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The Ohio State University,
Ph.D., 1977
Mass Communications

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DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Carol Elizabeth Carr, B.Sc., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1977


Approved by

Advisor

Department of Communication
PLEASE NOTE

Pages with computer print-out has broken and indistinct print. Filmed in the best way possible.

UNIVERSITY MICROFIIMS
TO MY PARENTS

CARROLL H. AND HARRIET D. CARR
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Robert R. Monaghan, for his help in this study. His inspiration, guidance and encouragement were unending. He is a cherished friend.

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VITA

August 8, 1944 .................. Born - Dayton, Ohio

1966 ................................ Bachelor of Science, Ohio State
University, Columbus, Ohio

1966 - 1970 .................... Kindergarten Teacher, Murlin
Heights Elementary, Vandalia, Ohio

1972 ................................ Master of Arts, Ohio State Uni­
versity, Columbus, Ohio

1972 - 1973 .................... Teaching Assistant, Black Educa­
tion Center, Ohio State Univer­
sity, Columbus, Ohio

1973 - 1974 .................... Research Associate, Department of
Communication, Ohio State Univer­
sity, Columbus, Ohio

1974 - 1977 .................... Academic Advisor, University Col­
lege, Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio

1977 ................................ Counselor, Colleges of the Arts
and Sciences, Ohio State Univer­
sity, Columbus, Ohio

PUBLICATIONS

"'Mister Rogers' Neighborhood' and the Handicapped Child
Interface: Exploring and Assessing Integration of Educa­
tional Media and Professional Services to the Handicapped
Child." U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare,
Office of Education, Bureau of Education for the Handi­
capped, 1974. Robert R. Monaghan, Shau-wing Hsueh, Carol
E. Layne and James A. Seguin.
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CHAPTER I

Introduction and Background

This study is an analysis of the shared image of Martin Luther King. Image may be defined as the personal "subjective aspect of the world that has meaning ... and exists as a dynamic (mental) organization of past experience (which is) utilizeable for meeting new and old situations in terms of previous activities." According to Douglas in lectures and discussions at The Ohio State University "public image" is that image of a person, group, institution, object or event which is held by a set of people who, for a variety of constraints, such as political, familial or religious socialization, group membership, demographic similarity or type of personality, perceive this person, group, institution or object in a particular, similar way. The image is created from past experiences of the individual and is processed according to his unique set of values, background, and experience. When various people hold similar images of a referent or stimulus, the image is a shared one.
In order to analyze a public or shared image of Martin Luther King respondents were selected because of their known interest in him. (Each person had expressed to the author or to another person, an interest in or an attitude about King.) The question, then, which is asked, is: "What is the public image of Martin Luther King as expressed by people who have a known interest in or an attitude about him?" In asking this question others arise: is there a public image (or many) of King? If an image exists, what is it (or what are they)? Why does this exist?

An image begins as a simple structure and often becomes increasingly complex. As Bennett and others point out, images develop into other images. To study the image of King is to become involved in the study of other images such as those of social change, the Civil Rights Movement, or any issue which is meaningful and related to King in the mind of the respondent who is investigated.

Movements and their leaders are symbolically interchangeable. To study the Nonviolent Direct Action Period of the Civil Rights Movement is to study Martin Luther King, the undisputed leader of it from 1955-1968. King's image in current literature regarding such topics as civil disobedience, nonviolent direct action, styles of political leadership, religion and its relation to current social problems and the Civil Rights Movement is that of a religious, philosophical and political leader, an excellent organizer
The findings and implications of this work are particularly relevant to those involved in the areas of communication, history and political science. Those interested in social change may be able to use or apply these findings. To study the public image of a social change agent may have ramifications for political scientists. This study may give help to those in mass communication in understanding a significant role of the mass media in our society. Theorists may benefit from having more data regarding image, especially a public one. Those who study collective behavior can benefit from more information regarding the image of a leader of a social movement and his impact on the public.

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States has a long and involved history. To some degree and in some manner it has constantly been in existence. Because of the complexity and longevity of the movement, it is difficult to fully discuss. For example, when one says "The Civil Rights Movement" what is often meant is the violent activities of the late 1960's; however, in 1919 there were "race riots" in Georgia, Connecticut, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, etc. One may think of poverty, unequal treatment of black people, and Jim Crowism in terms of issues of protest in the 1960's; yet these were the issues in 1919 also. In 1909 the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) was created. Its purpose was to see that
equal job opportunities existed for black workers, particularly in Northern cities. It used mainly legislative tactics to achieve its ends. In 1943 CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) was created. From 1940-1955 there were many unpublicized sit-ins which were often backed by CORE. Black and white people, using the method of the sit-in, a technique of nonviolent direct action, quietly protested unequal treatment of black customers in a variety of business establishments. These, however, did not arouse great public interest.

On December 1, 1955, a unique event which took place in Montgomery, Alabama jarred the nation's apathetic attitude. Rosa Parks, a black woman who was tired after a day of work, sat in the front of a city bus and refused to give up her seat to a white man. By custom she was supposed to sit in the back of the bus, or, if no seat were available there, to stand. When she did not move, she was arrested, taken to jail and fined 10 dollars. This event led to a boycott of Montgomery's busses by the black residents of the city. It also captured the imagination of the black community as well as the nation as a whole. The success of the bus boycott is considered to be responsible for the increased use of nonviolent direct action in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

During the year of the Montgomery Bus Boycott several important events took place. When Rosa Parks was arrested,
many Southern black ministers came to assist her as well as other black residents of the city. King, who was the minister of a Montgomery church, helped to organize and became the coordinator of the MIA (Montgomery Improvement Association), a local group which was the primary force behind the boycott. The far reaching effect of the boycott was that it gave King new ideas for organizing black people into a larger common cause. Also, because of his leadership of the MIA, King achieved national prominence for his use of, and faith in, the pacifistic principle of nonviolent direct action. The action taken at this time -- a bus boycott -- marks the beginning of what is called the Nonviolent Direct Action Period of the Civil Rights Movement. This period lasted from 1955 until King's death in 1968.

Because of King's childhood and education, he seems to have had a predisposition to the use of nonviolence and a zeal for social change. It is recorded by Hoyt that King, who was the son of a minister and a member of a close, religious family, was greatly angered by the injustice of segregation. When King entered Morehouse College, he intended to become an attorney then changed his mind and decided to become a minister. King became an ordained minister in 1947 before his graduation from Morehouse. In 1948 he entered Crozer Theological Seminary, receiving a Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1951. Following his degree he was a student of systematic theology at Boston University. In
1954 he "accepted a call to become pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama." He completed his Ph.D. after assuming his pastorate.

During King's studies he was greatly influenced by the teachings of Thoreau and Gandhi. From Thoreau he learned that the "power of resistance on the part of a minority was enormous, given a fixed will to win at that particular point and a willingness to pay the price." Yet, as King relates he had "despaired of the power of love in solving social problems." He goes on to explain:

Then I came upon the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. As I read his works I became deeply fascinated by his campaigns of non-violent resistance. The whole Gandhian concept of satyagraha (satya is truth which equals love and graha is force; satyagraha thus means truth-force or love force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished and I came to see for the first time that the Christian method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom.

To more fully understand Gandhi's techniques, life and philosophy, King visited India. At this time he "discussed Gandhi with the Indians who had seen Gandhi's ideas in action and who had translated Gandhi's ideas into action." King also visited Gandhigian ("Gandhi Village") a "pilot community for (Gandhi's) ideas on economics and education."
From King's formal and informal education he came to understand, use and explain to others the concept of nonviolent direct action. There are two phases involved in nonviolent direct action. The first phase involves an examination of the laws of the land. The second phase is a decision making process to determine which are the unjust laws and which are the just ones. There is a prescribed way to determine whether a law is just. Simply ask the question: does this law apply equally to all citizens? If the answer is negative, then the citizen is obliged to effectively challenge the law and the establishment which supports it. This is one's moral responsibility. King explains it thusly:

How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others? The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine that "an unjust law is no law at all." 19

"In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action." 20 The collection of facts establishes that there are unjust laws. If they exist, then one tries to negotiate with those responsible for this inequality. Should this negotiation for change be ill received, those who desire change must educate those who are effected. Education in this situation
includes making people aware of the existing situation, entertaining the possibilities for acquiring change, and developing the commitment of people to change and to support the specific cause, regardless of the cost. Those who will engage in methods of nonviolent direct action must be willing to break unjust laws and to be punished for their actions. This education is part of self-purification. The group member himself must know that he is dedicated enough to answer the following questions in the affirmative: Can you withstand jail? Can you be struck and not strike back? Are you willing to sacrifice yourself to this cause if necessary? Direct action, the last step refers to specific methods. These include mass marches, boycotts, pickets, sit-downs, sit-ins and civil disobedience.\(^{21}\)

King was instrumental in organizing, philosophizing and speaking for the people in the Civil Rights Movement. He was "many things to many people." The dynamic concept of King which may exist in the mind of an individual today, is image. When an individual holds an image of King which is similar to that of other individuals then that image is a shared or public one.

**Question**

What is the public image of Martin Luther King as expressed by people who have a known interest in or an attitude about him?
Definition of Terms

To clarify this question, brief definitions of the terms follow:

Image is the personal "subjective aspect of the world that has meaning ... and exists as a dynamic (mental) organization of past experiences (which is) utilizeable for meeting new and old situations in terms of previous activities."[22]

Public image refers to that image of a person, group, institution object or event which is held by a set of people who for a variety of constraints, such as political, familial, or religious socialization, group membership, demographic similarity or type of personality, perceive this person, group, institution, or object in a similar way.

Assumptions

The following assumptions are made concerning the study of image.

These are:

1. that image is mediated by a person's prior experience;

2. that these experiences occur and information is received in a variety of ways, such as in interpersonal communication, in groups or through contact with the mass media;

3. that an image can "call up internal experiences, using only symbols;"[23]

4. that image is dynamic, i.e., always present and changeable.
Conceptualization of the Problem

The following explanation and model help to conceptualize the topic which is being investigated. In the image formation process a message comes to an individual. This message is processed according to a person's unique set of values, background and experience. Many variables comprise "who" one is. Five which are shown in the model are: sex, race, age, education and social class. (These particular variables are shown because the respondents of this study were chosen purposefully regarding their distribution in these areas to insure a diverse sample of people with a known interest in or an attitude about Martin Luther King.)

To study the image of Martin Luther King several procedures and methods were used. First, focused interviews were conducted. Statements from these interviews were categorized and then systematically used in assembling a Q-sort. (These techniques will be explained fully in Chapter Three.) From the focused interview three themes emerged regarding the elements of King's image.

The image of Martin Luther King, according to the responses of the interviewees in the focused interviews reflected a combination of three themes. King was seen as a "person," in a role as a "leader," and as someone who used a particular "means," to achieve his goal(s). Briefly, as a person, King was seen as "good" or intelligent, trustworthy and respectable; "bad" or stupid, manipulating and
crafty; and "ultramoral" or inspirational, "more-than-Christian" and prophetic. As a leader King was seen as either "for himself," i.e., he was an opportunist or as "for Civil Rights," i.e., he was a responsible, just leader. The means used by King were described as intentionally and specifically designed as "nonviolent" or as "violent."

The image of King as expressed by the respondents in this study reflects a process and a product -- image. In the following model a message regarding King comes to a respondent. This is processed according to the respondent's unique background. The image of King is formed and expressed through the themes which were generated in the focused interviews. King is described (through the use of a Q-sort) as a person, as a leader and by the means he chose to implement his goal(s). What is expressed by each respondent is his own image of Martin Luther King.
When a number of similar images exist for a particular person, such as King, then a "public" or shared image exists.

Figure 1. Model Showing Image Formation Process

Figure 2. Model Showing the Relationship between Respondents and a Public Image of Martin Luther King
FOOTNOTES


7 Flathman, ibid., p. 149.


9 Ibid., p. 4.

10 Walton, ibid., p. 30.

11 Meier and Rudwick, ibid., p. 5.

13 Ibid., p. 9.


16 Ibid.

17 Miller, ibid., p. 76.

18 Ibid.


20 Ibid., p. 62.

21 Meier and Rudwick, ibid., p. 4.

22 Brown, ibid., pp. 256-257.

23 Douglas, ibid.


26 Brown, ibid., p. 257.

27 Douglas, ibid.
CHAPTER II

Theoretical Explanation

Introduction

In the theoretical explanation, literature and theoretical elements of image which are relevant to this study are discussed. What the author labels the historical background of image is found in the literature; this relates to studies of ethos and source credibility. An explanation of "meaning" as well as an explanation of the socialization process of an individual which influences the formation of image are given; further, several components and characteristics of image, that is, its nature, function, content and dimensions, are examined. Also, because the referent in the study is Martin Luther King, a leader of a social movement, relevant aspects of social movement theory are examined in order to explain the progression and development of the image of such a person. The following introductory paragraphs present a brief statement of this study's theoretical foundation. Detailed definitions of terms and explanations of these are given in the body of the chapter as they arise.
Image is a process and a product.¹ It exists within a person and is the result of experience. An image is useful to a person for with it one can make sense of one's life. An image is available to a person when aroused by some stimulus such as a situation, message, or referent. It can be changed by experiences and new messages. Images and messages interact to create meanings.² The image a person holds of a referent is often based on a previous experience which may have been shared with others. Because of these shared experiences, people sometimes have a same or similar image of a referent.

The content and dimensions of an image are useful in examining it. When studying an image of a referent, subtopics of content and dimension emerge as being, by degree, more or less relevant to it. These subtopics aid the understanding and explaining of an image. In the study of an image of Martin Luther King, a person who was acknowledged by many members of American society as a leader of the Civil Rights Movement (which is a social movement) areas of social movement theory also help examine and explain that image.

An image, in this study of King, is an internal process and a product of social experience. Because King is a referent who was a prominent or newsworthy figure, many people received the same messages about him. Because of this experience of receiving similar messages (e.g., through the media) and other experiences, such as seeing King in
person, being with him, having to implement or explain his ideas to others, people sometimes hold an image of King which others also hold. This image is a shared image of King.

Related Literature

The existing research on image has a link to research on ethos and source credibility in terms of topic and research techniques. Because ethos and source credibility examine the effectiveness of a message and of a speaker, familiarity with these topics is especially helpful in understanding and studying the referent when this is a person. In the study of an image, when the referent is a person such as Martin Luther King, image is stimulated in an individual when the referent is called to the individual's attention. This process may be stimulated by a symbolic message such as a speech, news release, or rally. When the image is of a person, two kinds of messages come to the individual. One message is that of symbolic content, the other is in regard to the referent himself. Often the referent and the message are processed as one message, both yielding information which is processed as one. Because of this dual stimulus of message and referent, studies of ethos and source credibility have relevance to studies of image.

Ethos has long been an area of study for those interested in the effectiveness of message and of speakers. In
the *Rhetoric*, one of the topics which Aristotle examined was ethos. To him, ethos was the dominating form of proof in persuasion; the effectiveness of a message was created by it. For Aristotle, the elements of ethos were character, intelligence and good will. First, character refers to the trustworthiness of a source of information. One's speech should be thought of as credible. Second, intelligence refers to the knowledge of a speaker. One should know one's subject and converse with skill and logic. Third, good will refers to identification or the ability to "put the audience in a certain frame of mind" so that one's message is conveyed.

In the many studies of ethos topics deal mainly with leadership styles, public speaking and the measurement of ethos. Presently, the factors which supposedly comprise ethos are numerous. For example, in a study by Haiman, prestige, physical attractiveness, sincerity, likableness and general competence were deemed the five factors of ethos.

