

P. O. Box X
Misenheimer, North Carolina
May 25, 1964

Dear Freedom Rider:

Two years ago, I began a study of "The Freedom Riders." The following is a summary of the findings of that study. May I express my appreciation for your assistance in the project? I trust that this summary will repay, in some measure, your labor in completing the questionnaires which you received.

1. The questionnaires were mailed to 301 "Freedom Riders" (FRs). Included in the total of 301 were those FRs whose names were on file in the New York City office of CORE during the period of May 1-4, 1962, and who were arrested in connection with the Freedom Rides which focused on the inter-state transportation facilities in Jackson, Mississippi; and those persons who were a part of the Freedom Ride which left Washington, D.C., on May 4, 1961.
2. This report focuses upon 260 of the above noted 301. (Forty-one FRs are excluded from this report. Included in the 41 are the 33 FRs whose permanent address at the time of the Freedom Rides was Jackson, Miss., and 8 FRs who did not receive the questionnaires which had been mailed to them.)
3. The distribution of the 260 FRs, in terms of geographic division, age, sex and race may be seen in the following table.

Geographic Division*		AGE				Total
		Under 20	20-24	25-34	35 & Older	
Negro Males (N=93)	West	2	14	8	2	26
	North	3	15	8	4	30
	South	12	14	6	5	37
		<u>17</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>93</u>
Negro Females (N=33)	West	3	2	2	0	7
	North	2	4	1	0	7
	South	9	9	0	0	19
	(S., 1, age unknown)	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>33</u>
Caucasian Males (N=90)	West	3	15	9	10	37
	North	9	22	14	7	52
	South	1	0	0	0	1
		<u>13</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>90</u>
Caucasian Females (N=44)	West	4	5	3	4	16
	North	6	8	8	4	26
	South	2	0	0	0	2
		<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>44</u>

*In this study, the geographic divisions were defined as follows: South, the 11 states which were united in the Confederacy; North, the District of Columbia, and the states to the north of Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia; and to the east of Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, S. Dakota and N. Dakota; West, the remaining states.

As these figures show, there were about as many Negroes (126; 48.5%) as Caucasians (134; 51.5%) in the total of 260. However, there were more than twice as many males (183; 70.4%) as females (77; 29.6%). Further, the Negro FRs came from the several geographic divisions, although the Caucasian FRs, almost without exception, came from outside the geographic division, "South." In terms of age, the ratio of those under 25 to those 25 and over is approximately 7 to 4 (164 to 95).

4. A total of 159 (out of the above noted 260) FRs returned questionnaires which could be included in the tabulations which follow. (It is to be noted that 22 of the 159 either did not return or returned in an inadequately completed form, the Study of Values questionnaire. These 22 are included in the following tabulations, at those points where their replies are applicable.) An analysis of the respondents by geographic division, age, sex and race is contained in the following table. (The percentages are number of respondents ÷ by number of FRs in the 260 total.)

	Geo. Division	AGE				Total
		Under 20	20-24	25-34	35 & Older	
N.M. ^o	West	1 (50%)	5 (36%)	4 (50%)	1 (50%)	11 (42%)
(48)	North	3 (100%)	9 (60%)	6 (75%)	1 (25%)	19 (63%)
(52%)	South	7 (58%)	5 (36%)	4 (67%)	2 (40%)	18 (49%)
N.F.	West	2 (67%)	0 (0%)	1 (50%)	-	3
(17)	North	0 (0%)	3 (75%)	-	1 (100%)	4
(52%)	South	5 (56%)	5 (50%)*	-	-	10
C.M.	West	3 (100%)	12 (80%)	7 (78%)	9 (90%)	31 (84%)
(61)	North	5 (56%)	12 (55%)	9 (54%)	4 (57%)	30 (58%)
(67%)	South	0 (0%)	-	-	-	1 (0%)
C.F.	West	4 (100%)	4 (80%)	1 (33%)	4 (100%)	13 (81%)
(33)	North	5 (83%)	6 (75%)	5 (63%)	3 (75%)	19 (73%)
(75%)	South	1 (50%)	-	-	-	1 (50%)

5. "I Became a Freedom Rider. . . ." Twelve alternatives were provided in the list of stated possibilities, as well as two "Other, please specify" possibilities. The following table indicates the percentage of the respondents listing the various alternatives as "the most important" influence upon their decision to become a Freedom Rider. Where a respondent indicated more than one alternative as "the most important," the several alternatives so designated were proportionately weighted.

