the column to the left, rank from 1 to 7 your feeling of loyalty or obligation to each. Give 1 to the item to which you feel the greatest personal loyalty; give 2 to the item to which you feel the next highest loyalty, etc.

- _____ One's self
- _____ The United States
- _____ Mankind
- _____ God--religious faith
- _____ Friends
- _____ Family-home (parents)
- _____ Church--religious demonination

- I. Let's assume that the Mississippi Summer Project is only one of many projects, all devoted to quite different problems but with the same odds against success and the same personal risks. How would you evaluate projects for each of the following goals in comparison with the COFO campaign. Use the numbered scale below in your answers:

Much More Important than COFO 1	Somewhat More Important than COFO 2	About the Same Importance as COFO 3	Somewhat less Important than COFO 4	Much less Important than COFO 5	
					MMI SMI AS SLI MLI
					a. world nuclear disarmament
					b. end capitol punishment in U.S.
					c. halt the House Un-American Activities Committee
					d. worker re-training to reduce unemployment
					e. reduction of juvenile delinquency
					f. Negro and Puerto Rican civil rights in Harlem

- J. What are your expectations for the summer on the following questions?

1. How likely is it that you will be arrested at any time during the summer?
 - a. very likely
 - b. somewhat likely
 - c. 50-50 chance
 - d. somewhat unlikely
 - e. very unlikely
2. How likely is it that you will spend some time in jail or some other form of confinement?
 - a. very likely
 - b. somewhat likely
 - c. 50-50 chance
 - d. somewhat unlikely
 - e. very unlikely

3. About how much total time do you expect to spend in jail?
- a month or more
 - two weeks to a month
 - one to two weeks
 - three days to a week
 - one to two days
 - less than 24 hours
 - none

4. How likely is it that you personally will become involved in violence during the summer?
- very likely
 - somewhat likely
 - 50-50 chance
 - somewhat unlikely
 - very unlikely

5. Regardless of your own involvement, how much violence do you think there will be concerning the volunteers and the Mississippi project?
- a great deal
 - a moderate amount
 - a little
 - none at all

(IF ANY):

- How will this violence compare with that of the last year in Mississippi over civil rights?
 - violence much greater this summer
 - violence somewhat greater this summer
 - about the same
 - violence somewhat less this summer
 - violence much less this summer
 - How severe do you think the violence will get? Pick the first category that is appropriate, moving from top to bottom.
 - purposeful killings
 - accidental deaths during an incident
 - serious bodily injuries
 - painful but temporary injuries
 - only very minor injuries from scuffles
6. How extensive do you think the violence is likely to become? Pick the category that comes closest to your own estimate.
- isolated incidents only
 - some actual rioting but very little
 - a great deal of rioting in some areas but not in others
 - mass rioting throughout Mississippi

VIII. This inventory has been designed to include different types of information about how you behave and what you feel. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. The object of this form is to get an honest, frank and consistent description of you. Circle the single number most nearly corresponding to your position on each question.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree				
1	2	3	4	5	6				
				SA	MA	AS	DS	MD	SD
1. I make friends easily.				1	2	3	4	5	6
2. I usually act on the spur of the moment.				1	2	3	4	5	6
3. My moods seem to go up and down.				1	2	3	4	5	6
4. I take the lead in a group when it is necessary to get something done.				1	2	3	4	5	6
5. I often think of myself as a failure.				1	2	3	4	5	6
6. I enjoy intellectual pursuits.				1	2	3	4	5	6
7. I often feel that I have more problems than other people.				1	2	3	4	5	6
8. I am not nice to people I don't like.				1	2	3	4	5	6
9. I don't get upset easily.				1	2	3	4	5	6
10. I enjoy reading books.				1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Sometimes I feel I am just no good.				1	2	3	4	5	6
12. When I am in a group that is discussing a problem, I do not do much of the talking.				1	2	3	4	5	6
13. I am often tense, even when there is no reason to be.				1	2	3	4	5	6
14. My interest shifts quickly from one thing to another.				1	2	3	4	5	6
15. People must often get the feeling that I am not well-adjusted.				1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Most people bore me.				1	2	3	4	5	6
17. I often feel blue or sad.				1	2	3	4	5	6
18. I find it difficult to concentrate on reading anything longer than a newspaper article.				1	2	3	4	5	6
19. I rarely get nervous.				1	2	3	4	5	6
20. I rarely think things out in detail before I act.				1	2	3	4	5	6
21. I am easy going, even under pressure.				1	2	3	4	5	6
22. I don't like discussions about serious problems or world affairs.				1	2	3	4	5	6
23. People think I am unpredictable in my moods.				1	2	3	4	5	6
24. I do not find it easy to speak publicly.				1	2	3	4	5	6
25. I am impulsive about most things.				1	2	3	4	5	6
26. I get discouraged easily.				1	2	3	4	5	6

