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A Content Analysis of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer Viewed as Public Relations Efforts Using the Social Change Model of Leadership

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A Content Analysis of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer Viewed as Public
Relations Efforts Using the Social Change Model of Leadership

by

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Abstract

        This research used content analysis to examine how significant events within the

1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer that were well documented in journals, news articles

and other mediums can be viewed as public relations strategies and tactics using the

Social Change Model of Leadership (SCM). This research answers how these events can

be explained through the SCM as individual, group, and community values. The SCM

has not been associated with public relations strategies and tactics before this research

was conducted, however social change is commonly seen in public relations efforts as

both SCM and public relations seek to influence publics to effect change. It is

understood that the best way to approach content analysis is to form a research question,

create a system of coding or "recording units", and then lastly decide on a sampling

strategy. Often coding includes recoding common phrases, words, ideas, or themes, and

for the purpose of this research, coding follows the SCM framework. In order for the

information to be replicated, the sample must be large enough to permit certain

conclusions about the data. Specific conclusions can be drawn, and for the purpose of

this study, could indicate the efforts of individuals, groups, and communities in their

determinations to seek social change during Freedom Summer.

Key Words: Civil Rights, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Mississippi

            Freedom Summer, Voting, Public Relations, Social Change Model of

            Leadership

Dedication

Steve and Dunn Chandler:

Thank you for supporting me throughout my educational career. I could not be more

thankful for your unconditional love, always.

Acknowledgement

       This piece of work would not have been made possible without the hours upon hours that Dr. Cindy Blackwell, my thesis advisor, favorite college professor and friend, dedicated to helping me with this project. I would specifically like to thank her for mentoring me throughout the entire process of completing this study. I greatly appreciate her support throughout all of my endeavors and cannot thank her enough.

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COFO   Council of Federated Organizations

CORE   Congress of Racial Equality

KKK   Ku Klux Klan

MFDP   Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

NAACP   National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

PRSA   Public Relations Society of America

SCM   Social Change Model of Leadership

SCLC   Southern Christian Leadership Conference

SNCC   Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Chapter I - Introduction and Background

For centuries, Mississippi had been a breeding ground for segregation and some
of its people prided themselves on being a state for only the white man. An early
editorial in the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger* stated that, "if every Negro in Mississippi was a
graduate of Harvard and had been elected class orator, he would not be as well fitted to
exercise the rights of suffrage as the Anglo-Saxon farm laborer" (Mills 45).

Blacks in Mississippi were unable to exercise their right to vote until 1964.
Although, even after Blacks legally had the right to vote, barriers were put in place to
discourage them from exercising the right they finally had. Because these individuals
were being denied their basic rights, national Civil Rights organizations recognized this
inequality as an opportunity to showcase the corruption that tainted the Deep South. In
1964, the year the governor of Mississippi declared that the National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) "stood for niggers, apes, alligators, coons and
possums" (Mills 18), 86 percent of minorities were living below the poverty line in
Mississippi.

Understanding the dire issues of the situation, the Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC), pronounced "snick", was founded in 1960 on the brink
of the Civil Rights movement. Vanessa Murphree, author of *Selling of Civil Rights: The
Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee and the Use of Public Relations*, stated "In
the face of a daunting mission, SNCC founders purposefully put communication and
publicity at the center for their initial agenda," (Murphree 1). The Freedom Summer was
a SNCC campaign, which took place in white-dominated Mississippi in 1964. This
movement involved the placement of approximately one thousand volunteers for three

months to encourage voters' rights in Mississippi- a virtually "closed society" (Murphree 57).

SNCC volunteers used publicity, which can now be seen as public relations and other communications and tactics, to show the injustices taking place in the state of Mississippi. The goals of the Freedom Summer were to reveal these inequalities and discrimination and in turn, gain support for all citizens regardless of their ethnicity (Murphree 57). According to Murphree, "analyzing public relations from the context of the Civil Rights movement provides an example of how public relations has been used to change the social fabric of the country in a positive and long-standing fashion" (Murphree 1). Murphree has studied the importance of public relations in the Civil Rights movement and specifically the use of public relations within the SNCC to show that public relations is a key aspect of Civil Rights and also social movements. Without the implementation of public relations strategies and tactics, Civil Rights may not have been as successful (Murphree 1).

The 1890 Mississippi Constitution limited voting for Blacks, as did the politicians controlling the state. With the destructive attitudes and mindsets of the individuals running the state of Mississippi, little progress was made even after Blacks were granted the privilege and right to legally vote. By the early 1960s, the presence of Civil Rights in the United States was not evident in Mississippi. Governor Ross Barnett believed very much like previous Governor James Vardaman, that Blacks had neither the right nor the need to be voting in the state of Mississippi. Progress was inhibited by powerful individuals like Barnett who believed that Blacks "are not and never can be equal" (Mills 45).

Even in 1959, there were very few Black professionals in the state of Mississippi. Blacks who were born in Mississippi received less medical care and thus were 200 percent less likely to survive than a white man. Mississippi still had segregated schooling in the 1960s and most Black individuals received only up to six years of education. They were then forcibly trained a trade that required tough manual labor (Mills 48). In 1962, James Meredith, the first Black man to enroll at the University of Mississippi, was unable to register without thousands of militia and troops (Mills 45).

Julian Bond, the communication director for SNCC, communicated with the media that the group was created in order to create Civil Rights rallies and protests in the South. SNCC became a center for the student movement in the United States (Murphree 1), with the SNCC having different phases that affected the Civil Rights movement. One included voter registration, which was the center of the Mississippi Summer Project in 1964 (Murphree 3). The goals of the Freedom Summer were to register African Americans in Mississippi to vote and to educate Black Mississippians on how voting could improve their quality of life. Although these were the original goals, SNCC workers continued and extended their goals. According to Murphree, "the Freedom Summer also represented a period marked by increasingly proactive communication strategies" (Murphree 57).

Freedom Summer volunteers worked to provide education to Black Mississippians. They also helped establish a political party and a delegation selection campaign. They assisted in creating the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which served as a substitute to the Mississippi Democratic Party, a group heavily dominated by Southern Whites (Murphree 61). Skilled professionals and students

brought their talents to Mississippi to contribute to the large amount of volunteers

needed. For example, Robert Beyers, public relations director at Stanford University,

temporarily left the university to work for SNCC (Murphree 58), offering an example of

a public relations professional working toward social change.

Around one thousand mostly white college students volunteered for the Freedom

Summer to help improve voter registration of African Americans in Mississippi. At the

end of the three months, approximately 1,600 African Americans successfully registered

to vote, although 17,000 applied to register (Murphree 58). The amount of media

coverage in Mississippi was significant. This publicity showed the still very evident

amount of racism in Mississippi and the South (Murphree 58).

According to Murphree, the reasoning behind SNCC having volunteers was

because the Southern Blacks could not "afford the risks or financial burdens associated

with the project" (Murphree 62). The large amount of white students participating in

Freedom Summer was due to the fact that committee leaders knew that it would fascinate

and gain the interest of the media (Murphree 62). Of Course, other events also caught the

attention of the media. When the Mississippi NAACP president Medgar Evers was

assassinated in June of 1963, the nation was effectively shocked by the evident presence

of racism still in Mississippi. Also Herbert Lee, one of the very few Mississippi Blacks

who registered to vote, was killed in 1961 (Murphree 62). Events like these gave cause

to the volunteers' efforts.

The SNCC was a very risky job for volunteers. "White racist violence against

both local Black people and Civil Rights workers surged to a new level of intensity.

Laurel businessman Sam Bowers began forming the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

(KKK), with the intention of opposing what he would call "'the forces of Satan on this earth,' waging a campaign of violence against Civil Rights activists and anyone who appeared to give ground to their progress" (Marsh 28).

