

THE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL DIMENSIONS
OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT
EXEMPLARS

by

ROBIN L. HARVEY

JOY J. BURNHAM, COMMITTEE CHAIR

BRYAN K. FAIR
J. BARRY MASON
STEPHEN J. THOMA
ALAN L. WEBB

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ABSTRACT

This exploratory study examined the life stories of Freedom Movement exemplars. Previous exemplar studies have indicated the presence of spiritual factors in the consideration of motivations behind exemplary action. The present study utilized the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) with Freedom Movement exemplars, whose existing language explicitly stated moral and spiritual dimensions. For this study, Life Story Interviews were scored for moral personality characteristics as well as for agency, communion, redemptive sequences, and contamination sequences. Results indicated that spiritual elements were present in the Life Story interviews of Freedom Movement exemplars. Spiritual dimensions were discussed in the shaping of the exemplars' lives, offering meaning and purpose to them. Freedom Movement exemplar scores for moral personality characteristics were exceedingly high, including the normally polar characteristics of dominance and nurturance. Previous exemplar research (e.g., Walker & Frimer, 2007) has suggested some divergence in characteristics between exemplars, where caring exemplars tended to be more nurturing and brave exemplars tended to be more dominant. Freedom Movement exemplars exhibited both moral personality characteristics of dominance and nurturance, implying they possess an unusual makeup of moral personality characteristics.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, who gave me the grounded life, support, guidance, freedom, empathy, opportunity, and unconditional love every child should be so fortunate to have, to my church, which provided a safe place to question, challenge of thought, freedom to explore, as well as a community of fellow strugglers, and to anyone else who dares to live the life of a transformed nonconformist, including those who served as participants in this study.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Moral psychology's biggest hurdle has been to develop a comprehensive, intuitive, and complete explanation of moral action, especially exemplary moral action (Blasi, 1999; Straughan, 1986; Walker, 2004). While the field has narrowed the gap between thought (judgment) and action, a gap has yet to be completely explained. Exemplar research is one method the field has adopted to attempt to close the judgment action gap. Nonetheless, moral exemplar study is still in its infancy.

In a seminal study of the moral personalities of brave and caring exemplars, Walker and Frimer (2007) challenged the field to expand their theories, "in order to provide a comprehensive and coherent account of moral functioning" (p. 845). Walker and Frimer (2007) further proposed that one way to accomplish this theoretical expansion goal was to pay more attention in thought and study to the "intrapyschic aspects of morality that have long been eschewed," (p. 845). What about people who explicitly state they did something for the greater good for deeper reasons? Applying Walker and Frimer's (2007) framework, civil rights workers, freedom riders, protesters, and freedom-seekers have stated in interviews and in published documents that they were motivated to take risks for a cause bigger than themselves for spiritual reasons as well as moral reasons (e.g., Lewis, 1998). Could these motivators be among the intrapyschic aspects of morality Walker and Frimer suggested we study in order to span the judgment-action gap? This study seeks to entertain these questions while seeking to replicate and extend current research.

Background of the Problem

Kohlberg's model (1969) of moral psychology, with its focus on moral reasoning, was a groundbreaking model of cognitive development. Nonetheless, the field came to agreement that moral reasoning could not fully explain human behavior and that moral judgment only partially explained action (Blasi, 1980). Blasi (1980) identified this gap in explanation of moral functioning as the judgment-action gap. In his comprehensive review of literature up to that point, Blasi (1980) found that moral reasoning is significant in that higher moral reasoning predicted better behavior across a wide range of domains, thereby debunking the myth that thinking and behavior are independent. He also found that moral thinking only explained about 10% of the variability in moral action. Blasi's (1980) findings implied that a more comprehensive framework was needed to explain moral behavior. The judgment action gap has continued to prove problematic for the field.

The argument about the factors that resulted in moral action had flipped from cognition alone toward a focus on explaining moral behavior. For example, Blasi (2004) helped guide the field into a focus on personality with his ideas on the moral self and moral identity. James Rest (1986) criticized the field for focusing too much on moral reasoning, which later led to the Minnesota group's Four Component Model (Rest et al., 1999). This model stated that moral identity is active and not passively obtained and that moral action was the result of a person's cognitive processes interacting with their social world (Rest et al., 1999). These differing schools of thought in moral psychology led to an increasing focus on behavior and the recognition of the presence of the judgment action gap led the field to examine those who behave differently: exemplars (Colby & Damon, 1992).

Personality and developmental theorists developed exemplar research in an attempt to bridge the gap, working backward from extraordinary action toward factors that influenced such choices. Existing exemplar research has focused on those leading lives of sustained moral commitment (e.g., Colby & Damon, 1992), professionals (e.g., Rule & Bebeau, 2005), and brave and caring exemplars (e.g., Walker & Frimer, 2007). While the existing scope of exemplars has remained somewhat narrow research with exemplars has expanded the field's knowledge base immeasurably (Walker & Frimer, 2007). Another limitation of existing exemplar research is that there has not been much consideration of the conditions and circumstances of exemplarity. It is possible that we may be limiting our understanding of moral functioning by excluding considerations of conditions, circumstances, and the context of exemplarity (Walker & Frimer, 2007).

Exemplar Research

Exemplarity research has primarily focused on individual assessments, such as interviews that require participants to reflect on their lives. Many exemplarity studies have utilized Dan McAdams' (2008) life course interview. Based on Bakan's (1966) theory of agency and communion, Dan McAdams (2008) developed the Life Story Interview as a means of studying human intentionality in personal narratives, which require and evidence organizing information around life events. This is an exercise that is physiological, cognitive, social, and emotional, according to McAdams (2008). The Life Story Interview emerged from this trajectory of psychology that is inclusive of cognition, emotion, identity, and personality factors and has been particularly enlightening and helpful for studying exemplarity.

Research using this Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) instrument showed that exemplars had differences from other participants in their level of caring but also in their ability

to get things done (e.g., Walker, 2013; Walker & Frimer, 2007). The Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) is comprehensive but has been utilized with fairly narrow groups and without much consideration of the conditions and circumstances of participants' exemplarity. It is possible that our fairly narrow scope has limited our understanding of all issues that may contribute to exemplary action (Blasi, 2004; Walker & Frimer, 2007).

There may be other considerations uniquely articulated in a Life Story Interview by certain participants that may be generalizable to human nature. For instance, Colby and Damon (1992) and Walker and Frimer (2007) found evidence of spirituality in the motivation of exemplars, which was replicated in multiple studies (e.g., Rule & Bebeau, 2005; Walker & Frimer, 2010). Evidence exists in the findings of current exemplar research of a spiritual component of moral psychology (e.g., Colby & Damon, 1992; Rule & Bebeau, 2005; Walker & Frimer, 2007). There is a sense in the field that spirituality and psychology share similar processes, yet contemporary psychology has held these in distinctly separate categories, despite the two once being linked (e.g., Assagioli, 1965; Fowler, 1981; Jung, 1958; Kohlberg & Power, 1981; Oser, 1991).

Though having significantly narrowed the judgment-action gap in explaining moral functioning, the field of moral psychology is still working to bridge this gap. Walker (2004) called the judgment-action gap a "recurrent conundrum" for moral psychologists as scholars trying to understand and as people just trying to live "the good life" (p. 1). The gap remains at a time when the world has gotten smaller and demanded more explanation since the advent of Kohlberg's (1969) theory, Blasi's (2004) theory, and the Minnesota Group's Four Component Model (1999).

Statement of the Problem

Literature reviews show that this special group of exemplars who knowingly and calculatedly risked everything, including their own survival, has not been studied. Further, after analyzing existing literature, exemplars who explicitly state they merge the moral and the spiritual before choosing to act have not been examined. With these gaps in mind, it would be interesting to follow Walker's suggestion to study intrapsychic elements of morality while studying those who knowingly risked so much in their actions and who did so, having explicitly stated their risks were taken with forethought and dual motivation; moral and spiritual.

This study aimed to offer insight about the factors behind the development of exemplarity in a unique group of participants because of the gap in knowledge. Multiple studies (e.g., Colby & Damon, 1992; Rule & Bebeau, 2005; Walker et al., 1995; Walker & Frimer, 2007) have found evidence of spiritual considerations in various action but did not examine the question of spirituality as a motivator. In explaining the findings of their 1995 work on morality and real-life problems, Walker et al. (1995) found that many of their participants voiced concepts of spirituality, religion, and faith as helping agents in resolving common, everyday issues. They found everything was governed by participants' faith and that participants did not view their morality and spirituality as distinct.

Not only has spirituality not been studied as a motivator for action but it has not been studied as a motivator for action by participants who explicitly state they merge moral considerations with spiritual concerns prior to thoughtful action (Walker, 2004). The words of Freedom Movement exemplars commonly but incorrectly recognized as civil rights exemplars, according to this group can be read in print and seen in other easily accessible media (e.g., Lewis

& D'Orso, 1998; King, 1963). Many alliterate moral and spiritual concerns in their thinking that led to action (e.g., Lewis & D'Orso, 1998; Mogul & deBoinville, 2008; King, 1963).

After reviewing existing literature, it is also noteworthy that no group has been previously studied that knowingly risked so much over time as freedom exemplars. For example, freedom movement exemplars took risks with everything, including their lives. They did so intentionally, with great forethought, awareness of risks and consequences, and with a mission in mind cite (Lewis & D'Orso, 1998). As a review of existing research revealed, such intense intentionality on the part of freedom exemplars, with such high stakes has not been previously studied and may help inform the study of moral action. In addressing the remaining judgment action gap in the field of moral psychology, Walker (2004) noted that models of moral psychology have not studied intrapsychic aspects and suggests we more closely attend to the intrapsychic aspects people face each day.

In summary, though ample evidence of spiritual considerations has been found in prior research (Colby & Damon, 1992; Rule & Bebeau, 2005; Walker & Frimer, 2007), spirituality as a motivator has yet to be studied as has a group that explicitly states they merged moral and spiritual concerns prior to taking action, as well as studying a group that knowingly took such intense risks over time as a review of existing research revealed. Studying these elements may help in some way to answer Walker's call to expand our considerations in order to address the remaining judgment action gap.

Purpose of the Study

The present study was an exploratory one, which aimed to examine the life stories of Freedom Movement exemplars through the use of Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008). Freedom Movement exemplars are defined as those who risked something of great value

(their safety, careers, survival, for example) for something they believed was much larger and even more valuable and was done so for the sake of the greater good. This was undertaken knowingly and with great sacrifice and was not undertaken for personal gain. This was also done with full awareness of the consequences of their actions and in spite of their fear.

Freedom Movement exemplars were selected by a committee based on the same objective criteria Colby and Damon developed and used for their Some Do Care study (1992). The location of this study took place at the participants' choosing. The Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) is a long interview that required participants to cognitively organize their life stories into chapters. This type of interview is most successfully completed in a location in which participants feel comfortable sharing their stories. It is worth noting that this population was an aging one. Many exemplars, whose life stories we would have benefitted from examination, have already died. Therefore, for the sake of this study's findings and the participants, it was imperative that the comfort of the participants was paramount.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study was its attentiveness to previous studies while widening the trajectory of factors that may lead to moral action. This study examined a population of participants that explicitly merged moral and spiritual actions, while choosing extreme risk over time for the greater good of humankind. Because of this explicit merging of moral and spiritual dimensions (Lewis & D'Orso, 1998; King, 1963), this indicates research with this particular group of exemplars might be of special interest to the study of exemplarity in moral psychology. This could be even more significant because exemplarity can create different kinds of stress that exemplars must manage, especially Freedom Movement exemplars. The psychological data yielded from this type of research with this special and unusual group of participants could prove

to be rich. Since Freedom Movement exemplars have stated in their written words and other media (Lewis & D'Orso, 1998; King, 1963) that their considerations were moral and spiritual, this might be something similar to the intrapsychic aspects Walker and Frimer (2007) discussed. Therefore, it is possible we may have unintentionally limited not only what we consider to be exemplarity but also the considerations that contribute to it.

Studying this particular population is significant in a number of ways. Many freedom movement exemplars have stated in existing literature that they merge morality and spirituality prior to choosing to act. This is significant since previous research has found evidence of spiritual concerns in their participants (e.g., Rule & Bebeau, 2005; Walker et al., 1995) Walker & Frimer, 2007). However, past research in this area has not sought to study participants who have previously stated moral and spiritual motives for their actions in published literature and media, not to mention those who have merged the two concerns.

Freedom Movement exemplars knowingly risked everything in acting, and did so, as we already know from their language and writings (e.g., King, 1963; Lewis, 1998) for the greater good. Moral exemplars previously studied have also acted for the greater good, but few risked as much as Freedom Movement exemplars nor did so with such awareness of the consequences of their actions.

Even the brave exemplars previously studied (e.g., Walker & Frimer, 2007) acted bravely in the moment but this does not equate to fundamentally changing how a life was lived, witnessing or experiencing the consequences of acting and choosing it over time. Walker and Frimer's (2007) caring exemplars, Colby and Damon's (1992) moral exemplars, as well as Rule and Bebeau's (2005) dentist exemplars led lives of sustained moral commitment, which required and demanded risk, sometimes especially occupational or social risk.

Freedom Movement exemplars knowingly took risks in every aspect of life, including life itself (Gaillard, 2004). They were willing to die for their cause. This makes Freedom Movement exemplars unique. They were well aware of the consequences of their actions. They witnessed, experienced, and were traumatized by those consequences and yet continued to act (Gaillard, 2004). For example, in the case of Medgar Evers, a civil rights actor who was murdered in his own driveway with his wife and small children inside awaiting his return home, he knew he would die as a result of his civil rights actions and discussed preparations with his wife and others (Goodman & Gonzalez, 2013; James-Terry, 2013). The existing language of this population (e.g., King, 1963; Lewis, 1998) suggests that we may have missed something; there may be other considerations and dimensions of exemplarity and that that dimension may be spirituality.

There has also been some discussion in the field of how we process negative life events. For instance, Taylor (1991) found that negative life events challenge us to marshal all available resources and processes in order to organize them in a meaningful way to us, requiring more energy and resources than positive life events. Studying how Freedom Movement exemplars organized and made meaning of the negative life events they survived will lead to multiple new understanding. It may be especially revealing of the variety of processes used in such organization and meaning making.

The results of this study may become useful to moral psychologists by widening the focus of exemplars we study and the considerations that lead to exemplarity. Since the judgment-action gap remains, it may be of benefit to the field to widen the scope of consideration as suggested by Walker (2004). By broadening the scope and studying this population we may learn if spirituality is a motivator for those who merge moral and spiritual

concerns, if the findings are similar to existing research, and if our attentiveness to spiritual dimensions that were so apparent in previous findings (Walker et al, 1995; Walker & Frimer, 2007) add to the study of moral psychology in any way. Another potential use of this study lies in its exploratory nature in relation to this topic, which may aid future research if any new ideas are revealed in the words of the participants. Other benefits and uses of this study relate to the human condition. In general, the combination of the methodology and instrument of the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) undertaken with this population represents a positive benefit to humanity in whatever results. One example of this is society's recent trend toward extreme factions demanding, fighting, and gaining more power cite. This trend has been evident in politics, religion, and social groups across the globe recently cite. This present study, which seeks to learn whatever we can from the life stories of Freedom Movement exemplars, may help to shed light on the benefits, risks, and boundaries of continuing this trend.

Research Questions

From a review of the literature, the following research questions emerged

1. Is spirituality a motivator of moral action in those who've explicitly stated they've merged moral and spiritual considerations in choosing to act;
2. Do existing exemplar models fit a group of participants that explicitly merges moral and spiritual motives; and
3. Of particular interest will be the spiritual dimension that was previously so apparent in exemplar findings as well as that which is apparent in the existing language of Freedom Movement exemplars.

Overview of the Research Design

Freedom Movement exemplars were selected by committee from a pool of Freedom Movement exemplars, after first being nominated by a nominating committee, then selected by a selection committee. Nominees consisted of anyone who knowingly took risks and made sacrifices for a cause greater than themselves and for the cause of freedom and civil rights. The committee adhered to a list of criteria developed by Colby and Damon (1992) for their Some Do Care study in its selection of exemplars. Exemplars were contacted and invited to participate. Interviews were arranged at the participants' convenience. Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and scored.

This exploratory study employed one method, the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008). The Life Story Interview is an established measure, an extensive interview, which seeks to have participants reflect on their lives and develop a narrative of their life story by cognitively arranging their life story into chapters. This method allowed researchers to gain insight into more varied and specific explanations of action and cognition preceding action.

McAdams, inspired by Erik Erikson's (1994) work in ego identity, began writing *Power, Intimacy, and the Life Cycle* (1985) about how people organize their life stories, beginning in adolescence and young adulthood, in ways that reconcile their pasts, and help give direction to their futures in ways that give their lives meaning and purpose.

These stories were internal (until interviewed) and dynamic. Data were obtained through the Life Story Interview and can be analyzed in a variety of ways: agency and communion, redemption and contamination, for instance. The Life Story Interview has been utilized to study personality traits (e.g., Walker & Frimer, 2007), identity development (e.g., McLean & Fournier, 2008), educational issues and adolescent identity (e.g., Ivcevic, Pellemer, & Bracket, 2010;

McLean, Breen, & Fournier, 2010), and mental health, resilience, and human development (e.g., Pals, 2006).

One benefit of the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) is that it is highly structured and objectively scored but allows for the emergence and sensitivity of other considerations. Other themes may emerge as a result of this interview. This method has been in use since Aristotle and ancient Greece, according to Warnick (2009), and allows us to explore types of knowledge and processes, explore knowledge through experiences and as social constructs, and may increase our cultural understanding and opens the door to social change. This technique possesses the benefits of qualitative inquiry yet is also scoreable, which is a technique that benefits the field as a whole, according to Gergen et al. (2015).

Assumptions and Limitations

This study assumed that each participant answered the interview questions honestly, to the best of their recollection, based on their experiences. I also assumed that participants possessed the recall necessary to complete the interview. Were there cases where this assumption was faulty, I would have thanked the participant for their participation and ended the interview.

This study had no comparison group, which was a criticism of similar studies (e.g., Colby & Damon, 1992; Hart & Fegley, 1995). However, with the wealth and value of the information this study sought to obtain, additional information may overly complicate and obscure the benefit of what we may learn from freedom movement exemplars.