Closely related to studies of ethos have been studies of source credibility. Usually the source credibility of a speaker was measured in some way, e.g., use of rating scales, attitude scales or use of the semantic differential before and after a presentation. From these methods the factors which presumably comprise source credibility were identified. "Traditionally source credibility has been
conceptually treated as a variable consisting of objective characteristics, e.g., social role, personality traits, etc., attributed to the source of a message. However, the trend is now away from this static approach and toward a dynamic one which gives attention to the "receivers' perception of a particular source (as) mediated by all of his prior experience with sources and by the customary ways he has learned to respond to them." This new dynamic approach in the research done on source credibility is similar to the approach taken in this study of the image of Martin Luther King.

A third area of related literature deals with various images. This area is small. Political topics form part of the related literature of image. The emphasis of these studies is the relation of an event, person or symbol to the image given it within a person. Some themes which these studies express are: that "image," "history," "reality" are carried around in one's head; that one's view of life is reality; and that "images of one sort lead to others." (For example, one's image of President Ford could include the images of Watergate, Vietnam and/or amnesty.)

Various methods of data collecting and data treatment have been used to study image. These methods include the semantic differential which was used by Douglas in "The Verbal Image of Student Perceptions of Political Figures;" factor analysis which was also employed by Douglas
in his study of the verbal image; analysis of the linguistic components of subjects' responses to descriptors as done by Douglas and Ambler in "Phenomenological Covariates of Student Strike Roles," interviews as done by Lerone Bennett in *What Manner of Man*, other historical analyses as done by Wander in "Salvation through Separation: The Image of the Negro in the American Colonization Society," and rhetorical criticism as done by Andrew A. King in "The Rhetoric of Power Maintenance at the Precipice."

Other literature which is relevant to this study deals with the study of Martin Luther King. King has been examined by a variety of people from a variety of perspectives. The topics of Civil Disobedience, nonviolence, violence, the Civil Rights Movement, black leaders, black history and biographies include references to King or are wholly devoted to him.18 Also, King wrote books, articles and speeches which are available for examination.

Pertinent information in the literature relates to this study's topic, methods and procedures. A study using a similar methodological technique is "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood and the Handicapped Child Interface"19 by Monaghan and others. This procedural approach is considered a kind of audience analysis which Becker in "Methodological Analysis in Communication Research"20 suggests be used to study image. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, this study examines the shared image(s) held by people who have an
interest in or attitude about Martin Luther King.

Meaning

In the literature regarding meaning and image, meaning is viewed both as influencing the process of image formation and as being the result of image formation. In the process of image formation a message comes to a person. This message stimulates a particular set of information or image which exists in a person’s mind. The message is processed in terms of this image. It is given meaning. This meaning is also a product. It becomes a part of the "old" image which is now altered and is thus "new."

Boulding states, "the meaning of a message is the change which it produces in the image."²¹ When a "new" image exists it can have one of four effects on a person. It may not elicit a response nor produce any change; it may gain one's attention or add information but not change one's behavior; it may elicit an emphatic response or produce revolutionary change in the behavior, or it may clarify or cast doubt upon an existing image.²² In this study, by examining a respondent's image of King, one may be able to know what effect a message about King produced in the respondent's behavior and what effect it had regarding his image of King.
Image and Socialization

Image is "a dynamic (mental) organization of past experiences utilizeable for meeting new and old situations in terms of previous activities." Image exists in the self. Self is here defined as "a unit of personality" or an "internal organization of qualities (such as) traits, attitudes and habits." Self, however, does not exist alone. Others define it. Thus, many of these "experiences" are social. The images a person has are based on his experiences. The result of social, shared experiences is often an "in common" or shared image.

According to Hall and Lindzey, socialization is the process through which an individual learns the standards of his society. This learning occurs through contact with other people. The child or individual models the behavior of people who are close to him and assimilates the values and ideals of these people. In this learning process the social tradition of a culture is handed down from one generation to another.

The group(s) held in highest esteem by the individual will be instrumental in forming his images. If these groups are compatible, the image formation will occur coherently and with little or no stress to the individual. If the groups are incompatible there will be strain and conflict in the formation process. Evidence of this strain, such as, "annoyance, the seeking of reassurance, and
disbelief” can often be observed in the individual’s behavior.

There are several categories of groups. Societal groups are the "broad categories of individuals who are tied together by some particular characteristic and common identity." Examples of these are class, race and occupation. This shared characteristic may be physical, a shared belief or value system or a similar socioeconomic class position. "Primary groups are generally small ... They entail close, personalized relationships among members ... The family, close friendship cliques and close work associates are the best examples of primary groups." Secondary groups tend to include large numbers of people." These groups are less personal and less intense than primary groups and are usually concerned with selected aspects of a person's life. An example of such a group is a labor union, a farmers organization or the students in a college classroom.

"Political socialization involves an interaction between the individual and agents of socialization." The three major groups involved in this process are the family, the schools and societal groups. The family is seen as an important source of socialization. Other important groups which develop attitudes and values are viewed by Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee in three cleavages: (1) occupation, income and status; (2) religion, race and ethnic groups;
and (3) regional and urban-rural cleavages. A common referent of a shared image is a political leader, event or institution. This referent may be labeled a "political symbol." As a political symbol this object "takes on some political meaning exceeding its intrinsic qualities."

Nature and Function of Image

The nature and function of a shared image is to create order so that life is more predictable, pleasing, rewarding and safer. Through this function social order is created, sustained or perhaps remade.

"It is the images used in daily communication that control us, and whoever controls the creation and communication of these controls society." Naming is a powerful tool. According to Duncan the naming of people, "things," issues is important to all because the ordering of society comes about through this activity. Culture, or society defines terms for people. People act out their lives in and for names. People control names and through these control lives. Naming creates transformations of perception, changes images and creates change.

Content of Image

Image has content, dimensions and a social structure. Each of these areas has subtopics. Several subtopics may be relevant to any one image. For content the subtopics may
include: religion, politics, economics, the family, art, science, ethnic background, status, health, education, manners or sex roles.⁴²

Content functions within a context. Context refers to the time and place or background from which an image emerges as well as the actual time and conditions surrounding the formation of it in the immediate present. The Civil Rights Movement, as it took place from 1955-1968, is the time when Martin Luther King's image began to form in the mind of the public. When and where members of the public assemble information on King is the context of his image.⁴³

Several areas of content are relevant to the theoretical understanding of image. The religious content of an image pertains to order and socialization which relate to a supreme being. This area of content is "beyond reason;" it comes to people through a supernatural process.⁴⁴ When examining King's image people may recall that King was a minister, a man of God or a prophet. These aspects of him may be viewed as positive or negative. On a continuum his image may be from one of a divine, socially active minister to one of a blasphemous charlatan, or may be described at some point in between. Where one's image of King exists on this hypothetical continuum depends upon one's attitude toward religion, its ritual and salience in one's life.

The political content of an image relates to power. Power is the currency of political affairs.⁴⁵ The political
learning of most people comes through the family and involves specific information. One learns an explicit and "relevant" political orientation and with whom ideologically, it is acceptable to socialize.\textsuperscript{46} One learns that it is important to know who decision makers are and what they have decided.\textsuperscript{47} Depending on one's political socialization, one's image of King could range from that of a political leader to a pretentious untouchable.

The second revised law of economic behavior is that the good reasons which are necessary if we do not do today what we did yesterday are derived mainly from dissatisfaction with what we did yesterday or with what happened to us yesterday.\textsuperscript{48}

Economics influences image. As the financial state of one's world changes so does one's image of many subjects. If what pleased one yesterday becomes a problem or burden, one changes it (if possible). For example, if one's image of King was positive, but it was perceived that one's economic state was threatened in some way by King, his associates or theories, then one would probably change this image to a negative one. Conversely, if one saw King and his associates as a constructive force then one would have a positive image of him.

Ethnic concerns relate to the content of image. This area refers to aspects of a subculture that gives identity to its members. When communicating, people commonly validate their identity. They may ask of one another, of their
leader or of society, questions such as: "Who are we?" "Where do we come from?" "Are we a special people?" To answer these questions information from one's background or heritage is commonly used. For example, by examining one's blackness, Jewishness or Italianess one may label one's identity and consequently how to act in accordance with that information. To illustrate this idea, it is noted by Berelson, Lazarsfeld & McPhee that since the 1950's ethnic background has been a major variable in determining political choices. The bond of identification to ethnic origins is strong. This information suggests that members of an ethnic group will have a similar image of King.

Another area of image content is status. This involves a hierarchy. It is concerned with superiority, equals and peers. The leader of a group influences it regardless of the group's size. He passes on messages that he deems important. As long as he is the leader, these messages have an impact on the image formation of the group. He has status. Also, group membership, per se, confers status. By being recognized as "in" one is presumed to be in a higher position than one who is "out" or not a group member.

Education is a relevant content area of image. Education refers to the training and indoctrination of new members into a society or group. "Schooling provides (a) child with the fundamentals of his or her society's technology (and) helps him or her acquire the cultural norms associated
with membership in society.\textsuperscript{52} It is the "creation and transmission of culture."\textsuperscript{53} The self becomes engrossed in the learning process, the ways of thinking about life and the rules presented for living. Education, then, is instrumental in the formation of images. Knowledge is presented as are subtleties of presentation, hidden messages and ritual.

\textbf{Dimensions of Image}

Image has dimensions. These influence one's perception of image and one's degree of involvement with it. Some dimensions are singular, i.e., relational, affectational, valuative, consciousness and aesthetic. Other dimensions are dual. These particular ones have polarities, i.e., clarity-ambiguity, private-public, reality-unreality, rigidity-mobility and simple-complex.\textsuperscript{54}

People create structure for their lives from their images. The relational dimension tells one where one belongs. Information regarding where one belongs in relation to an image comes from direct experience and the "authority of the transcript."\textsuperscript{56} as Boulding phrases it. This phrase refers to social tradition or the knowledge of one's elders which is passed on from one generation to the next. In this dimension people try to find balance, harmony and comfort. The dimension evolves through time.\textsuperscript{57}
The affectional and valuative dimensions have similarities. The affectional area involves emotions and feelings. The valuative area refers to polarization or priorities regarding issues. The more ego involved a person is with an image the more emotionally he defends it, clings to it, holds it in high regard. For example, the issues of the Civil Rights Movement were emotionally charged ones with inherent polarities. Some of the valuative areas were good vs. evil, just vs. unjust laws, black vs. white people and old traditions vs. changes and new ways of life. The Nonviolent Direct Action Period was a time when many people held firmly to their views. These views and the behavior which was elicited sometimes led to violent confrontations. The violence which erupted in the 1963 march on Birmingham illustrates this idea.

One of the bi-polar dimensions of image is clarity-ambiguity. A synonymous way of expressing this is certainty-uncertainty. To change an image, one needs to have new information. If this is supplied and accepted, it is likely to create competing structures of information in an individual. When a competitive situation exists, a struggle occurs in a person. His perception of an involvement with an image changes. When an image is clear to a person he can act decisively upon its meaning for him.

There is a public-private dimension of an image. This dimension refers to the various beginnings and evolutions
of an image. As Boulding states, "every public image begins in the mind of some single individual and only becomes public as it is transmitted and shared." At its beginning the image is private; as it grows or is shared it becomes public. When a decision is made by someone with a public image, the magnitude of the decision is great because a large number of people will be interested, involved and probably affected by it.

"Change in the image comes about through the impact on society of unusually creative, charismatic or prophetic individuals." These people defy the sanctity of the existing life. This statement and description apply to King. He was a man who caught the imagination of the times. Personally he decided to openly question existing societal norms. Because this decision involved many others, it became a publicly oriented one. It also hurled King into national prominence. Part of the existence of the public image is timing and record. For example, King's decision came at precisely the right time in the Civil Rights Movement. Without the background of Jim Crowism and without a precipitating event such as Rosa Parks' arrest, a shared or public image of King might not exist today. King apparently understood this principle. He said, in Montgomery, as he left jail after his March, 1956 conviction for the illegal bus boycott, that the judge involved "had started a fire he couldn't stop."
The reality-unreality dimension of image refers to what the group examining an image perceives it to be. Often one person's image will be so different from that of another that one would not recognize the identical nature of the perceived object. The Montgomery Bus Boycott is a case which helps explain this dimension. Black people protested the segregation of public transportation through pacifistic means. This information is recorded "reality." The city officials, for example, had a different perception. The same situation was "unreality." Based on their experience, black people behaving in this manner constituted an illegal conspiracy. The image of segregation and of the bus boycott held by the black citizens of Montgomery and by the city officials was different for each group.

Social Structure of Image

A shared image is involved with people, with the messages they receive and with the ways in which these are interpreted. This process affects the structuring of image. Condon speaks of the individual when he says: "what we see (or hear, smell, feel and so on) depends on what we want and need to see. And this in turn depends on who and where we have been and who we think we will become." This idea also applies to groups of people. A group too receives symbols and messages and interprets these to arrive at meaning. It too looks for agreement regarding the symbols
presented to it in order to relieve anxiety and concern for the future. To reach agreement group members look for the defining criteria of a message, form a consensus regarding it and name it. People then know how to behave in regard to it.

The social structure of image is involved with the social dimensions of a group. These dimensions are resources, organization, norms and values. Resources refers to whatever a group has to distribute. For image this is a distribution of information. Through information a group concept and a group policy regarding issues of importance are formed. The information tells the group member what he needs to know about relevant issues and how to act correctly in any situation.

In a group organization refers to interdependent behavior. This network of interdependence is the basic structure of the group. Various communication channels are used to explain and to create the member's roles as well as to express the existing power structure. These channels, i.e., verbal, written, nonverbal are also used to explain the group's use of resources and to express status and division of labor. Through this organizational network the group acts.

A Civil Rights march in Cincinnati exemplifies this dimension. Young black people intended to be in a public demonstration. Some teenagers were in charge of teaching
their peers how to act in a nonviolent demonstration if they were abused. The teenagers were assigned the role of teacher by a local NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) official. The success of both teachers and pupils was to be proven in a local march. The teen teachers were recognized as being in the middle of the leadership hierarchy. They had a responsibility to the leadership structure above them and to their group of "students" below them. The job of the young leader was to teach and also to enlist the help of others, i.e., sympathetic white youths who would simulate the march. At the conclusion of their educational activities they participated in a Civil Rights demonstration.

What prompts a group to act is related to norms. Norms can be defined as the rules which govern behavior. They are generally unwritten and unspoken. Often, they are learned nonverbally through body movement, voice tone, inflection or word choice. Norms exist in one's mind. They are intangible. People in the Civil Rights Movement acted to change existing negative norms.

When people act in a particular way they are acting out or defending what they believe. When people band together for a common cause they are sharing a common image. What a group intends to achieve by its actions is related to values. These are enduring concepts of good and bad which tend to remain constant. They are the standards of worthwhileness
which operate in a society \(^72\) and which are felt deeply within the self or group structure.

**Social Movement Theory**


The Civil Rights Movement is a norm oriented movement. Understanding the nature of it is helpful in examining shared images of King.

A norm oriented movement is an attempt to restore, protest, modify or create norms in the name of a generalized belief. Participants may be trying to affect norms directly ... or induce some constituted authority to do so. \(^73\)

Smelser says that such a movement and its results have a particular sequence. The sequence follows: "structural conduciveness, strain, generalized beliefs, precipitating factors, mobilization for action and the response of agencies of social control." \(^74\) Each of these terms refers to a particular idea.

