CONSCIENCE AND CONFRONTATION: SOME PRELIMINARY FINDINGS ON SUMMER CIVIL RIGHTS VOLUNTEERS, 1965 *

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* This research has been supported by grants from the Christian Faith and Higher Education Institute, the Danforth Study of the Campus Ministries, and the New World Foundation. We are especially indebted to Jack Harrison, Kenneth Underwood, and Vernon Eagle for providing insights to accompany their funds. Other sources of encouragement and aid were Bayard Rustin, Norman Hill, Mark Harrington, August Meier, Walter Johnson, Margaret Long, James Shenton and Kenneth Luttermann. Needless to say, we are grateful for the cooperation of all of the civil rights groups involved in the research. Our colleagues in the Department of Sociology have been uniformly helpful in providing new thoughts and perspectives.
Few groups have been discussed more widely or more heatedly than the volunteers who have given their time—and in some cases their lives—to work in the civil rights movement in the South. As vanguard members of the current generation of student activists, they have excited both rhapsody and vilification. Their civil disobedience, their willingness to endure harassment, and their position as Northern intruders in Southern society have aroused passionate debate. Romantic figures in an unromantic age are too often assessed by stereotypes that rest more upon fancy than fact. This paper seeks a corrective.

It is a preliminary report on an empirical study of a large number of summer civil rights volunteers. It finds many prevailing images off the mark. Certainly there is no support for viewing the typical volunteer as a beatnik, a Communist, a college drop-out, or a misanthropic trouble-maker whose sole intention is to create excitement for himself by wreaking havoc on others.

The data also compel qualification of two less hysterical conceptions. First, both critics and defenders tend to regard the volunteer as a rebel, albeit a rebel with a cause. Our data suggest, however, that civil rights workers are more independent than rebellious. While they do indeed have a moral mission and a need for contributing as individuals, neither requires them to turn their backs on their families, their educations, their high occupational aspirations, their religion, or their commitment to democracy. A second common interpretation is also questioned; namely, that the volunteers are primarily distinctive in being more liberal on racial matters and more committed to civil rights per se. An examination of a wider sample of Northern
college students reveals that a high proportion were similarly liberal and committed but chose not to participate. Indeed volunteers may be less distinctive in their views on civil rights than they are in their concern over other issues ranging from poverty to foreign policy and capital punishment. It is the sum of these issues that has aroused their conscience, but the civil rights movement offers one of the few available channels for personal and constructive confrontation.

Before turning to these results in more detail, a word is in order about the data. They derive from the questionnaire responses of some 87% of the volunteers with the Summer Community Organization and Political Education (SCOPE) project, the largest single civil rights project in the South during the summer of 1965. SCOPE is a program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference that involved more than 300 heterogeneous volunteers, at least some of whom would have preferred to affiliate with other civil rights groups that had cut back on their recruitment. The SCOPE workers completed the questionnaire during their June orientation session in Atlanta, before fanning out to field locations from Virginia to Alabama. The questionnaire sought information on the workers' backgrounds, their attitudes on a host of educational, religious and political issues, their perceptions of civil rights, and their expectations for the summer ahead. Many items were duplicated in a survey of the student body at the University of Wisconsin, thus affording a measure of comparison between the volunteers and their stay-at-home counterparts.

More importantly, this was only the first of two questionnaires administered to the volunteers. The second is not yet analyzed but was mailed in the Fall after most of the workers had returned from the South. The objective of the second questionnaire is to assess the
volunteers' impact upon race relations in the South as well as to examine the impact of the summer experiences on the volunteers. The instrument focused upon attitude change, perceptions of success or failure in the project, and the actual occurrences that composed the experience. It was administered not only to the earlier SCOPE respondents but also to four additional groups, including workers with CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), Operation Catch-Up (a Federally supported remedial education program in Prince Edward County, Virginia), the Southern Teaching Program (in which graduate students from major Northern universities spent the summer teaching on the faculty of Southern Negro institutions), and the Law Students for Civil Rights (involving law students gaining experience in Southern civil rights litigation).

All of this will ultimately provide wider comparisons between types of volunteers and types of projects and analysis of changes that occur under stress. Here, however, we shall discuss only the background of SCOPE Volunteers, their motivations, and their attitudes on a variety of issues. Here too our interpretations are based solely on the distribution of responses to individual questions. Of course, further analysis will involve the interrelations among questions in order to examine the interaction of various dimensions of the volunteer's world. While the present paper comments on such interactions, it does so with speculation rather than statistics.