1. What is your sex?

- a. male
b. female

3. What is your marital status

- a. single
b. engaged.
c. married
d. separated
e. divorced
f. widowed

- a. Negro
b. white
c. other (specify) _____

- a. _____
(city) (state)

6. Have you ever served in the military service?
 a. yes
 b. no
 (IF YES) When and Where _____
7. Have you ever served in the Peace Corps?
 a. yes
 b. no
 (IF YES) When and Where _____
8. Have you ever been arrested in connection with any civil rights activities?
 a. yes
 b. no
 (IF YES) Please specify the number of times, the circumstances and the location.

9. Have you ever been jailed in connection with any civil rights activities?
 a. yes
 b. no
 (IF YES) Please specify where, for how long, and under what conditions:

10. Have you ever been involved in a riot with violence, regardless of whether it concerned civil rights?
 a. yes
 b. no
11. Have you ever had physical contact with the police, regardless of whether it concerned civil rights?
 a. yes
 b. no
12. What is your own religious preference?
 a. Protestant (Specify denomination) _____
 b. Catholic
 c. Jewish
 d. No Preference
 e. other (specify) _____
13. How important is religion to your everyday life and decisions?
 a. not at all important
 b. slightly important
 c. moderately important
 d. strongly important
 e. very strongly important
14. How often do you attend church services during the average month?
 a. four or more times
 b. three times
 c. two times
 d. once
 e. never

15. It is impossible to capture the full flavor of anyone's religious beliefs in a set of limited categories, but which of the following statements comes closest to your own conception of God.
- I am an atheist and don't believe in God.
 - I am not an atheist, but the notion of God is not very clear or very important to me.
 - I believe in an impersonal higher power, but not in a divine being with wisdom and control over me.
 - I believe in God even though there can never be any real evidence of his existence.
 - I am positive that God really exists because I have felt his spirit directly.

16. What is your political preference?

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a. Socialist | e. Conservative Republican |
| b. Liberal Democrat | f. John Birch Society Supporter |
| c. Conservative Democrat | g. other (specify) _____ |
| d. Liberal Republican | |

17. How many years of education have you completed? _____ years

18. List every college or university which you have attended, including dates of attendance and degree(s) earned.

<u>College or University</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Degree Earned</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

19. What is the highest degree which you expect to earn? In what field of specialization?

<u>Degree</u>	<u>Field of Specialization</u>
---------------	--------------------------------

20. Do you plan to attend school this fall?

- yes
- no

21. What letter grade best approximates your over-all academic average?

- | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| a. A | e. B- | i. D+ |
| b. A- | f. C+ | j. D |
| c. B+ | g. C | k. D- |
| d. B | h. C- | l. F |

22. List the campus organizations to which you belong. If it is not clear from the name, please indicate the nature of the organization.

23. If you were limited to only one of these organizations, which one would you choose?

24. What career do you plan to follow after your education. Please be specific.

25. What particular job would you like to have at age 40?

26. What career would you choose if you had complete freedom, i.e., if talent, money, and education were all available?

27. What is your father's religious preference?
 a. Protestant (specify denomination) _____
 b. Catholic
 c. Jewish
 d. No Preference
 e. other (specify) _____
28. What is your mother's religious preference?
 a. Protestant (specify denomination) _____
 b. Catholic
 c. Jewish
 d. No Preference
 e. other (specify) _____
29. In general, how would you compare your own religiousness to your parents?
 a. parents much more religious
 b. parents somewhat more religious
 c. about the same
 d. parents somewhat less religious
 e. parents much less religious
30. How many years of education did your father complete?
 a. post-graduate work
 b. college graduate
 c. some college
 d. high school graduate
 e. some high school
 f. elementary school graduate
 g. some elementary school
 h. no schooling
31. How many years of education did your mother complete?
 a. post-graduate work
 b. college graduate
 c. some college
 d. high-school graduate
 e. some high school
 f. elementary school graduate
 g. some elementary school
 h. no schooling
32. What is your father's occupation, or, if retired or deceased, what was his occupation? (please be specific) _____
33. Circle the category that best approximates your parents' total income in 1963.
 a. \$20,000 or more
 b. \$15,000 to \$19,999
 c. \$10,000 to \$14,999
 d. \$8,000 to \$9,999
 e. \$5,000 to \$7,999
 f. \$3,000 to \$4,999
 g. less than \$3,000