This study was also limited by the rareness of the population of Freedom Movement exemplars. Selecting Freedom Movement exemplars who met the selection criteria required selectiveness from an already small population. The Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008)

questions can be probing and personal. Care and respect of boundaries was required. The Life Story Interview demands participants organize their life stories into chapters. This task was asking a lot of Freedom Movement exemplars because of their age and rich experiences. The time necessary to complete the Life Story Interview was also a limitation. These were long interviews. Most of the interviews took approximately five hours. Most people have trouble sitting and focusing for that long, but this was asking a lot of people in their 70's, 80's, and 90's. Most of the participants who completed Life Story Interviews, recalled them favorably, as having helped them to organize their thoughts and gain perspective of themselves and their lives as a result. It was possible, though, that asking participants to recall painful memories, was too difficult to endure. Proper execution of the Life Story Interview required that no therapy was given during the interview, but referrals could be made after the interview. However, in the case of Freedom Movement exemplar participants, more than fifty years has passed since any traumatic events had taken place. While there was never any guarantee that these memories have lost their negative power, it was a potential that exemplars could have had time to deal with these difficult memories again.

The results of this exploratory study may be generalizable to the general population as this study is seeking information as to what led to freedom movement exemplars' attachment, dedication, perseverance, sense of personal integrity, and growth. Participants were chosen for their Freedom Movement exemplarity but the results of their interviews, and therefore this study, may be grounded in these matters over the course of their lives, which is something to which nearly all of us can all relate.

Definition of Terms

Freedom Movement Exemplar is a person who knowingly and with potential peril to their survival, took risks for what they believed was a reason greater than themselves.

Freedom Movement Exemplar is the same as a civil rights exemplar, though one whose sacrifices are for the larger goal of freedom for all.

Freedom Movement is a movement that was about something beyond civil rights. It was primarily a movement about freedom, which is a concept about which exemplars feel strongly. One manifestation of freedom in the United States is civil rights. Freedom is a larger concept and worthy of sacrifice as seen across history; so in honor of our exemplars' sacrifices, the larger purpose and the ability of the reader to broaden and transfer concepts this study addressed our exemplars as Freedom Movement exemplars.

Spirituality is a concept that many confuse and may be defined differently by each reader. Spirituality is frequently defined by different people in a myriad of ways. For the purposes of this study, it was necessary to use a variety of definitions. Spirituality was defined as the dynamic process of love in one's life, according to May (1982, p. xvi). Koenig et al. (2000) defined spirituality as "the personal quest for understanding answers to ultimate questions about life, about meaning, and about relationship to the sacred or transcendent, which may (or may not) lead to or arise from the development of religious rituals and the formation of community," (p.18). But many definitions of spirituality include words such as belief, adopting something as transcendent or of great value, meaning and purpose, prosocial behaviors, virtues, universal love, unconditional love, connection to others and to something greater than oneself, authentic concern for others, (e.g., Jonas et al., 2012; Nicholas et al., 2012; Plant & Thoresen, 2012; Reich et al., 1999). Wagener and Malony (2006) defined spirituality as the essential potentiality for

addressing the ultimate questions that are intrinsic to the experience of being human. It includes experiences of transcendence, good and evil, belonging and connectedness, meaning and purpose. Spirituality is the integrative function that leads to an experience of wholeness and defines the links between the self and the rest of creation, locating the individual within a transcendent system of meaning” (p. 139). For the purposes of this study, spirituality was considered to be all of this and more.

Morality-considerations based upon a sense of right or wrong. Morals are generally agreed upon in societies as worthwhile, good, and right. However, morals are not merely socially agreed-upon constructs. Morals are independent of preference, popularity or social consensus.

Summary

Studying the life stories of Freedom Movement exemplars may shed light on factors that may help to close the judgment-action gap by allowing for the openness and the emergence of other factors that may contribute to moral functioning as Walker and Frimer (2007) suggested. To merge this attempt with McAdams’ (2008) methodology and this unique group of participants represented an opportunity for learning that may enhance and transcend the field of moral psychology. Chapter II will offer the review of the literature. This chapter was grounded in the fundamentals of moral psychology.

CHAPTER II:
LITERATURE REVIEW

Moral Psychology

Upon realizing that foundational theories of moral psychology could not explain the gap between moral thought and moral action, the evolution of the field of moral psychology has been centered on bridging the judgment-action gap. It is necessary to take a brief look at this trajectory in order to get a sense of the grounding of this study as well as the direction in which it might lead.

Cognition

From its inception built upon the work of Piaget (1997) and Kohlberg (1981), moral psychology began as a theory of reasoning and cognition. Piaget (1997) saw development as following a predictable but dynamic structure that resulted from a mix of biology and experience. Kohlberg (1981), influenced by the work of Piaget (1997), saw moral development as a sequential stage sequenced occurrence. He developed the moral judgment interview and dilemma discussions and used them in his research. Kohlberg's theory was criticized for its narrow focus on justice and reasoning, its male-entered focus, its exclusion of caring, and its reliance on a relatively homogenous culture (e.g., Gilligan, 1980; Haidt, 2013; Rest, 1986; Turiel, 2006). Yet, it remains a highly influential theory and the foundation of moral psychology. But his work created the field of moral psychology and one can still see his influence in research today as the entire field emanated from his work.

Kohlberg's (1981) influence was seen in the work of James Rest and his Minnesota colleagues (1999) who maintained that moral reasoning should remain the foundation of moral development but not exclusively so. Rest's Minnesota colleagues (Thoma, 2002) validated Kohlberg's basic structure but stressed that stages may not be sequential but instead are overlapping schemas, assuming variation across schemas. Rest (1986) felt that the field had relied too much on reasoning and justice at the expense of other concepts. They developed their own model (Rest et al., 2000) to include other aspects that they believed motivated moral action; moral sensitivity, which means interpreting a situation as moral, moral judgment, moral motivation, and moral character. Moral judgment is reasoning about what one thinks should happen, while moral motivation is having a sense of morality as a priority. Moral character is the last of the four components. Moral character represents one's ability to overcome obstacles.

The Minnesota group called themselves the Neo-Kohlbergians because they found deficiencies as well as value in Kohlberg's stage theory. The Neo-Kohlbergians believe that each of the four components must be present in order for moral action to occur. It is not enough that one thinks morally, recognizes a situation as moral, possesses a moral character, or is morally motivated. The Neo-Kohlbergians (Rest et al., 1999) also developed the Defining Issues Test (Rest et al., 1999) and continued to use it in their research, validating the overlapping stages of moral development as well as a broader examination of factors that influence moral action.

The Neo-Kohlbergian concept of moral sensitivity resonated with Reynolds (2008) and Sherblom (2012). Reynolds believed morality involved moral attentiveness (an externally triggered perception of moral elements in our personal experiences), moral awareness (an internally triggered assessment of the moral content residing in any situation), and moral sensitivity. Reynolds' (2008) basic point was that each one of us is differentially aware of and

differentially attends to moral information present in our environments. Sherblom (2012) also focused on our awareness of and sensitivity to moral issues in our experiences and how we apply that awareness and sensitivity to future experiences. He viewed morality as a combination of past experiences, current development, and how we think about each particular developmental moment in time. His capacities for moral knowing include reasoning, self-awareness, and other-awareness, which included empathy, perspective-taking, caring, and compassion.

While Rest et al. (1999) kept their collective eye on moral action as the goal, saying moral action results when a person's internal cognitive processes interact with their social world, they also said moral identity, a concept later fostered by Blasi (2004), is an active construct and not passive, meaning, it does not just happen. We all set goals and make choices to build ourselves as moral or not.

Currently, in the life of moral psychology, theorists are trying to explain the gap that exists in people's actions even when they know what is "right" to do (Blasi, 1980). Some researchers became inspired to attempt to accomplish this by starting at the end and working backward toward the beginning...by examining moral action already taken then researching what factors contributed to the moral action (Colby & Damon, 1992).

Colby and Damon (1992) sought to examine the factors behind exemplary action by starting at the action and working backward in order to discover the factors behind such action. In *Some Do Care*, Colby and Damon (1992) undertook an exploratory examination of 23 moral exemplars, leading lives of sustained moral commitment, who had been nominated by a committee comprised of theologians, philosophers, and moral psychologists. Colby and Damon interviewed each exemplar, exhaustively. They were interested to see what they might find from the exemplars, but they were also inquiring as to whether exemplars excelled in post-

conventional thinking, a concept, developed by Kohlberg and refined by the Neo-Kohlbergians, with a new twist of moral exemplar research, based in in-depth interviews (Colby & Damon, 1992). Although this study was exploratory, many new ideas emanated from the information gained from it. Of interest to Colby and Damon was (1992) the distinction between real exemplars and human perfection. We often place exemplars on a pedestal, considering them perfect. This is an important aspect of exemplar research to remember, as exemplars are human, not otherworldly, though they may disregard risk more than most, maintain positivity in the face of discouragement, have a desire for personal growth, and remain open-minded to others' ideas. They found that moral choices result from merging moral and personal goals.

Interestingly, and counter-intuitively, Colby and Damon (1992) found no significant differences in the moral reasoning skills of exemplars but in their research literature they did find a pattern of exemplars attributing some of their reasoning to the spiritual beliefs. This was important to the current research because it indicates there are other factors, which must be considered. Their use of exemplar methodology in an exploratory study, their methodology, and findings opened the door to new considerations in moral psychology (e.g., McAdams, 2008; Walker & Frimer, 2007), which has resulted in reducing the judgment-action gap.

Moral Self and Identity

Such attention had been paid to reasoning (Rest, 1986) that not much credence had been given to the ideas of the sense of self as moral and one's identity of self as moral. Erik Erikson's (1964) work on identity influenced this realm of moral psychology. He believed biology and one's social environment fostered identity formation. For Erikson, identity and self-awareness were the results of growth fostered by a healthy environment. The thinking behind identity is one of the influences later that fostered some of the most recent moral personality theories,

focused on the development of a moral self. Like the Neo-Kohlbergians' first component, moral sensitivity, Hoffman's (1981, 1982, 2001) work on empathy's role in moral development began to broaden the notion of moral identity and led to other studies, such as Markus and Nurius (1986) study where they coined the term, 'possible selves' to describe self-schemas that serve as mental representations of ourselves in the past, present, and future. This might include the type of person we want to become, the ideal self, as well as the type of person we want to avoid becoming, the feared self.

Similar to component three of the Four Component Model, moral motivation, Blasi (2004) and others (e.g., Bebeau & Monson, 2011; Kegan, 1982) focused on a sense of the self as moral, believing the judgment action gap could be explained by moral identity. He also said that moral action was the result of a moral self-identity and that moral motivation could be further fostered by integrating moral development and behavior (moral understanding) with moral identity. He said the notion of the moral self includes moral personality (Walker, 2013) and identity conceptions (Hardy, 2006; Hart & Fegley, 1995; Reimer, 2003) and made the point that morality is situated within the notion of the moral self. Hardy (2006) compared three sources of moral motivation; identity, reasoning, and emotion and found that the moral self is a combination of morality, moral personality traits (which we will examine later) and identity conceptions. Similar to 'possible selves,' in studying the notion of a moral identity in adolescents, Hardy et al. (2014) later developed the idea of the moral ideal self, a product of morality plus identity, to describe who we would like to be. Higgins (2012) found that when there are differences between the current self and the ideal self, that cognitive and affective dissonance occurs. This dissonance was believed to signal that we need to change and approach our ideal selves and that as we do, the dissonance dissipates, and we begin to feel better about

ourselves. Hardy et al. (2014) found that the moral self increases across adolescence as our moral and self-systems become more integrated. Moshman (2011) also studied adolescents and moral identity. He declared that the end goal of moral and identity development might be moral identity. Matsuba and Walker (2005) also studied adolescents and the building of their 'selves' through moral exemplar research, focusing of self-building through stories.

Walker (2013) stated the motivation for doing good, something missing from Kohlberg's stage theory (1969) can be found in understanding that moral action and motivation are not solely based on regard for others; there is also a notion of self-regard, expressed by the exemplars he studied. He stated that exemplars' self-regard can be self-enhancing and therefore, excessively motivating. In this study, Walker empirically proved that exemplars are able to integrate agency and communion with self-promotion and other-promotion with self-promotion equaling agency and other-promotion equaling communion.

Personality

As previously stated, it was David Bakan (1966) that identified the concepts of agency and communion; agency represented a person's ability to think, act, experience, learn, improve the self, or create change, while communion referred to a sense of belonging or relationship (a continuation of Maslow's earlier work). McAdams (2008) adopted these concepts and employed them in his research model, also believing that people would ideally balance the competing concepts. These concepts are now used to measure and score many studies involving exemplar research. Walker and Frimer's study (2007) is one of the personality studies that incorporated agency and communion. Walker and Frimer examined personality differences between two groups, brave and caring exemplars and a comparison group, in order to determine if differences in personality traits contribute to differences in moral behavior. Exemplars shared variables in

personality traits such as affiliation/intimacy, power, generativity, identity, personal growth, attachment, agency, communion, spiritual transcendence, affective tone, redemption/contamination, needs of others, helpers/enemies, nurturance (associated with caring exemplars) and dominance (associated with brave exemplars). In Frimer et al. (2011), the team found evidence of enlightened self-interest in moral exemplars while studying their integration of agency and communion. This was similar to Walker's (2013) findings in self-regard and was consistent with moral identity and moral-self research, as well. Walker et al. (2010) examined heroes again, this time for varieties of moral personality. They found three types of moral personalities among their heroes: communal (relational and generative), deliberative (cognitive and highly self-development motivated), and ordinary (commonplace personality). In general, they found that moral personality can take different forms and arises from different sources, which reflect divergent person by situation interactions. This may also fit with Haidt's (2013) and Turiel's (2006) notions of bringing our actions into line with our moral judgments and emotions.

Exemplar Research

Exemplar research is thought to extend existing methodology by examining those who have reached a higher stage of development than most individuals. In similar studies such as Colby and Damon's (1992) study, *Some Do Care*, they examined those who had led lives of sustained moral commitment in order to determine which stage of moral reasoning exemplars might be employing. Colby and Damon (1992) developed criteria for selecting exemplars from nominees, nominated by clergy and theologians, among others for their study. Reimer (2003, 2004) also solicited nominations for exemplars. Hart and Fegley (1995) criticized Colby and Damon's method lacking a comparison group for their exemplars and also sought nominations

by local experts instead of theologians and philosophers. Matsuba and Walker (2005) employed a similar strategy, soliciting nominations and using a comparison group for their study. Still, other researchers have studied the lives and personalities of those whom had already received awards or attention for their behavior (e.g., Rule & Bebeau, 2005; Walker & Frimer, 2007).

Similar to the methods of Rule and Bebeau (2005) and Walker and Frimer (2007), accounts of the acts of some civil rights exemplars are historical fact and have been documented as such. Some of their stories were only regionally known, which is similar to Hart and Fegley's approach (1995). Still others may not be well-known at all, which is similar to Colby and Damon's approach (1992).

Summary

Beginning with the cognitive structure with which Piaget gifted the fields of development and psychology, we can begin to see a more complete picture of moral processes as well as an unfolding overlap of moral issues potentially at play with other issues. Kohlberg's (cite) employment of Piaget's (1932) structure led to his own theory of moral development, which leaned heavily on moral reasoning and judgment. James Rest and the Neo-Kohlbergians maintained the strength of reasoning and judgment's role in moral development but expanded the components to include sensitivity, motivation, and character. The influence of their components fostered later foci on the role of moral sensitivity (e.g., Reynolds, 2008; Sherblom, 2012), moral character (e.g., Colby & Damon, 1992; Rule & Bebeau, 2005), moral motivation (Colby & Damon, 1992; Walker, 2013), the moral self and moral identity (e.g., Blasi, 2004; Hardy, 2006; Hart & Fegley, 1995; Reimer, 2003) and moral personality (Bakan, 1966; Frimer et al., 2011; McAdams, 2008; Walker & Frimer, 2007). This trajectory of moral psychology, since the field's

inception, has broadened its scope in reaction to research findings in an attempt to bridge the judgment-action gap.

The Population

While persons of universalizing faith continue to be human, with common shortcomings and inconsistencies, they are exceptional in the strength of their passion that all creation should manifest God's goodness and that all humanity be one in peace. In their boldness to live out the convictions of their faith, they are both freeing and threatening to the rest of us. Relatively few individuals claim this level of vision and faith-related action. Among those exceptional figures most would agree manifested or manifest the universalizing stage are Mohandas Gandhi, Mother Theresa, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and, perhaps some would say, former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and anti-death penalty activist Sister Helen Prejean. (Fowler, 1981; 1987)

The population for this study was one of the aspects that made the process unique and necessary. Freedom Movement exemplars risked their lives for a cause much larger than themselves. From existing research, we learned that no other study, thus far, has studied exemplars who routinely risked as much with full awareness of the risks and without any guarantee of success. In their language, their reasoning and motivation became clear and may encourage us to broaden and open our considerations of moral motivation. Examining aspects of exemplar language could offer insight into their intrinsic motivation. For example, Martin Luther King explained his driving philosophies in his book, *Strength to Love* (1963), which gave us a glimpse into the thinking and motivation behind his actions and sacrifices. In *Strength to Love* (1963) King described ways of thinking, doing, and being, we shall call imperatives.

The Imperative of Connection and Synthesis

King (1963) describes the imperative of connection and synthesis can be described as the importance for us to be balanced, agentic, communal, and aware. He stated,

But life at its best is a creative synthesis of opposites in fruitful harmony. The philosopher Hegel said that truth is found neither in the thesis nor the antithesis, but in an emergent synthesis which reconciles the two. Jesus recognized the need for blending opposites. He knew that the disciples would face a difficult and hostile world, where they would confront the recalcitrance of political officials and the intransigence of the protectors of the old order. He knew that they would meet cold and arrogant men whose hearts had been hardened by the long winter of traditionalism. So he said to them, “Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves.” And he gave them a formula for action, “Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.” It is pretty difficult to imagine a single person having, simultaneously, the characteristics of the serpent and the dove, but this is what Jesus expects. We must combine the toughness of the serpent and the softness of the dove, a tough mind and a tender heart. (King, 1963, pp. 13-14)

Dr. King’s comments are strikingly similar to Walker’s (2013) empirical findings. Walker (2013) proved exemplars integrate (Walker, 2013) agency and communion, or self-promotion alongside other promotion. But King addressed the same points in a different form in *Strength to Love*, saying,

In spite of this imperative demand to live differently, we have cultivated a mass mind and have moved from the extreme of rugged individualism to the even greater extreme of rugged collectivism. We are not makers of history; we are made by history. Longfellow said, ‘In this world a man must either be anvil or hammer,’ meaning that he is either a molder or is molded by society. Who doubts that today most men are anvils and are shaped by the patterns of the majority? Or to change the figure, most people, and Christians in particular, are thermometers that record or register the temperature of majority opinion, not thermostats that transform and regulate the temperature of society. (King, 1963, p. 23)

King (1963) finished making his point by saying, “The saving of our world from pending doom will come, not through the complacent adjustment of the conforming majority, but through the creative maladjustment of a nonconforming minority” (p. 27). John Lewis, in his book *Walking with the Wind* (Lewis & D’Orso, 1998), explained civil rights exemplars’ concept of community:

This idea, beyond any other, was the fulcrum of all that Jim Lawson was teaching us. It was at the center of everything that Dr. King was working toward. As both men understood it, and as we were taught to believe in our workshops, the Beloved Community was nothing less than the Christian concept of the Kingdom of God on earth. According to this concept, all human existence throughout history, from ancient Eastern and Western societies up through the present day, has strived toward community, toward coming together. That movement is as inexorable, as irresistible, as the flow of a river toward the sea-believers in the Beloved Community insist that it is the moral responsibility of men and women with soul force, people of goodwill, to respond and to struggle nonviolently against the forces that stand between a society and the harmony it naturally seeks. (Lewis & D'Orso, 1998, p. 87)

The message that we are all connected and are called to balance seemingly opposite elements of life and living are apparent in King's (1963) and Lewis' (Lewis & D'Orso, 1998) words. These are further emphasized by Walker's (2013) empirical findings that exemplars balance two seemingly opposing elements of agency and communion.