The paper comprises five major sections and is organized according to the volunteers' own chronology. First, we shall discuss their backgrounds and their relationships with their parents. Second, we shall turn to the volunteers' role in and reaction to their college or university. A third section will consider religion. Still a fourth will
examine ideological positions ranging from civil rights to nuclear war and Vietnam. Finally, the last major section considers the volunteers' actual hopes and fears for the summer that lay ahead.

**Background Status and Parental Relations**

Consider again the stereotyped vision of the civil rights worker as a rebel. A first disconfirmation is that most of the volunteers come from homes and families that are solidly within the societal mainstream. The fathers of some two-thirds of the volunteers have upper-middle-class occupations (doctors, lawyers, business executives, etc.) and college educations. The proportion is the same among students generally at the University of Wisconsin. The point is not that the volunteers are exclusively middle or upper class or even that they show peculiarly high status backgrounds compared to students at large. Rather the data suggest simply that the volunteers are no lower (or higher) in status than Wisconsin students as a whole.

This should come as no surprise since civil rights work is not a paying venture. It tends to recruit heavily from those who can afford the luxury of a salary-less summer. Some 60% of the volunteers reported that the summer would not pose a financial hardship and would not affect their future plans financially. On the other hand, it is well to bear in mind that there were also those who sacrificed inordinately for the venture. Some 11% indicated that the loss in earnings would cause a drastic change in plans for the year to come, and 30% indicated that they would have to take on extra employment during the coming year to pay for what they had planned to do. Thus, some did sacrifice financially, but, for most, this was the least of their
hardships.

And yet rebelliousness may occur even among young adults from privileged homes. They may be surfeited by affluence during a "war on poverty;" they may react against the stifling demands of success itself. Both suggest a denial of parental values and ruptured family relations. At first glance, the volunteers seem to fit the mold since many fewer volunteers than students reported that they felt "very close" to their parents (32 per cent vs. 59 per cent). But further inspection of the workers suggests independence rather than rebellious hostility. The volunteers' most common response was that they felt "somewhat close" to their parents (44 per cent); only five per cent of the volunteers reported that they didn't get along with or were hostile towards their parents.

Nor were they rebelling against parental wishes in becoming civil rights participants. Almost two-thirds reported that their parents supported their work in the summer program. About one-half felt that their participation would actually enhance their relationship with their parents, and less than one in five anticipated actual negative effects. Finally, working as a civil rights volunteer represented a rejection of parental racial views for only a small minority; less than one-tenth reported parents with segregationist sympathies.

In all of this, the parents are in some respects as compelling as the SCOPE workers themselves. Both the above figures and our conversations with the volunteers suggest that most parents had ambivalent feelings of pride and fear. They were proud of their progeny's participation, but frightened of the jailings, beatings, and killings that had been the fate of previous workers, especially those with the heralded Mississippi COFO project of 1964. In the face of such reactions, many volunteers were also placed in a quandary. Some withdrew at the last
minute either to remain at home or to join a safer project in a safer area. Those who persisted in their commitment did so with a mixture of filial compassion and determination. This again reinforces our interpretation of the volunteers as independent rather than rebellious. Finally, it is worth noting that this independence can be partially explained in very mundane terms. Although the SCOPE workers had about the same proportion of males and females as the Wisconsin student body, the volunteers had a modal age some two years older than Wisconsin undergraduates. Many then were older when they embarked, and perhaps all were to age beyond their years in the months to come.

The Volunteer and the University

As talk of the depersonalization of higher education crescendos, we might expect to find the volunteers alienated from academia and in the forefront of those who withdraw from the university to engage the real issues of the real world. In fact, some 42 per cent of the student-volunteers did find that their college was at least somewhat depersonalized. On the other hand, further data suggest that education and the university retain major importance in their lives. Less than five per cent are "drop-outs" who have interrupted their education without a degree and with no plans to return. More than two-thirds have an academic average of B- or better; more than one-third are B+ or A students. Fully 73 per cent plan post-graduate study, and 31 per cent aspire to the Ph.D. In each of these respects the volunteers show stronger and more successful academic orientations than Wisconsin students generally. Indeed, 83 per cent of the volunteers regard themselves as intellectuals compared to only 63 per cent of the student sample.
But commitment to education may mean less than one's view of what education is and should be. Here the differences between the volunteers and the Wisconsin undergraduates are even greater. We asked both to select one of eight statements representing the main purpose of a college education. The most popular responses fell into two main clusters, the first emphasizing education as a fountain of values and social service—"help develop meanings and values for my life" and "preparing myself to serve others and remedy major social problems"—and the second emphasizing the development of more practical occupational skills or the acquisition of a degree as an end in itself.