"Structural conduciveness" concerns the possibility for demanding modification of norms. \(^75\) People interested in changing norms have reasons to challenge the existing
normative structure, have channels through which these challenges may be made, and can articulate the problem with which they are concerned. A problem may exist here, however, because the channels for affecting normative change, even though they are open, are viewed, at best, as part of the establishment and as precarious avenues of change or success. Trust, confidence and credibility for this means is low. King and his followers in each campaign of the Civil Rights Movement first used established channels to present their challenges and grievances.

"Strain" as related to normative change may be caused by several factors: (1) "Any disharmony between normative standards and actual conditions can provide the basis for a movement whose objective it is to modify (the existing) ... norms."76 (2) "... Changing social conditions which render the existing norms (more) offensive."77 (3) "(from The True Believer by Hoffler, p. 45) ... from alternatives in expectations concerning social life."78 When strain and the appropriate conditions of structural conduciveness combine, the basis for a norm oriented movement is activated. The combination of Jim Crowism and the Rosa Parks incident activated the Nonviolent Direct Action Period of the Civil Rights Movement.

In acknowledgement of social strain, people often begin to mill. "Milling" is the grouping by a collection of people to find appropriate ways to respond or react to a situation.
Turner and Killian define it as "a search for socially sanctioned meaning in a relatively unstructured situation."\(^79\) People are motivated for some reason to act or attempt to understand a particular situation. Each may be uneasy or distressed by this situation. By gathering with others, the people seek ideas from each other regarding what reaction seems most appropriate to the situation. During this activity collective images are often formed. King's public image began to form when the people of Montgomery were milling in response to Rosa Parks arrest.

"For a norm oriented movement, the 'generalized belief' includes a diagnosis of the forces and agents that are making for a failure of normative regulation."\(^80\) These beliefs prepare people for action by helping people account for their behavior in a movement. What Smelser labels generalized belief is the same as collective image. Beliefs may be created and/or expressed in literature, in a person's mind, a party platform, manifesto or an ideology. As these crystallize, informal means of expression such as scattered protests, rumors and random statements change to more formal means of expression, such as, publicity, lectures, or demonstrations.

"Precipitating factors" are persons, situations, or events (purposefully created or spontaneously occurring) which "mark the sudden establishment or symbolization of one of the conditions of strain."\(^81\) These may create or
underline a condition of strain.

"Mobilization" refers to the activities involved in the directing of the action of a movement. Smelser defines four segments of mobilization. These are:

(a) the role of leaders in organizing the movement for action; (b) the real and derived phases of mobilization; (c) the effect of the success or failure of the movement's specific strategies and tactics on the development of the movement; (d) the effect of the movement's overall success or failure on its development.

The role of the leader is a crucial one. There are two kinds of leaders. One may formulate the beliefs of a movement and one may mobilize participants for action or, like King, one person may have both roles. Often leaders are described as charismatic. They may fit the concept of messiahism; the people or members of a movement may feel this person is divinely sent to them with a specific purpose. The leader may be regarded as a prophet who is in a position to define the issue at hand in a most direct and knowledgeable way. Another dual possibility of the leadership role relates to the pressures of the private and public dimension of image.

... the leader personality is more than just what he brings to the situation; it includes the personal transformations he undergoes after he begins carrying out the leader role. The image that the following creates demands his conformity.
Three discrepancies which may emerge regarding leaders are: (1) there may be conflict between leaders regarding what is important, such as, the values of the movement or the power and organization of it; (2) a movement may evolve into an extreme position which its moderate leaders discover they must defend and promote; (3) as an ideologist, the leader may become disillusioned over the transformation of extreme ideas into more urbane philosophies. Since people in a movement act because they share a collective image with one another and their leader, discrepancies can create problems inside the group. A way to solve these discrepancies is to examine the feedback in which the group is emersed.

Feedback is needed for a system to maintain itself. In this case, the system is a social movement. Feedback and the group leader are important elements in this situation. The leader reads feedback from outside to his "in" group, reads feedback from within the group and interprets the appropriate feedback to all people both "in" and "out" of the group. Feedback is also necessary to maintain a steady state in the social movement. It helps the group adjust to whatever is occurring. For example, in Montgomery during the bus boycott, King could interpret from the existing situation that the bus boycott would work if black people would not ride busses, that Blacks felt strongly enough about the situation not to ride the busses, and that he would know if a follower did ride a bus.
The second segment of mobilization refers to the various phases of it. These are: (1) the incipient phase which is illustrated by slow, searching behavior; (2) the phase of enthusiastic mobilization or supercharged activity; and, (3) the period of institutionalization and organization or a decline from much activity to the routine, day-by-day type.\(^\text{85}\) If the phases of the movement flow successfully and if the beliefs associated with it are sufficiently inclusive to encompass a wide variety of grievances, an initial success of (... it) is likely to draw in a large heterogeneous membership."\(^\text{86}\)

The third and fourth segments of mobilization deal with the success or failure of a norm oriented movement. This can be examined from several perspectives.

Norm oriented movements generally have access to a variety of channels for agitation and a variety of strategies and tactics for each channel. Because of this large number of alternative paths of action, several related movements frequently arise simultaneously, their major differences being in the realm of strategy.\(^\text{87}\)

A variety of methods can be used, thus there may be an ebb and flow of activity and enthusiasm as changes occur. There may be splits then, in a movement, as some members use "new" methods and others continue with the "old" ones.

Generally speaking, a successful movement usually begins to focus on other, related reforms, or becomes a guardian of the normative changes it has won; correspondingly, an unsuccessful movement usually declines.
In many respects, however, successful and unsuccessful movements resemble each other in their later stages. Both continue to stay alive for long periods after the phase of active agitation. Furthermore, both tend to accumulate new functions — recreation, maintenance of the organization, civic contributions, etc. — in addition to, or even in place of their original purposes.

In mobilization, there are three central characteristics that may be cited as usually displayed in a movement.

(a) diversity of motivation and grievances among the participants; (b) a period of very rapid growth and a period of equally rapid decline; (c) a fluid association among the strands of the same general movement, strands which continuously flow into one another, break off again, then join in some other guise.

The response of social control agencies is important to a norm oriented movement. If political authorities are encouraging, give sympathy, honor grievances and listen, this usually boosts and consolidates the movement. If authorities permit expression of grievances whether informally or particularly formally, as in a "hearing" or in other institutionalized forms of fairness, this may calm the emotions of the members of the movement as well as promote the changes which are sought. If, however, they do not act in good faith, if they refuse to recognize a group, vacillate in the face of pressure, or close off (or appear to close off) the avenues for norm oriented agitation, they then encourage collective outbursts such as violent demonstrations or riots. For example when Eugene Conner, the
Birmingham Safety Director, ordered the police to use dogs and fire hoses against the 1963 Civil Rights marchers, he encouraged a violent demonstration.

Bowers and Ochs cite nine strategies used in a social movement. King and his followers used the first five of these to protest their grievances. The strategies are:

1. petition of the establishment which included all normal means of persuasion;
2. promulgation or tactics designed to win social support for the agitators' position;
3. solidification of the agitation group, e.g., songs, slogans and symbols for unification;
4. polarization -- a strategy designed to arouse action or inaction -- to be "in" or "out" -- it assumes that an individual who has not committed himself in one way or another to the agitation is supportive of the establishment;
5. nonviolent resistance which places agitators in a position in which they are violating laws they consider to be unjust;
6. escalation/confrontation which is based on the idea that when the establishment becomes sufficiently apprehensive, it will over-prepare for agitation and thus appear foolish (escalation refers to telling the establishment that many agitators will participate in a protest event; confrontation refers to threatened disruption, violence and nonverbal obscenity);
7. guerrilla and Gandhi relates to a confrontation of the establishment with two groups, one of which is committed to non-violent resistance and another which is committed to
physical destruction of the establishment; (8) guerilla refers to "real" attacks on the establishment which may be symbolic in that they may polarize disaffected members to join the agitators and (9) revolution or war. These strategies are relatively successive in that usually agitation follows these steps of escalation.

From the background of the Civil Rights Movement comes knowledge which for many individuals is part of their image of Martin Luther King. Image is a process created by symbols in social interaction. It is the result of information and experience. Its function is to create order and meaning in people's lives. An image has content, dimensions and social structure. Aspects of theories of collective behavior specifically of norm oriented social movements, help explain how a shared image of King came into existence. Images evolve through time.

This work is a contribution to the ongoing study of image. Using the theoretical construct of image as presented by Boulding, Douglas and Klapp, the study investigates a shared image of a political figure, Martin Luther King, as held by a sample of persons with a known interest in or an attitude about him.
FOOTNOTES

1 Jack Douglas, lectures at The Ohio State University, Communication 826G, Spring Quarter, 1976.

2 Ibid.


4 Ibid., p. 25.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 24.


8 Haiman, ibid., p. 194.


10 Siegel, Miller and Wotring, ibid., p. 118.
11. Ibid.


15. Bennett and others, ibid., p. 115.


25. Ibid., p. 224.


Ibid., pp. 24-25.


Ibid., p. 174.

Ibid., p. 179.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 93.

Ibid., p. 115.


Boulding, ibid., p. 103.


Ibid., pp. 236-237.

Boulding, ibid., Chapters Five-Seven.

Douglas, lectures, ibid.
In the following material examples will relate to Martin Luther King. The theoretical framework is thus related to the particular image being studied. King is used for the sake of continuity not as an historical addendum.

44 Duncan, ibid., p. 185.
45 Boulding, ibid., p. 97.
46 Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, ibid., pp. 116-117.
47 Duncan, ibid., p. 199.
48 Boulding, ibid., p. 87.
50 Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, ibid., Chapter Ten.
52 Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, ibid., p. 137.
53 Duncan, ibid., p. 17.
54 Douglas, lectures, ibid.
55 Boulding, ibid., p. 70.
56 Ibid., pp. 69-70.
58 Brown, ibid., p. 258.


69. Statement by Marion Schwab, personal interview, August 9, 1976.


71. Smelser, ibid., p. 111.


73. Smelser, ibid., p. 270.

74. Ibid., p. 277.

75. Ibid., p. 278.

76. Ibid., p. 288.

77. Ibid., p. 289.

78. Ibid., p. 290.


80. Smelser, ibid., p. 292.

81. Ibid., p. 294.

82. Ibid., p. 296.

83. Turner and Killian, ibid., p. 478.

84. Ibid., p. 475.

85. Smelser, ibid., pp. 299-302.
86 Ibid., p. 289.
87 Ibid., p. 302.
88 Ibid., pp. 305-306.
89 Ibid., p. 301.
90 Ibid., pp. 306-310.
CHAPTER III

Methods and Procedures

Introduction

The following paragraph is an introductory explanation of the material which is located within Chapter Three. Definitions and explanations of terms, procedures and methods including rationale, use and application are elaborated upon in Chapter Three as these terms, procedures and methods are discussed.

Several procedures and methods were used to study the question: "What is the image of Martin Luther King as expressed by people who have a known interest in or an attitude about him?" Focused interviews were conducted with 11 people. These people were selected because of their expressed interest in Martin Luther King. Statements from these interviews were categorized and then systematically used in assembling a Q-sort. Q-sorts were chosen to study this question because they provide a base "for measurement of anything subjective to the person"\(^1\) such as feelings, attitudes or images. With a Q-sort each respondent can model or express his personal image regarding King. In
an attempt to make the image analysis a comprehensive one, a Q-sort was administered to 40 respondents who were chosen for their expressed interest in King and for their diversity in background, experiences and demographics.

**Focused Interviews**

The first procedure of the study was the conducting of focused interviews in order to collect the various responses people have toward Martin Luther King. 11 Focused interviews were conducted. This number of interviews was chosen for, as Stephenson relates, the comprehensive collection of information on an event or person can be done using "one" person, but,

statements from 10 to 20 suitably chosen persons will provide a collection that can scarcely be bettered by choosing a hundred. About most events (or persons) many statements are common to different persons, and almost every statement will mean something to many others, whether it was collected from one person or many.

In this case, "suitably chosen persons" were those with a known interest in or an attitude about King. The collection of responses was used to identify themes and then to assemble statements for a structured Q-sort. (Use of and an explanation of Q-methodology will be discussed in a future section.)

The characteristics of the focused interview (which are listed below) attend to the specific needs of this study in that they yield a comprehensive collection of information
which is necessary for the assemblage of a structured Q-sort.

The distinctive characteristics of a focused interview are:

1. "Interviewees are known to have been involved in a particular situation." In this study, "situation" refers either to the interviewees' personal contact with King, i.e., a particular situation or to the interviewees encounter(s) with information regarding King. For example, an interviewee was involved in the Civil Rights Movement and acted upon King's teaching and philosophy, another interviewee was involved with media gatekeeping activities regarding King, another was involved in explaining and interpreting King's messages to political constituents. In the three preceding examples the acting, gate keeping and interpreting are the "situations" under exploration.

2. The "investigator has provisionally analyzed (the) situation and developed hypotheses regarding probable responses to it." Hypotheses were developed by the researcher regarding how the interviewee responded in his situation involving King or information regarding him.

3. "This content or situational analysis provides (a) basis for (an) interview guide, setting forth major areas of inquiry and providing criteria of relevance for interview data." In these interviews the guide dealt with the interviewees responses to King, his activities, his philosophies etc. as they pertained to the interview "situation."

4. The "interview focuses on subjective experience to ascertain (the) interviewees' definition of (the) situation in which they were involved." By learning about the interviewees specific experiences and how they interpreted this
information, themes or areas of importance to these people regarding King emerged.

In addition a focused interview is useful to this study because of its examination and discernment of the psychological and social processes involved in interpreting a situation. The focused interview "provides clues to the process and mechanics called into play by (a) situation." In an interview about King and/or his associates, activities or philosophies, the interviewees expressed their thoughts regarding this topic. How they answered questions, that is, with what words, tone, or expression of emotion gives clues as to how the person viewed, processed, and interpreted the situation.

In a focused interview, the interviewer asks non-directive questions regarding the person or situation under investigation. The interviewee is encouraged to structure the questions so that the aspects of the situation which are most significant to him are explored. For example, questions such as, "what was it like to be with Martin Luther King," "how did it feel to be with King," or "what impressed you about King," were asked.

Each focused interview typically lasted from one to one and a half hours in length. The interviewees were policy makers and gatekeepers. Three of these interviewees had had personal contact with King; four had been active in the Civil Rights Movement during the years of 1955-1968;
one was a vigorous opponent of the Civil Rights Movement. The recurring ideas, phrases and words which were expressed by these people became the systematic base for the structured Q-sort which was developed. 10

Following is a list of the interviewees and a notation of their "situation," that is, their contact with King or their active involvement with his teaching of philosophies:

1. a businessman and politician -- this person was called upon by his black political constituents to interpret how King's messages pertained to them;

2. taxidriver, student -- this person had personal contact with King in the 1963 March on Washington. He was in charge or organizing a neighborhood group of people for marching. He met several times with King and other leaders of the Civil Rights Movement;

3. FBI agent -- this person had personal contact with King during the 1963 March on Washington. He, in the role of a marcher, was to stay as close to King as possible in order to observe him and the other marchers;

4. officer in a Roman Catholic quasi-Sisterhood, student -- this person was active in the Civil Rights Movement during the early 1960's. She acted upon King's teachings by participating in Civil Rights marches, the preparation of these and the tutoring of black people in reading;

5. professor -- this person has been continuously active in the Civil Rights Movement. She acted upon King's teachings by verbalizing black community needs to city officials and eventually was instrumental in organizing day care centers for needy young children;
6. university administrator -- this person had direct personal contact with King at Morehouse College. King was his professor and later his minister;

7. university administrator, author -- this person ghost writes for several other authors who write about the Civil Rights Movement and black culture. He has interpreted King to others via print;

8. homemaker, politician -- this person in her role of politician has advocated the teachings of King to government officials and her constituents;

9. television producer -- this person presented King's views and philosophies to the local, television viewer with the intent of educating the public and promoting understanding of the Civil Rights Movement;

10. television program manager -- this person chose not to present information regarding King to the local television viewer. He found the Civil Rights Movement and King to be inflammatory and not of interest to his local audience;

11. priest, student -- this person acted upon King's teachings by traveling to the Southern United States to help register new black voters.