The Imperative of Inclusive Considerations

The imperative of inclusive considerations can be described as keeping an open mind to all possibilities and being cautious of excluding any consideration. There are examples found in the literature. King (1963) addressed blending scientific, moral, and spiritual concerns when he wrote,

I wonder whether your moral and spiritual progress has been commensurate with your scientific progress. It appears to me that your moral progress lags behind your scientific progress, your mentality outdistances your morality, and your civilization outshines your culture...Through your scientific genius you have made of the world a neighborhood, but you have failed to employ your moral and spiritual genius to make of it a brotherhood. (p. 138)

King's (1963) words foreshadow Walker's (2004) words of inviting broad concepts in an effort to bridge the judgment action gap in moral psychology and explaining moral action.

The Imperative of Suffering and Sacrifice

Reverend King encouraged people to use, "Christian methods and Christian weapons" and directed followers to use only means, "that are as pure as the ends you seek," (p.

142). Suffering and sacrifice were singled out as requirements, according to King in *Strength to Love*, “Even if physical death is the price that some must pay to free their children from psychological death, then nothing could be more Christian. Do not worry about persecution, American Christians; you must accept this when you stand up for a great principle,” (p. 143).

John Lewis explained the importance of the concept of suffering in his book, *Walking with the Wind* (Lewis & D’Orso, 1998). He discussed what he and other civil rights exemplars were taught by Jim Lawson, Martin Luther King’s mentor. Lewis stated,

We talked a lot about the idea of ‘redemptive suffering,’ which from the first time Jim Lawson mentioned the phrase, reminded me of my mother... What my mother was saying, in her Old Testament phrasing, was that we must honor our suffering, that there is something in the very essence of suffering that is liberating, cleansing, redemptive. I always understood the idea of the ultimate redeemer, Christ on the cross. But now I was beginning to see that this is something that is carried out in every one of us, that the purity of unearned suffering is a holy and affective thing. It affects not only ourselves, but it touches and changes those around us as well. It opens us and those around us to a force beyond ourselves, a force that is right and moral, the force of righteous truth that is at the basics of human conscience. Suffering puts us and those around us in touch with our consciences. It opens and touches our hearts. It makes us feel compassion where we need to and guilt if we must. (Lewis & D’Orso, 1998, p. 85)

King and Lewis explained a call to die for the cause of freedom and a larger purpose, likening it to the evolution of Christianity and scriptural stories of Moses freeing his people.

The Imperative of Love

The imperative of love can be described as our most essential duty as humans as well as the most powerful four-letter word and force in the universe. King believed it to be the simplest solution to society’s problems. There are examples found in the literature. King (1963)

described love as the most powerful force in the world and the greatest of all virtues.

Throughout the centuries, men have sought to discover the highest good. This has been the chief quest of ethical philosophy. This was one of the big questions of Greek philosophy. The Epicureans and the Stoics sought to answer it; Plato and Aristotle sought America. I have discovered that the highest good is love. This principle is at the center of the cosmos. It is the great unifying force of life. God is love. He who loves

has discovered the clue to the meaning of ultimate reality; he who hates stands in immediate candidacy for nonbeing... You may have the gift of scientific prediction and understand the behavior of molecules, you may break into the storehouse of nature and bring forth many new insights, you may ascend to the heights of academic achievement, so that you have all knowledge, and you may boast of your great institutions of learning and the boundless extent of your degrees; but, devoid of love, all of these mean absolutely nothing... unarmed love is the most powerful force in all the world. (pp. 143-145)

Gandhi (1869-1948) also spoke of the power of love, also describing it as the strongest and yet most humble force in the world. He stated, “Whether humanity will consciously follow the law of love, I do not know. But that need not disturb me. The law will work just as the law of gravitation works, whether we accept it or not. The person who discovered the law of love was a far greater scientist than any of our modern scientists. Only our explorations have not gone far enough and so it is not possible for everyone to see all its working” (public domain).

In *Walking with the Wind* (Lewis & D’Orso, 1998), Lewis addressed the concept of love according to his experience and his teachings,

Suffering, though, can be nothing more than a sad and scary thing without the presence on the part of the sufferer of a graceful heart, an accepting and open heart, a heart that holds no malice toward the inflictors of his or her suffering. This is a difficult concept to understand, and it is even more difficult to internalize, but it has everything to do with the way of nonviolence. We are talking about love here. Not romantic love. Not the love of one individual for another. Not loving something that is lovely to you. This is a broader, deeper, more all-encompassing love. It is a love that accepts and embraces the hateful and the hurtful. It is a love that recognizes the spark of the divine in each of us, even in those who would raise their hand against us, those we might call our enemy. This sense of love realizes that the emotions of the moment and constantly shifting circumstances can cloud that divine spark. Pain, ugliness, and fear can cover it over, turning a person toward anger and hate. It is the ability to see through those layers of ugliness, to see further into a person than perhaps that person can see into himself, that is essential to the practice of nonviolence. (Lewis & D’Orso, 1998, p. 85)

Lewis continued to explain love, “And it is a way of life. This is something Lawson stressed over and over again, that this is not simply a technique or a tactic or a strategy or a tool to be

pulled out when needed. It is not something you can turn on and off like a faucet,” explained Lewis (Lewis & D’Orso, 1998, p. 86).

In the words of exemplars, it becomes apparent that we may benefit from broadening our conceptions of factors that influence moral action in an attempt to narrow the judgment-action gap. Spirituality is mentioned the words of the exemplars mentioned above as well as moral exemplars from previous research (e.g., Colby & Damon, 1992; Rule & Bebeau, 2005; Walker & Frimer, 2007). Because spirituality is mentioned in the words of our population as well as in the results of previous research, it is important for us to examine what spirituality is.

The language of this unique population of participants, already published and known to us, reflects thinking, cognition, and motivation behind their sacrificial actions. This language includes concepts of connectedness and unity, inclusivity, suffering and sacrifice, and love. These are not just logical concepts for this population. These are not strategies by which they problem-solved or reacted. These are their explanations for how they lived their lives then and what motivated them to risk absolutely everything.

Spirituality

Whether humanity will consciously follow the law of love, I do not know. But that need not disturb me. The law will work just as the law of gravitation works, whether we accept it or not. The person who discovered the law of love was a far greater scientist than any of our modern scientists. Only our explorations have not gone far enough and so it is not possible for everyone to see all its working.
~Gandhi

Background and Links Between Psychology and Spirituality

Roberto Assagioli (1965) and Carl Jung (1958), became dissatisfied with the limitations of Freud’s version of psychoanalysis. Both noticed psychoanalysis was unable to fully address the human mind, human problems, and their search for meaning and purpose among other limitations. Jung viewed the mind as having a structure of forms and archetypes, one of which

he argued was empirically established in the unconscious as the archetype of wholeness. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1955), a French philosopher, Jesuit priest, paleontologist, and geologist saw spirituality as being blended with quantum physics and psychology. Kohlberg and Power (1981) based their question of a seventh stage on de Chardin's work. Other researchers have continued to take a more holistic approach to spirituality. Richard Rohr (2015), a Franciscan priest, credited Plato's separation of matter and spirit for the formation of Christianity, saying matter has always been the "hiding place" for spirituality, which is strikingly similar to both Jung's and de Chardin positions (March 24, 2015).

Influenced by the work of Piaget, Erikson, and Kohlberg, James Fowler (1981) and Fritz Oser (1991) each developed a stage theory to explain spiritual and faith development and related those stages to moral development, the environment, and personal experience. Fowler's work on a stage theory of faith development continued after his death in the work of Fowler, Streib, and Keller (2004), where they developed a coding manual for faith development research.

Frequently Expressed Spiritual Concepts

Suffering, love, and forgiveness. The role of suffering in human lives is an important element of spirituality. We have all witnessed differences in the ways in which people choose to view, approach, and later make sense of suffering. Viktor Frankl (1959), a concentration camp survivor, neurologist, and psychiatrist, said that even in the worst circumstances, we all have the ability to decide what will become of us. He believed this choice as to how to mentally and spiritually respond to what is going on around us represents our basic human dignity, the last inner freedom, which cannot be taken away, that makes life meaningful and purposeful. Frankl quoted Dostoevsky in saying, "There is only one thing that I dread: not to be worthy of my sufferings." (p. 66).

Frankl (1959) pointed out that what determines whether someone is worthy of their sufferings or not depends on seizing or forgoing opportunities to seek the moral values difficult circumstances afford. In some ways, he said, suffering ceases to be suffering when it finds meaning and purpose often in sacrifice. Frankl (1959) pointed out that only a few people are capable of reaching these high moral standards afforded by maintaining their own inner freedom and seeking these standards but that even just one person is enough proof that our inner strength is capable of overcoming our outer circumstances. From Frankl's viewpoint and experience suffering serves a purpose and much can be achieved if we choose to approach it in certain ways. According to Frankl, our growth and freedom lie in the realization that human behavior is not merely stimulus and response, but in our ability to choose what happens between stimulus and response.

The finer points and importance of suffering were explained by Congressman and civil rights leader, John Lewis (1998). He reported having been taught the idea of 'redemptive suffering' by Jim Lawson in Nashville but the phrase reminded him of similar ideas his mother had taught him as a boy in south Alabama. Lewis (1998) explained that suffering holds no promise without love, forgiveness, and an absence of malice, even toward the inflictors of unearned suffering. He said this is the essence of nonviolence,

We are talking about love here. Not romantic love. Not the love of one individual for another. Not loving something that is lovely to you. This is a broader, deeper, more all-encompassing love. It is a love that accepts and embraces the hateful and the hurtful. It is the ability to see further into a person than perhaps that person can see into himself, that is essential to the practice of nonviolence. (p. 85)

Rohr (2015) also described suffering as a state of potential for a move toward a more full, true self. He explained that if people see God in their suffering AND this unites them with a larger body of sufferers, past and present. Rohr explained this concept as both spiritual and

psychological as it points us away from individualism or toward connection, meaning, and purpose. Rohr (2015) added that suffering serves yet another purpose, breaking through dualistic thinking. He explained how this occurred on a larger scale from crucifixion to resurrection when God took the absolute worst and turned it into the best: the redemption of the world. McAdams and Guo (2015) found that highly generative adults tend to represent their life stories as redemptive and display sensitivity to the suffering of others, among other aspects of a redemptive narrative.

Connection and unity. Spirituality is concerned with connection with a higher power but also connection with each other as well as everything around us. Rohr (2014) explained,

The goal of Christianity (and any mature religion) is for you to be able to explore your unity with yourself, with creation, with neighbor, with enemy, and with God in this world...now the goal is God's full cosmos and not tribal churchiness. Now the goal is the bottom, not the top. We stop ranking vertically and we start connecting horizontally. (November 21, 2014)

Spirituality is concerned with connection and oneness. This is where many religions and denominations collide in commonality. Spirituality says that what one chooses to do has an impact on that one but also on the whole of humanity, the animal kingdom, the world of plants and even particles. This can be seen on a simple walk through Arches National Park in Utah or Virgin Islands National Park where visitors are welcomed to these environments in order to learn, love, and conserve them but are asked to stay on the trails. Every small footstep off the trail may destroy the smallest plant or animal life upon which the cycle of life depends. The same is true for every piece of coral in our oceans. One scrape of a human leg or boat motor can do irreparable damage to the coral, creating a chain reaction in a delicate ecosystem upon which the coral acts as neighborhood and home, resulting in the loss of species upon which other species rely for survival. It can also be seen in a family where one member is an addict. One

member's addiction has an impact on each individual family member and on the family unit as a whole as well as anyone who loves the addict outside of the family, coworkers, and drivers who share the same road with the addict. The actions of one person will impact so many. This connection is the same that quantum physics discovered and de Chardin (1958) expressed. To sum up de Chardin (1958), from a spiritually Christian perspective, Jesus was both fully human and fully divine, matter and spirit are one and are inseparable, and we are part of the universe and the universe is part of us-every tiny little particle of it. This is similar to the Beloved Community discussed by Lewis (1998) as taught to him by Jim Lawson and Dr. King. Says Lewis (1998), "According to this concept, all human existence throughout history, from ancient Eastern and Western societies up through the present day, has strived toward community, toward coming together. That movement is as inexorable, as irresistible as the flow of a river to the sea," (p. 86). Lewis goes on to say that it is for this reason that he views it a moral responsibility of believers in the Beloved Community to nonviolently protest anything that stands in the way of the harmony society naturally seeks.

Connection and unity are not only Christian concepts. The word for this in Hindu is Moksha, meaning unity and is the highest goal of Hindu. Buddhism views matter and spirit as inseparable and equally important. In Judaism, God is the sum of all-natural powers. All of this is similar to the moral psychological concepts of agency and communion, which are two competing yet synthesizable concepts in the human psyche. These concepts are explained in more detail in the following section but in general, agency can be seen as individuality where communion is togetherness.

It is thought that exemplars are uniquely able to balance both concerns (Walker, 2013). What Lewis, Lawson, King, and de Chardin, among others have said, is that we each

have a responsibility to discover and live into the unique self each of us is but we also have a responsibility to do so in light of the whole of humanity. Each one of us, maximizing our individuality, can then be of service to the world around us. The ability to be both highly individual yet highly communal is the ability to balance the duality of considerations and interests that are apparently distinct and represent the synthesis of opposites in the following discussion.

Agency and communion and further synthesis of opposites. As previously explained, David Bakan (1966) developed the concepts of agency and communion. Agency represents the processes necessary to improve the self and the self's position in the world. Communion represents the self only as it relates to others and to the self's place in the world. Some might regard agency as selfish and communion selfless but in reality, both processes are necessary for healthy human functioning.

Exemplars are better able to fully weigh these unique processes and synthesize them into action (Walker, 2013). But this is not easy. Honoring both self and other at the same time requires a more advanced state of development. Yet this fusion of opposites is a common theme in spiritual psychology. For instance, Jung (1958) believed God to be both light and dark, much like he believed humans to be. He believed humans possess both lightness and darkness and male and female characteristics. Quantum physics addressed this in explaining the connection between apparent opposites. De Chardin (1958) addressed this with his concept of the Omega Point, the point at which all human processes converge into one final state. Rohr (2015) has said that only the mystical mind can give equal treatment to the individual and the whole at the same time. This is a concept addressed by Dr. King (1963) as well, "But life at its best is a creative synthesis of opposites in fruitful harmony. The philosopher Hegel said that truth is found neither

in the thesis nor the antithesis, but in an emergent synthesis which reconciles the two,” (King, 1963, p. 13).

Of particular interest will be the spiritual dimension that was so previously apparent in exemplar findings as well as that which is apparent in the existing language of Freedom Movement exemplars. The existing research, the absence of research, and the conceptual framework leads to the following research questions, which guided Chapter III:

1. Is spirituality a motivator of moral action in those who've explicitly stated they've merged moral and spiritual considerations in choosing to act;
2. Do existing exemplar models fit a group of participants that explicitly merges moral and spiritual motives; and
3. Of particular interest will be the spiritual dimension that was previously so apparent in exemplar findings as well as that which is apparent in the existing language of Freedom Movement exemplars.

Conclusion

Having examined existing literature, we have learned that the judgment action gap in moral psychology remains a problem for the field. We've also learned that exemplar research is a method of moral psychology research that has been beneficial to the field by examining moral action, followed by studying the factors which led to that action. Exemplar research has yielded fascinating results, has pointed us in unexpected directions, has raised beneficial questions, but still has opportunity for further growth. Experts in the field have called upon the field to broaden its considerations of elements which may contribute to moral action.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

To this date, the field of moral psychology has been unable to fully span the long-standing gap between moral thought/judgment and action. Yet findings (e.g., Colby & Damon, 1992, Rule & Bebeau, 2005) suggested that by using alternative strategies that attends to the self and how it is constructed may be a useful alternative to a singular focus on moral judgment.

Taylor (1991) addressed the importance of exploring negative life events and explained that we treat negative life events differently than positive life events, seemingly storing the experience in a way that makes the experience more accessible. In addition, Taylor (1991) said negative life events require more resources than positive life events. McAdams (2008) also emphasized the differences in the way our psyches organize information around different types of life events. He stated that we organize information around negative life events in a different way than positive life events, citing a demand to make sense out of a negative event more so than a positive one. Freedom Movement exemplars represent a phenomenally rich database of exploring processing through negative life events.

This exploratory study employs one method, the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008). The Life Story Interview is one of several newer approaches in developmental and personality psychology that emphasize personal narrative in exploring human behavior. The purpose of the selection of the Life Story Interview is that it is an established measure that is increasingly used to study the ways in which morality is embedded within the self. The measure

also provides an established scoring process. But this study recognizes that behavior in consequential in that other themes may emerge. The published language of Freedom Movement exemplars, whether in interview form or written form, reflects spirituality in their reasoning and thought. This study will utilize the methodology and scoring measures of the Life Story Interview but allow for other themes to emerge. The Life Story Interview focuses on interview quality and the manner in which interviewees pass through them

This current study was similar to proceeding studies (Colby & Damon, 1992; Rule & Bebeau, 2005), and yet unique, representing a distinct, potential glimpse into the psychological processes of those who knowingly made sacrifices and took risks beyond what has been previously studied. From the research, the following research questions emerged:

1. Is spirituality a motivator of moral action in those who've explicitly stated they've merged moral and spiritual considerations in choosing to act;
2. Do existing exemplar models fit a group of participants that explicitly merges moral and spiritual motives; and
3. Of particular interest will be the spiritual dimension that was previously so apparent in exemplar findings as well as that which is apparent in the existing language of Freedom Movement exemplars.