Illustration 1: Herbert Randall, "Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyweld (Cleveland, Ohio), Who came to Hattiesburg to assist with voter registration, after he had been beaten with a tire iron"

Some organizations such as the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) worked to ease some of the threats against volunteers and Blacks. The COFO staged the "Freedom Ballot Campaign," a campaign that worked to encourage Black voters. This mock ballot encouraged Black voters to exercise their right to vote, yet under less risky conditions (Marsh 28). The COFO nominated individuals as candidates for the mock election. The first candidate was Aaron Henry, the state representative of the NAACP. The second was the Revered Edwin King a white minister who served Tougaloo College (Marsh 28). On the mock Election Day, around 83,000 Blacks voted, proving that Black Mississippians were prepared to begin voting in Mississippi. This was the first successful

form of a statewide protest that directly threatened white Mississippi. Most of the other movements only affected districts or towns (Marsh 28).

Because of the progress of the mock election, "An often contentious relationship between SNCC and the NAACP had even been cast aside for the moment (Student-based SNCC, along with the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE], commonly regarded the NAACP as overly cautious and fearful of direct acts of social protest)" (Marsh 28). Bob Moses then decided that he should connect local protesters with student volunteers. This was Moses' inspiration for the "Mississippi Summer Project, also known as the 'Freedom Summer'" (Marsh 28).

Much concern was brought up about the idea that white college students would clash with the classic Black activism in the state. The question of "did not the invitation to Northern students only perpetuate the presumption that Blacks needed whites to solve their problems?" was raised throughout the SNCC Freedom Summer (Marsh 28).

Although many opposed bringing privileged white college students to work in Mississippi, John Lewis and Bob Moses argued in support for an interracial campaign. They believed that including whites and Blacks together would help create media coverage of Mississippi (Marsh 29). This partnership would gain media and press coverage. Bringing volunteers from Northern colleges would help educate the nation of the injustices that were still prevalent in Mississippi (Marsh 29). The implementation of an interracial campaign shows the significance of "multiplying group effectiveness by capitalizing on various perspectives and talents, and on the power of diversity to generate creative solutions and actions" (Wagner 9) thus leading to social change.

Moses believed that Blacks and Whites must integrate in order for the nation to

move past race issues. "The only way you can break that down is to have white people

working alongside of you – so then it changes the whole complexion of what you're

doing, so it isn't any longer Negro fighting white, it's a question of rational people

against irrational people," said Moses to his fellow SNCC staffers (Marsh 29).

Freedom Summer

The Mississippi Summer Project was created to help start Freedom Schools, help

build the new political party, and help with Black voter registration. However, the

project did not have significant numbers, money, or power. More than ninety percent of

all Black Mississippians were not registered to vote (Mills 17). According to *Like a Holy*

Crusade, by Nicolaus Mills:

> "In the summer of 1964, white Mississippi was, however, in no mood to
>
> accept a second reconstruction, especially one led by the coalition behind
>
> the Summer Project, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)—an
>
> alliance made up of the Congress of Racal Equality (CORE), the National
>
> Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the
>
> Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the most
>
> important, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC),
>
> which provided three- fourths of the Summer Project Staff" (Mills 17).

John Lewis said that, "if we can crack Mississippi, we will likely be able to crack

the system in the rest of the country" (Mills 18). By Focusing on Mississippi, the most

openly racist state in the union, the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project would expose

the deepest secrets of the Deep South. By exposing these certainties, Freedom Summer

volunteers hoped to stun the nation enough into becoming involved (Mills 19).

Why Mississippi?

Illustration 2: Herbert Randall, "volunteer Jacob Blum preparing for MFDP registration at Mr. Zion Baptist Church, Hattiesburg, MS, 1964"

McComb, Mississippi, was chosen for a pilot project of the SNCC. Robert Moses spent the spring of 1960 working in New York at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). He left in July to work for the SNCC in Atlanta. Moses was sent on a trip around Mississippi and areas of the Deep South to try to recruit individuals to attend the SNCC's fall meeting. While on his field trip, he stopped in Cleveland, Mississippi (McClymer 38).

While visiting Cleveland, Moses met Aimsie Moore. Moore "a militant Negro leader" (McClymer 38) persuaded Moses of the opportunity to begin a campaign that would register African Americans to vote in Mississippi. The Black population in rural

Mississippi often did not have means of communication with the outside world, nor did it often have means to communicate within its own community. "But Moses and Moore saw the possibility of getting out on those dirt roads and into those old broken homes, talking the language and living the life of the oppressed people there, and persuading them to face the trails of registration" (McClymer 39). With something as small, yet so big, as registering to vote, a community voice could be created. According to McClymer, "a Negro community with an actual voice in local if not regional, politics might be built, thereby acquiring the possibility for educational and social reforms. Most of all, a spirit that is vital to the eventual destruction of segregation might replace the spiritual apathy which now characterizes the Negro community" (McClymer 39).

Moses began preparing for the SNCC to begin the campaign for voter registration in the Mississippi Delta. The magazine *Jet,* an African American magazine, printed a brief description of a Mississippi project. That magazine description was read by the head of the NAACP in McComb, Mississippi, C.C. Bryant, who then wrote Bob Moses about offering such a project in Pike County. Moses wished to open a Voter Registration School in the Delta, a region of Mississippi where the population was overwhelmingly African American, yet could not find a building that was suitable. Moses met with Bryant in McComb, Mississippi, and established the project in Pike, Walthall, and Amite counties (McClymer 39).

In McComb, Moses found a reasonable amount of individuals who were willing to help him with his project. McComb, a city of 13,000 served as a great site for the "mass non-violent movement." These local individuals provided the student volunteers housing, contacts, and transportation to surrounding areas. The student workers began

analyzing how many of the local citizens were registered to vote. Those who were not were invited and informed of the SNCC program. John Hardy of Nashville and Reggie Robinson of Baltimore arrived as field representatives to assist with the SNCC by the end of the first week in McComb (McClymer 39).

Moses' Voter Registration School opened in Burglundtown on August 7, 1961. Because many of the African Americans were uneducated about the voting process, Moses sought to teach these individuals the basics of voting. A voter registration class would include a study of the Mississippi State Constitution in addition to filling out application forms and being encouraged to attempt registration (McClymer 39).

On the first day that the school was open, four individuals attempted voter registration in Magnolia, Mississippi, the county seat of Pike County. Of the four who attempted registration, three individuals registered successfully. After a few days of Blacks attempting to register to vote, the *Enterprise-Journal* of McComb, began to run articles. At this point, a few individuals from Amite and Walthall began to attend registration classes due to the increased exposure of the project. However, on August 10, 1961, in an event that was unrelated to registration, an African American who attempted to register to vote was shot. At this point, the Voter Registration School began to lack attendees. At that time, African Americans saw any act of independence such as voting, connected to violence (McClymer 40).

On August 15, Moses drove to Liberty, the county seat of Amite, with Bertha Lee Hughes, Ernest Isaac, and Matilda Schoby. These three wished to register to vote. When they reached the registrar's office, Moses was asked to leave. The three began to fill out the forms and noticed that the registrar helped a white female answer several of the

questions. When the three individuals turned in their application forms, the registrar confronted them saying that their attempt to register to vote was insufficient. They were then informed to not return to the establishment for at least six months (McClymer 40).

As they left the registrar's office on their way back to McComb, a highway patrolman by the name Marshall Carwyle Bates followed them. He asked Isaac to step inside the police car. Moses then asked Bates as to why they had been pulled over. Bates referred to Moses as "the nigger who's come to tell the niggers how to register" and shoved him back into the car (McClymer 41). Moses was then ordered to drive to the Justice of the Peace's office in McComb. Upon his arrival, Moses was charged with impeding an officer. At this point, Moses called the Justice Department collect. This showed his importance. The NAACP paid his fine and appealed his case, yet Moses still received jail time of two days. On the same day of these unfortunate events, many SNCC volunteers entered Pike County (McClymer 41).

There had been much talk about setting a second school in Walthall County, and the field representative John Hardy took the lead to establish the school. The school was held at private homes and at Mt. Moriah Baptist Church. Those who were too young to register to vote formed the Pike County Non-Violent Movement. These individuals were eager to participate in some sort of movement although they were not eligible to vote (McClymer 41).