Conceptualization of Themes and Development of the Q-sort

A conceptualization of the themes which form King's image emerged from the interview data. First, to determine these themes the interview transcripts were studied. Second, to define these themes and transform them into easily useable data, each theme element was assigned a symbol.  

(See Table 1.)
Three significant themes emerged from the interview data. King was seen as a "person," in a role as a "leader," and as someone who used a particular means, "nonviolence," to achieve his goal(s). These ideas were elaborated upon and expanded in the interviews. The ideas and their delineations follow:

King as a person:

A1 "good." King is seen as an intelligent, trustworthy, gentle and respected person. He is viewed in professional roles, i.e., a teacher and a minister.

A2 "bad." King is seen as a dumb, manipulative or crafty person. He is seen as a troublemaker, meddler or even conspirator who associated with others of this same negative inclination.

A3 "ultramoral." King is seen as an inspirational, "more-than-Christian," prophetic man. He is viewed as a moral philosopher and as a man who "crossed religious lines," i.e., he could speak to and identify with people of all religions.

King as a leader:

B1 "for himself." King is seen as an opportunist who was seeking personal fame. He is described as a power grabber who became involved with a faddish social movement.

B2 "for Civil Rights." King is seen as a responsible leader of the Civil Rights Movement who sincerely desired equal treatment and justice under the law for all people and who sought lasting social and political change in the established governmental system of the United States.
Means used by King to achieve his goals:

C1 "violence." King is described as one who wanted, used, knew only about, and/or espoused violence.

C2 "nonviolence." King is described as one who used, proposed, and/or espoused nonviolence. (This was discussed with a connotation of uniqueness and positiveness by those who expressed it.)

Finally, these elements or facets were placed into a framework for systematic use in constructing Q-statements.\(^{12}\)

A model of the scheme used for constructing Q-statements follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>B2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each statement contained three of the above facets. For example, a statement that contained elements A1B1C1 was number 14:

a trustworthy man who used violence to achieve overnight fame.
A statement that combined elements A1B2C2 was number eight:

a good man and a good speaker who used economic boycotts and other tactics of nonviolence to create a lasting peaceful community.

There were 12 possible statement combinations. 60 statements were in the Q-sort. Each of the 12 categories of statements, e.g., scheme A1B1C1, A1B2C1, A1B2C2 etc. had five representative statements.

A Q-sort is the deck of cards which is sorted by respondents who participate in a study using Q-methodology. "Q-methodology" is a general name used by William Stephenson to characterize a set of philosophical, psychological, statistical and psychometric ideas oriented to research on the individual." The yield of the rank ordering of Q-statements is "correlations between persons and persons clusters or factors."

"In a structured Q-sort the variables of a 'theory' ... are built into (the) set of items." The structure gives the researcher a base for developing operational definitions regarding the topic under consideration. In this case, the variables or facets are King as a "good," "bad," or "ultra-moral" person; King as a leader as being for Civil Rights or for himself; and King as a user of violence or nonviolence. The "topic under consideration" is the image of Martin Luther King.
Various checks were periodically done during the development of the Q-sort. Extra participants sorted the statements by category to assure their accurate representation of the themes. Also, preliminary Q Sorts were done for the purpose of editing, re-checking the meaning of statements, and re-checking categorization of the statements.

The Sample

Instead of randomly selecting individuals from a defined population ... I seek to represent known interests in the selection, and choose subjects to fit balanced designs.

The sample consisted of 40 respondents. These people were selected because of their known interest in Martin Luther King. Each person had expressed to the researcher, or to another person, an interest in or an attitude about King.

The sample represented a spectrum of people. To insure diversity principles of stratification were used in an attempt to get a balanced distribution regarding the respondents' sex, race (black or white), age, education and social class status (as defined by sociologist, Joseph Kahl). The population of accessible people with a known interest in King was divided into control groups which systematically and purposefully represented a diverse range of variables. It was of interest to the researcher to discover if any of
these variables were influencing the image being investigated. Sex and race are included for it was of interest to see if the experience of being male or female or black or white can influence one's image of King. Age refers to the present age of the respondent. Having lived a particular number of years and thus through a particular set of historic events, the respondent may have an image of King which is similar to that held by others of his age group. Age intervals of 20 years were arbitrarily assigned. The minimum age of 20 years was chosen because a person this age was approximately 11 years old in 1968 when King died. (Even though most respondents contact with King or with information about him was through the media or some other means other than personal contact, the researcher wished all respondents to have had the possibility of a personal remembered encounter with King as a base for the age strata.) Education refers to schooling from grades 1-12 and to college as having spent any number of years at the university level. Social class status refers to assignment in socio-economic levels as defined by occupation and values. It is assumed that age, education and social class status can influence one's image of King.

A chart which gives the breakdown of the total number of respondents per category follows:
Table 2
Control Groups for Sex, Race, Age, Education and Social Class Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>female (19)</th>
<th>male (21)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sex</td>
<td>female (19)</td>
<td>male (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>race</td>
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<tr>
<td>education</td>
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<tr>
<td>social class</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>social class</td>
<td>female (19)</td>
<td>male (21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents' location within the distribution is seen in Table 3.

The occupations of the respondents cover a broad range of life styles. This list is not exhaustive but serves to convey the cross section of respondents which was sought. Occupations included in the study were: business people, taxi driver, FBI agent, clerical and secretarial personnel, Catholic priest, Methodist minister, coach, career Air Force officer, farmer, recreation director, artisan, professional musician, antique dealer, research chemist, custodian, HEW official and a bus driver. Some of the avocations or semi-professional jobs of these and others who
Table 3
Respondent Location Within Control Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent Code</th>
<th>Respondent Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 M, B, 40, C, UM</td>
<td>21 M, W, 58, C, UM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 M, B, 35, S, L</td>
<td>22 M, W, 32, C, W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 M, W, 33, C, LM</td>
<td>25 F, W, 64, S, LM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 F, B, 21, C, W</td>
<td>30 M, W, 63, C, LM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 M, W, 34, C, W</td>
<td>33 F, W, 60, S, W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 M, W, 32, C, LM</td>
<td>34 M, W, 64, S, W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 M, W, 44, S, W</td>
<td>36 M, B, 40, S, W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 F, W, 28, C, LM</td>
<td>37 M, B, 41, C, UM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
participated are: politician, author, craftsman, dog
trainer, artist and amateur bowler.

**Administration of the Q-Sort**

The respondents agreed to participate in an interview
and a Q-sort. The Q-sorting procedure typically took a re-
spondent one hour to complete. In some instances this pro-
cedure lasted an additional one or two hours. During this
time the respondents were encouraged to share any questions,
comments, feelings or ideas which the statements elicited
or aroused. These expressions were recorded as well as the
Q-sort loadings. Statements were sorted into the following
frequency distributions. This represents a modified normal
distribution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q-Sort Frequency Distributions</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Items</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stack No.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interview schedule was followed by completion of focused
probes regarding the items which were chosen as best and
least descriptive of King.²⁰
Analysis of Data

The collected data were submitted to QUANAL for mathematical correlation, and factor analysis. There are several steps involved in the transference of data from the interview schedule to the finished computer print out. First the raw data were tabulated and transposed onto matrices to expedite the key punching procedure. By item and row, these matrices provide intercorrelations of variables which represent persons and items which represent the observations of these persons. Each punched computer card contained every person's response to a particular Q-statement. Also a card(s) containing each Q-statement was punched to obtain a correlation of the statements.

The following assessment procedures were used to identify those types of persons who share a similar image of Martin Luther King and to provide insight into the nature of these persons. A correlation matrix was obtained. On it each person's expression was correlated with that of every other person. This matrix was submitted to factor analysis. A principle axis solution was obtained. This solution was submitted to varimax rotation which sets up criteria for orthogonal factors. After this rotation the solution which best accounted for the variance was chosen for analysis. In this solution six factors accounted for the total factor variance. A factor represents a data-based, hypothetical type of person. It is created by a
set of persons who have identified themselves by expressing similar opinions or patterns of thought regarding Martin Luther King. By examining the factor loadings for each respondent, one can identify who belongs to a particular factor.

Next an analysis of items was done. After the orthogonal factors were found, the items as chosen by each person were weighted by item score and by the factor loadings of each person. A typical Z-score array was obtained. Then, correlations between types were computed. The higher the item score and the higher the factor loading, the more an item is seen to represent a particular factor. The weighted scores of each item are added up separately so that each item is systematically assigned a score which corresponds to its relationship to all other items. This item array represented the most and least descriptive items for the hypothetical person represented in each factor. These scores were converted to Z-scores where they appear as a hierarchy of items.23

Finally, Q-statements or item descriptions represented by Z-scores are listed in a descending array of differences between the types or factors obtained. By examining these the most striking similarities or differences among the types can be examined. Also given are five statements which were viewed similarly by all factors.24
Chapter Three discusses the methods and procedures used to study the image of Martin Luther King. Chapter Four examines the findings of this work.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., p. 15.


4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., pp. ix-x.

8 Ibid., p. x.

9 see Appendix A.

10 see Appendix B.


12 Ibid., p. 51.

13 see Appendix B.

14 see Appendix C.

15 see Appendices D and E.


17 Ibid., p. 583.

18 Ibid., p. 588.

19 Stephenson, ibid., p. 20.
see Appendix F.

see Appendix G.

see Appendix H.

see Appendix I.

CHAPTER IV

Findings and Interpretations

Introduction

In review, image is dynamic, exists within the self (which is defined as a "unit of personality" or "internal organization of qualities (such as) traits, attitudes and habits") and can change with new information. Because of the nature of image, that is, that it is stimulated by a message and arises from one's background and experience, "there are many aspects of ourselves in our images," and "there are many selves." The findings of this study reveal a systematically labeled image of Martin Luther King and the hypothetical type of person who held this image. These images and types of persons are neither mutually exclusive nor at cross purposes.

Following is a brief review of the methods and procedures used in this study. Focused interviews were conducted to ascertain what kinds of information people had regarding Martin Luther King. From these transcripts the major themes were extracted. These themes as given by the interviewees, included King as a person and King as a
leader, his purpose — to be famous or to be a champion of Civil Rights, and his methods — techniques of nonviolence or violence. Descriptors used by the interviewees were used in forming a structured Q-sort. The Q-sort was administered to 40 respondents. The resulting data were analyzed using Q-analysis.

Stephenson states that "the structured Q-sort (and its results) form a theoretical effect concerning what you study." Thus, the elicited themes or facets of the structured Q-sort begin to form a "theory" of the image of Martin Luther King. The elements of this "theory" are used to analyse the results of the data and to describe the image of King as it is expressed in each factor. Factors are composed of individuals who express similar ideas regarding Martin Luther King. Through the expressions of individuals various shared images are found. In this study respondents of a type share the same image of King as well as "a set of philosophical or psychological ideas."

In this study six factors emerged. Four of the factors describe a positive image of King while two of them describe a negative image. Each factor, the image described by the respondents in it, the psychological characteristics or hypothetical personality type represented and the relation of image dimensions to the demographic data are discussed. Comparisons and contrasts are noted and elaborated upon by the author.
The author believes that each of the six factors is important. Two of the positive types have strong factor loadings. Two other types -- one positive and one negative have less strong factor loadings. The two remaining types have weak factor loadings. These two last types are included because the author believes that they represent a small but important portion of the general public.

The second weakest type, a negative one, deserves attention because it represents a stereotypic version of military thought. The only career officer of the study is in this factor.

The weakest factor is positive. The respondents sorting of the Q-statements is very unlike that done by the other respondents. Not surprisingly these respondents are unconventional people who do not particularly "fit" their surroundings. As an illustration of the diversity of people represented in this factor, it included a woman who labels herself a radical and another woman who is most warm and loving to all people, yet is in a traditional, conservative occupation. A third man is a creative, renowned, professional musician.

Regarding King as a man, the facets of "good," "bad," and "ultramoral" are each represented; however, the positive ones dominate. The statements chosen as most descriptive reflect whatever the respondent views as "human," and vulnerable. King is seen as a man who was not always
in control of his destiny.

King is examined carefully by the respondents. Some people readily express that they thought he was a great man and that they have always admired him. Others are more reticent. It is as if they are not willing to say he was good until they are pushed to do so. Sometimes positive ideas were said begrudgingly because the respondent did not like King or what he stood for yet also thought that he did good deeds. Others state their thoughts slowly because they have always said they disliked or disapproved of King but based on their own image of him, realize that they think positively about him. Generally, people who view King positively say he was a good man and a great and inspirational leader. Those who view him negatively generally say that he was immoral, created trouble for others and does not deserve any acclaim.

Another strong theme is that King, in his leadership role was for Civil Rights. The idea that he sought power for himself is fascinating to people but is not considered to be true. King may have enjoyed his fame but most respondents see him as shunning this as a goal in itself. The respondents believe that he was famous for a variety of reasons, such as, fate, pressure from his wife, hard work, political maneuvering and/or his personality. But, for whatever the reason, King is viewed by most as being the most prominent and responsible person of the Civil Rights
Movement. When King is seen as being for himself, he is also seen (again) as immoral. The small number of respondents who express this image believe that he became involved in the Civil Rights Movement for the spoils of the job, self aggrandizement and the enjoyment of knowing that some white people were angry or uncomfortable.

Predominantly King is seen as a man who espoused nonviolence. He is viewed as adhering to the philosophy of nonviolence and of using nonviolent tactics as a means of achieving Civil Rights goals. It is generally believed that King thought that the Civil Rights Movement would be violent but that he did not wish for it to be so. Conversely the few respondents who see King as a man of violence say that he used nonviolence as a ruse. They believe that King not only knew the Civil Rights Movement would be violent but also that he wished it to be so.

Positive Image of Martin Luther King

Six images of King emerged from the data. Also identified were six different hypothetical types of person. The labels for these images and types of persons represents an abstraction or synthesis of the data for each factor type. The labels for each type were chosen by the researcher after she had considered several sources of data. These sources were the respondents' behaviors as observed by the researcher, statements from the interviews with the
respondents (focused and/or Q) and the Q-statements which the respondents chose as best and least descriptive of King.

Four of the emergent images are positive. The researcher labeled the images and types of hypothetical persons created by the respondents in the positive factors as the Social Action Type, Advocate Type, Amiable Type and the No Fit Type. The Social Action Type was thusly named because of these respondents' interest in social concerns and their exhibited drive and energy. The Advocate was the name chosen for the next type because of these respondents' desire to influence others to act. Words were observed as important to them. The Amiable Type was thusly labeled because of these respondents' expressed and easily observed desire to please others. The No Fit Type was named this because they literally do not fit into their social surroundings. For example, it was observed that each had a disconcerting manner and way of conveying that they were with the researcher and also mentally or emotionally "somewhere" else.

Predominantly King's image is that of a good man who was for Civil Rights and who used techniques of nonviolence to achieve his goals. In some instances King's image includes the facet of ultramorality. In the Social Action, Advocate and Amiable factors, emphasis is placed on King's power. However, the image of power and leadership varies with each type. These differences will be noted in each
discussion of an image of King. The Social Action and Advocate factors are strong; the Amiable factor is not as strong as these two; the No Fit factor is weak.