Participants

Freedom Movement exemplars were selected to participate from a pool of Freedom Movement exemplar nominees. Exemplars represented the best of us yet remain flawed and merely human. Exemplar research has only recently become relatively popular as a psychological research method but has been employed as a method since Aristotle, who studied wisdom by studying the wise, according to Bronk (2012). Twelve Freedom Movement

exemplars were invited to participate in this study. Twelve Freedom Movement exemplars agreed to participate in this study. However, eleven Freedom Movement exemplars participated in this study as Congressman John Lewis' staff was unable to schedule his interview. All eleven participants who began their interview completed their interview.

Freedom Movement Exemplars

Examining the lives of Freedom Movement exemplars is an extension of exemplar research. But this approach had never been utilized with Freedom Movement exemplars. Yet, this group was uniquely qualified for the study based on their actions in the past.

In the writings of freedom movement leaders, examples of both moral reasoning and spirituality were present. Congressman John Lewis attended James Lawson's nonviolence workshops in Nashville prior to the first lunch counter sit-ins. Lawson had studied Gandhi's methods for years prior to traveling to India and studying with Gandhi's colleagues (King Institute, 2020). Lewis speaks (Lewis & D'Orso, 1998) of the young trainees' lessons, saying Lawson's trainings were based on inner transformation and not mere strategy. Lewis made the point that the changes they were asked to make were to be made in every area of their lives and were not just a temporary solution. On the topic of their central focus and driving force, for example, according to John Lewis (1998),

This is a broader, deeper, more all-encompassing love. It is a love that accepts and embraces the hateful and the hurtful. It is a love that recognizes the spark of the divine in each of us, even in those who would raise their hand against us, those we might call our enemy. This sense of love realizes that the emotions of the moment and constantly shifting circumstances can cloud that divine spark. Pain, ugliness, and fear can cover it over, turning a person toward anger and hate. It is the ability to see through those layers of ugliness, to see further into a person than perhaps that person can see into himself, that is essential to the practice of nonviolence. (p. 85)

Colby and Damon (2013) later followed up their earlier research by explaining the benefits of exemplar research over generalized sample research, saying that exemplar studies provide a

foundation upon which we may aspire and educate by revealing a version of moral psychology which is more thoughtful, creative, reflective, and idea-driven versus a more irrational, self-focused, and externally controlled picture of moral functioning. The purpose of educational research was to aspire and educate. Not only is exemplar research uniquely suited to educational psychology, studying the life stories of Freedom Movement exemplars is uniquely suited to exemplar research, educational psychology, psychology, and humanity as a whole.

Many Freedom Movement exemplars were trained and learned to live their daily lives in a different way than most in order to endure what had to be endured in order to begin to create change. The changes they made in their own lives in order to employ what they learned, may have led to life-long changes from which we may all benefit from exploring. Exploring these changes and life experiences is precisely the point of the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008).

Research Setting

This study was conducted where the participants lived and were comfortably situated. Selected Freedom Movement exemplars agreed to participate in this study. They resided in different cities and states across the U.S. Freedom Movement exemplars are no longer young, with a mean age range of 80. We have already missed the opportunity to apply the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) to many Freedom Movement exemplars and have thereby lost the opportunity to gain information from them in regard to their moral and processes. Therefore, it is critical that exemplars be comfortable and feel secure in order to provide the depth and breadth of information possible through the Life Story Interview.

Procedures for Data Collection

Specifically, nominations were received from a variety of sources and geographic locations who are uniquely aware of the literary and oral histories of potential Freedom Movement exemplars. Nominators were asked to use their expertise and knowledge to submit nominations of potential Freedom Movement exemplars that took risks in order to accomplish something bigger than themselves during civil rights struggles.

The selection committee consisted of freelance writer, Frye Gaillard and Rev. Doug Tanner, Jr. Frye Gaillard is writer in residence at the University of South Alabama and the former Southern Editor of the *Charlotte Observer*, who authored *Cradle of Freedom, Race, Rock, and Religion: Profiles from a Southern Journalist*, and *The Dream Long Deferred, Becoming Truly Free: 300 Years of Black History in the Carolinas*, among other books. Doug Tanner is the founder and former CEO, now senior advisor, of the Faith in Politics Institute in Washington, D.C. The Faith and Politics Institute is a nonprofit, bipartisan corporation based in Washington, D.C., promoting ethical and reflective congressional leadership and seeking to bridge racial, religious, and political division. It serves members of congress and their staffs. The selection committee also included the author, Robin Harvey, who ensured the selection of exemplars adhered to the stated selection criteria. Frye Gaillard and Doug Tanner possessed the expertise necessary to select freedom movement exemplars. This author's presence on the selection committee served the purpose of facilitating the committee's work and ensure the selection criteria are met.

Many Freedom Movement exemplars have shared their stories from this era in published literature and oral stories, so nominators were familiar with potential nominees and their stories and had the expertise needed to nominate. In order to be selected, Freedom Movement

exemplars met the selection criteria developed by Colby and Damon (1992). Once Freedom Movements were selected, they were contacted and invited to participate. Interviews took place in person and were audio recorded so that they may be transcribed later. No video recording took place in this study. Once informed consent forms were signed, the Life Story Interview commenced (McAdams, 2008). As previously stated, the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) was the most appropriate tool for the present study for many reasons, but particularly because it allowed for the overlapping elements of moral psychology and spirituality in its organized, narrative structure. Another benefit of the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) is that it has a qualitative structure but is scoreable. The technique with which the interview was administered also allowed for participants to provide a wide range of responses, potentially allowing for deeper, richer answers, which may prove beneficial in the life stories of Freedom Movement exemplars.

As previously stated, the Life Story Interview was long and required cognitive work. It was likely that for many participants, the opportunity to explicitly teach fifty years later was enriching to them (i.e., enlightening us about all processes behind their previous actions is worth this time and effort). But it should not be assumed that all exemplars were eager to participate. Freedom Movement exemplars typically receive many interview requests. While they usually feel a responsibility to share their stories, it is work. For these reasons it is necessary that this study meet participants where they are. It makes sense to meet people where they are. Doing so provides an even richer opportunity for the depth and breadth of information, aspiration, and learning the Life Story Interview provides.

This is not a study where participants' identities and words were held in confidence. This was explicitly stated in the informed consent. With their permission, participants' identities were

revealed, and their data made known, unless participants requested something be held in confidence, which was respected. The reason for this was that many of these stories have been reported by the participants on other occasions and in some cases, published. Freedom Movement exemplars were, in general, by nature and age generative adults who had made sacrifices for the greater good.

Data was maintained by the author, except while it is in the possession of the professional transcriber, with whom a professional confidentiality agreement existed. The same is true for the scorers. Data were summarized firstly, according to the methodology of the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008). This included the themes of agency, communion, redemptive, and contamination sequences. Any repetitive themes emerging from the data were grouped, accordingly. The data was also scored for fourteen moral personality characteristics (Walker & Frimer, 2007).

Nominees and Selection Criteria

Nominees included anyone who took risks and made sacrifices for a cause greater than themselves and for the cause of freedom. This included those who may have marched, were jailed, threatened, intimidated, harmed, sought reconciliation and peace, encouraged the enlightenment of self and others through peaceful means, defended another, sheltered another, or made any kind of appeal to or advocated for a larger sense of peace and acceptance in society. Knowingly weighing and making self-sacrifice for the greater good was necessary for nomination.

The selection criteria developed by Colby and Damon's (1992) moral exemplar study was utilized. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the following criteria was utilized

1. a sustained commitment to moral ideas or principles that include a generalized respect for humanity or sustained evidence or moral virtue;
2. a disposition to act in accord with one's moral ideas or principles;
3. a willingness to risk one's self-interest for the sake of one's moral values;
4. a tendency to inspire others and move them to morally act; and
5. a sense of realistic humility about one's own importance, relative to a world at large, implying a relative lack of concern for one's own ego.

Once selected as nominees, exemplar participants were contacted by Doug Tanner or Frye Gaillard, briefly appraised about this study, and informed that the author would be contacting them. The author then contacted each selected participant and invited each to participate.

Institutional Review Board approval was sought and granted from The University of Alabama. Consent forms were sent to each interested participant. Following the protocol set forth in the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) appropriate permission to interview each participant was obtained. The goal was to interview a minimum of ten exemplars for this study.

In their groundbreaking study of 23 moral exemplars, Colby and Damon (1992) initially had 84 nominees. They tried to contact all of the nominees, who were nominated based on their likelihood of meeting their selection criteria. They could not find some of the nominees. Only 28 nominees agreed to participate in the study. Similar to the current study, the interview process for Colby and Damon's 1992 study was extensive. A portion of those could not complete the interview process for different reasons. However, according to Colby and Damon (1992), "the final group was no different in composition from the original nominee group of eighty-four" (p. 33). Rule and Bebeau (2005) interviewed ten dentists for their study. Their ten

participants were nominated by their professional colleagues for their outstanding good works over the course of their careers. Rule and Bebeau utilized Colby and Damon's (1992) selection criteria. They had nominees but chose to primarily select dental practitioners as opposed to dental academicians. In the current study it follows, as with Colby and Damon (1992) and Rule and Bebeau (2005), that it is best to focus on Freedom Movement exemplars who meet the selection criteria and it is believed that they will be representative of Freedom Movement exemplars as a whole.

Instrument

The Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) is both quantitative and ideographic. It allows for the exploration of intention in its' narrative form, based in history, culture, personal relationships, and interactions. The Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) is a long and personal interview. It asked participants to organize their life events into 'chapters' of their lives. This requires processing and organizing the history of their lives, including how they cognate and feel about such events in perspective of the entirety of their lives. The chapters, into which the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) asks participants to organize their life stories includes early memories, turning points, and negative life events, for example. Psychological maturity and healthy development have been associated with organizing and integrating life events and exploring negative life events (e.g., Bauer & McAdams, 2004a; McLean & Pratt, 2006; Pals, 2006a).

This study sought to expand our current knowledge of moral psychology by utilizing the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) with Freedom Movement exemplars to study spirituality's role as a motivator for moral action, to study current exemplar methodology's fitness with this unique group, while recognizing common themes in their language. Some

exemplars may have uniquely utilized both moral and spiritual processes in their life choices that may be revealed in their Life Story Interviews.

Life Story Interviews (McAdams, 2008) were scored for the themes of agency, communion, redemptive, and contamination sequences. Moral exemplars are known to balance the competing themes of agency and communion in their daily lives; agency in brief, representing self-interest and welfare while communion represents regard for others cite. Redemptive sequences allowed for a possible exploration of issues, which may directly overlap moral cognition and spiritual cognition. Redemptive sequences measured a participant's perspective of a negative life event ultimately being utilized for good in their life. Contamination was the counter to redemptive sequences in that participants' perspective of their influence on their lives was mostly negative.

The Interview Steps

Interviews were conducted, according to the protocol set forth by the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008). This method has a prescribed set of questions, designed to be asked in a particular order, though the interviewer is encouraged to ask whatever follow-up questions the interviewer deems appropriate.

The Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) has seven major categories: life chapters, key scenes, future script, challenges, personal ideology, life theme, and reflection. It begins by asking participants to organize their lives into chapters. The interview then moves on to key scenes in the participant's life story. Key scenes are to be recalled with specificity and include high point, low point, turning point, positive childhood memory, negative childhood memory, vivid adult memory, wisdom event, and religious, spiritual, or mystical experience. In the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008), each episode or scene in life reported by participants served

as one scoring unit. The future script includes what each participant believes to be their next chapter, dreams, hopes and plans for the future, and if there is a life project on which they feel they have been working. Challenges are obstacles many people experience and include a life challenge, health, loss, and failure or regret. Personal ideology represents one's fundamental beliefs and values and asks participants to review their religious and ethical values, political and social values, change and development of religious and political views, a single value they believe is most important to human living, and other values, for which the participant can add her own philosophy or not. Life theme represents what the participant views as the major theme of their entire life story. The last question asks the participant to reflect on their thoughts and feelings in experiencing the life story interview.

Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) questions request specific answers. Participants were asked to verbally recall as much information about each question as possible. Follow-up questions were encouraged to clarify themes and provide enough material for accurate scoring. The structure of the interview was one of the assets of the Life Story Interview. An example of one question in the interview is the turning point question. The interviewer asked each participant to look back in her life to recall a key moment that stands out as a turning point. The interviewer also asked for details such as each participant what happened, where, when, who was involved, what she was thinking and feeling at the time, and what she thinks this event says about her life now? The Life Story Interview is a long and detailed interview but one which many interviewees often enjoy and find helpful in cognitively organizing their lives and experiences.

Some exemplars interviewed for this study had been interviewed in the media. Some had written books about their experiences. But few people had experienced anything like the Life Story Interview in its breadth and depth of focusing on each single life story.

Life Story Interviews (McAdams, 2008) were conducted in person at a location preferred by each participant. It was necessary for participants to feel safe, secure, and comfortable in order to properly execute the Life Story Interview. One reason for this is that these interviews are time-consuming and require organization of thought in storytelling on the part of the participants. Interviews were audio-recorded, with permission by each participant, so that they could be transcribed by a professional transcriber, and later scored.

Data Analysis

Life Story Interview Scoring

Life Story Interviews in this study are scored using two methods; The Life Story Interview scoring mechanism and scoring for Moral Personality. Life Story Interviews are scored by two trained scorers for four sequences: themes of agency and communion, redemptive sequences, and contamination sequences. These are fundamental themes identified by McAdams that are central to the description of the self. It is within these themes that the scoring will further attend to moral and spiritual considerations (see below). The themes of agency and communion were first developed by David Bakan (1966). Agency represents one's individuality, the boundaries one places around herself, isolation, aloneness, the motivation for mastery, growth, protection, and assertion. Communion represents an individual's participation in her larger community, the lack of boundaries around self, connectedness, openness, cooperation, and union with others. One theme is not desirable over another. Both themes are essential to our functioning as humans. Highly developed individuals are known to balance the

competing yet essential themes of agency and communion. Redemptive sequences evolve from obstacles and challenges in life toward leading to a positive outcome or emotion. An example of redemptiveness may be that losing a job leads to a new life and new career which is more meaningful than the last or that the loss of a parent leads to a better relationship with one's children. Contamination sequences are the opposite. Perceived good life events are followed by perceived bad events. Examples of this may include making a new friend only to lose them shortly after to a fatal disease or associating a bad event with a good one, like associating a warm summer day with having been injured or harmed, which may represent a past experience.

Agency and Communion Sequences

McAdams (2008) adopted Bakan's (1966) themes for use in scoring the Life Story Interview and guided autobiography. For scoring purposes, each life event or question in the interview is scored for themes of agency, which include achievement and responsibility, power and impact, self-insight status and victory. Achievement and responsibility are defined by feeling successful, a sense of accomplishment responsibility, or having met a challenge or goal. Ω Power and impact mean self-assertion in a way that was of benefit to the interviewee. Self-insight means that the subject gained some new knowledge or awareness about herself. Status and victory mean that the interviewee gained status or achievement through or from the recognition or perspective of others.

Each of the four items comprising the theme of agency is given a score of +1 or 0 for the presence or lack of presence of each theme within the overall agency theme. The highest agency score that a subject can receive is a total of 4. The lowest possible agency score is 0.

The themes of communion include love and friendship, dialogue, caring and help, and unity and togetherness. A +1 score in love and friendship indicates a subject experienced

enhanced love or friendship following an event. A positive dialogue score indicates the subject experienced enhanced and reciprocal communication with another or others in the described event. Giving or receiving any kind of help, care, or support in an event rates a positive score for caring and help. Unity and togetherness positive scores indicate the subject experienced an enhanced sense of community or belongingness in an event. Like the agency theme, each of the four subtypes of communion receives a +1 score for the presence of a subtype and a 0 for the lack of presence. Like agency, the total possible communion score is 4. Also, 0 is the lowest possible communion theme score.

Redemptive Sequences

Each life event or answer to a life event question will also be scored for redemptive sequences. The process of scoring for redemptive sequences is different from scoring agency and communion. Redemptive sequences must first be scored for redemptive imagery, which indicates both the presence of a significantly negative event followed by a positive outcome or emotion. Without the presence of redemptive imagery, scoring for redemptive sequences goes no further. Without the presence of both a negative event and a positive outcome or emotion, redemptive imagery would receive a score of 0 and no further scoring for redemptive sequences would be done. Redemptive imagery usually occurs through growth, recovery, learning, or any improvement of some kind.

An event that meets the criteria for redemptive imagery contains both a negative event followed by a positive outcome or emotion, and results in a +1 score. Further scoring of redemptive sequences is then undertaken for the themes of enhanced agency, enhanced communion, and ultimate concern. A positive enhanced agency score indicates that the negative event's evolution to a positive outcome led to an interviewee feeling or experiencing greater

feelings of personal power, growth, motivation, or ability. Enhanced communion represents an interviewee feeling enhanced love and relationship, or an increased perception of one's responsibility to the larger community around her. Ultimate concern represents enhanced feelings of existential issues of great meaning to the interviewee as an ultimate result of the event. This may include a new spiritual awareness, of God, or other life-and death issues. Redemptive sequences tend to be indicative of the presence of spiritual aspects of interviewee's stories.

Contamination Sequences

The presence of any negative event following a more positive state receives a score of +1. The absence of a negative event following a more positive event or state receives a score of 0. There are common contamination themes such as betrayal, victimization, loss, failure, psychological or physical illness or injury, disappointment, disillusionment, and sex. One event may contain multiple types of contamination but will only receive a total score of +1 or 0. The scores of exemplars will be analyzed after all interviews are scored by two independent scorers and interrater agreement is assessed.

Moral Personality Scoring

In their study of moral personality, Walker and Frimer (2007) developed moral personality traits based on several different modalities developed by McAdams (1995b) in order to study the moral personality characteristics of brave and caring exemplars. One end goal of this study was to determine if personality variables help to bridge the judgment-action gap. Understanding the personality characteristics of moral personality will help us to recognize them in the life stories of freedom movement exemplars in the current study should they arise.

Moral elements in the language of freedom movement exemplars will be scored in a manner similar to that of the scoring for the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008). The presence of each element will receive a score of +1. The absence of a moral element in a Life Story will receive a score of 0. Since there are fourteen characteristics of moral personality as developed by Walker and Frimer (2008), the highest possible score for moral personality is fourteen.

Dominance

Dominance describes one's ability to start something and get something done. It is agentic and a trait of effectiveness. In their study of brave and caring exemplars, Walker and Frimer (2007) found that their brave exemplars tended to exhibit dominance in their personalities. An example of the presence of dominance is someone who witnesses a person stealing something from another person and intervenes in some way, without much time to think. The presence of dominance in a life story will receive a score of +1 while the absence of it will receive a score of 0.