Fifty-two per cent of the volunteers chose the former responses compared to only 19 per cent of the students who opted overwhelmingly for the latter. Clearly the volunteers are more impatient with an education that fails to plumb either their own depths or society's problems. This may account for their greater tendency to major in the social sciences in general, and sociology in particular.

The same tendency is reflected in career aspirations. Students, in general, choose careers as businessmen, lawyers, physicians, engineers, and, of course, "housewives." The civil rights volunteers prefer instead the roles of professor, social worker, and clergyman. We saw above that students generally are somewhat more career oriented. Here we find a consistent finding that they are slightly more likely to have decided on a future career. Only eight per cent of the students indicate that they have yet to make up their minds, but some 15 per cent of the volunteers are still undecided, although they are generally somewhat older than the students as was seen above. In fact, a small group of volunteers hoped to choose a career on the basis of the
summer's experience itself. Impressionistic evidence suggests that
the experience will cause a change in the career plans of many more.
It may even affect their orientation to education so as to make the
returning volunteers even more divergent from their classmates.

Atheist or Witness? The Religion of the Volunteer

The region from Virginia to Alabama has shared two labels in the
"Black Belt" and the "Bible Belt." Those who seek to aid the former
are often victimized by the latter. Southern white churches have hard-
ly been in the forefront of integration. Indeed, many of their pa-
rishioners have called upon their most damning allegation in charg-
civil rights volunteers with atheism. 5 Like many stereotypes, this one
has a pinch of truth. Like all stereotypes, it includes a dollop of
fantasy.

It is true, for example, that SCOPE volunteers are more apt to
claim no religious affiliation than Wisconsin undergraduates (33 per
cent versus 14 per cent). It is also true that the volunteers have a
greater proportion who never attend church services than do the stu-
dents (49 per cent versus 17 per cent, although another 21 per cent of
the students report that they "hardly ever attend.").

On the other hand, there is evidence suggesting a contrary inter-
pretation. Both groups were asked to pick among several statements
representing conceptions of God. The most traditionally religious
response ("I have faith in God as a person who is concerned about me
and all mankind and to whom I am accountable") attracted 34 per cent
of the Wisconsin students and 30 per cent of the volunteers, surpris-
ly little difference. 6 Moreover, when both groups were asked whether
they had experienced increased or decreased religious influence during
the last few years, 39 per cent of the volunteers cited an increase but only 27 per cent of the student sample. Finally, it appears that the SCOPE Volunteers had more contact with the campus ministry. Some 58 per cent of the volunteers reported some contact with a campus religious group, but only 36 per cent of the students. Almost one-third of the volunteers indicated moderate or high involvement in a campus religious group, but less than a tenth of Wisconsin students. Indeed, some 28 per cent of the volunteers cited their campus clergyman as a positive influence in their decision to participate in the Civil Rights Movement.

The sum of these findings suggests two possible interpretations. First, the volunteers are far from homogeneous in their religion, and may harbor two quite distinct camps. Many are at least agnostics and withdrawn from the church as an institution. Others are highly involved in both religious doctrine and the church, viewing their participation in the Movement as, in part, a religious witness.

But consider an alternative interpretation to be explored in subsequent analysis. Many volunteers may shy away from a formal religious affiliation and the mainstream churches, while maintaining a respect for religious doctrine, religious ethics and the "religious radicals" in campus ministries that are often far more involved than their parent churches in social change and fermentation. Some slight confirmation of this distinction emerges from the following two attitudinal items. First, both groups were asked their reaction to the statement: "Organized religion is irrelevant today when it tries to deal with political and economic problems in religious terms." Surprisingly, 25 per cent of the volunteers report their strong disagreement with this statement as opposed to only 13 per cent of the
Wisconsin students. It appears that for many volunteers, religion can be quite relevant when it is made to confront such problems directly. The point is, however, that such confrontation is felt to be rare. Thus, 64 per cent of the volunteers as well as 63 per cent of the students concur with the following: "I often find myself in agreement with religious doctrine but opposed to the policies of churches and ministers."