Image of the Social Action Type

The Social Action Type's image of Martin Luther King is positive. It represents the strongest factor of the study. King is seen as a Civil Rights leader and a man of nonviolence. All of the Q-statements which had Z-scores with standard deviations of +1.12 or higher indicated these aspects of King's image. Of the 11 statements, five expressed that King was a "good" man, five that he was "ultramoral" and one that he was "bad." King is seen as a good person. Ten Q-statements literally indicate this. In the eleventh statement, which includes the "bad" facet, the word "manipulative" is the reference. In later discussion it will be demonstrated that this idea is not negative to the Social Action Type of person.

The Social Action Type of a person's image of King included action, respect and earned prestige. These valued elements are visible in the following items:

a respected teacher and minister, used nonviolence, established lasting political changes

a moral philosopher who used nonviolence to change laws so that justice would be for all people
a good man and a good speaker who used economic boycotts and other tactics of nonviolence to create a lasting peaceful community

Through hard work King earned the respect of others. The first and third statements listed above illustrate this point. To be a teacher or a minister implies that the person named has worked hard at least in an academic sense. To be a respected member of these professions implies various other kinds of hard work. These are social service professions which are often rewarded intrinsically. To gain prestige or have extrinsic rewards in these areas is difficult. It is noted in the third statement that King is a good man and a good speaker. Again, this type of person believes that when one has real expertise in an area one should be acknowledged for it.

King is seen as a man of intellect and wisdom. As previously stated, to be a professional implies intellectual ability. Also, to be recognized as a moral philosopher takes a great amount of knowledge. This type of person is drawn to another bright person; in this case, it is King. Adjectives such as "clever," "smart," and "analytical" not only describe King but also the Social Action Type of person. The following statement illustrates this point:

to create and sustain eternal brotherhood
he wisely used tactics of nonviolent direct action.
There is a popular, political content in this image of King. The four preceding Q-statements imply that King's image includes a directness of purpose and of action. The Social Action Type thinks that if one believes in something one should act on it. This type of respondent sees King as a man of action.

The Social Action Type of person identifies with the public and political aspect of King's image. These respondents enjoy the idea of prestige, power and the open challenging or championing of public issues. They are often involved in positions of power and in attempts to insure their desired ends. Confident of their abilities they will attempt to promote their cause in as many ways as possible at whatever level of society in which they function. From politician to clerk they will attempt to create change.

King's image includes the concept of being a just and loving person. If the idiom "cold hands, warm heart" can be adjusted to "cool head, warm heart," it describes an outlook that the Social Action Type admires. These are analytical yet warm people who look out for and care deeply about others. They value this quality in King. The following statements illustrate this idea:

a kind man who loved his family and associates, used nonviolence to create a beloved community
is described as "more than Christian," used nonviolence to create a beloved community.

The Social Action Type of respondent agrees with King that all people should be treated with equal respect. That one is a family member or a stranger with a background different than one's own should not make a difference in the kind of treatment one receives. That a person lives is enough to make them important. The Social Action Type has distinct personal preferences concerning those with whom they prefer to associate, such as, other active people, sophisticates, or "experts," but, like their model in this case, they will champion as many people as possible.

The Q-statement chosen as clearly descriptive of King which included a "bad" facet referred to manipulation. Manipulation is not considered bad but pragmatic. When a person of this type believes change should be made he will use any means which he considers appropriate. These means should be honest but if "bending of the rules" seems appropriate or necessary it should be done. The following statement expresses this idea:

a manipulative man who found nonviolence helpful in establishing lasting social change.

In this statement King is perceived as using the most efficient means available to him. To be a good, efficient leader one needs to be cagey. The Social Action type believes that established people, channels or institutions
need monitoring to function efficiently. If any part of the establishment needs to be removed or changed this should be done through use of the most efficient means available. The guidelines here are that the efficient means should not hurt others and that those involved in establishing change should be acknowledged for their effort.

The Social Action Type sees King as a humanist. King's concern was for the welfare of the person. His use of nonviolence is consistent with this type of person's desire to be kind, to avoid hurting others and to respect human dignity. King's use of nonviolent techniques is consistent with this area of his image because it can create change yet its implementation, if followed precisely, does not bring harm to anyone.

King's image includes being an idealist. He is described as:

a gentle person, a dreamer, taught his followers tactics of nonviolence to bring about lasting social change.

The Social Action Type of person would like the world to be a good place. If he believes he can make it better he will try to do so. He believes that King had a dream for this country. The Social Action Type would like the United States to be a place where justice prevails for all people regardless of their race, sex or religious background.

The Social Action Type rejects the idea of King being a bad or violent person. Statements which this type
strongly reject are:

- a stupid man who was out for himself and who used violence to get power

- a lecherous man who used violent means to become an overnight success

- a slow thinker who unwittingly used violence to create long range political change.

King is not seen as stupid. Many of the respondents stated ideas which reflected this belief, such as, King had to be intelligent to earn the Ph.D. degree in the area of philosophy, to coordinate the efforts of the Civil Rights Movement and to get along with so many different kinds of people.

The issue of violence is viewed "objectively." Respondents of the Social Action Type acknowledge that violence occurred in the Civil Rights Movement. They say that to think it would not erupt would have been foolish. They believe King knew violence was a possibility so he taught his followers ways in which to respond to it.

King's image is that of a man of social action who was not interested in personal gain. However, he is not viewed as establishing any "lasting" social change. The Social Action Type of person rejects the statement:

- lecherous, used violence, established lasting social change.

Frequently these respondents mentioned their dislike for the word "lasting." Some of them queried: "What is lasting?" "What does lasting mean?" One person stated: "No, the
gains of the Civil Rights Movement are not lasting."

The most significant characteristic that the Social Action Type of respondents share and the aspect which most influences their processing of image is their "personality type," point of view or outlook on life. These respondents cross all demographic categories. They range occupationally and politically, from an Eastern, conservative, bank executive to a liberal custodian. 56% of the respondents were male, 44% were female; 69% were white, 31% were black. Half of the respondents represented the middle age category while 38% were in the young and 13% were in the over 60 years of age categories. 63% of the respondents had attended college, 38% had not. The social classes were represented as follows: 19% were upper middle class, 31% were lower middle class, 44% were working class, 1% were lower class. It is of note that 75% of the upper middle class respondents are in this factor as are half of the black members of the sample. Also 63% of the college educated respondents are in this factor.

These figures when compared to statistics regarding the demographics of the other types show these respondents to be generally well educated and members of the upper middle and working classes. The findings suggest that education predisposes a person to become involved with one's life. Regarding class, these findings correspond highly to Kahl's description of the upper middle class, these people are
"outgoing," "fluent talkers," "give attention to public behavior and response" and are "mobile." However, they do not correspond to Kahl's description of the working class. These class members are considered to be "inactive in community life" and are described as viewing life as "routine." The Social Action Type respondents do fit Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson's description of an "Opinion Leader." These people are described as being up-to-date, interested in current events and the media, and are influential in their own groups. It is the author's observation that the Social Action Type of respondents can be described with the above statements and more. These people seem to enjoy life and are motivated toward notable success in some area. They are social activists who are in some way publicly known. This notoriety may exist through occupation, religion, club work or avocation. They are energetic. They generate excitement in others. When one is with them, one senses their dynamism and personal security.

These respondents carefully observe others. An expression of this idea is exemplified in political situations. The woman who said she votes "for the best person" and the one who votes "for the one who is most humane" are in this category. These respondents monitor others who have power. They would not hesitate to topple a bad or incompetent leader. They use their own power wisely and expect others
to do the same.

The Social Action Type has a positive image of King. He is seen as a good man who was for Civil Rights and who used techniques of nonviolence to achieve his goals. He was prestigious, powerful and intelligent. He had self respect and respected others. To the Social Action Type of person, King engaged in worthwhile activities and acted on that which he believed.

Image of the Advocate Type

The Advocate Type has a positive image of Martin Luther King. This factor, like the Social Action factor, is strong. Also like the Social Action Type of person, the Advocate Type clearly sees King as a leader of the Civil Rights Movement who used techniques of nonviolence. All 10 statements with standard deviations of +1.09 or higher express the facets of being for Civil Rights, of advocating nonviolence. Of these 10 Q-statements, five expressed that King was a "good" man, four that he was "ultramoral" and one that he was "bad." The Q-statement with the "bad" facet states King was "meddling in others affairs." The Advocate Type, like the Social Action Types does not interpret this idea negatively. King is seen as a positive man.

To the Advocate Type, King exemplified superlatives. His image reflects extreme positiveness. The following statements express this theme:
an incredibly inspirational man who used tactics of nonviolence to create lasting political change

seemed sent from God, created lasting social change, used techniques of nonviolence

is described as "more than Christian," used nonviolence, made equal rights for all people a permanent part of life.

King is seen as an authority figure who had immense attraction and who inspired many others to follow him. He is viewed literally as a man of God. They see King as a man who did many good, Christian deeds and is therefore an heroic, religious figure.

King is seen as a man who enjoyed his family, friends and parishoners. The following statements illustrate:

a kind man who loved his family and associates, used nonviolence to create a beloved community

a respected teacher and minister, used nonviolence, established lasting political changes.

Through these respondents' choice of Q-statements and interview data their respect for the family and its authority is expressed. They identify with King in his enjoyment of the family. They believe respect is due anyone who is the head of a primary group but the family is held in particularly high esteem. These respondents indicate the belief that being a father, mother, or leader is proof enough that one should be respected.
King's image is that of a religious man. Religion is important to the Advocate Type of person. The adherence to some creed is expressed as sensible behavior by the Advocate Type. The Bible, the Bill of Rights, or the charter of one's group is valuable as a guide to proper behavior and thoughts.

King is also seen as advocating unity. This idea is considered to be an important idea. The following statements illustrate this:

- to create and sustain eternal brotherhood
- he wisely used tactics of nonviolent direct action
- a good man and a good speaker who used economic boycotts and other tactics of nonviolence to create a lasting peaceful community.

King is seen as genuinely caring for others. He as well as these respondents would like people to get along well with one another. This theme is a kind of extension of the valuing of family and religion.

The Advocate Type and the Social Action Type both see King as an idealist and a dreamer. The same statement had a high Z-score for both factors:

- gentle person, a dreamer, taught his followers tactics of nonviolence to bring about lasting social change.

However, a difference exists between the two types in how this information is viewed. The Social Action Type sees King as acting to bring his dream to fruition. The Advocate
Type sees King as a strategist. King imagined what a beloved community would be like, extolled its virtues and preached the blessings of brotherhood. The important aspect of the image is that King prompted others to act.

King is a man of words and ideas. He is seen as planting ideas. The following Q-statement and discussion illustrate this point. In this statement the Advocate Type describes King thusly:

a man of nonviolence, had a history of meddling in other's affairs, established lasting changes in education, commerce and voting rights.

As a particular respondent noted, "What's meddling? He (King) had to get involved in other's affairs to help people see the problem of inequality that existed."

Reiterating, the image of King in this type is expressed in extremes. To the Advocate Type of person King was virtuous. He espoused justice, truth, and brotherhood. His appeal was to everyone. He was righteous and inspirational.

The Advocate Type of person believes that King followed established means of communication to protest unequal treatment of black people and unjust laws. This use of protest is seen as positive because the Advocate Type of person dislikes people who try to change situations through other than established channels. The establishment is seen as well meaning and trustworthy but sometimes out of touch with reality. This opinion is not seen as contrary to these
respondents approval of meddling. Meddling is seen as the same as pestering, playing devil's advocate or consciousness-raising. Means other than these are viewed with disapproval as illegal. The following statements exemplify these respondents disapproval; they were strongly rejected by the respondents:

a sneaky man who shrewdly used nonviolence to be a self styled hero

had a knack for conspiracy and used violence to acquire instant power

a crafty man who used nonviolence to become a self styled hero.

The respondents who form the Advocate Type consider themselves to be respectable citizens. The idea of going against society, being openly rebellious or personally confronting authority is not comfortable or desirable. Group approval is important to them because it serves as a guide to proper behavior. These respondents like to know where they stand in relation to other people and in relation to any issue.

The respondents of the Advocate Type cross all demographic categories. 58% of the respondents were male, 42% were female; 83% of the respondents were white, 17% were black. Predominantly these respondents were "young;" 67% were in the young age category while 17% were middle aged and another 17% were in the over 60 age category. A large percentage, i.e., 67% had attended college, 33% had not.
The classes were represented thusly: 67% of the respondents were in the lower middle class, 17% were working class, 1% were upper middle class and 1% were lower class.

For the Advocate Type a relationship appears to exist between some of the respondents' demographic data and their image of King. Of the 12 respondents in this factor two were black. These two people had had positive, personal contact with King. One man had been King's student at Morehouse College; the other man had been in several Civil Rights marches led by King. One of these men, when speaking about King, became so animated that his deep emotional response to King was easily observed. It is the author's conclusion that these two respondents and five of the white respondents not only believe that King was an inspirational person but also believe a world community in which people live in harmony can occur, perhaps in the near future. The other respondents view King as inspirational but at a different level of abstraction. To them King was a black minister who did good deeds for his people. He is a great man. The talk of a beloved community, however, does not represent reality to them. This community may occur "someday" but for today blacks should stay "with their own people" because everyone is more "comfortable" if they do.

Religion is an important element in this factor. The priest, a minister, and a woman who is a member of a Catholic quasi-Sisterhood were respondents of this factor.
These are people of words (as well as social action); the church is important to them, and they have devoted their life to it; religion is useful as a way of life. Indeed, all the respondents but one expressed strong positive regard for their religious identity and background. In his focused interview the priest said of his parishioners that they were smart people who generally did not like King, but who would never verbalize this. What they feel about King is that he "messed with their heads," and they dislike that. These church members are now part of the establishment; they have "made it" and do not want their lives disrupted in any way. They are for Civil Rights but not for black people coming to their church, school or business if they can help it. The author observes that the priest's description of his church members is applicable to the five white respondents who do not seriously believe in a world community where black and white people freely intermingle and presumably are compatible.

All of the people in this factor appear to have strong family ties. In fact, all but two specifically mentioned their family. References were made to a new baby, a prominent New England family name, and to what one's parents say regarding an issue. Religious and familial bonds can explain these respondents' reverence for authority and their assumption that it is inherently good. In their experience these ideas are true.
The respondents are generally well educated, lower middle class and young. Those whose careers are not in religion are employed in occupations such as, a teacher, an administrator, a salesman and a media producer. Regarding Kahl's description of the lower middle class these respondents are prototypic. They often have some education beyond high school, are the "most regular churchgoers of our society" and see home as a "symbol of stability and respectability," and are "solid citizens."10

Respondents of the Advocate Type have a positive image of Martin Luther King. The respondents themselves are generally positive people, i.e., they are just and responsible citizens. They seek and value the opinions of others; they especially care about what others think of them if this other is a member of their family or church; generally they care about other people. These respondents generally believe that established and thus, proven ways of behaving are valuable. They are generally idealistic. They believe that the world can be a good and harmonious place to live. They will attempt to motivate others into making this world reality.

Image of the Amiable Type

The Amiable Type has a positive image of Martin Luther King. 12 of the Q-statements had Z scores with a standard deviation of +1.00 or higher. Of these 12 statements 11
contained facets of nonviolence, only one contained a facet of violence. Thus, King's image is partially that of a man of nonviolence. Of the 12 statements the six with the highest standard deviation of from +2.50 to +1.46 contained facets describing King as being for Civil Rights. The other six statements which had standard deviations of from +1.34 to 1.00 contained facets describing King as being for himself and personal gain. The leadership area of King's image is unclear. Of the 12 statements seven expressed that King was a "good" man, five that he was "ultramoral." Clearly he is seen as a good man.