Nurturance

Nurturance is similar to agreeableness, which is an interpersonal trait of positive emotional regard, communally. Nurturance is also a trait Walker and Frimer (2007) found in the personalities of their caring exemplars. One example of nurturance might be a teacher who routinely brings extra food for lunch, knowing one of her students is likely to forget their lunch. The presence of nurturance in a life story will receive a score of +1 while the absence of it will receive a 0.

Power

Power is a goal motivation concerned with influencing others and seeking attention but is also associated with unsolicited help and competition. Walker and Frimer (2007) associated power with bravery. An example of power might simply be opening the door for someone whose hands are full. The presence of power in a life story will receive a score of +1 while the absence of it will receive a score of 0.

Affiliation and Intimacy

These are also goal motivations concerned with building and maintaining relationships as well as closeness and commitment to another. Walker and Frimer (2007) found their caring exemplars displayed a greater concern for intimacy. An example of affiliation is a friend who makes a routine effort to contact another friend while an example of intimacy would be one friend asking another what is wrong when the other is visibly upset. The presence of affiliation and intimacy will receive a score of +1. The absence will receive a score of 0.

Generativity

Generativity is another goal motivation that is concerned with giving of oneself for the future of others or having an enduring influence. Walker and Frimer (2007) cite McAdams' research on generativity and its' relationship with agency and communion as a characteristic of exemplarity. An example of generativity is someone who builds a bridge across a ravine he's already crossed for others who might follow behind him. The presence of generativity will receive a score of +1. The absence of it will receive a score of 0.

Spiritual Self-Transcendence

This is a goal motivation that reflects a commitment to considerations that are larger than the self; unity, awareness of divinity, and such. Colby and Damon (1992), Matsuba and Walker

(2004), and Walker and Frimer (2007) found their exemplars identified their religious or spiritual beliefs as motivators behind their moral action. An example of spiritual self-transcendence may be an employee advocating for another employee when the boss is accusing the other employee of misconduct out of vengeance. The intervening employee understands he will likely be fired for his actions but reasons that silence would cost him his relationship with his God or his connection to the universe. The presence of spiritual self-transcendence will receive a score of +1 while the absence of it will receive a score of 0.

Identity and Personal Growth

Identity is a goal motivation concerned with self-understanding, resolving role confusion, and improving the self. Matsuba and Walker (2004) found exemplars have a more established moral identity while the associated personal growth is associated with deeply held personal goals. An example of identity and personal growth is one who cannot vote for a candidate because he might view that vote as a violation of his own moral identity, which may prevent or reverse his personal growth. The presence of identity and personal growth will receive a +1. The absence of it will receive a 0.

Agency

As previously discussed, agency is a life narrative theme. Agency reflects self-mastery, achievement and responsibility, empowerment, and status. Agency is typically associated with the self and one's ability to put self forward to accomplish something, assert oneself, be aware of and protect one's self-interest, and self-promotion.

Communion

Communion is also a life narrative theme concerned with love and friendship, communicating with others, caring and helping others, and togetherness. Walker and Frimer

(2007) found that their moral exemplars possessed a balance of both agency and communion beyond their comparison group. An example of agency is someone who starts a neighborhood group text in reaction to a recent rash of small thefts in the neighborhood. An example of communion might be the same except that the person who started the group text did so for the sake of others, therefore seeing his action as a responsibility to the whole, including the thief. The presence of agency in a life story will receive a score of +1 while the absence of it in a life story will receive a score of 0. The same scoring will occur for the presence or absence of communion.

Affective Tone

This is a measure that accounts for the overall tone of the life narrative. This ranges on a scale from completely pessimistic in tone to completely optimistic in tone. Walker and Frimer (2007) found that their caring exemplars possessed a more optimistic affective tone than their comparison group. An example of an optimistic affective tone would be an overall tone of hope and positivity over a recalled life story. The presence of an affective tone in a life story will receive a score of +1. The absence of it will receive a score of 0.

Redemption and Contamination

Also, as previously discussed, redemption and contamination represent one's perspective and outlook as to how to construe stories in their life narrative. Redemption represents construing good from bad events while contamination represents construing a negative outcome from a positive event. Walker and Frimer (2007) found their moral exemplars tended to view negative life events as having played an ultimately important positive role in their life stories. An example of redemptiveness is having lost a loved one but focusing more on what gifts that loved one left than the loss itself.

Needs of Others

Needs of others is considered an early life advantage where one is sensitized early in life to the needs of others, influencing how one sees their responsibilities to care for others. Walker and Frimer (2007) found that sensitivity to the needs of others was related to nurturance, spiritual self-transcendence, identity and personal growth, agency and communion, affective tone, redemptiveness, affiliation, intimacy, and generativity. An example of sensitivity to the needs of others is a customer in line who notices the frustration of the convenience store clerk when the customer at the register is talking on their cell phone. The presence of sensitivity to the needs of others scores a +1 while the absence of it scores a 0.

Helpers and Enemies

The presence of helpers and the absence of enemies is also considered an early life advantage, which is considered to positively influence exemplary moral action. Walker and Frimer (2007) found that their moral exemplars experienced more helpers and less enemies in their early lives. An example of a helper is a grandfather who positively models a caring and strong manhood for a young grandson. The presence of helpers will receive a score of +1. The absence of it will receive a score of 0.

Attachments

The quality of attachments to immediate and influential family members were measured and reported as mean across a participant's multiple family relationships. These are considered early life advantages. Walker and Frimer (2007) found that their moral exemplars had more secure attachments early in life than their comparison group. An example of a secure attachment early in life is a daughter who has never had to doubt whether her mother is going to pick her up

from day care or not at the end of the day. The presence of secure attachments in a life story will receive a score of +1 while the absence of it will receive a score of 0.

Data Trend Analysis

Once interviews are scored according to McAdams' (2008) methodology for the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008), they will be re-examined for repetitive themes emerging from the data. Because this was an exploratory study with no comparison group, all data were examined for repetitive themes after scoring, according to the methodology for the Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008). Repetitive themes may include common motivation exemplars used to explain their actions. They may include elements of spirituality if they emerge from the data as they have in Freedom Movement (1963) exemplars' published writing (Lewis & D'Orso, 1998).

This analysis approach was necessary to remain open to indications of moral processing and spirituality. In reporting the results of this study, two scores for each exemplar were reported and a profile approach was utilized, with a brief biography given for each Freedom Movement exemplar. These two scores consisted of a moral personality characteristic score and a Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) score. Data was reported for repetitive trends. Because this was an exploratory study, any potential delineation of scoring as high or low was determined after the data had been obtained. Scores from the moral personality characteristic results were compared to Walker and Frimer's (2007) Brave and Caring Exemplars study.

Recognizing patterns in the data was critical and informative. This was necessary to attend to the emerging patterns in the data that may not have emerged in the existing exemplar scoring methods. To summarize, each exemplar's data were reported, and overall scores were reported. Based upon existing research (Walker, 2013; Walker & Frimer, 2007), it was expected

that Freedom Movement exemplars would balance agency, communion, and redemptive sequences. But remaining open to emerging patterns in these data ensured an additional element of learning more about moral psychology.

Conclusion

This chapter yielded an overview of the research design for the current study. In summary, exemplars were nominated then selected for the study, based upon the stated exemplar criteria. Potential participants were contacted, and informed consent obtained. Interviews were conducted in person. Interviews were scored by the researcher for themes of agency, communion, redemptive sequences, and contamination sequences as well as scored for moral personality characteristics. Data were examined for trends within and between the two categories of scores. All data were reread for repetitive patterns. The purpose of this procedure was to allow for the most open consideration of the data so that we may continue to attempt to account for moral functioning.

CHAPTER IV:

RESULTS

The present methodology called for each of the exemplar's having two scores, a score for moral personality characteristics and a Life Story Interview (McAdams, 1995) score. Walker and Frimer (2007) developed moral personality traits, based, in part upon McAdams (1995b) work in order to study their brave and caring exemplars. Walker and Frimer (2007) found their caring exemplars tended to possess fourteen of their moral personality characteristics. The exemplars in this study were given a moral personality score from 0-14.

The other score freedom movement exemplars were given was the Life Story Interview score. The Life Story Interview (2008) is the interview technique used to interview the freedom movement exemplars. The exemplars in this study were given a total score for each major category of agency, communion, redemptive sequences, and contamination sequences, which will total one Life Story Interview score.

For the eleven exemplars, a summary score table is offered. This summary score table is followed by each exemplar's story.

Bob Zellner

Table 1

Exemplar 1: Bob Zellner

Birthdate: April 5, 1939

Participant	Moral Personality Characteristics	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination Sequences	LSI Total score
Bob Zellner	14	32	32	31	0	95

Bob Zellner was the first white southerner to join the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as a field secretary. SNCC is a civil rights organization, originally organized by Martin Luther King and Ella Baker, exclusively led by young people. He was born and raised in South Alabama. He was the son and grandson of Ku Klux Klan members, though his father was a reformed KKK member (<https://snccdigital.org/people/bob-zellner/>, 2020). In college, Zellner chose to do his senior thesis, which was interviewing Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, and E.D. Nixon. By interviewing King, Parks, and Nixon, Zellner and several of his classmates had broken the segregation law (<https://tahlequahdailynews.com/2020>). When police arrived to arrest the college students, Martin Luther King distracted police while Mrs. Parks showed the students a back way out, issuing Zellner a directive along the walk. Zellner recalls Mrs. Parks saying,

Bob when you see something wrong, you have to take action, you have to do something. Someday, something is going to happen in front of you and you're going to have to take a stand. You can't study this forever. (<https://news/civil-rights...99d46-5a45-11ee-aaba-abebbf7fc4f0.html>, Feb. 28, 2020)

Influenced by his family's own struggle as well as inspirational people along the way, like Mrs. Parks, Zellner has devoted his life to service to others (<https://snccdigital.org/people/bob-zellner/>). He has marched, supported marches, organized workshops, prepped protesters for nonviolent lunch counter sit—ins, integrated, coordinated volunteers, and worked on uniting the races and improving poverty. His entire life has been spent in service to others and dedication to causes as well as his own right to express his philosophy.

Along the way, he had been jailed, shot, and beaten numerous times, sometimes to the point of unconsciousness. He suffered from brain damage from the beatings as well as from post-traumatic stress disorder. His work continues wherever there is voter suppression or an

attempt at limiting the freedom of others. A movie based on his book, *The Wrong Side of Murder Creek: A White Southerner in the Freedom Movement*, is due to be released in 2020.

Bob Zellner's moral personality characteristic score is 14 out of 14. Similar to Walker and Frimer's (2007) brave exemplars, he showed the trait of dominance in his ability to start something and get something done. This is visible across Zellner's life span. One example of this is within two weeks of starting to work with SNCC, Zellner went to McComb, Mississippi to attend a SNCC staff meeting and to go to campuses and meet with students. Zellner says the choice of McComb, Mississippi, at the time an area of heavy Ku Klux Klan activity, as a site for SNCC's staff meeting was intentional. Zellner said of the choice, "we wanted to go where the action was. We wanted to be facing the same dangers and life-threatening situations that the people we were beginning to work with were facing" (p. 4 of transcript). But when Zellner arrived, a black farmer, Herbert Lee, had been murdered, shot in the head by his next-door neighbor, a white member of the Mississippi State Legislature for registering to vote. When Zellner and the students began to protest, taking the new, "green" Zellner off-guard. When Zellner arrived at the school to meet students, the students were walking out of school, protesting the murder of Herbert Lee as well as the expulsion of one of their classmates for participating in civil rights activities. He had a choice to make then to continue on his original mission or to let the movement show him where to lead. He chose the latter. The student walk-out took them from the school to steps of city hall where they were beaten by counter protesters and police.

Like Walker and Frimer's (2008) caring exemplars, Zellner had a host of nurturers in his life. His parents were nurturers as well as his family, evidenced by his Aunt Lavada and Uncle Doug, providing a young Zellner a home while he went to school in the city to get ahead of where he had been in his regular school.

Zellner received a score for power because when he saw a need anywhere near him, he usually reached to try to fill it. This is evidenced by the story above with the students in McComb, Mississippi when his original mission clearly was not going to make a difference that particular day. His choice to support the students and march with them became a force that linked the students to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Zellner experienced affiliation and intimacy growing up and therefore received a positive score in this area. When he was young and in school, Zellner used to get bullied every day, he said. His older brother attended the same school but knew the younger Zellner had to fight his own battles. He said his father, a Methodist minister took him aside and talked with him about it, contradicting past advice on violence, and giving Bob permission to fight back for himself. He told his brother, "Today is the day." At recess Zellner says he "walked out like Gary Cooper going to High Noon" (p. 14, transcript). When one bully gave up and called in another, Zellner says, Jim, his brother "stepped up and said, One at a time, gentlemen. If you get more, you'll have to deal with me. That's my little brother, Bob" (p. 14).

Generativity is the giving on oneself for the future of others. Since this is the entirety of Bob Zellner's life, there is too many examples to cite. Zellner cited his second experience at a spiritual self-transcendental experience as being a speaker at a senior day he helped to organize where he had to fight the system, his lack of self-esteem, stage fright, and dyslexia to speak. The crowd laughed along with him through much of the speech, he said.

Zellner displayed many examples of identity and personal growth in the childhood and adolescence, he mentioned these in his interview as well as adulthood. Examples included scenes already discussed in the time he spent growing up in Daphne, Alabama as well as his adolescent years in Mobile, Alabama. But this also includes his college years as well as time

spent in the freedom movement and the traumatic consequences. All experiences, regardless of consequence, were used by Zellner for a deepening sense of identity and personal growth.

Zellner has displayed agency, throughout his life. One early example of this is Zellner's choice to conduct his senior thesis by interviewing Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks, amongst others. Zellner was in college at Huntington College in Montgomery, Alabama where segregation laws existed. Zellner got around this at first by interviewing Martin Luther King in the federal courthouse in Montgomery. But when Zellner was invited to a workshop held at a church he jumped at the chance and brought others with him. The police soon arrived at the church with the intention of arresting the students for violating the segregation law. Because of his agency, nothing was going to stop Zellner from doing what he thought was right and seeing a mission through to completion.

He displayed the trait of communion throughout his life as well. When the freedom movement splintered after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Zellner helped to institute the Grow Project in Mississippi, aimed at addressing education and poverty in the south. The goal was to reach people on the basis of meeting their needs in order to eventually change their beliefs, addressing the freedom movement from a different direction.

Similar to Walker and Frimer's (2007) caring exemplars, Zellner had an overall affective tone in his life story. This means that no matter what happened, he displayed an overall tone of hope and positivity. For instance, an episode in the interview where he was beaten he categorizes as a high point because two of the SNCC members that were in McComb with him who were African-American stood between Zellner and the counter-protesters and police, risking their own lives to save his that day. The sense of brotherhood and courage in the face of danger gave him

hope and a sense of belonging. Throughout his life story he pulled hope out of every situation. Hope appeared to be the fuel that kept Bob Zellner working on behalf of others.

For these same reasons Zellner scored positive for redemptive sequences as he found a way to create or find good out of bad situations.

In his early years in Daphne as a minister's son, Zellner was exposed in his early life to the needs of others, sensitizing him, much like Walker and Frimer's (2008) caring exemplars. Therefore, he received a positive score for the needs of others. As previously discussed, he also benefitted from having many helpers in his early life and few enemies. Whenever his immediate family could not help him, other family members stepped up to help Zellner (recall Aunt Lavada and Uncle Doug). This resulted in a positive score for helpers. Zellner also benefitted from having secure attachments in his early life with his caring parents and family and receives a positive score for attachments. These scores resulted in an overall moral personality trait score of 14 for Bob Zellner.

Life Story Interview scoring included the larger categories of agency, communion, redemptive sequences, and contamination sequences, representing subcategories for each. Zellner's overall Life Story Interview score was 95.

Since we have already discussed Zellner's agency score in the moral personality characteristic scoring and because it is evident alongside other characteristics already discussed in Zellner's case, it is not necessary to repeat. Zellner scored in achievement and responsibility, power and impact, self-insight status, and victory, resulting in his overall agency score of 32.

This Life Story Interview communion score included the subcategories of love and friendship, dialogue, caring and help, and unity and togetherness. Love and friendship were addressed in previous stories about Zellner's family and sense of belonging in SNCC. A positive

score for dialogue included receiving enhanced communication during episodes and events. Zellner's activity, success, and stories consistently reflected his ability to communicate as central to his actions and therefore receives positive scores. Giving or receiving help in any form receives a positive score in the Life Story interview. Since this is how Zellner spent his life, he received positive scores for this category. Since unity and togetherness represent an enhanced sense of belongingness or sense of community, Zellner exemplified this in his works. Zellner's response to an interview question might most succinctly address Zellner's communion scores. When asked what the most important single value in human living is, Zellner replied it is "we. The common good, the collective good. If we take care of that, we'll do very well, and it's hard to do, so we brings us together and doesn't separate us. We can deal with all of our difficulties and all of our differences as long as we understand we are in it together. We're humans, and we owe a debt to each other as human beings, as life" (p. 12, part 2 of transcript). Bob Zellner's communion score totaled 32.

Zellner's score for redemptive sequences includes first, that each episode had redemptive imagery. If an episode does not have a positive score for this, scoring in this category goes no further. If redemptive imagery is present in an episode, the category is further scored for enhanced agency, enhanced communion, and ultimate concern. Enhanced agency represented an episode resulting in Zellner feeling something difficult has led to enhanced feelings of personal power or achievement while enhanced communion means a trying event leads to enhanced feelings of belonging or responsibility to community. Ultimate concern scores reflected Zellner's finding of some deeper meaning in an episode, possibly a new spiritual awareness or meaning of life issues. Zellner's redemptive sequences score was 31. This means that in all

episodes except for one, Zellner experienced redemptive imagery, enhanced agency, enhanced communion, and ultimate concern.

Zellner’s contamination score was a 0. A contamination sequence score is a negative state following a more positive state. Bad things happened to Bob Zellner. He was beaten and traumatized countless times, he became an addict after disengaging emotionally but none of these things happened following a positive state. Zellner actively chose the life he led and knowingly took risks of his survival, his health, his status, and his finances for the benefit of the greater good.

Bernard Lafayette

Table 2

Exemplar 2: Bernard Lafayette

Birthdate: July 29, 1940

Participant	Moral Personality Score	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination Sequences	LSI Total Score
Bernard Lafayette	14	32	32	32	1	97

Bernard Lafayette, born in Tampa, Florida, had joined the NAACP by age 12 and left home to study at the American Baptist Theological Seminary in Nashville, Tennessee in 1959 and 1960 (<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/lafayette-bernard>), fatefully placing him directly in the pathway of Dr. Martin Luther King and Rev. James Lawson, who led nonviolent workshops, training the future leaders of the freedom movement, including Lafayette and his cohorts, future Congressman John Lewis, Diane Nash, and Ralph Abernathy among others. Lafayette, Lewis, and other Nashville Student Movement members began lunch counter sit-ins in nonviolent protest of segregation. In 1961 he was severely beaten in Montgomery, Alabama for participating in Freedom Rides, jailed in Birmingham, Alabama

(<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/meet-players-freedom-riders/>), and arrested in Jackson, Mississippi for Freedom Ride participation. He served time in the infamous Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman.