Clearly the religious data demand further and more rigorous analysis. But in the meantime it is just as clear that the volunteers are by no means exclusively atheistic. However, just as they are in the vanguard of student activists, perhaps many are also in the vanguard of young parishioners. They may point to far-reaching changes in both the University and the Church since only a revised church can provide them with a meaningful religious identity. They may also include those whose religion brooks no institutional trappings and persists individual-ly and independently.

Attitudes on Racial and Political Issues

Surely a prime source of the distinctiveness of the civil rights volunteer is his position on the racial issue itself. Or is it?

Certainly the volunteer is more dedicated to civil rights than most Americans, but is his position much different from the views of a large pool of Northern students who chose not to participate? While the data measure more the content than the depth of conviction, they suggest that volunteers may not be as distinctive on this matter as we might suspect. Most Wisconsin students, indeed most Northern students, favor racial equality. More than four in five of the student sample believe
that the federal government should intervene on behalf of the Negro in the South. Almost 70 per cent indicated their basic sympathy with civil rights volunteers who work in the South, and this despite the negative stereotypes that have penetrated the campus as well as society at large. In fact, fully 20 per cent of the students indicated very strong sympathy with civil rights volunteers. If even one-tenth of these committed students had volunteered themselves, then the University of Wisconsin alone might have provided a phalanx of workers as large as the total number that actually did participate during the summer of 1965. Attitudes on civil rights thus provide no magical key to the puzzle of the volunteers' motivations.

But note that there are other political differences between the volunteers and students that may be more significant. These involve issues apart from race relations and are suggested by the following divergencies between SCOPE participants and the Wisconsin student sample: over two-thirds of the volunteers felt strongly that a larger proportion of the federal budget should be devoted to poverty, medical care, education, etc., but less than 30 per cent of the students; almost half the volunteers strongly agreed that we should continue to give economic aid to developing areas as compared to only one-fifth of the students; almost 60 per cent of the volunteers strongly agreed that the United States should try to initiate negotiations in Vietnam versus less than 20 per cent of the students; finally, almost half of the workers felt that there is at least a fifty-fifty chance of a nuclear war in the next ten years but just over one-third of the students. It is in this broader political area that workers emerge as most distinctive when compared to their campus colleagues. Recall too that we are com-
paring the workers to students at the University of Wisconsin; although only a tiny minority of these students are politically active on the left, Wisconsin students in general are apt to be somewhat more liberal than students on other campuses represented by the volunteers.

How then can we interpret these findings? At first glance they give succor to the popular image of the volunteers as extremist agitators. A second glance is more sobering. On most of the above issues, their position is little left of the stated policies of the Johnson Administration and its pursuit of the Great Society. Fully 61 per cent are confident that the current political system is competent to cope successfully with the problem of discrimination. Indeed, almost 60 per cent of those reporting political preference claim to be liberal Democrats; some are independents or Republicans and, while others dub themselves socialists, there are no unadorned Communists. Only 10 per cent of the volunteers agree strongly with the current maxim of the left that "American Culture is sick and moving along the road to destruction." Clearly these are not in the main radical revolutionaries who demand a wholesale political and social upheaval. Note, however, that the volunteers are more concerned about more problems and in a more left-wing direction than are most members of the student sample.

All of this suggests that for many volunteers the decision to join the civil rights movement was motivated as much by a concern over non-racial issues as it was by a commitment to civil rights per se. Put another way, although problems of nuclear war, foreign policy, and domestic poverty may vex the volunteers as much as race relations, it is only in the area of race that one can enter the fray with consequence. The civil rights movement offers the rewards of mounting success; it recruits without regard to bureaucratic standards and pedigree; and its
operations in the South are sufficiently removed from home to increase
the adventure and brand it as more distinctive. In a real sense, then,
the civil rights movement offers a structured political identity to
those who are politically concerned.

To some this may seem far-fetched. Fortunately there is support-
ing evidence. We asked the volunteers the following question: "Let's
assume that this summer's project is only one among 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 this summer's
campaign?" Some 83 per cent felt that a program for world nuclear
disarmament would be at least as important as the civil rights project;
83 per cent also ranked the reduction of poverty through political
action as at least as important; 76 per cent had a similar reaction
to a project seeking to end the war in Vietnam; and even 36 per cent
felt that a project to end capital punishment would be as important
as SCOPE. This is not to downgrade the volunteers' commitment to
civil rights. Rather it is to suggest the full range of issues that
had aroused their consciences and provoked their participation.