To the Amiable Type of person the image of King is one of a warm person. King is seen as a kind man who loved his family and his peers. These ideas are expressed in the following items. The Z-scores for these Q-statements had standard deviations of +2.50, +2.00 and +1.96 respectively:

- a respected teacher and minister, used non-violence, established lasting political changes
- a kind man who loved his family and associates, used nonviolence to create a beloved community
- a good man and a good speaker who used economic boycotts and other tactics of non-violence to create a lasting peaceful community.

These Q-statements were also highly ranked by those of the Social Action Type and the Advocate Type.
There is a similarity among the Social Action Type, Advocate Type and Amiable Type image of King -- he is seen as a good and inspirational man. Also he is seen as a persuasive and competent professional person. Q-statements which exemplify these ideas also illustrate that King is seen as a religious man:

a respected teacher and minister, used non-violence, established lasting political changes

a moral philosopher who used nonviolence to change laws so that justice would be for all people.

King is viewed positively as a religious man. This type of respondent values religion and religious people for a variety of reasons. Church laws and people are considered good; one can trust them; with God's help, rules and people one can lead a good life; with them one knows where one stands.

King's image is one of a man who understood and abided the law. Authority figures, established channels of communication and government are valued by the Amiable Type of person. Established ways are considered good because they give permanence to one's life. To challenge the establishment or any part of it is undesirable, unless regular, approved methods are used. Members of the establishment are considered powerful and revered. To attempt alternative methods of making changes is viewed as unnecessary.
King is seen as a person who did follow established channels to create change. These respondents believe that he did create problems for the bureaucracy but was a victim of fate. The respondents believe that King was somehow forced to believe in a particular idea or to act in a particular way. The following Q-statements exemplify this idea of victimage:

morally above it all, forced by others to get power fast, advocated violence

a religious man who was forced to use tactics of nonviolence to grab power.

Several of the respondents in the Amiable Type explained who or what "forced King to act." One person believed that King was forced by his wife Coretta to be a leader in the Civil Rights Movement. Two others expressed the opinion that King was forced by the circumstances of the time. One added that he thought King would have preferred "to stay in Atlanta and preach." None of the respondents gave explanations for their reasoning.

Like King, the Amiable Type of person feels victimized and forced to do "things" against his will. Also, he sometimes feels that he does not know where he stands in regard to many other people, situations, or institutions. He feels that he does not receive enough feedback to function properly. To counter these ambivalences this type of person establishes close ties with a few other people. Often these are family members or close associates.
The issue of security is important to the Amiable Type of person. One respondent feels insecure in her job. Her responsibilities, fellow employees and superiors change constantly. Another woman is orthopedically handicapped. She mentions that she is used to people looking at her in strange ways and that "it doesn't matter what they think." Yet, if this is so, the interviewer questions what stimulus prompted her to volunteer this information? A black man who lived most of his life in the South expressed anger and sadness when he read some of the Q-statements. He considered many of them to be negative and that they elicited old feelings of insecurity in him. As a child he said he felt much disdain and dislike directed toward him from white people. He said it was frustrating and frightening to be a child and not know who to trust, who liked him, who did not, who would be rude, who would not, when would an uncomfortable situation arise next, how embarrassed would he be, why didn't people like him, what had he done wrong? It is understandable that these respondents would like certainty in life.

To the Amiable Type of person, King's image is seen as moral and idealistic. The following statements illustrate this view of King:

- a moral philosopher who used nonviolence to change laws so that justice would be for all people
- a gentle person, a dreamer, taught his followers tactics of nonviolence to
bring about lasting social change.

Also, King is seen as gentle, a dreamer who deserved and was given love and respect. The idea that King was loyal to his followers and engaged in positive, constructive activities is pleasing to this type of person.

The Amiable Type of person has been treated in contradictory ways by other people and responds by treating other people in equally contradictory ways. King is first seen as for Civil Rights. This viewpoint is then shifted to the opposite stance indicating that King is "for himself." Perhaps this type of person is unsure of his opinion of King; perhaps he is trying to outguess King or perhaps in an attempt to feel secure, believing that if he covers both sides of an issue, he cannot be held responsible for being "wrong." This last line of thinking is based on the assumption that a "right" answer exists and can be held. It is the author's observation that this type of person does revere King but by choosing these statements illustrates his best developed technique for survival, i.e., hedging.

Demographically, the respondents of the Amiable Type represent a variety of categories. Two-thirds of the respondents were female; one-third were male. Two-thirds of the respondents were white; one-third were black. Two-thirds of the respondents were in the young age group; one-third were in the 60 years of age or older group. Two-thirds of the respondents were in the working class;
one-third were in the lower middle class.

The author views the personality type of these respondents as more relevant to their image formation than the specific demographics. Their insecure feeling about life is a commonality. This insecurity appears to prompt their concern about and reverence for family, peers, religion and society.

Image of the No Fit Type

The No Fit Type of person is tangential not only to the findings of this study but also to his position in society. The factor accounts for the least amount of variance. The author chooses to discuss this factor because the respondents are all influential in their own rights. These people seem to know themselves well, however, their associates may not.

The No Fit Type has a positive image of Martin Luther King. 12 of the Q-statements had Z-scores with a standard deviation of +1.00 or higher. Of these 11 statements all but one contained the facet of nonviolence. Also, all but one of the 12 contained a facet of being for Civil Rights. Thus, King is seen as a Civil Rights leader who used techniques of nonviolence. Seven of the Q-statements contained the facet of being "ultramoral," four the facet of "good" and one a facet of "bad." Overwhelmingly King is viewed as a positive person.
King's image is one of an inspirational man who was involved in long range Civil Rights successes. Emphasis is placed on his ability to involve people through ideas and ideals. The idea of lasting change is appealing to these respondents. The following Q-statements exemplify these ideas:

an incredibly inspirational man who used tactics of nonviolence to create lasting political change

is described as "more than Christian," used nonviolence, made equal rights for all people a permanent part of life

seemed sent from God, created lasting social change, used techniques of nonviolence.

The No Fit Type of person's image is one of an idealist. This type of person enjoys the thought that King is like himself in this respect. These statements illustrate this idea:

a gentle person, a dreamer, taught his followers tactics of nonviolence to bring about lasting social change

a moral philosopher who used nonviolence to change laws so that justice would be for all people.

The No Fit Type of respondent is a free thinker whose own dreams are frequently constructive thoughts. This kind of behavior and use of time is acceptable to him.

The No Fit Type of person lives comfortably in the world of his peers. He believes that people are basically good. He thinks all people are unique and equal and that
all people deserve to live good just lives. It is easy for the No Fit Type of person to like almost everyone because he has internalized the preceding statements. It is easy for him to hold these views among his peers whether these peers are conservative, radical, middle class because he does not share his inner thoughts, thus, if he thinks something contrary to his peers, they do not know this. For him "actions speak louder than words" and he lives out his life in gentleness and consideration. He is seemingly oblivious to the norms of his group. He shares some of these norms and values but ignores others. This selective functioning causes no observable stress or problem for him.

King is seen as an open person. He used positive means to achieve his goals. He did not use guile or duplicity. The strong rejection of the following statements expresses the respondents' dislike for these means. King's image is not of a man who:

- had a knack for conspiracy and used violence to acquire instant power
- an intelligent man who espoused violence as a means to instant fame.

The No Fit Type of person believes that King did not desire control other people. He is seen as independent and as desiring independence for all other people. He had power but did not seek it. This power was used wisely. Statements which describe King thusly follow:
a respected teacher and minister, used nonviolence, established lasting political changes to create and sustain eternal brotherhood. He wisely used tactics of nonviolent direct action.

Demographically the respondents crossed a variety of categories. Two-thirds of the respondents were white, one-third were black. Two-thirds of the respondents were women, one-third were men. Half of the people in this factor were in the young age category and half were in the over 60 years of age group. Likewise the respondents were equally divided between the lower middle class and the working class.

The author observed that in the No Fit factor as in the Amiable factor, the demographics per se are not as important as the personality type that is shared. Personal independence which is of utmost important to these respondents is not necessarily associated with any of the demographic categories. The valuing of independence is not one of the projected values of Kahl's description of lower middle and working class people.

The respondents of this factor have a variety of uniqueness about them. One woman student labeled herself a radical, another woman is a conservative hospital administrator. A third person is a successful professional musician. The respondents who hold powerful positions did not seek them. Because these people are competent, they were sought by others to fill these positions.
The No Fit Type is tangential to this study. This type of person has a positive, constructive image of King. He believes that King felt all people were equal and deserving of equal treatment in life. Power was not of interest to him. He was a dreamer who happened to also be a leader and a successful person.

Negative Image of Martin Luther King

Two of the six factor types in this study are distinctly negative. These factors are labeled the Double-Bind Type and the Power-is-Gratifying Type. These types refer to hypothetical types of persons and to the images of Martin Luther King which exist for each type. The Double-Bind Type was thusly named because of these respondents observed desire to and attempts to manipulate social situations and their expressed duality on various conversation topics as well as in the Q-sort data. The Double-Bind Type does not like King nor does he like many people, events, issues in life. To this type of person King is a man who did little that was "right." The Power-is-Gratifying Type does not like King, the "person," yet respects his power and ability to control others. Indeed, the Power-is-Gratifying Type is named this because these respondents clearly value power and value it for its own sake. King's image is one of a misguided, selfish, powerful person. In this study, the Power-is-Gratifying factor is weak, yet it is included because it
may represent an important, small, influential segment of society: the career military person and his expressions.

**Image of the Double-Bind Type**

The Double-Bind Type has a generally negative image of Martin Luther King. 10 Q-statements had Z-scores with a standard deviation of +1.00 or higher. In these statements there were nine expressions that King was a man of violence while one expressed that he used nonviolence. Part of King's image then is of a violent person. Regarding King's leadership, seven Q-statements had facets of being for Civil Rights while three had facets of being for himself. King's image as a leader is predominantly one of being for Civil Rights. The facets which reflect the area of King's personal image vary in what the author believes is an interesting manner. Three of the Q-statements contain facets of being a "bad" person. Two of these three statements were ranked first and second in the Z-score typal array. The standard deviations of these statements were +2.24 and +1.75 respectively. (The statements were:

- a manipulative man who found nonviolence helpful in establishing lasting social change
- troublemaker, faddish hero, user of nonviolence.)

Six Q-statements contained facets of "goodness" and one a facet of "ultramoral." Examining percentages shows King's personal image to be mainly positive; however, upon
examination of the "good" facets in the Q-statements, two of these facets relate to intelligence. It is the author's observation that these statements were interpreted negatively by the respondents in this type. The following statements reflect this negative interpretation:

had a Ph.D., used means of nonviolence to become immediately powerful

intelligent, violent, created lasting political change.

(Respondents in the positive image types often found the preceding statement amusing saying it described perhaps Malcolm X or Stokely Carmichael but not King.) Assuming a negative interpretation of these statements is accurate for this type then five statements reflect "bad" facets, four "good," and one "ultramoral." Thus, King's personal image according to the Double-Bind Type is ambivalent.

The positive data which emerges regarding King's image in this factor is not indicative of the actual image which is held. The image of King in the Double-Bind factor is definitely negative. The author believes there are two reasons for this negative image. First, these respondents through their own admission did not "know much about King" (nor did they desire to learn more). This "cathartic ignorance" as Lane and Sears describe, is needed by the people who possess it "in order to give vent to a charge of angry feelings about a topic." In this case, King himself, black people, Civil Disobedience or whatever King's image
arouses is the target of the Double-Bind Type's anger. Second, Manheim points out that in instances such as this, where there is a small amount of information on which to base an image, it will often be unpredictable.  

The author found the Double-Bind Type of person angry, confused and explosive. One senses much pent-up emotion when talking with these respondents. Their stand on an issue is firm yet is discussed in a mercurial fashion. When standing firm on an issue, they will still manage to play devil's advocate at one moment, answer clarifying questions with other questions or say that they "wish they knew what to think about a topic." When one does not understand what this type of person is saying or what point he is trying to make, the Double-Bind Type becomes hurt, dogmatic even hostile. The clear impression is that the listener is either trying to make the Double-Bind Type of person angry or that the listener is hopelessly stupid.  

King's image is one of an evil man who happened to be for a worthy cause, Civil Rights, and who used worthwhile means, nonviolence to achieve his goals. That he achieved good ends through a moral means does not offset his personal repugnance. For example, King is:

a manipulative man who found nonviolence helpful in establishing lasting social change
had a knack for conspiracy and used nonviolence to create long range political change.

The Double-Bind Type of person sees King as a psychological game player. For him it was acceptable, even enjoyable to manipulate a situation. For example, King is described as:

an intelligent, trustworthy, nonviolent power grabber.

This statement, the author believes, is descriptive of the respondents of this type.

The Double-Bind Type of person values manipulation and trust. These qualities are combined and viewed in an unusual manner. This type of person believes that he is intelligent, even more intelligent than the general public. Thus, he sees it as his duty to protect the general public, presumably he will "save them from themselves" or their ignorance. For this type of person the problem is: how shall I protect the public? The Double-Bind Type of person believes that he will not be trusted, even though he sees himself as trustworthy, consequently, he must make the public "think." He would like to confront others openly but for reasons known best to him, he does not. Unfortunately, it appears that this frustration only adds to his general state of anger.

The most negative aspect of King's image is related to personal immorality. The F.B.I. agent cited tapes of bed squeaks as proof of King's marital infidelity. The
housewife who is a respondent in this factor, when discussing King as a moral person, sniffed and asked the researcher accusingly: "Was he moral?"

These respondents have many negative images regarding life in general. The housewife illustrates this idea. She "knew" that the researcher was trying to trick her and that there were right answers to the demographic inquiries, Q-sort and Q-probes. For example, she wrote Caucasian next to the inquiry of "ethnically you identify yourself as:" but said in a snide tone that she was not white but pink. The implication was that the researcher wanted "black" or "white" as an answer.

Regarding the ambivalence in King's image, even though he is usually described as a negative figure, there are instances where he is seen as positive. The following statements chosen as descriptive of King illustrate this idea:

a good man and a good speaker who used economic boycotts and other tactics of nonviolence to create a lasting peaceful community

a respected teacher and minister, used nonviolence, established lasting political changes

an incredibly inspirational man who used tactics of nonviolence to create lasting political change.

The Double-Bind Type sees King as intelligent. Statements which express that King was stupid are ranked as least descriptive of him:
a slow thinker who unwittingly used non-violence to create long range political change

a stupid man who was out for himself and who used violence to get power.

The respondents of this factor have one important demographic similarity; they are all white. They are divided equally by sex and education. The young age group and the over 60 age group are represented equally as is the working class and the lower middle class.

The author views the racial composition of this factor as important. Part of the Double-Bind Type's negative image of King may be because he is black. These respondents are not as subtle as those in the Advocate Type who liked King, were for Civil Rights but did not want black people living in their neighborhood. These respondents used verbal phrases such as "some of my best friends are black." Black individuals whom these respondents know personally are considered good people but black people as a group are not considered to be good people or more precisely -- they are not considered at all.

The Double-Bind Type of person has a negative image of Martin Luther King. The Q-sort data show that his image is ambivalent; data from personal observation relate the image is negative. As a person King is seen sometimes negatively, sometimes positively. As a leader he is viewed as being for Civil Rights and as using techniques of nonviolence to
achieve his goals. Overall, however, the image expressed by respondents in this factor reflects a negative image of King and a negative outlook on life itself.