Other forms of non-violent protest began to occur, specifically within the college communities. In Greensboro, North Carolina. Students at the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University began to collaborate and decided that they wanted to integrate the lunch counter at Woolworth's, a chain of retail stores that sold

inexpensive products. At the time of the protest, Blacks could shop at Woolworth's, yet they were not allowed to eat at the lunch counter. They used a strategy from the trade union movement. They decided to facilitate a sit-down strike. The all Black students from the university sat down and refused to move until they were served. Although they were using forms of non-violent protest, the scene often caused white violence. Angry crowds of white people prompted the store manager to call the police. The students continued to resist and as they were each arrested, but another student would sit in that place.

Woolworth's, because of it being inexpensive in nature, was a chain that depended upon the support of low-income Black customers in both the North and the South. The management of the company realized that "the sit-in gave the company a major public relations problem that it decided to solve by giving in to the students' demands" (McClymer 9).

Eighteen-year-olds Hollis Watkins and Elmer Hayes participated in a sit-in at the McComb Woolworth's in Mississippi. The two were arrested with the charge of breach of peace. After their arrest, they held a meeting in McComb, in which 200 individuals attended. Following the meeting, the paper warned the white citizens "the Negroes were not engaged in a mere passing fad, but were serious in intention" (McClymer 42).

On August 29, 1961, Billy Jack Caston, another cousin, and the son of the sheriff, met Bob Moses. Moses was hit across the head, which required eight stitches. Moses filed battery charges against Caston for the damage that he had caused. According to McClymer, "perhaps the first time in the history of Amite that a Negro has legally contested the right of a white man to mutilate him at fancy" (McClymer 42).

Although the voting drive in Mississippi had increased voting awareness, it had produced little results. By 1963, after two years of effort, six counties in Mississippi still had no registered Black voters. Fewer than ten Blacks were registered to vote in six other counties. Only 6 percent of Blacks in Mississippi had successfully registered, yet other states like Alabama had around 40 percent of registered African Americans (McClymer 84). Alabama's Governor George Wallace was famously quoted in his inaugural speech saying "in the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." Governor Wallace led the campaign against Civil Rights, yet his state had 30 percent more registered Black voters than Mississippi. In Mississippi, violence was increasingly becoming more frequent, intimidating the Blacks within the state.

Realizing this, SNCC and COFO organized the mock election in 1963, and by the summer of 1964, often described as "Freedom Summer," students from campuses all throughout the United States were volunteering their time in Mississippi (McClymer 84). However it only took until June 21, 1964, when Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney, volunteers for the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project were murdered (Mills 16). The lynching of Blacks in Mississippi was common, however the murder of these three individuals forced the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the president to acknowledge the injustice that was taking place in Mississippi (Mills 16).

Purpose of the Study

     This research used content analysis to examine how significant events within the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer that were well documented in journals, news articles and other mediums, can be viewed as public relations strategies and tactics using the Social Change Model of Leadership (SCM). This research answers how these events can be explained through the SCM as individual, group, and society/community values. The SCM has not been associated with public relations strategies and tactics before this research was conducted, however social change is commonly seen in public relations efforts as both SCM and public relations seek to influence publics to effect change.

Research Questions

The Following Research questions guided this research:

1) How can *selected* and documented events of Freedom Summer that occurred in Mississippi during Freedom Summer be explained through the Social Change Model of Leadership as individual values?

2) How can *selected* and documented events of Freedom Summer that occurred in Mississippi during Freedom Summer be explained through the Social Change Model of Leadership as group values?

3) How can *selected* and documented events of Freedom Summer that occurred in Mississippi during Freedom Summer be explained through the Social Change Model of Leadership as community values?

Chapter II - Literature Review

Public Relations and Social Change

This research was guided by the concepts of public relations and uses the Social Change Model of Leadership (SCM) as a conceptual framework, emphasizing that both the practice of leadership and public relations is to influence publics to create change. Public relations, as defined by the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA), is "a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organizations and their publics" ("What Is Public Relations"). It is important that public relations specialists continually research communication methods to inform the public of the organization's successes and failures. These often include community relations, fundraising, crisis relations, employee relations, government relations, and other triumphs. Executing communication methods to alter public policy and public opinion is an essential part of public relations. In Short, public relations "serves to bring private and public policies into harmony" ("What Is Public Relations").

Promoting social change has been a part of public relations since its humble roots. Scott Cutlip, author of *Public Relations History: From the 17th to the 20th Century. The Antecedents* states, "As the late 19th century trends of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration gained momentum, the nation's social, health and welfare problems grew in number, magnitude and complexity. The crowding of more and more persons into cities brought the need for strong public health measures, the need for assistance for those trapped in poverty and illiteracy, and the need for recreation to ease the hard, grinding lives of many urban dwellers!" (Cutlip 264). Those individuals who saw the problems

that were arising began to use the techniques of publicity to create public support for a solution. At this time period, cities were growing rapidly due to the growth of industry, finance, and commerce. Because of this, a great surplus of wealth was available for promoting social change. The use of fundraising would "utilize the emerging expertise of public relations" (Cutlip 264).

The great opportunities within public relations continued. For instance, "in the closing decades of the of the 19th century and in the seedbed years of the 20th, there came into the U.S. mainstream a new emphasis on social problems, which in turn, brought the creation of new social service and health organizations – some aimed at alleviating suffering of the poor, some aimed at bringing a better life to the underprivileged, and some aimed at combating the contagion of disease" (Cutlip 264). Because of this, the numbers of social welfare and health organizations multiplied. With this, increased techniques of publicity and business like operations were very much needed.

Due to increased demand for efficiency, "thus came in these years, councils of social agencies, welfare federations, alliances of charities, community funds, community chests, and new social concepts, all of which, in time, utilized publicity" (Cutlip 265). From the beginning of the Civil War to the late 1800s, only twelve organizations reliant on public charity were formed, however between the years of 1900 and 1917, also known as the Seedbed Years, that number grew to 22. Because of the rapid growth of organizations focused on social change, there was increased competition for the support of the public.

During the Seedbed Years, there was increased realization that public relations was needed. This "growing realization" can be seen at the National Conference of Social

Work. At the 1904 conference, a speaker said, " we are in the main governed by public opinion, but public opinion is a big term; it is the father of a big family of a lot of little public opinions" (Cutlip 265). The following year, a speaker spoke of how the public had the right to be informed with the operations of many of these social organizations. In 1906, it was discussed that the chief executives of an organization's job was to keep in touch with the public and whatever the public opinion may be. That same year, a speaker at the conference, first described an important idea of the two-way public relations concept with the following statement, "He can meet the objections and keep the central administration in touch with the public sentiment, as such sentiment measures the work and value of the organization" (Cutlip 265). In 1907, the creation of the Press and Publicity committee within the National Conference of Social Work, reflected the huge shift in the need for public support and thus, public relations for understanding in the world of social work.

At the same convention in 1908, a speaker suggested the use of newspapers and other methods like "printing lists of contributors to find campaigns, use of pictures, organizing public tours of inspection, and interviews with influential citizens" (Cutlip 267). In 1909, "The (Press and Publicity) committee, in its report, also charged social workers that it was their duty to lend themselves to a campaign of publicity so that the public might know the what, how, and why of charity and social work. A conference speaker underlined this by saying that the social worker must have a sense of news and known the channels of publicity" (Cutlip 268).

In 1910, the committee suggested the idea of a campaign of publicity. This was the first ever of its kind. The committee began to fine-tune the concepts of public

relations at the convention. The committee formed "Based on the assumption that for

any single piece of publicity work, whether it 'educational propaganda or raising funds,'"

the psychological principles involved in education of the public are the same as those

used by classroom teachers. One speaker amplified this by suggesting that the attention

of the public must be seized by some legitimate decide of the publicist through pictures,

typography, a headline "With a neatly turned phrase" – and this interest must be

sustained and turned to action. He added: "the fundamental duties and functions of a

given society should condition the nature of the advertising and of the appeals" (Cutlip

268).