Anxieties and Expectations for the Summer Itself

So far we have dealt primarily with background and motivational
factors, giving little emphasis to prior civil rights activity or ex-
pectations for the summer experience itself. But what was the mood of
the volunteers? What was their previous civil rights participation?
What did they fear and what did they hope to accomplish?

As might be inferred from the previous section, the volunteers
were hardly veterans of the Southern civil rights battle. It is true that 76 per cent had participated in civil rights activity of some sort in the North, but "activity" may mean a single instance of fund raising, circulating a petition or participation in a demonstration. Only 24 per cent had prior experience with civil rights activity in the South, but again this activity was seldom the sort that provokes personal risks. Indeed, the South itself was alien to most of the volunteers. Some 40 per cent had never even visited the South; another 26 per cent had spent total time of less than one month in the South; only 13 per cent had lived in the South for more than ten years. And note that the questionnaire defined the South as including Maryland, Virginia, and Texas, three states in which it is quite possible to live and visit without directly experiencing hardcore segregation and resistance.

Partly because of this inexperience, many volunteers had doubts about their capacity to serve safely and effectively. While 89 per cent were at least somewhat confident of their ability to adjust to poor living conditions in the Negro communities, 36 per cent had doubts about working effectively with moderate white Southerners; 38 per cent were concerned about their ability to teach unmotivated Southern Negro youths; and 40 per cent had doubts about convincing elderly Negroes that they should register to vote. Finally, we asked the workers their reactions to the following statement: "The selection process for this summer's program means that those of us who are here are the best possible people for this particular job." Fully 77 per cent disagreed with the statement, and since few had become acquainted with their colleagues by this time, this is more a commentary upon
their own self-estimates and self-doubts. Nor were these doubts and fears groundless, as the volunteers were soon to learn from the orientation itself. Northern whites do have the kinds of problems that the volunteers were anticipating. Fools do indeed rush in where angels fear to tread—and fools are often beaten and killed for the best of intentions. There would be jailings, and 60 per cent expected to spend at least a day in jail. There would be violence, and 92 per cent anticipated it in some form. In fact, 33 per cent expected at least some purposeful killings as in the 1964 cases of Goodman, Chaney and Schwerner and so many Negroes in so many other summers past.

Fear then was natural and constructive. But fear also requires allaying mechanisms. In this case, a prime mechanism involved an enormous faith in the movement and its philosophy. Facing fear must be justified and one primary justification is to convince oneself that the action will have positive, even spectacular consequences. Thus, the volunteers were armed with a strong faith in non-violence, a strong faith in the Southern Negro and his eagerness for the project, a strong faith in the summer’s chances of producing a politically momentous change in Southern politics, and a strong faith in producing more than token integration in the South during the next few years.

We suspect that much of this faith has been eroded by the frustrations of the experience itself; meanwhile, it was important in sustaining people who were moving into a situation that was both foreign and frightening. Many wanted desperately to believe what they could not understand. Many said what they could not feel. This is no accusation of hypocrisy but rather a commentary on the conditions under which people are willing to anticipate stress and persevere regardless. For persevere they did.
A Concluding Note

Since this is a preliminary report, it may be more appropriate to end with a review of its qualifications than a list of its principal findings. Thus, the paper reports only the results of the first of two questionnaires and only for respondents in one of five civil rights groups in the larger study. The findings are based solely upon the responses to single questions instead of the interrelations among questions. Throughout there are instances in which we seem to characterize all SCOPE volunteers on the basis of a mere majority. It is difficult to assess the dominant aspects of any group without doing an injustice to its inevitable, and often valuable, heterogeneity.

Hopefully the data provide cold water for hot heads. And yet some volunteers do indeed conform to the negative stereotypes of their detractors, while others believe the favorable stereotypes of their supporters. Some of the workers did respond more to the call of adventure than the demands of conscience. Certainly not all were equally dedicated, equally successful, or equally exemplary in their personal conduct. As our impressions suggest and as our research on the summer should indicate, some of the workers were misfits even among their co-workers. Local projects had outbursts of interpersonal friction and even racial animosities that are perhaps inevitable among people confined for ten weeks in the same small town under duress.

