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

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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

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SOME PRELIMINARY PROTURES

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, 1 thus affording a measure of comparison between the volunteers and their stay-at-home counterparts. mod sands about actions

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

wolunteers' 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).

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

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Consider again the stereoptypic 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

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hardships.

And yet rebelliousness may occur even among young adults from privileged homes. They may be surfeited by affluence during a "war of fillal companion and defermination. This again reinforces our on poverty;" they may react against the stifling demands of success anciloder and the contract of the contract of the contract contract than the contract of the c itself. Both suggest a denial of parental values and ruptured family Finally, it is worth noting that independence can be partially relations. At first glance; the volunteers seem to fit the mold since successful and station 24002 out throught the total and the sections many fewer volunteers than students reported that they felt "very the mane proportion of piex and families as the Viscousin sendent body close" to their parents (32 per cent vs. 59 per cent). But further discounty and redic ree come one spatiable s had respective eds inspection of the workers suggests independence rather than rebellious undergraduates. Sany thon were wider wien they emearked, and perhaps hostility. The volunteers' most common response was that they felt ill ware to are beyond their years in the southe to come. "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. goldharlaconardent and to what an

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

hardslige, minute either to remain at home or to join a safer project in a safer And you republicusmous way occur owns among young adults from area. Those who persisted in their commitment did so with a mixture orivileged boson. They pay be werteled by effluence during a of filial compassion and determination. This again reinforces our pover ye" they may react against the atilities damade of execus interpretation of the volunteers as independent rather than rebellious. thelf. Foth suggest a double of personal values and ructured lamit Finally, it is worth noting that this independence can be partially relations. At first glance, the velunibers seen to fit the mold store explained in very mundame terms. Although the SCOPE workers had about many fower worthprease them students reserved that they falk livery the same proportion of males and females as the Wisconsin student body, close" to their percets (22 per cart wat 50 per cart). But further the volunteers had a modal age some two years older than Wisconsin inspection of the vortare suggests independence varies than rebuilters undergraduates. Many then were older when they embarked, and perhaps homillity, "the volunteers" ment common responsed man that they full all were to age beyond their years in the months to come.

#### The Volunteer and the University a standard and to

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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 twothirds 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, down to stall added . Add to toolog 0303 logical walls

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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 fount 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

the latter becomes no bearinged accomming but the ball 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

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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 hardly been in the forefront of integration. Indeed, many of their parishioners have called upon their most damning allegation in charging civil rights volunteers with atheism. 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 students (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 interpretation. 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, surprisingly little difference. 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 notalist . area nulou case to last respect !! Misconsin students. only 27 per cent of the student sample. Finally, it appears that the then it is eade to control such problems direct SCOPE Volunteers had more contact with the campus ministry. Some 58 per The point is, bowever, that such confrontation is fel. to be vare 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 deans contact with the following: "I of on find syaci" in anyocount volunteers indicated moderate or high involvement in a campus religious with religious doctring but opposed to the policies of churches and group, but less than a tenth of Wisconsin students. Indeed, some 28 per cent of the volunteers cited their campus clergyman as a positive Clearly the religions data demand further and more right our influence in their decision to participate in the Civil Rights Moveanalysis. For in the meantime it is just as clear that the volunteers ment.

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 8 with this statement as opposed to only 13 per cent of the

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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."

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 individually and independently.

### Attitudes on Racial and Political Issues

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subsuggent analysis. Many voluntaurs may shy nest from a formal

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-

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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 supportprivitos aidjis livin dris consinages ing evidence. We asked the volunteers the following question: "Let's his activity was selden the sort that provokes assume that this summer's project is only one among many projects, all and, the South trails was alten to most of the devoted to quite different problems but with the same odds against success and the same personal risks. How would you evaluate projects at disma and hard less than one possible in for each of the following goals in comparison with this summer's cent had lived in the South for more than campaign?" Some 83 per cent felt that a program for world nuclear disarmament would be at least as important as the civil rights project; is ginia, and Temas, three evales in which it is 83 per cent also ranked the reduction of poverty through political eft without directly experiencing haraction 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 his inexperience, many volunteers had doubts felt that a project to end capital punishment would be as important serve saldly and offer frely. as SCOPE. This is not to downgrade the volunteers' commitment to cant were at least secondar confident of their ability to adjust to civil rights. Rather it is to suggest the full range of issues that bad toop to df .millions at the tree communities, of per coor had aroused their consciences and provoked their participation. do de a about corbing effectively with address while Southerners;

### Anxieties and Expectations for the Summer Itself

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So far we have dealt primarily with background and motivational factors, giving little emphasis to prior civil rights activity or expectations 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 in ovidence. He saind the volunteets the South, but again this activity was seldom the sort that provokes al dospens a 'sameralanda indipersonal risks. Indeed, the South itself was alien to most of the different problems but with 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 ior each of the tollmilne goels 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 indiscreasing would be at least as ten cluding Maryland, Virginia, and Texas, three states in which it is 83 per cent else ranked the reduction quite possible to live and visit without directly experiencing hardmotion as appleant as importants 76 per core 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.

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Were these doubts and fears groundless, as the volunteers were soon to learn from the orientation itself. Morthern 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 legro 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 principle 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 belie 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

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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 enthused, 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.

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- 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.

- 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 ultimately enable us to weight different positions of the continuum in a more sophisticated fashion according to interrelations with other similar items.
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