In response to push-back from publicity critics, Whiting Williams and Elwood

Street appealed to those who criticized public relations in an issue of the Social Bulletin

in February 1916 entitled "Is Publicity Necessary?" They stated "we believe that it is the

business of charitable organizations in touch with harmful social conditions to present

these conditions to the public, so that public opinion, warned, may see the removal of

these conditions and the ultimate elimination of necessity for charities and

philanthropies" (Cutlip 278). These ideas shaped the creation of public relations

emphasizing in and contributing to social change. These concepts of removing harmful

conditions and presenting these said conditions to the public, were the basis of the Civil

Rights movement.

Leadership and Social Change

One model of leadership focused in a similar way to public relations is the Social

Change Model (SCM), which was first introduced in 1996 by Helen S. Astin and

Alexander W. Astin as part of a Higher Education Research Institute project. The model

takes the approach that "A leader is not necessarily a person who holds some formal

position of leadership or who is perceived as a leader by others. Rather, [the authors]

regard a leader as one who is able to effect positive **change** for the betterment of others,

the community, and society" (Astin & Astin 16) and has a three-part diagram (See Figure

1), which includes individual values, group values, and society/community values.

Within the three parts are seven Cs that guide the three-part diagram. First, according to

the model, individual values include consciousness of self, congruence, and commitment.

Secondly, group values include collaboration, common purpose, and controversy with

civility. Lastly, the society/community values sector includes citizenship. Each sector

and its values are a continual wheel that helps contribute to the next sector. For instance,

the individual value of commitment, leads to the group value of collaboration and vice

versa (Wagner 8).
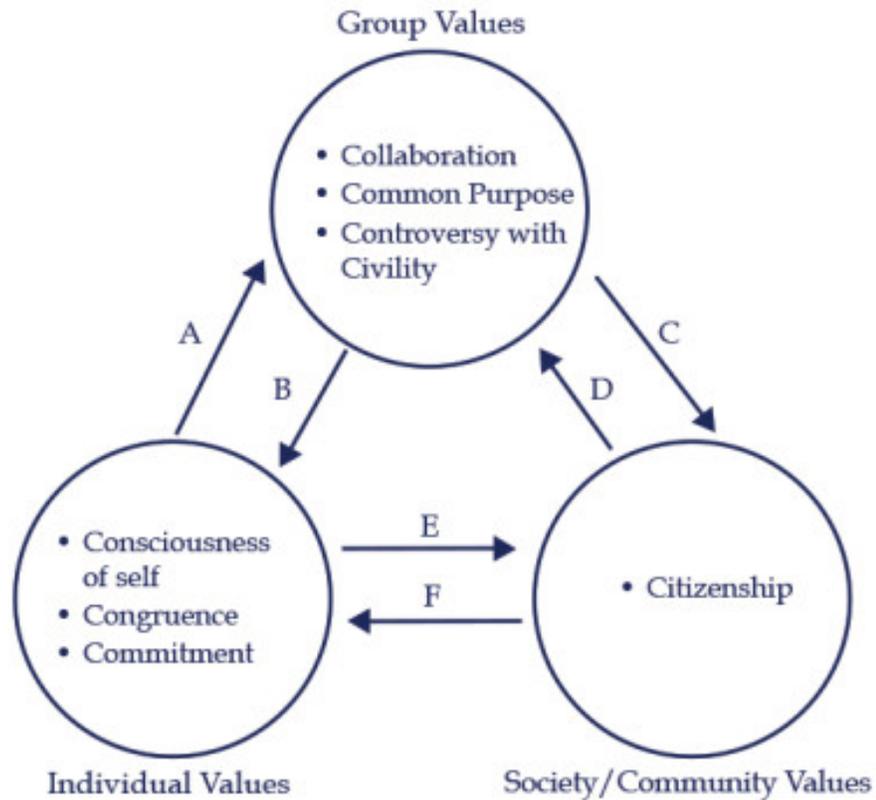
Figure 1: Social Change Model of Leadership

Individual

The individual sector of the SCM includes three values consisting of consciousness of self, congruence, and commitment. Consciousness of self is the idea that one is "self-aware of the beliefs, values, attitudes, and emotions that motivate you to take action" (Wagner 9). Another element of being conscious of one's self is being mindful of one's existing emotions, views, and behaviors. Congruence is also a way to describe the individual values of the model. Congruence is defined as "acting in ways that are consistent with your values and beliefs. Thinking, feeling, and behaving with consistency, genuineness, authenticity, and honesty toward others" (Wagner 9). Lastly,

commitment is investing long term to a specific cause. Those individuals who share

consciousness of self, congruence and commitment are likely to form groups.

Groups

The group values are collaboration, common purpose, and controversy with

civility. Individuals working within groups show collaboration. Collaboration is

working toward a specific goal or effort. When individuals share a common goal, they

are accountable for one another. Collaboration is "multiplying group effectiveness by

capitalizing on various perspectives and talents, and on the power of diversity to generate

creative solutions and actions" (Wagner 9). Individuals working with a common purpose

share values and goals. Lastly, individuals who form groups must have controversy with

civility. Although individuals are likely to share different standpoints, working with

civility is vital. Differences within a group are inevitable, but working respectfully

together toward a common goal is civility.

Community

Lastly, when the group values of collaboration, common purpose, and controversy

with civility are shared, it is likely that a community will be formed. The value of a

community is citizenship. Citizenship is "believing in a process whereby an individual

and/or a group become responsibly connected to the community and to society through

some activity" (Wagner 9).

Each level of the model is fluid and interconnected. Specific values that are

created at the individual level must be present in order for a community to be created and

for change to occur. Change is the core and most important part of the model and is described as "Believing in the importance of making a better world and a better society for oneself and others…believing that individuals, groups and communities have the ability to work together to make that change" (Wagner 9). In reference to the Civil Rights Movement in the United States and the local Mississippi Civil Rights movement, change created through individuals, groups and communities helped make this nation a better place.

A History of Public Relations and Social Change

The practice of public relations often can and should effectively lead to social change, when appropriate. As PRSA notes, social responsibility is a portion of the job of any public relations practitioner, and the SCM asks, "how can involvement in positive change in the community promote group collaboration and develop individual character?" (Wagner 9). Social change whereby groups collaborate and individuals are developed is answered throughout the Civil Rights Movement by use of effective public relations.

Social Change and the Founding Fathers of Public Relations

The efforts of past public relations practitioners often provide excellent examples of social change. For example, one of the very first African Americans to work in Public Relations was Moss Kendrix. Kendrix "left a lasting legacy and a major imprint on the way Africa Americans are portrayed through the power of advertising" ("Moss Kendrix"). He promoted "African American visibility" for many advertising and public

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relations campaigns for numerous organizations ("Moss Kendrix"). His clients included

The Ford Motor Company, Carnation, and the Coca-Cola Company, The National

Educational Association and the National Dental Association, among others.

Through Kendrix's efforts, he effectively showed commitment to social change.

He educated his clients on the importance of featuring African-Americans in advertising

campaigns in a way that had not previously been done. According to Kendrix creating

African American visibility was of great value to corporate clients, because African

American consumers had great "buying power" ("Moss Kendrix"). Kendrix "helped to

make America realize that African-Americans were more complex than the derogatory

images depicted in the advertising of the past" ("Moss Kendrix").

Kendrix began his public relations career in 1944. He became public relations

director for the Republic of Liberia's Centennial Celebration ("Moss Kendrix: His Life

and Legacy"). This was what inspired him to continue to work in the public relations

field. He created his own public relations firm, 'The Moss Kendrix Organization' with

the motto "What the Public Thinks Counts!" ("Moss Kendrix: His Life and Legacy").

This organization was the first public relations firm to target African American

consumers entirely ("Moss Kendrix: His Life and Legacy"). That, in itself is a huge

contribution to social change.