Indeed, considerations of the volunteers' actual Southern experiences lead to the paper's final thought. Much that was true of the volunteers before they went "into the field" may have changed as a result of the field experience itself. Although we have yet to analyze
the data collected after the summer was over, we can end with two
quotations that suggest two quite different sorts of impact. These
carry no guarantee of representativeness, but they are appropriate
in pointing to future analysis and in providing a denouement in the
words of volunteers rather than in the jargon of professors:

I loved my entire summer in the South. It was often
frustrating, but then something nice would happen (one
of my adult pupils would suddenly really understand
what I was teaching) and things would be great again.
I met the first man I've ever known with my hopes,
dreams and ideals. One of the major results of the
summer for me was a disgust with the American social
system. Clothes, and money, and education, and good
looks—ugh! I met too many people who lacked all these
things but who were absolutely wonderful to ever think
material things are important again. I will always be
willing to fight them and make real values realized.

I'm afraid the summer sort of contributed negatively
toward my interest in civil rights. I am less enthusiastic,
less hopeful. Sometimes I feel that the summer's
experience contributed to my increasing interest in
violin playing by making me feel less convinced of any
possible personal effectiveness in civil rights. This
is an exaggeration, but I have always felt that music
and civil rights conflict in that each demands full-
time work if you really "believe" in them. Now I can
lean toward music as something obviously more achievable.
FOOTNOTES

1. The survey of Wisconsin students is principally concerned with student involvement in and reactions to the campus ministry. The research has been conducted by Kenneth Lutterman and N. J. Demerath III under the aegis of the Danforth Study of Campus ministries directed by Kenneth Underwood. In what follows we will be reporting results from a cross-sectional sample of Wisconsin students. However, we will not be reporting responses from the strategic samples of religious groups on the Wisconsin campus, nor will we include data not yet analyzed from some five other campuses that are quite different from Wisconsin.

2. A few CORE workers also responded to the first questionnaire. However, these data have not yet been analyzed. Of course, it would have been ideal to include all five civil rights programs in both questionnaires, but problems of access made this impossible. While strict panel effects are available for only a limited portion of the sample, there are other ways of assessing change that will be utilized for the remainder.

3. Note that the data on parents are subject to two qualifications. First, they pertain only to living parents. Second, they are the pooled result of two separate responses for the volunteer's father and mother. Subsequent analysis will examine the differences between fathers and mothers. Here the divergencies were not considered significant enough for inclusion.

4. It is difficult to evaluate this finding in strict terms since the volunteers represented many different schools, some large and some small, some of acknowledged quality and some less so. It may be
that the percentage reporting depersonalization is somewhat higher among those attending large universities. This is the sort of interrelationship that awaits more detailed analysis. Finally, the data on higher education do not include the responses of a very small group of SCOPE volunteers who are still high school students or have otherwise never been to college.

5. Another element of the negative stereotype in many cases involves the putative Judaism of the volunteers. Here again the data afford rebuttal since the proportion of Jews among SCOPE workers (11 per cent) is less than in the Wisconsin sample (20 per cent). This may be partially explained by SCOPE's sponsorship, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. On the other hand, note that SCOPE included a number of volunteers who would have preferred to affiliate with other projects.

6. It may be of interest to report the results of the campus survey in greater detail on this item. Samples were drawn from seventeen separate religious groups at the University of Wisconsin. The frequency of strictly orthodox conceptions of God ranged with widespread variance from seven per cent among the Quakers to 97 per cent among the Southern Baptists. As noted above, the general student sample is between these two extremes, approaching the least orthodox end of the continuum.

7. One of the peculiarities of many campus ministers' pastorates is that they are often more attracted to the discussions and activities of non-members of their groups than to those of their particular "charges." Indeed, many volunteers who cite an involvement in campus religion indicate that their involvement is more with the campus clergyman than with a campus religious group per se. For
documentation on the radical quality of the campus minister (if not the campus parishioner) see, Phillip E. Hammond and Robert E. Mitchell, "Segmentation of Radicalism--the Case of the Protestant Campus Minister," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (September, 1965), pp. 133-45.

8. Note that this is the first of many items to be reported in which answers ranged on a 6-point scale from strong agreement to strong disagreement. In general we will discuss either the proportion at the extremes or the total expressing agreement or disagreement of whatever degree. Of course, scaling procedures will enable us to weight different positions of the continuum in a more sophisticated fashion according to interrelations with other similar items.