Reason Reported	N.M.	N.F.	C.M.	C.F.
a. to change stereotype of the Negro	5.1%	5.9%	-	.4%
b. to put into action my convictions	23.8	25.5	35.1	26.0
c. to find out if I could take difficult situations without becoming a "hater"	.3	2.9	.3	-
d. best use of my time during that period	.5	-	.4	.4

*The age of one Negro female from the South is unknown; she has been assigned arbitrarily to the age 20-24 group.

^oN.M., N.F., C.M., C.F., refer to Negro males, Negro females, etc.

Reason Reported	N.M.	N.F.	C.M.	C.F.
e. to "settle score" with segregationists	-	-	-	-
f. to be part of an important moral struggle	1.9	5.9	7.3	13.5
g. to change prejudice by non-violent approach	6.9	-	3.0	2.6
h. to help enforce Constitution and Supreme Court decisions	12.1	3.9	9.6	13.2
i. I am committed to non-violence as a way of life	1.0	-	.6	1.0
j. I have strong feelings against segregation	24.6	36.2	22.1	23.1
k. urgings of friends and/or family	-	-	-	-
l. felt it was the right time for Rides to have favorable result	5.4	-	4.5	4.2
m. and n.: Other	18.3	19.6	17.0	15.5
1. to keep Rides going after original one	(4.2)	(11.8)	(-)	(-)
2. miscellaneous	(14.1)	(7.8)	(17.0)	(15.5)

It is helpful to recognize that many FRs responded with the indication that a number of reasons (as listed above and below) were "very important" or "important" in their decision to become a Freedom Rider. The following table contains the combined percentage of respondents indicating "very important" or "important."

	N.M.	N.F.	C.M.	C.F.
a. to change stereotype of the Negro	72.9%	82.4%	27.9%	24.2%
b. to put into action my convictions	85.4	94.1	85.2	93.9
c. to find out if I could take difficult situations without becoming a "hater"	42.7	29.4	21.3	9.1
d. best use of my time during that period	22.9	17.6	27.9	51.5
e. to "settle score" with segregationists	14.6	5.9	6.6	6.1
f. to be part of an important moral struggle	83.3	76.5	78.7	87.9
g. to change prejudice by non-violent approach	85.4	88.2	57.4	66.7
h. to help enforce Constitution and Supreme Court decisions	87.5	100.0	75.4	84.8
i. I am committed to non-violence as a way of life	47.9	41.2	32.8	24.2
j. I have strong feelings against segregation	93.8	100.0	100.0	100.0
k. urgings of friends and/or family	2.1	11.8	-	-
l. felt it was the right time for Rides to have favorable effect	60.4	47.1	59.0	66.7
m. and n.: Other	50.0	52.9	44.3	51.5

6. Political Preference The overwhelming majority of respondents who indicated a political preference, rather than leaving the question blank or indicating "none," reported either Democratic or Socialist. However, differences emerge when the respondents are grouped in terms of race and sex.

	Repub- lican	Demo- cratic	Social- ist	None	Blank- Other
Negro Males (N=48)	4.2%	45.8%	8.3%	22.9%	18.8%
Negro Females (N=17)	-	52.9	11.8	23.5	11.8
Caucasian Males (N=61)	-	32.8	50.8	13.1	3.3
Caucasian Females (N=33)	3.0	30.3	48.5	15.2	3.0

7. Non-Violent Direct-Action: Tactic or Way of Life? The FRs were committed to the employment of non-violent direct-action during the Freedom Ride. On the basis of our study, it may be reported that less than half of the respondents are committed to non-violence as a way of life. In analyzing the responses by race and sex groupings, we noted differences which may be seen in the following table.