Coca-Cola is one of the most popular products in the world today, however it did

not gain popularity in the African American community until Moss Kendrix began to

work for Coca-Cola to help promote the product to minority communities ("Moss

Kendrix: The Coca-Cola Years"). Throughout the Southern African American

communities in the 1920s and 1930s, Nehi's grape and orange flavored sodas were more

popular. Nehi marketed to the minority communities, whereas Coco-Cola and other companies did not see the value in the buying power of the African American consumer, until Kendrix help them to realize the importance of marketing to these communities ("Moss Kendrix: The Coca-Cola Years").

According to the Coca-Cola Proposal written by Kendrix, "Fourteen million people comprise the Negro market of the United States. These people constitute a very important consumer outlet, which is best cultivated by promotions and sales schemes that are psychologically angled toward the people of this consumer group" ("The Coca-Cola Proposal"). Although Kendrix was not the only African American working in Public Relations, he was one of the first to effectively create an African American image in the media ("The Coca-Cola Proposal").

Similar to Kendrix, Edward Bernays, deemed the "father of public relations", was influential and radical for even considering controlling the public relations for the NAACP. This was an early example of one of the first times that a white individual represented a Black organization, and another example of how an individual working within public relations can help lead to social change. The NAACP founder Arthur Springarn, a lawyer, asked Edward Bernays to publicize the NAACP convention in Atlanta ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective"). "The respectful term for Black people was "Negro", though not too many people were using it. Affecting a major attitudinal change was to be a terrific challenge" ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective").

The Atlanta convention goals were to make both the North and the South realize the importance of fighting for Civil Rights. As the nephew of Sigmund Freud, Bernays had a keen understanding of the way people think and "argued that it was important to

use mass psychology when addressing irrational and misguided mass behavior. He thought it necessary not only to give information to the public – for their consideration and to encourage them accordingly" (Strotmann). According to Bernays, "These 'rights' were considered revolutionary: abolish lynching, segregation, and Jim Crow railroad cars; and obtain equal education, industrial opportunities, and voting rights" ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective"). Even the "father of public relations" helped recognize the early importance of working within Civil Rights. This shows the relationship between public relations and social change from its beginnings.

Bernays asked Northern newspapers to cover the 1920 Atlanta regional convention. Bernays' future wife, Doris Fleischman, drafted elected officials in Georgia to go to the conference. Those opposing the rights of African American individuals threatened Fleischman. Georgia's governor declined the conference because he had to go hunting. Fleischman advised that the governor have the militia in attendance in case of violence ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective").

Regardless of the tension surrounding the rights of African Americans, Edward Bernays, and Doris Fleischman continued to support the NAACP in 1920. Bernays and Fleischman created a campaign to present three ideas to the press ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective"). The first idea was the significance, according to Bernays, of "the Negro's importance to the economic development of the South" ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective"). Bernays communicated this idea to the media knowing that the white individuals of the time were fearful of losing earnings ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective"). The second significant theme outlined was "the less intolerant attitudes of some Southern leaders toward Negroes which would hopefully strengthen the nucleus

of supporters and develop a bandwagon movement" ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective"). The last key point of Bernays' campaign was the idea that the Northern governmental leaders supported the NAACP and the encouragement of Southern leaders to also. By doing so, Bernays interviewed Northern supporters and promoted it in both the Northern and Southern press ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective").

With Bernays and Fleischman's of promotion of the conference, it ended smoothly without any protestors. Because of the controversial subject matter, many newspapers covered the conference. For instance, *The Chicago Daily*, *The Evening Post*, *The New York Globe*, and impressively many of Atlanta's local newspapers all positively covered the conference. Many of the stories promoted the idea of African American progress from slavery, to working on plantations, to lastly, professional jobs ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective"). Following Edward Bernays' success, he stated, "for the first time in the history of the country, under the dateline of the South's industrial metropolis, news was published throughout the country alerting the people of the of the United States that whites and Negroes alike were seeking new status for the Negro" ("Edward L Bernays: A Retrospective").

Chapter III - Methodology

This research examines artifacts of Freedom Summer using content analysis to discover how the Social Change Model of Leadership (SCM) can describe public relations. Because activism has been described as a "critical social site for interpreting the cultural complexity and power relations of public relations," (Demetrious 7) the SCM assists in identifying and describing specific events through a public relations lens that

occurred during Mississippi Freedom Summer Project. It is understood that the best way to approach content analysis is to form research questions, create a system of coding or "recording units", and then lastly decide on a sampling strategy. Often coding includes recording common phrases, words, ideas, or themes, and for the purpose of this research coding follows the SCM framework. In order for the information to be replicated, the sample must be large enough to permit certain conclusions about the data. Specific conclusions can be drawn, and for the purpose of this study, could indicate the efforts of individuals, groups, and communities in their determination to seek social change during Freedom Summer.

This research will examine artifacts such as the journal of Jinny Glass, a Freedom Summer volunteer from California, using content analysis to discover how the SCM can describe social public relations. Students like Jinny Glass documented their daily activities and participation in Freedom Summer. Those who participated in Freedom Summer often wrote about their experiences and the effectiveness in registering African Americans to vote. Jinny Glass unfortunately died in a car accident, yet her journals and letters show what her daily life was like while working to bring African American freedom in Mississippi.

According to Steve Stemler, in his article "An Overview of Content Analysis," the proper selection of documents is particularly important in what is termed 'content analysis' which has been defined as a "systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories bases on explicit rules of coding" (Stemler 2001) and "as any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti as cited in

Stemler).

Content analysis is also defined as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, essentially it is a research tool with which to analyze the frequency and use of words or terms or concepts in a document, with the aim of assessing the meaning and significance of a source" (Bell 132). According to Bell, it is understood that the best way to approach content analysis is to form a research question, create a system of coding or "recording units", and then lastly decide on a sampling strategy. Often coding includes recoding common phrases, words, ideas, or themes, and for the purpose of this research coding follows the SCM framework.

In order for the information to be replicated, the sample must be large enough to permit certain conclusions about the data. The sample must also be justified and appropriate to fit the research that is being conducted (Bell 133). "The more material analyzed, the more valid the conclusions from the study, but one can't analyze every relevant book or document, so obtaining a representative sampling of the material is very important" (Gall 386). Specific conclusions can be drawn, and for the purpose of this study, could indicate the efforts of individuals, groups, and communities in their determinations to seek social change during Freedom Summer.

Because activism has been described as a "critical social site for interpreting the cultural complexity and power relations of public relations," (Demetrious 7) the SCM will assist in identifying and describing specific events through a public relations lens that occurred during Mississippi Freedom Summer Project. As Demetrious states, "the analysis of the social apparatus of public relations and its effects, in particular towards activists engaged with social change needs greater attention" (Demetrious 31).

This research was guided by a model of the research phase of content analysis found in Paula M. Poindexter and Maxwell E. McComb's book, "Research in Mass Communication: A Practical Guide" and was modified to fit this specific research. According to Poindexter and McComb, the research phase is a significant part of content analysis. Step one of their model includes "consulting with decision maker on content analysis purpose, research question, background on the topic, time period, whether to use a census or sample in electing of content to be analyzed, unit of analysis, codebook, budget and ethical standards" (Poindexter and McComb 191). Using the SCM to provide a framework and Freedom Summer as the time period, a sample of the writings during this time will be used, and a coding book will separate the events of the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project into the three SCM categories. Step two includes leading a significant literature review on previously published materials in the subject of research, which is included in chapter 2 of this project (Poindexter and McComb 191).

Step three is to draft a codebook with numerical codes. Steps four and five of the model are to consult with decision makers on the codebook and hiring an analysis coder. Since the researcher is the decision maker and will be doing the coding herself, there is no need to use these steps, so therefore these steps were eliminated (Poindexter and McComb 191).

Step six is to pretest the coding on a small sample of the content that will be used which was conducted with the researcher and her advisor. Step seven will also be eliminated because it is to calculate the inter-coder reliability. Since the researcher plans to do the coding by herself, there is no need to calculate this. Step eight is to test revised codebook's inter-coder reliability, so this step will also be eliminated. Step nine and ten

are to code all the materials and to process the data. Step eleven is to analyze the data

and find the specific statistics, which will help determine what public relations efforts

based on the SCM had a positive effect on the Mississippi Summer Project and Freedom

Summer (Poindexter and McComb 191).