In 1963, Lafayette was appointed as the director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC's) Alabama Voter Registration Project, headquartered in Selma, Alabama, on the same day Medgar Evers was assassinated in Jackson, Mississippi. Lafayette survived an assassination attempt in Selma, courtesy of a veteran neighbor but suffered a head injury when his attackers hit him with the shoulder stock of a rifle. Lafayette was also appointed by Dr. King as the program director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), an organization whose primary goal was to organize large, nonviolent protests and still helps to shape Washington, DC's and the nation's conscience and awareness of civil rights issues as well as voter education (<https://snccdigital.org/people/bernard-lafayette/>). Bernard Lafayette received his doctorate from Harvard University, a doctorate from Mount Holyoke College, and an honorary doctorate from the University of Rhode Island in recognition of his life's work in nonviolence. He was jailed, beaten, almost murdered, and even kidnapped by the Colombian leftist rebels, the FARC. He returned to Selma to build his most recent project, The Selma Center for Nonviolence, Truth and Reconciliation.

Bernard Lafayette's moral personality characteristic score was a 14 out of 14. Lafayette received a positive score for dominance. A couple of examples from Lafayette at age seven illustrated this personality trait. He told a story of literally jumping out of bed each morning at 5:30 a.m. to buy Cuban coffee for the shop owners nearby. Every morning he bought ten cups of coffee, reselling them to the merchants at a profit. At the restaurant each morning while waiting for his "wholesale" coffee to be prepared he gradually held his first sit-in by first only leaning on

a stool, then placing one hip upon a stool, and eventually sitting on a stool. “I decided that since I was waiting, it wouldn’t be disrespectful for me to sit on the stool. They weren’t serving food as such and the store was not opened so I was not interfering with any customs or traditions...And I should be respected as a wholesale merchant because that’s what I was...I remember the person looked out the window to make sure no one was looking, and we looked back at each other and that was the moment of truth. From that point on, I sat when I waited for my coffee and that was an important action that I took at the early age of seven and I was aware of segregation and those kinds of things, etc...” he explained.

The other illustration at age seven involved the trolley car and his grandmother. He explained the custom at the time in Tampa, Florida was for African-Americans to pay their fare at the front of the car, disembark, and then hurry to the back of the car to enter by the back door. Sometimes the cable car conductor closed all the doors after African-Americans paid the fare as they were hurrying alongside the car to enter by the back door, taking their fare and leaving them out of the cable car. Lafayette described one day when his grandmother’s heel got caught in the track as she hurried to the back of the cable car along the side. As little Bernard tried to help his grandmother off the tracks, the cable car passed, clipping little Bernard. He stated,

I felt so helpless and powerless...I can almost feel that feeling whenever I tell the story. It was awful that I felt so helpless and I didn’t like that because I felt always very strong and capable of doing whatever needed to be done and overdoing it if necessary. But I remember saying something to myself that I never did forget. I said to myself when I get grown, I’m going to do something about this problem. So at age seven, I made a commitment. I didn’t know what I was going to do but I couldn’t wait to get grown. In fact, I don’t remember too much of my childhood because I was so anxious to grow up.

Many of Bernard Lafayette’s stories involved his family. The nurturance he received from his family gave him a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of nurturance. He spoke of many fond immediate family memories but was is also clear that his grandmother

influenced his life immensely. For instance, he moved in with her when he was 12 years-old, along with his little sisters. He stated that he learned to cook as well as organize from his grandmother, who ran her own boarding house. To help her, he would have to evict renters, if they committed any form of violence while there. His grandmother would not tolerate violence. She also founded a church in their home in Tampa that remains today as a large church. Families would come to church and discuss family situations after reading scripture, which Lafayette says exposed him to the roots of his own behavior and character. He credits the building of the church with his development as a person.

Lafayette also received a positive score for power, which can be attention-seeking but also providing unsolicited help. One aspect of a story, previously discussed, illustrates this point. When Lafayette and his grandmother went to catch the cable car and she paid their fare at the front of the cable car, disembarked, and rushed alongside the cable car, little Bernard would run ahead of her, jumping into the threshold of the back door of the cable car. This forced the doors to remain open until his grandmother could board through the “appropriate” door. This was an early example of Lafayette’s use of power in his lifetime.

Lafayette displayed a devotion to his family that indicated his characteristic of affiliation and intimacy. This reflected in a positive score for this moral personality characteristic. But his dedication to nonviolence and peace led him to build close relationships in the movement and also led others to trust him when the stakes were high. This was seen when Lafayette was in school in Harvard. At the time he was in college, there was a standoff at Wounded Knee in Black Hills, South Dakota. Native Americans were in a standoff with the government when the Department of the Interior ordered members of the American Indian Movement off the reservation. Lafayette bought an airline ticket and flew to Wounded Knee. He managed to sit

down with the tribe and the government to smoke the peace pipe. Once again, Lafayette had been integral to bringing peace to a combative situation.

Bernard Lafayette's life was a study in generativity, resulting in a positive score for this characteristic. Examples included his seven-year-old stories, joining the NAACP at age 12, attending nonviolence workshops and the Nashville Student Movement while in school in Nashville, his dedication to the freedom movement, and forming a new major project in Selma in the 1970's. These were evidence of Lafayette's generativity.

Lafayette stated that his spiritual transcendence came disguised in an assassination attempt. He was in Selma, Alabama, serving as the director of the voter registration project in June of 1963, the same day of Medgar Evers' assassination in Mississippi. According to Lafayette, two white men were working on a car that had broken outside of Bernard Lafayette's Selma apartment. The two men knocked on Lafayette's door, asking him for a "push," meaning to help push their broken car. When Lafayette went to help, one of the men asked him how much he would charge them for a push. Lafayette said he told them he would charge them nothing. When Lafayette leaned to push the car, the men hit him in the back of the head twice with the shoulder stock of a rifle. He fell to the ground. He got up, he said, because "we were always taught to face our potential assailant to emphasize our humanity." But the men hit him in a tender spot on his head again and he fell to the ground again. He got up again, this time with the barrel of the gun pointed at him, and summoned his neighbor, Red, a Vietnam veteran to witness his murder. Red ran out of his apartment with his own gun pointed at the assailants. Lafayette stepped between the assailants and Red, asking Red not to shoot the assailants. Lafayette now had the assailant's gun pointed in his back and Red's gun in his face. "I put my life up to protect a guy who was trying to take my life," he said. The assailants left. "I've

already given my life to the movement,” he explained, saying it was his spiritual strength and willingness to give his life that saved his life that day.

The moral personality characteristics of Identity and Personal Growth received a positive score. Lafayette had already explained that his time with his grandmother and the formation of her church had a major impact on his personal development. But he was also shaped by many influences, including his time in Nashville in the Nashville Student Movement where he learned to respect opposing forces, understand how to reach conclusions, determine the best conclusions for all parties, find common ground, and leave without harsh feelings so that the goal is attended to and not one person.

Lafayette received a positive score for agency. One example of this was his joining with the movement. He was so young, when he started, that his parents had to sign a permission slip for him to participate in his first freedom ride. But his father refused, saying, “I’m not going to sign your death warrant.” Lafayette’s little brother, Harold Lee had died at age 4 when his heart stopped beating. Lafayette’s father did not want to lose another son. His father was so concerned about Lafayette’s survival that he decided to have another son. When Bernard was 22, he had a new little brother. Lafayette never wavered in his dedication to the movement, regardless of the consequences.

Evidence of Lafayette’s characteristic of communion was seen throughout his life span. There were multitude of examples of Lafayette’s emphasis on personal sacrifice for the greater good. A good example of this would be Lafayette’s nonviolent participation in the freedom movement in general. Lafayette totally and intentionally dedicated his life to the freedom movement. He was well aware of the risks and was trained in ways to manage that risk while still being willing to give his life so that nobody and nobody’s grandmother ever had to walk

outside of the cable car again to enter it by the back door. But giving up his life to the movement meant total surrender. The freedom rides and the lunch counter sit-ins were incredibly dangerous in different ways. The freedom rides penetrated societies with fresh thinking, awareness, and hope while the sit-ins were peaceful, open defiance of custom. With both, there came the promise of trouble in some form, be it bombings, murder, arrest, or beatings. But the only way to create real change in that situation was to be willing to sacrifice everything for what was yet to be, to hand their very lives over to this cause. “What we learned was that it was important as we went along and had these experiences that not only that we were involved in the movement but the movement was in us, and that’s when you become much more powerful, when you have the movement in you, so it’s not a matter of withdrawal because you can’t withdraw what is in you... The people hadn’t gone to nonviolence training but the only way they followed our leadership was the fact that they saw the movement in us and they saw what we’re willing to do and what sacrifices we’re willing to make,” he explained.

Lafayette received a positive score for affective tone. Due to his early development, growing up with his parents and grandmother, he knew to work at solving problems and has spoken about finding early grounding in his identity in the church his grandmother founded. He told a story about being in the Hinds County Jail in Jackson, Mississippi with other freedom riders where each night they entertained the night warden by singing to him and making up songs about him. It was not long before they had built a close relationship with this night warden who would later send a trustee to get ice cream for the group, hiding it under a clean mop head placed on top of a bucket and wheeled to their cells. What Bernard Lafayette called the major theme of his life may have influenced this affective tone. “The major theme of my life story is overcome

evil with hate and love. That is the most powerful force that you could use against violence and hate,” he said.

A positive score for redemption was best illustrated by what Lafayette called the lowest point in his life, the murder of Martin Luther King. But Lafayette also called this the turning point of his life. He said he has yet to shed a tear over it and has yet to truly grieve it. He described, “I turned it into a transformation.” He said it gave his life direction. He was with King in Memphis, Tennessee. They were there to help with the sanitation strike. Lafayette said he would never see King so exhausted as he was in Memphis. It had been raining and was taking longer than planned. King was due in Washington, D.C., and when he saw he needed to stay in Memphis, asked Lafayette to stand-in for him in D.C.

Lafayette recalled King’s last words to him, “He said, ‘Bernard, the next movement we want to have is to internalize and institutionalize nonviolence, to be discussed later.’” For Lafayette, King’s last words and action to him was to send him on and give him another mission, a mission into which Lafayette seemed to invest his life’s work. Lafayette reflects, “So to me it was tragic. Martin Luther King’s death was tragic, but his life was miraculous, and I cannot imagine what this world would be like had he lived longer and was able to inspire other people. So that’s the way I would put it. How it affected me personally, I can only think about the positive things that he did and the way he inspired me and even inspires me now. There’s not a single day that goes by when I don’t...Look, he’s sitting right here.” Lafayette said he was also inspired by how King approached being in jail saying, “Jail, a confinement? Oh no, that was definement. That’s why he was able to write that letter. It was defining in his thoughts and that kind of thing, refinement.”

Lafayette's positive score for the moral personality characteristic for the needs of others can be seen early in his life. Becoming aware of and attending to the needs of others was considered an early life advantage, ultimately leading to exemplarity. Lafayette has told us stories that reflect that care of his grandmother and how he internalized those experiences. He told us about families gathering for church at his home with his grandmother, discussing family situations, helping his grandmother run her boarding house, rocking his little brother in his bassinet before he died, and helping care for his little sisters. He concerned himself with oppression, exclusion, and simple human respect before he was ten years old.

Lafayette received a positive score for helpers and enemies because he had many helpers and few enemies while young. He had close relationships with his parents and grandmother while he was young. Because of his work ethic, he also managed to garner the support of bosses or people in positions of authority. Whether it was grocery store managers or teachers, Lafayette knew how to put the work in that in return got him whatever additional help he needed. His teacher spent extra time with him outside of school to help him catch up where he was once behind. A grocer hired him to mop floors. After a while, Lafayette held nearly every job in the store, from butcher, produce manager, cashier, and panel truck driver. He had a lot of helpers in his family and found many outside of his family as well.

Another early life advantage as a child, he had secure family relationships. Lafayette also received a positive score because he was securely attached to his mother, his father, and his grandmother, among others. We have discussed his father and grandmother. Lafayette continued to take care of his mother throughout his life, buying her and his wife new Easter dresses each year, and helping his mother navigate dialysis while he was president of the seminary.

Lafayette’s Life Story Interview score is 97. We have already addressed Lafayette’s agency, communion and redemptive sequences. Lafayette received a score of one for contamination sequences. His little brother, Harold Lee suddenly died at four months old when Bernard was four years old. His heart stopped. Lafayette said he used to rock him and sing him to sleep in his bassinette. At the time, Bernard and Harold Lee were the only Lafayette children. One day Harold Lee just disappeared from Lafayette’s perspective, which made him wonder if he too could disappear. After Harold Lee died, Lafayette did not recall his parents talking about it. In fact, years later when he had little sisters, some of them did not know they ever had a brother. When Harold Lee died so suddenly, Lafayette spoke of feeling alone. “I felt very much alone. I felt it in a real sense my first seven years. I grew up alone without sisters and brothers, and many of the other schoolmates and my own playmates coming up as siblings,” he said. Lafayette explained that he used to touch his own heart to make sure it was still beating when he was young.

Reverend Ed King

Table 3

Exemplar 3: Reverend Ed King

Birthdate: September 20, 1936

Participant	Moral Personality Characteristics	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination Sequences	LSI Total Score
Ed King	14	29	32	32	1	94

Rev. Ed King grew up in his native Vicksburg, Mississippi. His family had a plantation near Vicksburg, which, according to plantation history, was the first plantation General Sherman burned in the siege of Vicksburg during the Civil War. When he was young, he began to notice disparity around his home. He noticed the geography of Vicksburg, where the wealthier families

lived on hilltops with river views and paved streets while poorer African Americans lived at the bottom of the hill on dirt and gravel roads.

Not until the civil rights movement did he learn that along with the right to vote, African-Americans simply wanted mail delivered to their homes. After a tornado struck Vicksburg, King went to check on his friend's house at the top of one of Vicksburg's hills and noticed an entire block of houses behind his friend's house at the bottom of the hill had burned because fire trucks could not get to them to save them because of the dirt and gravel streets. "But ultimately, unnecessary suffering had taken place beyond what had happened in the tornado itself," he said. King attributed good modeling prior to noticing disparities along with his involvement in the Methodist Church Fellowship. As a youth, these contributing forces led a white son of privilege to seek a life of sacrifice, awareness, and generous sensitivity toward others.

Ed King took his early life experiences (i.e., his awareness of acute disparity) and created a life of service and sometimes painful sacrifice. He was a Methodist minister, the former chaplain at Tougaloo College, a predominantly African American college in Jackson, Mississippi that served as somewhat of a hub in the civil rights work. He also taught sociology at Millsaps College and at the University of Mississippi Medical Center (<https://mississippiencyclopedia.org/entries/ed-king/>). He nonviolently marched, organized, supported, and befriended the freedom movement and sacrificed for it. He was jailed, severely beaten, divorced, and nearly assassinated and still bears the physical scars of these events.

Ed King's moral personality characteristic score was a 14 out of 14. The moral personality characteristic of dominance was not what primarily what came to mind when thinking about Rev. Ed King. However, he received a positive score for this characteristic. His confrontation of Martin Luther King is a good example of this characteristic. It was the 1964

Democratic National Convention and a group of freedom movement workers was trying to integrate the Democratic party and the national convention process. Martin Luther King had been in a meeting in Ed King's house in Jackson, Mississippi. Ed King had gone to a meeting in Martin Luther King's house in Atlanta, and also at a strategy planning meeting at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, where Martin Luther King would later be assassinated. The purpose of all of these meetings was to agree on strategy to address the integration of the Democratic party and the convention. Martin Luther King agreed to support attempts at integration. But the White House threatened Martin Luther King who feared he would never again be able to do what he wanted to do if he did not conform to the White House's wishes, fearing they did not have enough strength without White House support. Ed King stated that he could not believe that he found himself arguing with Martin Luther King, saying, "Dr. King, you know better than that. There is a God. There is a faith. And almost saying, don't sell your soul over this, we've got to find a way through it." King went on to say that "Martin was threatened by my comments and backed down and I'm amazed. I wasn't amazed that he backed down...he had far more responsibilities than I had. I was amazed that I could argue with him. It was three hours off and on stuff," he detailed.

Ed King also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of nurturance. The best example of this could be seen in a package that King described as a combination of aspects related to the low point of his life, the high point in his life, and, what King described as the turning point of his life. These happened in the summer of 1963, shortly after his friend he considered to be more like a brother, Medgar Evers, was assassinated, shot in his driveway with his wife and three small children inside the house, expecting him to come home. Evers was the regional leader of civil rights and his group of activists and friends were

not sure what they would do without them. Ed King and others were jailed for attending Evers' funeral. Among the other activists was a man who had simply come to town to interview for a teaching position at Tougaloo College and attended Evers' funeral whilst in Jackson, Mississippi.

After their arrest for attending the funeral, the jail used was not the regular jail. The livestock pavilions at the state fairgrounds served as jails for the peaceful protesters. In many stalls, manure was still present, drawing flies and horseflies. King described this jail, like a concentration camp, with male prisoners separated from female prisoners and whites and blacks separated. Policemen forced the prisoners to stand against the wall, according to King, and they were severely beaten. Ed King whispered to the man he did not know, standing next to him. Prisoners were not supposed to whisper, but Ed King wanted to find out more about his fellow inmate. King stated that he was in a lot of pain, but the man next to him was covered in blood with, "torn, bloody-heavy dark stains on his clothes." As they whispered, King noticed flies and horseflies buzzing around the man's head and crawling on his scalp. King said, I took out a handkerchief, just instinctively to drive the flies away and the police came up with their rifle butts. I'd already been beaten, and I didn't think I could take any more pain. I hesitated, and I could not wipe away the blood and drive away the flies." King described this as the low point of his entire life, a failure of his own strength, faith, and duty. After his run-in with the police for attempting to wipe his neighbor's head, he was moved to the other end of the livestock pavilion. The next moments, in this jail, King considered to be a high point in his life. Describing this he said, "I had one miraculous sign that kept me going but not to regain my self-respect...another white police officer came along, bearing a rifle, a shotgun, or something, and obviously was going to say something to me and I didn't know what I would do. I knew he wasn't going to beat me through the fence and I didn't think he was going to shoot me, and I couldn't turn to

move, or the others would have. And he whispered, ‘Reverend King, some us know the way we’ve been treating the colored isn’t right. Don’t give up.’ As previously mentioned, King also considered this the turning point of his life. After a while, he says he used this event to learn to face his own fears and to not again betray what he believed was right, regardless of consequence. Ed King displayed many other traits of nurturance throughout his life.