	Committed		Not Committed	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
All Respondents	68	42.8%	91	57.2%
Negro Males	22	45.8	26	54.2
Negro Females	9	52.9	8	47.1
Caucasian Males	28	45.9	33	54.1
Caucasian Females	9	27.3	24	72.7

8. Religious Identification What is the religious identification of the respondents? In an effort to distinguish among the 159 respondents, four groups were established. These groups are characterized as follows:

Group I: Composed of respondents who identified themselves as members of a religious body, rated the importance of religious convictions in their lives as relatively high, attend worship services 31 or more times a year or attend worship services 21-30 times a year and also attend religious activities other than worship services at least 21-30 times a year.

Group II: Composed of respondents who identified themselves as members of a religious body, rated the importance of religious convictions in their lives as relatively high, and (a) attend worship services 21-30 times a year and religious activities other than worship services 0-10 times a year or (b) attend worship services at least one but not more than 20 times a year and religious activities other than worship services at least one but not more than 20 times a year or (c) attend worship services 1-10 times a year and religious services other than worship not at all.

Group III: A residual group, composed of respondents who did not meet the criteria of the other three groupings.

Group IV: Composed of respondents who indicated their faith position as atheistic, agnostic, or "none" and who rated the importance of religious convictions in their lives as relatively low; and respondents who, while they indicated their faith position as Protestant, Roman Catholic or Jewish, indicated that they partici-

pated in no worship services and no more than 10 religious activities other than worship services a year. In addition, one respondent who indicated membership in a religious body, but a "0" rating of importance of religious convictions and no participation in worship or other activities was included in this group as were two respondents who indicated a designation of religious faith but a "0" rating of importance of religious convictions and no participation in worship or other religious activities.

The following table indicates the distribution of respondents into the four groupings.

	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV
All Respondents	57	15	23	64
Negro Males	29	5	7	7
Negro Females	10	3	1	3
Caucasian Males	16	4	11	30
Caucasian Females	2	3	4	24

It is to be noted that although the majority of the Freedom Riders who responded to our questionnaires are not actively related to the life of a church or synagogue, pronounced differences exist among the four race-sex groups in terms of this characteristic. It appears that religious identification is a more significant factor for the Negro respondents than for the Caucasian respondents.

9. Intolerance and Dogmatism: Characteristics of the Freedom Riders? It may be assumed that the Freedom Riders are tolerant toward persons with racial characteristics different from their own. However, are they intolerant towards those whom they consider to be intolerant? In seeking an answer to this question, we employed a slightly revised version of a 40 item psychological test known as Rokeach's "Dogmatism Scale." (For information on this scale, see Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind /New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960/.)

On the basis of the scores of the respondents and comparisons with other studies, it is our appraisal that although there is a significant difference in the level of dogmatism between the Negro and the Caucasian respondents (the Negroes scoring higher, more dogmatic), the respondents are probably similar to non-Freedom Riders in terms of level of dogmatism, when race, sex, age, and level of education are held constant. (We shall be happy to supply the actual scores of the several race-sex groups upon request.)

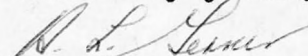
10. Dominant Interests -- Value Orientation The Allport, Vernon, Lindzey "A Study of Values" (3d ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960) was employed in the present study to measure the value orientation of the FRs. This test is scored in terms of six scales which reflect the relative importance of the following six interest or value dimensions. These six are: the theoretical, the economic, the aesthetic, the social (defined in terms of the altruistic aspect of love), the political (especially, concern with power), and the religious.

Two facts ^mererge from an analysis of the "Study of Values" profiles for the four race-sex groups: (1) social values are prominent in the value-orientation of the respondents; (2) economic values are relatively unimportant in the value-orientation of the respondents. In each of the four race-sex groups, the mean score on the economic scale is the lowest; in each of the race-sex groups, except the Caucasian females, the mean score on the social scale is the highest. (We shall be happy to supply the actual scores of the several race-sex groups upon request.)

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AGAIN, THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION WITH THE STUDY!

Sincerely yours,


Henry L. Gerner