The University of Southern Mississippi Cook Library has an extensive selection

of books on Civil Rights and The Mississippi Freedom Summer, along with selections on

the importance of public relations to social change. The Interlibrary loan services

provided me with a book that ties the importance of public relations to social change.

Also, The McCain Library and Archives has a huge selection of journals and documents

from the famous 1964 Freedom Summer.

Chapter IV- Findings

Individual Values

The first research question asked, "How can *selected* and documented events of

Freedom Summer that occurred in Mississippi be explained through the Social Change

Model of Leadership as individual values?" Conscientiousness of self, congruence and

commitment were the values that many of the individual volunteers shared throughout the

Civil Rights movement.

Consciousness of Self

Consciousness of self is "being self-aware of the beliefs, values, attitudes and

emotions that motivate you to take action" (Wagner 9). Although many individuals were

self-aware, some were not. For instance, Professor John Maguire of Wesleyan University

in Connecticut explained, "we are largely worried about two types: those who are looking for a new kind of 'kick,' sexual or otherwise; and those evangelical souls who will arrive in Mississippi with no more understanding of the situation than to turn their eyes skyward and say, 'Lord, here I am'" (McClymer 109).

One individual who exhibited conscientiousness of self, was Fannie Lou Hamer. She was a huge part of the creation of the Freedom Democratic Party that challenged the regular Democratic Party. She became a national figure in the Civil Rights movement when she gave her personal testimony before the Credentials Committee at the Democratic National Convention in August 1964. She then campaigned against Congressman Jamie Whiten for the nomination for the House of Representatives. Often stating, "I'm showing people that a Negro can run for office" (McClymer 123) she powerfully stood up for her beliefs. She later began to show group values such as collaboration by working directly with students such as Sally Belfrage in the basic training of the student volunteers.

Moses believed in the importance of remaining true to oneself in a movement, specifically on the topic of nonviolence. He was aware of his own values, which motivated him. In an interview with Robert Penn Warren, author of *All the King's Men*, he stated "(Albert) Camus talks a lot about the Russian terrorists – around 1905… he moves from there into the whole question of violence and nonviolence and comes out with something which I think is relevant in this struggle… The ideal lies between these two extremes—victim and executioner. For when people rise up and change their status, usually somewhere along the line they become executioners and they get involved in subjugating, you know, other people. Of course, this doesn't apply for us Negroes on any

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grand scale in the sense that we're going to have a political overthrow in which we are going to become political executioners" (McClymer 107). Being aware of the values, which motivated him to take action, also contributed to his integrity and honesty toward himself and others in the movement.

Congruence

According to *A Social Change Model of Leadership Development,* "congruence refers to thinking, feeling and behaving with consistency, genuineness, authenticity, and honesty toward others. Congruent persons are those whose actions are consistent with their most deeply held beliefs and convictions. Clearly, personal congruence and consciousness of self are interdependent" (Astin & Astin 22).

One individual who worked with authenticity and honesty toward others is Bob Moses. Although he led the effort, "he did nothing single-handedly, as he himself endlessly pointed out. But he was, to borrow a phrase often used of George Washington, 'the indispensable man.' It was on his integrity that everyone else relied" (McClymer 13).

Moses' commitment to honesty was one of his most recognizable traits. He was honest to himself and to those he was working beside in the fight for freedom. Because of this pledge to honesty, "he commanded such respect, and why, as Mississippi field-worker Anne Moody noted, others in the movement nicknamed him "Jesus." Historian and activist Staunton Lynd called him "probably the most respected, even revered leader in the experience of the American New Left" (McClymer 24).

Many considered him to be "intelligent, resilient, patient and courageous. Many

of those who worked with him would later say that he was the finest person that they had ever met" (McClymer 13).

Moses acted with authenticity and honesty to the movement. Noting that many of the Black Mississippians were impoverished, he chose to wear common clothes and believed in truly identifying with those rural Mississippians in this movement, who were described as "people who come off the land – they're unsophisticated, and they simply voice, time and time again, the simple truths you can't ignore because they speak from their own lives. It's this the students are rooted in, and this is what keeps them from going off at some tangent" (McClymer 109). One of the main reasons his style differed from others in the Civil Rights Movement is because, in his own words, "They're for the kind of meeting where you get well-dressed, cleaned-up Negroes. They don't want the other people. They're embarrassed. Those people don't speak English Well. They grope for words" (McClymer 109). According to Moses, other leaders often were embarrassed of their own who they were fighting for, yet this embarrassment is exactly what the SNCC leaders were hoping to fix. Throughout the movement he was consistent and genuine with his actions.

Bob Moses believed that lessons from Albert Camus' *The Rebel* and *The Plague* resonated with him the most because of the teachings which emphasized "the importance to struggle, importance to recognize in the struggle certain humanitarian values, and to recognize that you have to struggle for people, in that sense, and at the same time, if it's possible, you try to eke out some corner of love or some glimpse of happiness within. And that's what I think more than anything else conquers the bitterness, let's say" (McClymer 107).

Commitment

According to *A Social Change Model of Leadership Development*, "Commitment implies passion, intensity, and duration… without commitment, knowledge of self is of little value. And without adequate knowledge of self, commitment is easily misdirected. Congruence, in turn, is most readily achieved when the person acts with commitment and knowledge of self" (Astin & Astin 22).

Leaders within Freedom Summer had commitment or "Significant investment in an idea or person" (Wagner 9). That idea was the idea that Blacks could be freed from the chains of society. Students who came to Mississippi to participate in Freedom Summer knew they were risking their lives. They knew that Mississippi would be a hostile environment, even on the application forms they were "advised to have access to money for bail, and are asked to list names of persons to be contacted should they be arrested" (McClymer 119). Although this danger was evident, they had the "energy to serve the group and its goals" (Wagner 9). Mills points out, "for the Summer Project volunteers, the war in Mississippi – in contrast to the one in Vietnam – would be their 1960s good war, but as members of a nonviolent army prepared to be killed but not to kill, they were uniquely vulnerable (Mills 107). These students showed commitment by being prepared for the worst and still participating in such a movement.

Fannie Lou Hamer showed commitment throughout the entire movement. She began early in the formation of SNCC as a SNCC staff member and later was one of the biggest leaders in Mississippi Freedom Summer. At the beginning, the MFDP did not achieve admission to the delegation to the presidential nominating convention in Atlantic City. MFDP was offered two seats as a compromise. Other MFDP delegates would be

admitted as guests. According to Bobs Tusa in his book "Faces of Freedom Summer",

Fannie Lou Hamer "voiced the frustration of Black Mississippians in her immortal reply,

"we didn't come all this way for no two seats!" (Faces of Freedom Summer 23) She

helped train Freedom Summer volunteers, and later traveled to Africa stating, "I went to

African in 1964, and I learned that I didn't have anything to be ashamed of from being

Black. I saw Black people flying the airplanes, driving the buses, sitting behind the big

desks in the banks, and just doing everything that I was used to seeing white people do"

(Mills 168). Throughout the movement Hamer showed commitment to the cause and was

ever present from the beginning to the end.

Group Values

The second research question asked, "how can *selected* and documented events of

Freedom Summer that occurred in Mississippi be explained through the Social Change

Model of Leadership as group values?" Collaboration, common purpose, and

controversy with civility were the SCM values that groups shared throughout the Civil

Rights movement. The group portion of the SCM answers the questions, "How can the

collaborative leadership development process be designed not only to facilitate the

development of the desired individual qualities but also to effect positive social change?"

(Astin & Astin 19).

Collaboration

"Collaboration is to work with others in a common effort. It constitutes the

cornerstone value of the group leadership effort because it empowers self and others

through trust. Collaboration multiplies group effectiveness by capitalizing on the

multiple talents and perspectives of each group member and on the power of that diversity to generate creative solutions and actions" (Astin & Astin 23).