A few months later in the fall of 1963, King would display characteristics that help to explain the reason he received a positive score for the moral personality trait of power. The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, a predominantly African-American church that was often used for civil rights gatherings, was bombed, injuring many and killing 4 children (<https://www.history.com/topics/1960s/birmingham-church-bombing>). In Birmingham at the funeral of the girls, Ed King stated that he realized how similar this was to Medgar Evers’ funeral and the emotionally charged situation around it. King said that at least 10,000 people gathered in Birmingham, Alabama. Even when the families of the girls, Martin Luther King, C.T. Vivian, Fred Shuttlesworth, and local leaders left for the cemetery, approximately 4,000 people remained in the streets, singing, with machine guns mounted on the side streets of Birmingham. Ed King noted that when Martin Luther King left for the airport and the families left, the people in the streets remained there singing. He described how the police were nervous and panicked, beating the singers and shooting over the crowd. “And, I realized, ‘My God, in Jackson, we had no idea this could happen. I’m the only one here who knows this is going to happen again.’ I stood in the street and stomped. The people halted then, and I said, “This is Diane (Nash). Her husband’s a minister on Dr. King’s staff, she is in charge. Listen to what she has to say.” “I had a loud enough voice and a clerical collar. Even though I was white, we calmed the crowd and told them that they were just to go home, and we thanked them for being

there. She (Diane Nash) understood,” he explained. He said after the crowd dispersed, the head of the Alabama State Patrol praised King for taking charge, saying, “A lot of people were about to be killed.” He gained clarity from this event, saying, “And, I realized in that crisis, my experience, and my mind, and my faith were all working instantly, and I had done the right thing,” he explained.

Affiliation and intimacy is another moral personality characteristic that Ed King possessed. This can be seen in his gentleness and care of others in jail, his camaraderie in the movement, his love of his family, and his near brotherhood with Medgar Evers and John Salter, Jr. whom was nearly assassinated, riding in a car alongside Ed King.

Ed King received a positive score for generativity across his lifetime since his life’s work has been one of sacrifice for the greater good and has left an enduring influence. Currently, he is still meeting, writing, teaching, speaking, and acting. He has never stopped working for the greater good, as evidenced in every one of his stories.

King also received a positive score for spiritual and self-transcendence. When speaking about his previously discussed confrontation with Martin Luther King, Dr. Martin Luther King affirmed to Ed King, about a month before he died. Ed King stated, “...I don’t know how I got here, but it was church pulling me, pushing all the way. And I can go beyond your psychology and say God is calling and using me, and that is something meaningful to me, but I can’t explain what it means. I can’t define it.” King reiterated that he has an almost mystical sense about what his life has been. “I mentioned things like doing the right thing in jail that time. I had a sense of awe afterwards that God had always known he’d be able to use me, and that God had more faith in me than I did. I mean once things were calmed down it was like it’s my version of a mystical assurance, a blessed assurance,” he said.

King said he once received a message from God to help Alfred, a man at church that he did not know well. Ed did not understand because, not knowing much about Alfred except that his views were somewhat different from Ed's. He described how he could not fathom what Alfred might need from him. "But God said, "You have to help him now. You've got to be with him at church." Ed said he went up to this man after church and told him he would like to get to know him better. From this, Ed says he found out that the man had received some bad news from the church that day and felt like a failure and would never amount to anything.

King described his greatest learning curve, his turning point, the episode previously discussed in the jail in Jackson, Mississippi - what he called a concentration camp where he instinctually started to wipe his fellow inmates head free of flies and allowed a police officer to stop him. This is what King himself described as the most compelling moment in his personal growth. His identity, as previously discussed, he attributes to good modeling by his family, awareness of his surroundings, and the information and benefits he received by being part of the Methodist Church Fellowship as a youth. For these reasons, Ed King received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of identity and personal growth.

The episode that represented Ed King's positive moral personality characteristic score for agency, was a by-product of his turning point. Protesters had been arrested at the capitol in Jackson, Mississippi, and taken to the fairgrounds to jail. Though Ed King had organized the protest, he had not been arrested but chose to get himself arrested so that he could minister to those arrested at the protest while they were in jail. This is the last thing he wanted to do but felt compelled to do. But this time the prisoners were not held in the livestock area and instead were held in a larger exhibit hall on the fairgrounds. Though the prisoners were once again separated, all the prisoners could hear other prisoners being beaten as well as their screams. King noted

that several white college students had been forced to line up against a wall. He said that one of the white male college students was standing with a large broom, screaming and sobbing. Having studied pastoral care in seminary, he recognized the boy was having a breakdown and was only able to stand with the broom. King said the police had been making the students sweep and would dump garbage at their feet, saying, "We'll show you what it's like. Niggers can't vote. All they're good for is cleaning." King said he knew the "poor kid" could not move but ~~says~~ the police didn't realize the student couldn't move. King said he did "automatically the right thing." He said he took the broom from the boy's hands, pointed to his friends, called them over, and began telling them what to do, "Come get him. He's cold. Make sure he's warm. Stay with him." I told the police, "Leave him alone. I'll do this. I've got the broom. What do you want me to do?"

The best example that helped to explain Ed King's positive score for the moral personality characteristic of communion involved an assassination attempt a few days after Medgar Evers' death. John Salter and Ed King were, according to Ed King, three of the key advisors upon whom Medgar Evers relied. The third advisor was in the Mississippi Delta, working with SNCC and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Ed King stated that he and John Salter were told they would have to leave the state of Mississippi or be killed that day and would not survive past midnight. Salter and King refused to leave the state and headed toward Tougaloo College but never made it. A car driven by a young, white male, King explained, "forced a wreck at noon." Salter was driving and was badly injured, but King was ejected from the car and remained comatose for several days, nearly dying. King's face had to be rebuilt and in seven or eight years, he had 10 to 12 surgeries to repair the damage. Initially, some of the doctors in the emergency room refused to treat Salter and King, he said. However, other doctors

were shocked at the refusal of some of their colleagues and stepped in to treat them. This was June of 1963. Ed King continued in the movement and has not been deterred to this day. “We are never alone. We can be awfully lonely and know that we need other human contact, but I believe in some mystical way, we’re not even isolated from all other humans. Beyond that, none of us humans are alone. I believe the grace and the spirit of God is somehow with us. That’s certainly a psychological comfort. It may be a gimmick, but it’s what I believe,” he explained.

Ed King’s affective tone throughout his life was readily apparent in his stories and the way he has lived his life. While Ed King, like others who have suffered, displayed a grasp of reality, he chose to continue forward with hope and optimism. He intentionally was arrested so he could minister to other civil rights activists in jail after being traumatized by an earlier experience in jail. He used the lowest point in his life as a turning point, gaining strength and a stronger sense of identity and purpose in the process. He found hope in white policeman’s words just after being brutally beaten by another white police officer.

Ed King also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of redemption. Without repeating the story, the best example is King’s low point, being too afraid after being so painfully beaten in the livestock stables of the fairgrounds by the police to ‘shoo flies’ off his fellow inmate’s bleeding head, to a transformative turning point, (i.e., taking the broom from a young man who could tolerate no more, directing his friends to care for the young man while he performed the degrading work the police demanded. In other words, turning a negative into a positive is essential to redemption).

The sensitization of children to the needs of others positively impacted his development. Ed King received a positive score in the moral personality trait of needs of others. An illustration of this is a story from King’s youth, previously discussed. King noticed the

disparities of the hilltops and low valleys in his hometown of Vicksburg, the paved streets at the top and the dirt and gravel streets down the hill, the home mail delivery versus the mailboxes crowded at the top of the hill so the postman didn't have to go downhill. But another illustration of this occurred at a cousin's wedding in Vicksburg when Ed was approximately 9 years old. His cousins' parents had divorced years earlier, which ended with their father moving out of Vicksburg. After young Ed King lit the candles at the front of the church and took his place on the last pew, his cousin's father walked into the sanctuary, taking a seat on the last pew near Ed. His cousin's brother walked the bride down the aisle. "And it hit me. This guy is in such pain. And like it's the saddest I've ever felt...And I realized there may be nobody in the family who even knows he's here," he described, noting the pain of his uncle in walking his daughter down the aisle or it even seeming to matter that he was there at all. This sensitization resulted in a positive score for Ed King in needs of others.

In his interview, Ed never mentioned an enemy during his childhood. But there were many helpers in his life, from his parents and brother to his 19 cousins, and broad, extended family, as well as teachers, who helped to shape Ed's life and development. These resulted in a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of helpers and enemies.

Having secure family attachments as a child resulted in a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of attachment. As previously discussed, Ed's life was full of secure attachments. Therefore, he received a positive score for this trait.

Ed King's Life Story Interview score was a total of 94. Agency, communion, and redemptive sequences have been addressed in the moral personality characteristic section of Ed King's results. Ed King did receive one score for contamination sequences. A positive contamination sequence score results when there was the presence of any negative event

following a more positive event or state. Ed King’s awareness of his Uncle’s loneliness and despair at the wedding of Ed’s cousin and Ed’s sadness about this, gave Ed this contamination score. However, it should be noted that this happened when Ed was nine years-old and it ultimately served to sensitize Ed to the needs of others, creating strength and a host of other positive traits.

Si Kahn

Table 4

Exemplar 4: Si Kahn

Birthdate: April 23, 1944

Participant	Moral Personality Characteristics	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination Sequences	LSI Total Score
Si Kahn	14	32	32	21	0	85

Si Kahn was a self-described bulldog and a diverse and consistent study in contrast. He has been an internationally known musician and songwriter, community organizer, corporate accountability campaigner, and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee member (<https://sikahn.com/more/>). He has credited his involvement in SNCC with helping to define what he wanted to do with his life and giving him an opportunity to optimize and utilize his gifts. But it was also his time in SNCC that taught him how to organize and get things accomplished. Some of the campaigns with whom he has worked include textiles, mines, prisons, and Bristol Bay, Alaska.

Si had what he called a “Norman Rockwell childhood.” His father was the director of the Hillel Foundation at Penn State University, and later became the national director of the Hillel Foundation, and finally, president of B’nai B’rith International. His mother, Rosalind, was an artist and piano player. His parents were extremely influential in his life and maintained passionate family values of ethics, opposing injustice, and most especially, racial equality, all of

which Si Kahn internalized and incorporated into his own life. He said, “his religious background shaped his moral beliefs, but it was terrible career advice.” He was in college at Harvard when he learned that working for a cause like equality resonated with him. But it was an incident in State College that Si Kahn recalled as his most favorite childhood memory. His father was a sports fan who had season tickets to Penn State football games. When Penn State and Alabama integrated their football programs, this created adjustment opportunities for the once-small college towns. In State College, the only two barber shops announced they would not cut the hair of African Americans because they simply had no experience in working with that kind of hair. Si’s father, Rabbi Benjamin Kahn, gathered his best friend, a Lutheran minister and other minister friends to picket in front of the barber shops each day. Meanwhile, Si’s mother drove an hour away to Tyrone, PA, walked into a predominantly African American barber shop, and hired the barber there to come to State College once a week to cut anyone’s hair in town, offering her kitchen as barber space. For Si, this story of two different but necessary solutions to the same problem said everything about his family life, himself, and how his life would unfold.

Si Kahn’s moral personality score was 14 out of 14. He received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of dominance. Kahn was a self-described bulldog but the story that best described his dominance is the story he tells about how he married Elizabeth. They met in high school when Si’s father took a new job as the national director of the Hillel Foundation. In his class, students were seated alphabetically, which meant that she always sat directly behind him. He fell for her his first day of class, but she was dating others, so he decided being her friend would be the next best thing. They would go out with other people and when they came home from dates, they would go visit each other and talk. They became best friends. She went

away to India on a Fulbright scholarship and married someone else as soon as she returned to the United States. He says he was crushed and immediately married someone else to get back at her...twice, which failed both times, "I mean there's no way a marriage would have worked. I was in love with her all along," he explained. After his second divorce, he took a chance and called Elizabeth after not having spoken in 15 years. "Well this is a surprise. I don't think we've talked in 15 years," she told him and informed him she was going through a divorce and he expressed sympathy but was elated. He made up an excuse to visit New York City that same weekend. "We saw each other, that was it," he said.

Kahn received another positive score for the moral personality characteristic, nurturance because of his jovial, upbeat nature, his friendliness, and his willingness to commit to tough jobs, long projects, or take risks to help. In his twenties, he worked with SNCC in Georgia where there was a community action agency run by Eleanor, an African-American woman in her sixties. Six to nine years after he had left, he received a call from her one day, saying, "I had a dream about you last night." She described her dream for Si Kahn, saying the dream agency had been having a hard time, the city wanted to close it, and as the director, was not sure if she could keep the doors open. "And, in my dream," she described, "I was sitting in my office where you used to sit and you walked in the front door and sat down. And you said, 'So you know, Eleanor, it's great to see you, how are you?' I said, we're having..." she said, "And you literally rolled up your sleeves and said 'Well, where do we start?'" Kahn said this described who he is and what he does and that the personal moments are the moments that most fit.

Power was a moral characteristic ~~score~~ for which Si Kahn received a positive score. This characteristic was displayed in one of the biggest challenges in Si's life. As mentioned, Si's father, Rabbi Benjamin Kahn was a major force in Jewish leadership. But these were not just

titles. Listening to his life story, Si was surrounded by his family's interpretations and values, based upon those religious beliefs. But after his mother died, during his mother's prayer service, Si refused to say the Kaddish. This is when Si Kahn realized he had questions about his faith. His father was upset and embarrassed. "I think it's about forging an independent identity. I mean for my parents, you could be anything you want, we'll be proud of you. They really wanted me to be a Rabbi. That was just really clear, and my dad wanted me to be religious and that led to some pretty serious struggles..." he said. Years later after the struggle had continued, Si and his father spoke of this again, with Si saying, "I mean what is the goal of religion except to enable us to help other people lead good lives? That's what I do." This seemed to settle the issue between father and son enough as they became best friends and enjoyed a long, close relationship, according to Si. But this would not have been the case had Si not stood his ground with his father.

When Si is asked about his most vivid adult memory, he cannot escape a mental video montage of his life with Elizabeth and their children and grandchildren. This exemplified the moral personality characteristic of affiliation and intimacy. "...it's the endless video. There were hysterically funny moments, there were sad moments, there were joyous moments, and there were absolutely ordinary moments. There were things that "you just keep laughing about, even years later. I mean that's, it's a rolling high point. Frankly, nothing compares, nothing comes close."

Si began working with the SNCC and with civil rights while he was in college at Harvard. He never stopped and has only added to his list of projects. He still works diligently as a musician and singer/songwriter, touring and performing, writing musicals, and performing as a rapper with his youngest son. Si incorporated his feelings, opinions, and observations about

racial and social injustice into his music. He still works on major projects, including a long involvement with Bristol Bay, Alaska, which involves the government, commercial fishermen, and Native American lands. For these reasons, Si received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of generativity across his life span.

When introduced to Si Kahn, along with his self-description as being a bulldog, he was also described as a study in contrast. This is most apparent in the area of spiritual self-transcendence. According to Si, "I am profoundly secular and profoundly Jewish." Si is not an either/or kind of guy. Instead, Si has represented a synthesis of opposites. Recall that Si was raised in a profoundly Jewish home and that it was during his Mother's prayer service that Si discovered some deep questions about his own faith. Further, Si stated the religious background in which he was raised shaped his moral beliefs. Si does not think of himself as particularly religious, saying, "But for me, there's a book called Life is with People. Almost all of my satisfaction, my emotional gratification, my just plain fun in life comes from doing things with other people." And yet, Si confessed that his friends say he is one of the most spiritual people they have ever known. There was one telling exchange between Si Kahn and a new Rabbi in town who had invited Kahn to speak at his new synagogue saying, "Look, I know you're not a synagogue member and I know you're not particularly religious," but I'd like for you to come speak to us. Kahn quickly agreed to speak but wanted to ensure the invitation would not get the new Rabbi into any political trouble in his new synagogue. "I think it's important for you to know that in no sense am I traditionally religious. And he put down his chopsticks, put his chopsticks down and he said, "Never say that you are not an observant Jew." I said, "But I'm not." He says, "From what I know about your life, your life is completely about what the entirety of religion asks us to observe. You are fully observant in my eyes." That was great.

“That was a great moment. I mean really, because I felt liberated,” he stated. Though Si Kahn may debate it, he received a positive score for spiritual and self-transcendence because his actions confirmed it.

Kahn also received a positive score for identity and personal growth. Over and over again, Kahn mentioned his family’s values and religious beliefs with the awareness of how these elements shaped his life and moral beliefs. He attributed his self-confidence to his parents. He knew who he was. The best example of this is a previously told story about the barber shops in State College refusing to cut the hair of African-American students and student-athletes, newly integrated in the Penn State football team. His father gathered his minister friends and picketed the barber shops while his mother went about trying to solve the problem and found someone, (I.e., an African-American barber to come to State College and cut hair in her kitchen). This is Kahn’s favorite childhood memory because it exemplified his parents’ two very different approaches to solving problems, while being consistent with their shared ethics.

For Si, “It’s always ’65, it’s always SNCC, it’s always the Arkansas-Mississippi River Delta.” Disengaged by some of his Harvard classmates’ behavior, Si started civil rights work while at Harvard because he identified with it as his family passion. He was invited to a party that was really a demonstration and picket of the federal building in Boston. The demonstration was held in response to federal marshals taking notes without intervening to offer help during the Selma Bridge Crossing while John Lewis and so many others were beaten, bitten by dogs, and run over by horses. Bob Zellner was there. “And, then eventually, the federal marshals came in. We linked arms. We sang. They picked us up by our feet, banged us on our heads on the concrete and we let go and they threw us in the elevators, brought us downstairs, and then dragged us out and threw us on the street because they didn’t want a federal case... We ended up

in jail. Zellner had a concussion. He was throwing up, and I was in the cell next to him, and I was screaming for doctors,” he explains. Zellner recruited Kahn into SNCC. Kahn left Harvard when he turned 21 and joined SNCC in Arkansas. Kahn says SNCC is where he was first able to put everything together and first finally found a place of belonging that aligned with the moral beliefs shaped by his family, giving his life direction, meaning, and a platform where his diverse gifts found purpose and a method for optimization. These scenes in Kahn’s life story exemplified agency, which gave him a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of agency.