Image of the Power-is-Gratifying Type

The image of Martin Luther King as presented by the Power-is-Gratifying Type is negative. 12 of the Q-statements had Z-scores with a standard deviation of +1.00 or higher. Of these 12 statements four contained facets of nonviolence while eight contained facets of violence. King's image includes the element of violence. Two statements indicated that King as a leader was for Civil Rights; 10 statements indicated he was "for himself." As a leader, King is viewed as for himself and personal power. Five of the statements contained "bad" facets, five contained "good" ones and two contained "ultramoral" ones. As in the Double-Bind Type, the Q-sort data indicate that King's image is ambivalent. There is an impression that he may have been a prophet or a good person but this is not relevant to his image as a leader. Examination of the Q-statements which were chosen as most descriptive of King and the observational data leads to the conclusion that King's image, in this type, is negative.

This factor is weak but represents a conservative, organized, small segment of society -- the military. This factor, because of its weakness may be considered
stereotypic but the author chooses to include it in the findings.

As previously indicated, King's image as a person is not as important to the Power-is-Gratifying Type as his image as a leader. King, in his leadership role was considered effective and worthy of investigation. His motives, self-agrandizement, and his means -- violence -- are not acceptable. King was described thusly:

had a knack for conspiracy and used violence to acquire instant power

a man of initiative who grabbed power for himself and used violence to shake people up.

King's ability to proselytize, organize and inspire was admired by the Power-is-Gratifying Type. It is considered unfortunate that King was involved in Civil Rights. To this type of respondent there was and is no Civil Rights problem to solve in the United States. This movement was a farce, thus, this type reasons, King was for his own personal gain.

King is seen as a bright person who wanted to "shake people up" (see previous Q-statement) and as a person who used violence as a persuader. The following statements exemplify this idea:

a moral philosopher who knew to use violence as a way of obtaining the glory of immediate power

intelligent, violent, created lasting political change.
The Power-is-Gratifying Type of person finds positive human qualities and brotherhood distasteful. He is in direct contrast to the Social Action Type who values these qualities highly. Q-statements which are flatly rejected as descriptive of King and that included such qualities are:

- A kind man who loved his family and associates, used nonviolence to create a beloved community.
- A gentle person, a dreamer, taught his followers tactics of nonviolence to bring about lasting social change.

Ideas of brotherhood are rejected in the statement above as well as in those which follow:

- To create and sustain eternal brotherhood, he wisely used tactics of nonviolent direct action.
- Like an Old Testament prophet he used nonviolence to create a lasting beloved community.

The Power-is-Gratifying Type is at least to a limited degree, representative of the existing male, white, military establishment. The other demographics include the young age group and the lower middle class.

This type of person has a limited view of people. Because his own world of policy and decision making is considered, by him, to be important and of national dimension, he is content to leave people who are not like him totally alone. People who are different from himself are not easily or clearly conceptualized. Further, this type of respondent thinks that this learning about other people is not worth
spending time doing for these people are not of importance to him.

The Power-is-Gratifying Type expresses a negative image of King yet admires his ability to control people. This type is intelligent and power loving. This type rejects positive human qualities and the idea of brotherhood.

Findings and interpretations of the data used to answer the question: "what is the image of Martin Luther King as expressed by people who have a known interest in or an attitude about him," are found in Chapter Four. Respondents in this study through means of a Q-sort expressed their images of Martin Luther King. Six typologies emerged. Each type represents a cluster or factor of respondents who hold a similar image of King and who share a type of personality. The "type of person" represents a hypothetical person and his image of King.

Six factors or types emerged from the data. Four of these, the Social Action Type, Advocate Type, Amiable Type and the No Fit Type each expressed a different positive image of King. Two of the types, the Double-Bind Type and the Power-is-Gratifying Type each expressed a different negative image of King. A discussion of the conclusions is found in Chapter Five.

2. Ibid., p. 224.


8. Ibid.


10. Cuber, ibid.


CHAPTER V

Summary and Conclusions

Summary

In this study the question, "what is the public image of Martin Luther King as expressed by people who have a known interest in or an attitude about him," was investigated. Several methods and procedures were used to study this question. Focused interviews were conducted in order to ascertain general responses of people to Martin Luther King. The nature of these responses was used to identify themes from which a structured Q-sort was created. A conceptualization of these themes included: King as a "good," "bad," or "ultramoral" person, King as a leader who was "for Civil Rights," or "for himself," and, King as a user of the techniques of "violence" or "nonviolence" to achieve his goals. Q-methodology was used to study and analyze the Q-sort data. Q-methodology characterizes a set of "philosophical, psychological, statistical and psychometric ideas oriented to research on the individual."\textsuperscript{1} Q-methodology was used in this work to study the image of Martin Luther King.

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The data give insight into shared images of Martin Luther King. Six factors emerged from the data. Four of the factors describe various positive images of King while two of them describe different negative ones.

The Social Action, Advocate, Amiable and No Fit Types of persons viewed King positively. To the Social Action Type, King is seen as a respected, intelligent man of action who earned and deserved great acclaim and prestige. The Advocate Type and the Amiable Type responded to King as a religious leader. He is great because of his ministry and association with religion. To the No Fit Type, King was a man of high ideals who was constructive and created change in a nontraditional way.

The Double-Bind Type and the Power-is-Gratifying Type of person have negative images of King. The Double-Bind Type disliked him even though he is recognized as doing many good deeds. King is viewed as a personally immoral man (as opposed to a publicly immoral leader) who was for Civil Rights and used techniques of nonviolence to create change.

The Power-is-Gratifying Type has a negative image of King yet admires his ability to persuade, organize, direct and keep the allegiance of his followers. King as a man is an ambivalent figure. King as a leader is seen as being for himself and uses violence. He is observed to be a good leader who misguided his followers. For the Power-is-Gratifying Type the Civil Rights Movement was fighting
an imaginary problem or situation.

Conclusions

"What image of Martin Luther King as expressed by people who have a known interest in or an attitude about him," has a multiple answer. In this study, there is not a single shared image of King but six. Based on the data collected from the respondents in this study, there were six image varieties of King. These various images exist in the minds of members of the general public. These findings modify the theoretical proposition of public or shared image as described by Boulding in that not one but several related images of a public or political figure exist. The findings support the positions of Douglas and Klapp.

The structure of image varies with each image and each person who creates it. The content areas of image which are found to be most important in this study and which appear in differing valuative arrangements per personality type are: religious, political, family, ethnic, status, education and, to a lesser degree, economics.

It is seen in this study that six varieties of image and six varieties of corresponding personality types exist. In the literature it is assumed that a predisposition to a particular way of thinking or processing information could be based on aspects of an individual's experience and background. Explanations for these predispositions have been
expressed by numerous authors. Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson say these inclinations are related to age, sex, and geographic location, education and family; Lane and Sears say group membership, political parties and friends are responsible. These kinds of demographics were attended to in the selection of respondents in order to assure diversity. It is of note that of the demographic elements used in this study none clearly indicates an impact on the formation of image.

Personality type does influence ones image. This study shows the formation of image to be uniquely process centered. A particular image exists because of one's predisposition to a particular type of personality. Some content areas of an image are most important to respondents. It appears that they identify with these areas and form an image based upon this identification. It can be assumed that this identification occurs because of important factors in the respondents background and experience that make the identified content areas salient.

The structure of image is flexible. A content area of image may be important in the formation of several different images and also may be important for several different reasons. The same content area may be viewed positively or negatively, as important or unimportant. How these areas are arranged for each image, and in this study, for each personality type, varies according to the person.
Implications

This study contributes to the body of knowledge which exists regarding public image. Not only are six shared images of Martin Luther King, a unique figure in American history and politics, described, but also the hypothetical personality types of persons who hold these images are discussed. Also identified are salient content areas of these images. The process involved in image formation is dynamic. The content of an image can be arranged and re-arranged to form a person's particular image of a public person, situation or event.

Several groups of people and several disciplines can benefit from this study. Those who study social change or political science could use these findings. By knowing which personality type and the respective content areas of image which are significant to a type, media producers would have specific knowledge regarding how to create effective messages. These messages could be those which the people in each factor will identify with and respond to favorably.

Communication theory is enhanced. This study supports the idea that a shared image does exist. In fact, there is not a shared image but in this case a variety of shared images for one publicly known person, situation or event. These images vary with regard to the personality type of the person who forms an image and to the content areas of images which are important to this person. Image is
dynamic and present, a composite of information which emerges through time. Commonalities exist among people. The data indicate that the content areas of religion, politics, family, ethnic, status and education are strongly identified with by the people who formed images of King in this study.

Information regarding a social change agent who used an unusual means such as nonviolent direct action, in his campaign can be useful to society in general. By examining the image of Martin Luther King, the man most associated with nonviolent means of protest and/or social change, the general public can more clearly understand these means and perhaps consider them as a viable alternative behavior to either non-expression or to violence.

The author believes that many members of society have incorporated their knowledge of King and his tactics into their behavior. Presently people are conducting activities of nonviolent direct action to express themselves regarding such topics as consumer affairs and environmental protection. Historically Americans have been involved in the Boston Tea Party, the Whiskey Rebellion and numerous pre-1955 Civil Rights protests, to name only a few incidents, but never before have these activities been so numerous, accepted and socially approved.
Areas for Future Research

The author suggests several areas for future research:

1. a study of the media's role in the formation of image. Using a contemporary figure such as King, it would be useful to know which forms of media, what style, and what content influenced members of the public and to what degree;

2. a study of the specific relationship which exists between demographic material such as, sex, age, race, etc., and the formation of image;

3. comparison of the private or personal image and the public image of a public figure, how these differences occur, what content areas change, how are the content areas interpreted;

4. using the same respondents, study the public image of a prominent or controversial woman to see how the image content areas and respondents rearrange;

5. study the public image of a world figure giving attention to which communication events furnished the respondents with their information.

The author also suggests a different area that should be given further examination. This area is racism. People were generally reluctant to discuss King. Both black and white people exhibited suspicion regarding the researcher's topic and intent. Hesitation exists regarding the serious discussion of race or minorities in this country. More studies need to be done regarding racism, its cause and its impact on society. The author suggests that students of communication and economics as well as those of psychology examine this.
The future researcher could also study how differences in people and their divergent ways of acting can be presented to the general public as positive. Differences can be seen as unique and positive not stereotypic and negative. A study of individual or group characteristics should yield valuable results, especially to the communication researcher.
FOOTNOTES


4. Even though the respondents in this study do not state that media influenced their image it is the author's belief that the media coverage given King was not only responsible for his success but also the wide acceptance of and pervasive use of Civil Disobedience today.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Ostermier, Terry H. "Effects of Type and Frequency of Reference upon Perceived Source Credibility and Attitude Change," Speech Monographs, XXXIV (June, 1967), 137-144.


APPENDIX A

Focused Interview Questions for People Who Had Contact With King and Who Did Not
Questions for People Who Had Contact

With King

When you think about Martin Luther King, what, specifically, comes to mind? What do you remember most about him?

In your opinion what kind of a person was King?

What kinds of things did he influence?

How did he make you feel?

How did you react when you heard him or you heard about him?

How did you hear about him?

How did this influence your perception of King?

What words would you use to describe him?

What ideas do you think he encouraged people to examine?

Do you think he changed peoples lives? How did this occur?

What ideas or issues did King represent to you? What ideas or issues do you think he represented to others?

Do you think your age ... (sex, religion, life style, racial background) influenced your perceptions of King? If not these factors, what might have influenced your perceptions of King?

What is descriptive of King's philosophy?

What was it about King that was most significant to you?

What was it about King that impressed you most?

How did you feel about King's leadership in the Civil Rights Movement?

What do you think of King's use of Civil Disobedience as a political means of change?

Do you think about King differently now than you did when he was alive? If there is a change, what is it and how do you think this occurred?
Did your knowledge of King change you in any way?

Do you view King as a religious leader? as a political leader?

In your knowledge of King, are there themes that you have noticed or identified that seem to recur in your ideas about him?

What themes are expressed by others about King?

What themes are expressed by the media about King? To your knowledge did these change if the media were in the North or the South, if they represented the black or white community of an area?

What would you say your image of Martin Luther King is?
Questions for People Who Did Not Have Contact With King

When were you in contact with King?
What kinds of things took place when he was with you?
What was it like to be in his presence?
How did he make you feel?
Do you think about him differently now than you did when you were with him?
If you had to use single words to describe him, what words would be most appropriate?
What kind of a man was Martin Luther King?
What ideas did he encourage you to think about?
Did your contact with him change you in any way/s?
Do you think you behave differently because you had contact with him?
What ideas and/or issues did King represent?
Do you think your age ... (sex, religion, life style, racial background) influenced your perceptions of King? If not these factors, what might have influenced your perceptions of King?
What was Martin Luther King like to you?
What do you think is descriptive of King's philosophy?
How do you think King affected others?
What about King was significant to you?
What impressed you most about King?
What do you think about King's use of Civil Disobedience as a means of political change?
Do you view King as a religious leader? as a political leader?
In your knowledge of King, are there themes that you have noticed or identified that seem to recur in your ideas about him?

What themes are expressed by others about King?

What themes are expressed by the media about King? To your knowledge did these change if the media were in the North or the South, if they represented the black or white community of an area?

What would you say your image of Martin Luther King is?
APPENDIX B

Expanded Version of Q-statement Facets
King as a person was seen as "good," "bad," or "ultra moral."

A1 -- GOOD

-intelligent
-good
-moral
-minister
-man of initiative
-trustworthy
-Ph.D.
nice wife
dreamer
gentle
good speaker
-religious

A2 -- BAD

dumb
-black
-average
-chose other bad leaders
-slow thinker
-minister
-usery
-crafty
clever
-troublemaker
-meddlers
-leacherous

A3 -- ULTRA MORAL

-inspirational
-more than Christian
-crossed religious lines
-above it all
-moral philosopher
-philosopher
-prophet
-phenominal
-charismatic
-could speak to all
King as a leader was seen as either out "for himself" or was concerned with Civil Rights "for all people."

B1 -- FOR SELF

out for self
for gratification
a power grabber
self styled hero
part of a fad
opportunist

B2 -- FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

for political change
for social change
a social change agent
for justice for all
for equal rights and equal treatment of all people
sought change deliberately
for brotherhood
wanted all people to get along

King was seen as using either means of violence or nonviolence to achieve his goals.