The group values sector asks the question, "how can collaboration foster individual development and social change?" Many individuals within the Civil Rights movement began to collaborate with other individuals and work in a common effort. Unita Blackwell, a delegate of the new Freedom Democratic party, recalls of the collaboration within Freedom Summer. "People began to feel that they wasn't just helpless anymore, that they had come together," said Blackwell (Mills 120). Many different talents and perspectives working together maximized the opportunities for effectiveness. The varying opinions and ideas made it a unique environment.

Bob Moses was the master of collaboration. Throughout his Civil Rights career, he was beaten, arrested, and given jail time. He was resilient in nature and had the reputation of one who would not quit. Moses, similar to Ella Baker who developed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, believed "that community organization was paramount and that leadership should emerge from the local communities" (McClymer 13). In 1963, Moses began working with Allard Lowenstein, a lawyer, and activist, who helped planned one of the mock elections for Blacks. With the help of volunteers, SNCC and COFO created the idea of an alternative to the white primary. Although their votes did not truly count, tens of thousands of Blacks voted, which showed that they were both capable and wanting to have a say in politics. At this time, many whites claimed that Blacks did not have any interest in voting, and this campaign proved them otherwise, gaining media attention throughout the nation (McClymer 13). This collaboration between Moses and Lowenstein proved to be one of the biggest pushes for equality in

Mississippi.

The volunteers who traveled miles to work in Mississippi were known to white leaders of the state as the "invaders". The collaboration between these student volunteers and Mississippi Blacks was unconventional, but had the opportunity to be something beyond exceptional. It was one of the first representations of whites and Blacks working together toward a common good, also known as collaboration.

Collaboration between local African Americans and the Freedom Summer volunteers is noted by McClymer, for example, "the invaders helped local African Americans counter the "whites-only" primary in Mississippi – a system the Supreme Court had held unconstitutional two decades earlier but which still held sway – with the creation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. The Freedom Party, composed over-whelmingly of poor Blacks, over the next several years improbably succeeded in replacing the so-called regular Democratic Party in the State" (McClymer 1).

Common Purpose

Common purpose is described as "having shared aims and values" (Wagner 9). Each of the individuals working within the group must have common purpose, which is sharing the same purpose and vision. Those who are working closely usually share this common purpose and individuals often wish to further the group's vision.

Those volunteers working during the "Freedom Summer" of 1964 all shared a common purpose. The volunteers were both Black and White college students. These volunteers worked with the SNCC field workers and other volunteers to help put together voting registration drives and schools among other jobs.

Bob Moses shared common purpose with many of the volunteers in which he worked. Bob Moses spoke of the importance of sharing the same values, for instance, he stated in his speech at Stanford University that "if we have any anchor at all – I mean if—if there's any base from which we operate – if there's any reasons why we don't really go crazy – why we don't have more problems than we do have – if there's any reason why we can skip around from the bottom of Mississippi to the top of the skyscrapers in Manhattan and still maintain some kind of internal sense of balance, I think a lot of it has to do with those people and the fact that they have their own sense of balance which is somehow independent of what goes on around the rest of the country because they're not affected by it. Most of them say they don't have telephones. They don't have newspapers. They have very little contact with the outside world. They do have radios. They do have televisions, so they have some contact. But yet, in many ways, they've managed to maintain something which is fundamental and which gives I think many a worker's real strength when he's working down in the rural areas of Mississippi …" (McClymer 26). Moses realized the importance of involving others in building Mississippi's vision. He saw that the people of Mississippi were detached from the rest of the United States. Volunteers like Moses kept those suffering in mind when building that common purpose.

The voter registration drive also provided a common vision among many of the volunteers. Although other aspects of Freedom Summer are important, voter registration was the most beneficial to Mississippi Blacks. This task was also the most dangerous because of the violence that had been shown time and time again. McClymer illustrates "A small group of activists could stage a sit-in or organize a freedom ride all by

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themselves. Voter registration meant persuading hundreds and then thousands of

individuals to challenge segregation. This was risky. Blacks who had the reputation for

making waves, for being uppity, were often fired from jobs, denied leases on farms,

refused credit, and in many cases, beaten or killed" (McClymer 9). Those "hundreds and

then thousands of individuals" were volunteers, Blacks, and other people who shared a

common purpose and goal of Blacks voting in Mississippi for the first time. Moses

developed a strategy in order for the voting drive to be successful. At the time, SNCC

appealed to affluent, White Northern students who wished to help change Mississippi.

These students were in for a rude awakening by sharing a common purpose with

Black Mississippians. For instance, "white Mississippians would treat them the way they

invariably treated those they considered a threat to their way of life. They would use

insult, intimidation, and violence. But, they would be insulting, threatening, and harming

affluent white students from the North as well as poor Blacks from Mississippi. The Till

and Evers murders aside, the media paid little attention to violence against African

Americans. But attacks upon young, Middle-class white students would be news. Moses

called for a biracial campaign to organize Mississippi Blacks into a new Democratic

party" (McClymer 14).

Another prime example of individuals working together toward a common

purpose was Mike and Rita Schwerner, a married couple from New York City who

relocated to Meridian. They shared a common purpose, and according to "It Will Be a

Hot Summer in Mississippi" by Richard Woodley, the Schwerners "transformed dingy

second-floor doctors' offices into a pleasant five-room center with a 10,000-book library,

a Ping-Pong table, a sewing machine, several typewriters, a phonograph, a movie

projector, and drawing materials for children. The programs appear to be running smoothly. The Schwerners estimate that the 150 people have used the center since it opened late last winter. They report no unusual harassment from city officials and are now busy setting up a system of block captains for canvassing Negro neighborhoods for voter registration" (McClymer 116).

Illustration 3: Herbert Randall, "Volunteer Jim Nance, a minister, heading into the Black community to do voter registration canvassing."

Controversy with Civility

Controversy with civility is defined as "recognizing two fundamental realities of any creative effort: 1) that differences in viewpoint are inevitable, and 2) that such differences must be aired openly but with civility" (Wagner 9).

Controversy is inevitable, especially the more dynamic a group becomes. Although individuals may have differing views, it is important they work together with civility. Leaders throughout history often view the concept of leadership differently, and many frontrunners in the Civil Rights Movement often had opposing leadership styles.

For example, often viewed as the most notable figure of the Civil Rights Movement, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had a significantly different leadership style than Robert Moses, the leader of the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Moses, often described as a shy and humble person, contrasted with Dr. King's power and voice (McClymer).

Robert Penn Warren, notable author and Southern man, created "Who Speaks for the Negro" an interview series whose title exposed the differences between Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) and the activists working within SNCC. "The SCLC was an organization built around the figure of Dr. King. SNCC, following the inspiration of Ella Baker, disliked top-down leadership. Instead it favored community organizing and consensus-based decisions. When Dr. King attempted to rein in SNCC initiatives, its members often rebelled. They sometimes scoffingly referred to him, as "De Lawd" This split was systematic of other divisions within the Civil Rights movement. Some were over strategy, some over funding, and some over the viability of a multiracial movement" (McClymer 102).

Civil Rights activist Ella Baker helped Dr. Martin Luther King develop the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). They worked together again to organize a conference "for college-age people looking to work for Civil Rights." The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was developed from this. The idea was that SNCC would organize college-age volunteers who would help with the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Although it was created to advance the agendas of these groups, SNCC often created its own agenda. This was due to SNCC following Baker's ideas of leadership

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(McClymer).

Ella Baker was "uncomfortable with the way the SCLC was evolving into a vehicle for King's leadership. She felt that the emphasis should be upon grassroots organization. Leadership, she thought, should grow out of community activities. Baker's own style of leadership was to stay in the background and to encourage others" (McClymer 9). Because of her unconventional leadership style, SNCC workers admired and respected her. She believed that "decisions should arise from *consensus*, not from the decisions of powerful leaders" (McClymer 9).