C1 -- VIOLENT

King really wanted violence
nonviolence was a ploy
King knew it would be violent
King used violence to shake people up
violence was his way of life
King knew change would come with the use of violence

C2 -- NONVIOLENT

the use of nonviolence was good
the use of nonviolence was a change
nonviolence is positive
King's use of nonviolence was well thought out
use of nonviolence was good
nonviolence promotes stable kinds of change
APPENDIX C

Q-Statements
intelligent, violent, created lasting political change

Even though he used nonviolence at the appropriate time and seemed to be sent by God, he was only out for himself.

a faithful man who used violence to promote lasting social change

a messiah who knew the Civil Rights Movement would be violent and have long lasting positive effects

had a knack for conspiracy and used violence to acquire instant power

a good man and a good speaker who secretly planned the use of violence to secure lasting justice for all

seemed sent from God, created lasting social change, used techniques of nonviolence

a good man and a good speaker who used economic boycotts and other tactics of nonviolence to create a lasting peaceful community

a kind man who loved his family and associates, used nonviolence to create a beloved community

is described as "more than Christian," used nonviolence, made equal rights for all people a permanent part of life

a religious man who was forced to use tactics of nonviolence to grab power

had a knack for conspiracy and used nonviolence to create long range political change

As a messiah, he used nonviolence to create timely opportunities for himself.

a trustworthy man who used violence to achieve overnight fame

lecherous, used violence, established lasting social change

an intelligent man who espoused violence as a means to instant fame
17 a prophet who used violence to shake people up and create lasting social change
18 a man of nonviolence, had a history of meddling in other's affairs, established lasting changes in education, commerce and voting rights
19 an intelligent family man who used violence to create eternal justice for all
20 a stupid man who was out for himself and who used violence to get power
21 had a Ph.D., used means of nonviolence to become immediately powerful
22 a slow thinker who unwittingly used nonviolence to create long range political change
23 a Civil Rights troublemaker, used violence, established a beloved community
24 a good man who found it gratifying to use nonviolence to obtain power quickly
25 Like an Old Testament prophet he used nonviolence to create a lasting beloved community.
26 like all ministers who are out for themselves he used anything -- even a clever means such as nonviolence to get immediate control of others
27 a conspirator who used violence to establish lasting brotherhood
28 a moral philosopher who knew to use violence as a way of obtaining the glory of immediate power
29 a trustworthy man who used violence to shake people up and establish political change
30 a planner and man of initiative, used nonviolence to gratify his desire for power
31 Like all ministers who are for themselves, he would do anything for the immediate control of others -- even use violence.
32 stupid, faddish hero, user of nonviolence
33 a sneaky man who shrewdly used nonviolence to be a self styled hero
34 a loving family man who quickly gained power through the use of violence
35 a messiah, who, even though a victim of fate, really liked being associated with overnight fame and sensational violence
36 a moral philosopher who knew to use nonviolence as a way of obtaining the glory of immediate power
37 an intelligent, trustworthy, nonviolent power grabber
38 a man who theologically "crossed religious lines," who used violence, who obtained lasting, positive changes in Civil Rights
39 a man of initiative who grabbed power for himself and used violence to shake people up
40 a man considered "more than Christian" who used violence to create and sustain a Beloved Community
41 a respected teacher and minister, used nonviolence, established lasting political changes
42 a moral philosopher who used violence to insure eternal justice for all people
43 a slow thinker who unwittingly used violence to create long range political change
44 He and his associates (Abernathy, Jackson, Young) were violent average types who were powerful for only a short time.
45 an incredibly inspirational man who used tactics of nonviolence to create lasting political change
46 a lecherous man who used violent means to become an overnight success
47 a good man who used violence to achieve personal, immediate satisfaction
48 he was considered "even more than Christian," a user of nonviolence, a self styled, faddish hero
49 a prophet who insisted violence be used to obtain and secure personal, immediate power

50 a gentle person, a dreamer, taught his followers tactics of nonviolence to bring about lasting social change

51 a crafty man who used nonviolence to become a self styled hero

52 Like an Old Testament prophet he taught the philosophy of nonviolence then grabbed power for himself.

53 a man of violence (who had a history of meddling in other's affairs) established lasting positive changes in education, commerce and voting rights

54 moral in a pan-religious sense, used violence to grab power

55 a manipulative man who found nonviolence helpful in establishing lasting social change

56 a Civil Rights troublemaker, used nonviolence to establish a beloved community

57 a moral philosopher who used nonviolence to change laws so that justice would be for all people

58 to create and sustain eternal brotherhood he wisely used tactics of nonviolent direct action

59 morally above it all, forced by others to get power fast, advocated violence

60 troublemaker, faddish hero, user of nonviolence
APPENDIX D

Code Sheet
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APPENDIX E

Q-statements Divided by Category
Statements A1B1C1

#14. a trustworthy man who used violence to achieve overnight fame
#16. an intelligent man who espoused violence as a means to instant fame
#34. a loving family man who quickly gained power through the use of violence
#39. a man of initiative who grabbed power for himself and used violence to shake people up
#47. a good man who used violence to achieve personal, immediate satisfaction

Statements A1B2C1

#1. intelligent, violent, created lasting political change
#3. a faithful man who used violence to promote lasting social change
#6. a good man and a good speaker who secretly planned the use of violence to secure lasting justice for all
#19. an intelligent family man who used violence to create eternal justice for all
#29. a trustworthy man who used violence to shake people up and establish political change

Statements A2B1C1

#5. had a knack for conspiracy and used violence to acquire instant power
#20. a stupid man who was out for himself and who used violence to get power
#31. Like all ministers who are out for themselves, he would do anything for the immediate control of others -- even use violence.
#44. He and his associates (Abernathy, Jackson, Young) were violent average types who were powerful for only a short time.
#46. a lecherous man who used violent means to become an overnight success

Statements A2B2C1

#15. lecherous, used violence, established lasting social change
#23. a Civil Rights troublemaker, used violence, established a beloved community
#27. a conspirator who used violence to establish lasting brotherhood
#43. a slow thinker who unwittingly used violence to create long range political change
#53. a man of violence (who had a history of meddling in other's affairs), established lasting positive changes in education, commerce and voting rights

Statements A3B1C1

#28. a moral philosopher who knew to use violence as a way of obtaining the glory of immediate power
#35. a messiah, who, even though a victim of fate, really liked being associated with overnight fame and sensational violence
#49. a prophet who insisted violence be used to obtain and secure personal, immediate power
#54. moral in a pan-religious sense, used violence to power
#59. morally above it all, forced by others to get power fast, advocated violence

Statements A3B2C1

#4. a messiah who knew the Civil Rights Movement would be violent and have long lasting positive effects
#17. a prophet who used violence to shake people up and create lasting social change
#38. a man who theologically "crossed religious lines," who used violence, who obtained lasting, positive changes in Civil Rights
#40. a man considered "more than Christian," who used violence to create and sustain a Beloved Community
#42. a moral philosopher who used violence to insure eternal justice for all people

Statements A1B1C2

#11. a religious man who was forced to use tactics of non-violence to grab power
#21. had a Ph.D., used means of nonviolence to become immediately powerful
#24. a good man who found it gratifying to use nonviolence to obtain power quickly
#30. a planner and man of initiative, used nonviolence to gratify his desire for power
#37. an intelligent, trustworthy, nonviolent power grabber
Statements A1B2C2

# 8. a good man and a good speaker who used economic boycotts and other tactics of nonviolence to create a lasting peaceful community
# 9. a kind man who loved his family and associates, used nonviolence to create a beloved community
#41. a respected teacher and minister, used nonviolence, established lasting political changes
#50. a gentle person, a dreamer, taught his followers tactics of nonviolence to bring about lasting social change
#58. to create and sustain eternal brotherhood he wisely used tactics of nonviolent direct action

Statements A2B1C2

#26. Like all ministers who are out for themselves he used anything -- even a clever means such as nonviolence to get immediate control of others
#32. stupid, faddish hero, user of nonviolence
#33. a sneaky man who shrewdly used nonviolence to be a self styled hero
#51. a crafty man who used nonviolence to become a self styled hero
#60. troublemaker, faddish hero, user of nonviolence

Statements A2B2C2

#12. had a knack for conspiracy and used nonviolence to create long range political change
#18. a man of nonviolence, had a history of meddling in other's affairs, established lasting changes in education, commerce and voting rights
#22. a slow thinker who unwittingly used nonviolence to create long range political change
#55. a manipulative man who found nonviolence helpful in establishing lasting social change
#56. a Civil Rights troublemaker, used nonviolence to establish a beloved community

Statements A3B1C2

# 2. Even though he used nonviolence at the appropriate time and seemed to be sent by God, he was only out for himself.
#13. As a messiah, he used nonviolence to create timely opportunities for himself.

#36. a moral philosopher who knew to use nonviolence as a way of obtaining the glory of immediate power.

#48. he was considered "even more than Christian," a user of nonviolence, a self styled, faddish hero.

#52. Like an Old Testament prophet he taught the philosophy of nonviolence then grabbed power for himself.

Statements A3B2C2

# 7. seemed sent from God, created lasting social change, used techniques of nonviolence.

#10. is described as "more than Christian," used nonviolence, made equal rights for all people a permanent part of life.

#25. Like an Old Testament prophet he used nonviolence to create a lasting beloved community.

#45. an incredibly inspirational man who used tactics of nonviolence to create lasting political change.

#57. a moral philosopher who used nonviolence to change laws so that justice would be for all people.
APPENDIX F

Interview Schedule
Name:__________________________
   (Last)    (First)    (Middle)
Sex:______________  Age:______________
Educational Background:______________________________________
Home Address:______________________________________________
   Telephone: (AC)__________________________________________
Occupation:______________________________________________
   Address:______________________________________________
   Telephone: (AC)__________________________________________
Religion:________________________________________________
Political Views:__________________________________________
Ethnically, you identify yourself as being:____________________
How much contact have you had with people whose ethnic background is different than your own?__________________________
In general this contact is described as:______________________
The geographic area of the United States in which you have spent most of your life is:______________________________
Additional Information (i.e., civic group membership, avocation, previous occupation, etc.) that you wish to add:
_________________________________________________________________
The Public's Image of Martin Luther King

I am doing a study of image. Particularly I am interested in knowing the public's image of Martin Luther King. You have observed this image. For example, it is expressed by the people with whom you work or with whom you socialize. It is seen in the media--television, newspapers, radio, photographs, magazines, etc. It is "out there." What I am asking you to do is to help me examine this image. The question then is: What do you think is the public's image of Martin Luther King?

To help me answer this question, first sort the cards into three stacks. Put statements which you think describe King's public image in a stack to your right. Put statements which you think do not describe King's public image in a stack on your left. Place in a center stack those cards which are not clear, do not make sense or you think do not particularly describe King's image one way or another.

Next, pick 2 cards from the right stack of cards which you think best describe the public's image of Martin Luther King. All cards are numbered. Record the numbers of the chosen cards in column # 11. Column # 11 is located on the matrix which is the last page. Next pick 2 cards from the left stack that least describe the public's image of Martin Luther King. Record the number of the chosen cards in column # 1. The sorting of the cards will continue in...
a see-saw manner. Now you will choose 4 cards from the right stack which are the next best descriptive of King's image. Record 4 cards which next least describe King's image and record these in column # 2, etc. Continue this right, left, right procedure until you run out of cards in one of the stacks. When this happens, use the middle stack and continue choosing items which next best and next least describe the public's image of King. Work your way from alternating ends of the matrix into the middle; record the numbers of all cards as you sort.

After sorting all of the cards, return to this page and fill in the Probe Section below. In this section, write the numbers of the cards which you chose to place in column # 11 and in column # 1. Then, please state why you chose these items as most and least descriptive of the public's image of Martin Luther King.

Best Describes #  

Probe:  

Best Describes #  

Probe:
Least Describes # ______

Probe: ____________________________

Least Describes # ______

Probe: ____________________________
Public Image of Martin Luther King Matrix

Least Describes

Best Describes

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
APPENDIX G

Matrices
<p>|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 |
| 1 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| 2 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 1 |
| 3 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 8 |
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| 5 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | |
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APPENDIX H

Varimax Rotation (Print Out)
### Table 5

**Varimax Rotation**

**Initial Criterion = 114.400635**

Solution Optimized After 65 Iterations.

**Final Criterion = 304.996582**

Factor 4 Is Reflected.

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APPENDIX I

Descending Array of Z-scores for Types
One through Six (Print Out)
A REPUTED TEACHER AND MINISTER, USED NONVIOLENCE

1. A MAN WHO SEES THE LIGHT OF MORALITY, USES NONVIOLENCE AS A MEANS TO ESTABLISH LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

2. A MAN WHO USES NONVIOLENCE TO INSURE IMMEDIATE PARDON TO ALL.

3. A MAN WHO USES NONVIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING COMMUNITY

4. A MAN WHO SEES THE LIGHT OF MORALITY, USES NONVIOLENCE AS A MEANS TO ESTABLISH LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

5. A MAN WHO USES NONVIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING COMMUNITY

6. A MAN WHO USES NONVIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING POSITIVE CHANGES IN EDUCATION, COMMERCE AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

7. A MAN WHO USES NONVIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

8. A MAN WHO SEES THE LIGHT OF MORALITY, USES NONVIOLENCE AS A MEANS TO ESTABLISH LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

9. A MAN WHO USES NONVIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING POSITIVE CHANGES IN EDUCATION, COMMERCE AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

10. A MAN WHO USES NONVIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE
DESCENDING ARRAY IIP Z-SCORES AND JTt** O E SCR I H  IONS fllR  TYPE 2
25. Like an Old Testament prophet he used nonviolence to create a lasting changed vision of God.

26. An intellectually honest man who used violence to obtain power quickly.

27. A man who used the tactics of nonviolence to create lasting social change.

28. A man who used nonviolence to establish lasting political change.

29. A man who used nonviolence to achieve personal, immediate satisfaction.

30. A man who used means of nonviolence to become immediately powerful.

31. A man who used violence in the history of meddling in others' affairs, establishing lasting changes in education, commerce and voting rights.

32. Like an Old Testament prophet he taught the philosophy of nonviolence, which was graced power for himself.

33. A man who used violence to achieve overnight fame.

34. A moral philosopher who used nonviolence as a way of life.

35. A planner and man of initiative who used nonviolence to gratify the desire of immediate power.

36. A man who had a knack for conspiracy and used violence to create lasting political change.

37. A man who used nonviolence to establish lasting political change.

38. A man who used nonviolence to establish lasting social change.

39. Like a minister who used violence as a means such as nonviolence to get immediate control of others.

40. A man who used nonviolence to become an efficient means for others.

41. A man who used nonviolence to create lasting changes in education, commerce and voting rights.

42. Like a minister who is cut for himself, he would do anything for the immediate control of others with the use of violence.

43. A man who used violence against others.

44. A man who used violence against others.

45. A man who used nonviolence against others.

46. A man who used violence against others.

47. A man who used nonviolence against others.
DESCENDING ARRAY OF Z-SCORES AND 211 DESCRIPTIONS FOR TYPE 4

55. A MANUFACTURER WHO USED NONVIOLENCE HELPFULLY IN MEDIATING LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

50. A MAN WHO USED NONVIOLENCE FOR BEGINNING OF NONVIOLENCE

45. A MAN WHO WAS ALREADY A LEADER OF THE COMMUNITY AND USE NONVIOLENCE TO CONVITE OTHERS

40. A MAN WHO USED NONVIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING JUSTICE FOR ALL PEOPLE

35. A MAN WHO USED NONVIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

30. A MAN WHO SECRETLY PLANNED THE USE OF VIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

25. A WISE MAN WHO USED NONVIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

20. A STUPID MAN WHO USED NONVIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

15. A MAN WHO USED NONVIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

10. A MAN WHO USED NONVIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

5. A MAN WHO USED NONVIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE

0. A MAN WHO USED NONVIOLENCE TO SECURE LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE
5. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ACQUIRE INFLUENCE AND POWER
6. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO GAIN CONTROL OVER OTHERS
7. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO CREATE A LASTING SOCIAL ORDER
8. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ACHIEVE PERSONAL GLORY
9. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE
10. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ENSURE LIVING STANDARDS FOR THE POOR
11. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING SOCIAL JUSTICE
12. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING PEACE
13. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING LAW AND ORDER
14. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING COMMUNITY
15. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING REVOLUTION
16. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING CHANGE
17. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING COMMUNITY
18. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING ORDER
19. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING PEACE
20. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING JUSTICE
21. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING COMMUNITY
22. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING REVOLUTION
23. A MAN WHO USED VIOLENCE TO ESTABLISH LASTING CHANGE