One of the key differences in the leadership styles of Civil Rights leaders was the concept of nonviolence. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. King believed that nonviolence was not only moral but also "forced the oppressor to confront his own evil" (McClymer 8). Although Dr. King felt that nonviolence was morally right, many believed that the use of nonviolence was a strategy. "Given the monopoly of force enjoyed by the white power structure in the South, it would be foolish to resort to violence. Further, it would alienate whites outside of the South who might otherwise support their struggle (McClymer 8). However different the views, "this divergence could be papered over since, in short term, both views endorsed the use of nonviolent protest" (McClymer 8).

Bob Moses, notable leader of the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee, also had a differing leadership style than Dr. King. Moses was a reserved individual, who wore regular clothing and was rarely ever quoted in a formal interview, yet he is the key figure of the Mississippi Summer Project. He did, however, in an interview with Robert Penn Warren, state that SNCC did not agree with Dr. King's philosophy and when

asked about the effect King had in Birmingham, he stated "there's no question that he had a great deal of influence with the masses. But I don't think it's in the direction of love" (McClymer104). Moses was influenced by the philosophy of Albert Camus.

Because of the differences in individuals working within the movement, there were controversies. Although the whites working within the movement were helpful, they were different than Black Mississippians. Many SNCC workers opposed the idea because "They argued that white volunteers would push local Blacks, and themselves, into the shadows. Whites would prove arrogant, insensitive, and bossy. Besides, Blacks needed to learn to rely upon themselves. Moses agreed that many of their concerns were justified. There would be difficulties if white college students, often from very affluent backgrounds, flooded into Mississippi. Some, perhaps most, would prove arrogant. They would assume that they knew more about the campaign than Black SNCC workers who had spent months or years in the field. They would get the lion's share of attention. Moses was like Ella Baker in several respects, one was his willingness to listen. Another was his reluctance to push himself into the forefront. And, like Baker, he possessed such moral authority that others listened to every word he uttered" (McClymer 14). Moses was civil and listened to what other individuals believed regardless of his own personal beliefs.

The volunteers had "to win the confidence of the Black community, which entailed convincing people with good reason to be skeptical that it was possible to challenge Jim Crow in the 'most Southern place on earth'" (McClymer 13). SNCC workers were young and comparatively inexperienced. Many were not from the state. They had little money and little in the way of political connections. Meanwhile White

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supremacists were organized across the state in White Citizens Councils and in the Klan. The state's Sovereignty Commission provided funding and intelligence. County sheriffs and deputies kept an eye out for organizers, "outside agitators," as they were called. You had to be very brave to work for or with SNCC" (McClymer 13). There were many conflicts, but Fannie Hamer pointed out, "if we're trying to break down this barrier of segregation, we can't segregate ourselves," (Mills 171). The leaders quickly realized that the only way to results was through civility.

Community Values

The final research question was, "How can *selected* and documented events of Freedom Summer that occurred in Mississippi be explained through the Social Change Model of Leadership as community values?" Citizenship is the final value that those involved in Freedom Summer

Citizenship

Citizenship is the value that the community shared throughout the Civil Rights movement. Citizenship is defined as "believing in a process whereby an individual and/or a group become responsibly connected to the community and to society through some activity. Recognizing that members of communities are not independent, but interdependent" (Wagner 9). Citizenship within the SCM, "means much more than mere membership; rather it implies active engagement of the individual (and the leadership group in an effort to serve that community, as well as a 'citizen's mind' – a set of values and beliefs that connects an individual in a responsible manner to others" (Astin & Astin

65).

The individuals and groups that worked together became a part of the community and effectively proved citizenship. Through their actions, they have responsibility of others within the group. Because of the citizenship of those working, "The invasion was the most-effective campaign ever launched against segregation; it produced the most-effective cooperation ever among African Americans and White sympathizers; and it generated over-whelming political pressure on the national government finally to shoulder its responsibility to protect the rights including voting rights, of all its citizens. These rights were supposedly guaranteed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, adopted nearly a century earlier. It would take the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the voting Rights Act of 1965 to make them realities" (McClymer 1). Those individuals worked together to encourage Blacks in Mississippi to stand up for their beliefs. Working together helps promote social change. For instance, "Every time a negro stands in line and says, "I'm tired but I'm not going home,' the walls of segregation begin to tremble" (McClymer 74).

V Conclusion and Discussion

Bob Moses fostered this idea of picking leaders within the communities to create change within Mississippi. That change would include the education of Blacks and first time they executed their right to register to vote in Mississippi. Moses believed they would play a huge role in freeing themselves, in addition to the help of the student volunteers. "It was possible to find in most every community in which you worked one or two people who would be willing to take a stand – who would be willing to identify

with you – who would provide some kind of foothold in that community and allow you a chance to work and to organize," said Moses.

This research discovers and describes how Freedom Summer participants acted as true leaders as defined by the SCM by influencing social change using activities that fit the definition of public relations strategies and tactics. Public Relations is defined as a communication process that, "serves to bring private and public policies into harmony" ("What Is Public Relations"). This process often includes community relations, fundraising, crisis relations, employee relations, government relations, and other forms of communication. The Leaders within Freedom Summer used these strategies and tactics to help bring change to Mississippi.

Since this was a grassroots movement, many of the true leaders were just average people who did not realize the impact that they were going to make on Mississippi. "Since it is a key assumption of the SCM that the ultimate goal of leadership is positive social change, "change" is considered to be the "hub" of the SCM (Wagner 9). Change is considered to be "believing in the importance of making a better world and a better society for oneself and others. Believing that individuals, groups and communities have the ability to work together to make that change" (Wagner 9). Thus, SCM is an effective tool for examining as public relations activities historical events related to Mississippi Freedom Summer.
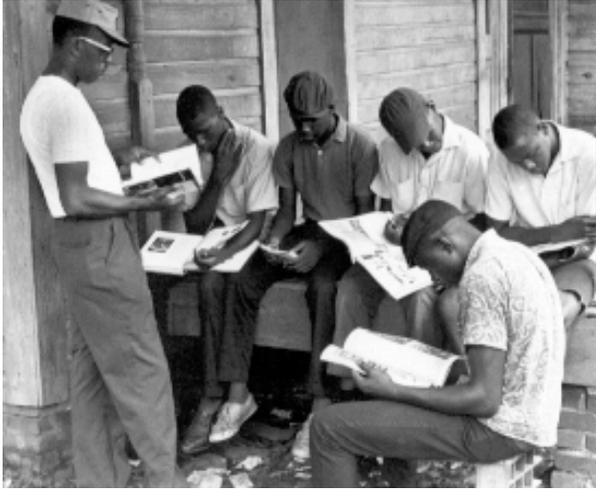
Illustration 4: Herbert Randall " Arthur Reese with Freedom School students reading *Ebony* magazine, which many of them had never seen before"

Why The SCM May Not Work

Although this was an effective campaign, it is suggested that when the Social Change Model is not used correctly, that it will not work. For instance, evidence within the Mississippi Summer Project showed controversy. McClymer states, "The Freedom Summer marked the climax of the Civil Rights movement, it also marked the emergence of a "Black Power" ideology within SNCC, the very organization which so brilliantly coordinated the energies of Blacks and whites in the Mississippi Delta. At the very moment the Johnson Administration was passing the strongest Civil Rights legislation in almost a century, the Mississippi volunteers who did so much to bring that about were deciding that they could not trust the system. A New Left emerged fueled by this distrust; at the very moment "the system" finally began to respond" (McClymer 2). Another time in which controversy arose was when "SNCC field workers and many of their white allies learned to distrust the national government, even as they succeeded in

generating much of the national pressure that led to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the

voting rights Act of 1965. They also learned to distrust each other. Thus the terrible

ironies. Those who most effectively demonstrated the power of a multiracial approach

turned to Black Power and separation. Those who forced the system to work as it was

supposed to lost their faith in the ability of people like themselves to influence it"

(McClymer 3). This is an example of when the Social Change Model does not work.

When Individuals choose not to work together and to distrust the system, conflict arises

and change, social change, is more difficult.

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