The actions of Si Kahn’s entire life story have been about communion, which means that he received a positive score for the presence of communion as a moral personality characteristic. Kahn stated, “our job is to reinforce the forces of light in order to help other people lead good lives. That’s what I do. I inspire people. I work to bring people together.” He explained that his parents believed in leading a righteous life and were quietly passionate about justice. They had made it clear that he was not allowed to live his life for himself alone, and that he had a responsibility. “But they were absolutely clear that you have a responsibility to work for justice in the world. They gave me this sense that I have a responsibility, and I have to live an ethical life, and have to help other people,” he explained. Kahn had already put these values into action by the time he was 21 years-old and has continued his commitment to those values throughout his life.

Si’s affective tone was also evident across his lifetime. As previously mentioned, he has worked on behalf of Bristol Bay, Alaska for years to end a dispute there between the government, commercial interests, environmental proponents, fishermen, and native Americans. As the fight over Bristol Bay lags on, he has received criticism for his long commitment to

Alaska as opposed to working for issues closer to home. “How long are you going to do this?” one person asked Si, who replied, “until we definitively win or definitively lose.” Recalling from other stories, this is the person known for rolling up his sleeves to help and a person who values relationship over everything else, aiming “to reinforce the forces of light.” He received a positive score for this moral personality characteristic.

Si’s overcoming his mother’s painful death from multiple forms of cancer when Si was 24 years-old gave him a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of redemption. Her death had a profound impact on his life in every way. He admitted this by calling her death “traumatic in every way” and yet between the open words, in several hours of his interview, rarely was there a story that she did not figure into somehow. She was consistently mentioned in every chapter of his life story. Her death rocked Si to the core in every way. He doubted a God that would allow this to happen and chose to believe instead that her illness was the luck of the draw or bad genes. He lamented that it took him 40 years to learn to be at peace with her death. He worked with a therapist to finally discuss it and deal with his emotions, creating more strength and openness as a result.

Si received a positive score for the needs of others because his parents helped to foster an awareness of others’ feelings at an early age. He had few enemies as a child. Si’s told countless stories and stressed his parents’ teachings of their family values of justice, equality, and simple human respect. Once, on a boyhood family trip to another town, at the hotel restaurant, he snapped his fingers for the African-American waiter to help him. His mother jumped out of her chair, forcing Si to apologize to the man, who readily accepted. Si also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of helpers as has been repeatedly established in his story by his mother and father’s parenting style.

It has been demonstrated how close Si was to his parents and how securely attached he was to both of them, resulting in a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of attachment. Si Kahn’s Life Story Interview score was 85. Agency, communion, redemption scores have been explained in previous sections. Kahn had no contamination score.

Ruby Sales

Table 5

Exemplar 5: Ruby Sales

Birthdate: July 8, 1948

Participant	Moral Personality Characteristics	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination Sequences	LSI Total Score
Ruby Sales	14	32	32	32	0	96

Ruby Nell Sales was a scholar, educator, theologian, social activist, and the founder and director of the Spirit House Project, a non-profit organization, working toward racial, economic, and social justice (https://www.ted.com/speakers/ruby_sales). She has mentored and provided support for young people in order to foster a beloved community, which is, in her words, “a spiritual expression of democracy.” She grew up in Columbus, Georgia two miles from the Army post, Fort Benning, the daughter of an Army chaplain and a nurse. Attending a Catholic elementary school, First African Baptist Church, and growing up in a segregated Columbus, but an integrated Fort Benning (i.e., with its movie theater and pool), made for what Ruby called a “schizophrenic childhood in ways.” She joined SNCC and the civil rights movement as a teen while attending Tuskegee University (<https://www.npr.org/2019/4/12/712275387/ruby-sales-how-do-we-maintain-our-courage-to-fight-for-change/>), quickly gaining the confidence of SNCC leaders, who made her SNCC director of Lowndes County, Alabama, which was in the Alabama Black Belt, a region first named for its rich soil. The name took on additional meanings as the healthy soil proved fertile for cotton plantations with slave labor that populated the area. By the

1960's the Alabama Black Belt had become known for Alabama politics, where the disenfranchising of African-American voters was prevalent and the area's old and negative ways of viewing African-Americans' personhood clung.

It was working on behalf of SNCC in Lowndes County, Alabama that Ruby and a small group of others working with SNCC (i.e., among them another female volunteer worker, a Catholic priest, and an Episcopal seminarian, slated to graduate from Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts in a few months, Jonathan Daniels). The small group was arrested and jailed in Hayneville, Alabama for registering people to vote. They knew something was wrong when on a hot August day with waves of heat visually lifting off the pavement. They were suddenly released from jail after only one week. Next to the jail was Varner's store. The group was thirsty, so they stepped outside of the jail to go to Varner's for a cold, bottled Coke. "Bitch, I'll blow your brains out," were the next words Ruby heard, she says. Without even enough time to process them, Tom Coleman, an unpaid sheriff's deputy and highway department worker fired his shotgun directly at Ruby's head. The future Reverend Daniels, Jonathan, stepped in front of Ruby, taking Coleman's bullet, dying instantly. Coleman then fired at Joyce Bailey. But that bullet too found a clergyman, the Catholic priest, Father Morrisroe, who was injured but survived. Ruby says she was not sure if the shooting or taking Jonathan's body home to his mother in New Hampshire was more traumatic. She testified against Coleman at the trial. Ruby stated that she did not speak for six months, "I was a silent person." In the years since, Ruby has lived her own unique life but out of gratefulness, has also tried to live the life Jonathan would have led, graduating from the same seminary from which Jonathan was set to graduate and beginning the Spirit House Project in his honor.

Ruby stated that one episode from her early childhood encapsulated herself as a child as well as the person she would become. She was six and had a part in her Catholic school's Thanksgiving play. According to Ruby, she spoke her line, "Gobble, Gobble, Mr. Turkey. He eats corn and everything." But one of the nuns told her to be sure to speak loudly enough so everyone could hear. Ruby says, "I take it to heart and I screamed my part. My parents are totally embarrassed...that became a family joke. I like that image. I like the fact that that became a family joke. My parents would refer to it again and again. That says a lot about the person that I would become, in many ways, earnest but also taking that just a little bit higher than...taking things seriously." Sales acknowledged the drive to excel always been a part of her, that she wants to avoid mediocrity being her calling card. "I think all my life I've struggled not to be a footnote but to be a paragraph. I do think that I at least want to let the world know that I was here," she explains, "not in terms of notoriety and not in terms of fame." Since age six, Ruby has exemplified dominance in some form, resulting in a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of dominance.

Nurturance was also a moral personality characteristic for which Ruby received a positive score. "Where does it hurt" is a phrase Ruby is known for, stemming from realizing everyone is carrying pain. Ruby wants to know what the pain is, what the cause is, she wants to help heal it, and she wants to put it into action. Her nurturance might be best understood in her work with young people in the Black Lives Matter movement. "I understood that they were an abandoned generation who had been sitting in hostile spaces when they were much too young to defend themselves. I was able to give voice to that, it opened up the door for very special friendships with young folk in ways they were hostile to other adults. They were not hostile to me because I understood," she explained.

We have learned about Tom Coleman's murder of Jonathan Daniels, the Episcopal seminarian in Alabama to help with the movement, who stepped in front of a bullet meant for Ruby Sales' head, dying instantly. We learned that Ruby transported Jonathan's body home to his mother and that she did not speak for six months. There was one exception to her months-long silence. Six weeks after the murder, a trial was held, accusing Tom Coleman of the murder of Jonathan Daniels. Ruby endured a return to Lowndes County, Alabama, threats to her life and cajoling and fodder daily to testify as a prosecution witness against Tom Coleman. Coleman, like so many other perpetrators of racial violence at the time, was not convicted. But Ruby's courage, in spite of her own feelings and in the face of threats and fear, led to a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of power.

Ruby received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affiliation and intimacy. Central to her Ruby's life is relational values. When asked about some of the values most important to her, she described, "Right relations," she answers, "a sense of ethics where you treat everyone right. Where you have some boundaries that are uncrossable. That you keep a generational distance between yourself and young people who come to you, not because they want to be your best friend but hey come to you because they are looking for parenting in their lives. As an older person, it's really important to respect boundaries and not exploit their emotional need to be parented because young folk are in their twenties, they still look up to adult people to help them decode the meaning of the journey and to rake advantage of your role as a guide is really unethical to me." Over her lifetime, Ruby has experienced many close relationships, starting with her mother, with whom her relationship was synchronous, she stated. But her ability to foster and maintain healthy relationships of all types, accounted for her score.

Ruby's generativity has spanned her lifetime. From her early teenage activism, to SNCC, and now Spirit House Project and Hope Zones (zones where Spirit House is attempting to engage communities and their individuals in a process of development and formation as well as healthy relationships so they can more consciously and with awareness participate in and out of their communities), Ruby continues to generate action and meaning in her life beyond herself, resulting in a positive score for this moral personality characteristic. "My own sense that all of the work that we've done, as a generation, as a people, will mean something. It means so much to me and I believe so much that I'm willing to invest the last breath of my body into this thing. That's my hope because I would be very disappointed, a very cynical person if all of what I've seen, if all of what people have done, all of the sacrifices that ordinary people made, all of the deaths that have occurred, all of the young folks who never were normal again because of the movement, the trauma that they went through. If all of that meant nothing, only to realize that we're back at the bottom of the hill like Sisyphus, carrying the boulder up once more and it doesn't mean anything," she stated.

Ruby returned to Washington, D.C. from working in the south over Martin Luther King's birthday weekend in an ice storm a couple of years ago, she said. The next morning, leaving her house for work, she slipped on an embankment on the ice, sliding down the embankment and breaking her ankle. No one was on the street or outside because of the ice. She lay in the cold, on frozen grass looking for a way back up the embankment but everything was covered in ice, she described, "Suddenly out of nowhere this very big, black man shows up. I'm screaming. I'm saying, 'shit.' He says to me, 'Don't curse God. Glorify God.' He picked me up like I'm a feather and he puts me in the car. We looked up to him to thank him and he is gone. There was no sight of him anywhere. The road was so clear, you can see from one end of the street to the

other end...That was an angel.” This was only one of the stories that exemplified Ruby Sales’ spiritual self-transcendence, giving her a positive score for this moral personality characteristic. But she also cited Jonathan’s death as a spiritual experience, “I could have been dead. I mean, I was in front, had he not...I would be the person dead. Those are my mystical experiences that say it was not quite time for me to go yet. I still have some work to do.”

Ruby received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of identity and growth. Ruby acknowledged that her identity has always been well-formed but has continued to evolve over time and much growth occurred that also fostered her identity during what she calls the SNCC years of her life. She began learning about the movement in her teens and, by time she arrived at Tuskegee University was well-committed, finding inspiration in Jean Wildly’s class at Tuskegee where Stokely Carmichael, with whom she would later closely work, came to speak. The SNCC years were, “really a high point in my life because suddenly, the world began to make sense. I began to have a language to define the world, and light bulbs began to go off in my head. Suddenly I realized we lived in a capitalist society. I had a name for the world we lived in, so the naming process really exploded for me in college, in the movement. I began to understand that the movement, first and foremost, was a spiritual one that called on a transformation of values that required us to make a connection between what we say we believed and how we lived in the world. One of the moments that I remember is walking down the street with a man named Willie Peacock, who was in SNCC, and he was talking with me about the economic conditions that we lived in and he was talking about society. Suddenly, Eureka! I knew, I understood economic disparity, I understood class. Suddenly, I have a name for all these things, so that was probably one of my growth spurt moments, intellectually.”

In addition to the attempted murder of Ruby Sales that became the murder of Jonathan Daniels, daily violence was common place. Ruby called it “terrorism.” They crawled out of houses on hands on knees to escape white supremacists, for example, and were chased by men with guns trucks down dirt roads at 90 miles per hour, which ended with their car crashing into an empty school bus, throwing Ruby from the car. “Living with that kind of tension was just like being in a war but, at the same time, finding aspects of yourself, the potential, not only of you but also of other people’s potential, the kindness that we met, the people that shared their last piece of bread with us, give us a house to live in, you see the courage of ordinary people rising up to the occasion, that really broke through all the classes,” she explained.

Ruby started Spirit House after she graduated from the same seminary Jonathan Daniels attended. The Spirit House Project supports, fosters, and prepares new generations called to non-violence and social justice and helps communities source trained volunteers and staff to help lead them. Spirit House was begun with Jonathan in mind. Some youth who wish to work with Spirit House are awarded Jonathan Daniels Fellowships. While she was still in college, she was the director of the Lowndes County, Alabama Bureau of SNCC. In her own unique way, Ruby has and continues to rebuild communities and to build a beloved community, which she defines as a spiritual expression of democracy. Ruby has always been and plans to always be busy enacting the healing and teaching, and mentoring she believes American communities need. For this reason, she received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of agency.

“What you realize, a movement is your journey, is part of the collective journey. It is an “I” with the “we.” You never step outside. The minute you think that you’re doing something for other people, that you’re far beyond yourself, you’ve entered into what I would say is a state of arrogance and detachment,” said Ruby Sales. This statement exemplified Ruby’s moral

personality characteristic of communion, giving her a positive score. She emphasized that this is precisely why she started the Spirit House Project and Hope Zones. “It’s also to develop younger authentic leaders who ground movement in the transformational values, as Martin Luther King said. Unless you have transformational values, whatever rights you achieve are not sustainable because even the people who fought to have the rights turn around and implement those rights in a very same way that they fought against,” she explained.

Ruby received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affective tone. “I believe in looking below the surface,” she says, “I believe in the possibility that no matter how far down life takes a person, that they can always get up. I saw that with my father who had a constant battle with PTSD but executed himself with the greatest amount of dignity and who ultimately overcame it. I believe that even flawed human beings have the possibility of finding themselves and reaching and becoming themselves, whole. I don’t think that life is about investing in what appears to be imperfect on the outside but has great possibilities on the inside. Ruby Sales carries this philosophy into everything she does, giving her affective tone.

The fact that Ruby Sales is still alive and has affective tone should indicate that she received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of redemption. She was so traumatized by Jonathan’s ultimate sacrifice of stepping in front of Tom Coleman’s bullet to protect her that she did not speak for six months except to testify. If, as Ruby described, every day brought a new experience in terrorism, this one day, August 14, 1965, was a new, more intense form of terrorism, resulting in trauma for her. And yet, she testified. Not only that but when asked to share a high point in her life, Ruby reported that her time in SNCC as a high point. Only a person with a sense of redemption could endure this daily terror and trauma and call it a high point in their life. But she took that redemptiveness even further by escorting

Jonathan's body home to his mother in New Hampshire, his mother's only son. More redemption was shown in her attending and graduating from the same seminary Jonathan attended from which he missed graduating, in essence, finishing for him. She then started the Spirit House Project and created a fellowship in Jonathan's name, memory, and honor. "There's no point so low down that I won't act to try and make some meaning out of it," she says, "Eternity is what we do with our story."

Ruby was aware of the needs of others at a young age, giving her a positive score in this moral personality characteristic. Her father, an Army Chaplain returned from war with PTSD. At that point, her mother became the breadwinner of the family, working as a nurse while her father stayed home. Though Ruby says, he never took out his PTSD on the children or anyone else, his struggle was apparent. This struggle as well as the family's adjustment, created a sensitivity toward others.

Ruby also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of having helpers in her young life and few enemies. Her family was close, she says, and the support was constant. At 15, Ruby was raped by a neighbor across the street. She became pregnant. Ruby finally told her mother, she said, who confronted the neighbor's mother across the street, which did not go well with the mother justifying her son's rape and belittling Ruby. Ruby's mother and Ruby's homeroom teacher, who Ruby says was like a second mother to her teamed up together to help and support Ruby. "I think there was a moral authority that my mother had over us and I think some part of us understood the sacrifices, how hard she worked, what she had to put on the line for us and we somehow wanted to honor that. But we still had our own identity," she explains.

As discussed in previous stories, Ruby was securely attached to both parents, resulting in a positive score for the moral characteristic of attachments. Evidence of this could also be seen later in her life as she took care of her mother until her mother died and enjoyed a close relationship with her Ruby’s entire life.

Ruby scored a 96 on her Life Story Interview total score. Because agency, communion, and redemptive sequences have been reported elsewhere, these previous illustrations should serve double duty here. Ruby had no contamination score.

Hollis Watkins

Table 6

Exemplar 6: Hollis Watkins

Birthdate: July 29, 1941

Participant	Moral Personality Characteristics	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination Sequences	LSI Total Score
Hollis Watkins	14	31	32	32	1	96

Hollis Watkins committed to working with SNCC in the freedom movement at age 19 when he drove to a meeting where he thought he would find Martin Luther King but found Bob Moses instead. He was the first native Mississippian to join SNCC, volunteering one day and then going out in the field canvassing for voters the next day (<https://snccdigital.org/people/hollis-watkins/>). The freedom movement needed local volunteers in order to recruit other local volunteers and followers and to help ensure the push for change continued after the freedom riders and leaders left areas. This was especially true in Mississippi where Mississippians really drove the Mississippi Freedom Movement.

One of the Mississippi Movement’s unique strategies that aided this outcome was the pairing of young, energetic, enthusiastic volunteers, hungry for change with veterans and elders.

Hollis Watkins is one such volunteer. After his first volunteering days with SNCC, it was not long before he became a field secretary. His work with SNCC has continued throughout his life. He formed his own organization, Southern Echo, an organization that works to develop new leadership in African American and poverty-stricken areas in Mississippi and the region. This organizing effort encompassed everything from education, participating in the census, to dealing with the coronavirus, for example (<https://southernecho.org/s/>).

Watkins was the youngest of 12 children, the son of sharecroppers in Lincoln County, Mississippi (<https://mississippencyclopedia.org/entries/hollis-watkins>). Sharecropping was working someone else's land, which makes a profit for the landowner and not the workers. Watkins' father bought his own land when Hollis was young. The entire family worked together, clearing the land of trees, cutting and stacking the lumber, digging up tree stumps to make room for planting, and building their own home. When Hollis volunteered for SNCC, his first activity took place in a nearby county.

Afraid his father would disapprove of his volunteer work with SNCC, Watkins told his father he would stay with a friend that night. Instead, he drove to McComb, Mississippi with his best friend and fellow volunteer. The two were the only volunteers to sit-in at the Woolworth lunch counter. They were confronted by police and arrested. Hollis Watkins father drove to McComb that night to protest the arrest of the two boys by speaking at a mass meeting. This support helped Watkins to tolerate the abuse he received in jail. His parents continued to quietly support Hollis' volunteering activities, which was a risky move during this time as parents of young activists were intimidated and pressured to silence their children's activism.

Hollis Watkins scored a 14 out of 14 on moral personality characteristics. Watkins received a positive score for the moral personality of dominance. The best representation of

Hollis Watkins' dominance is his perseverance and persistence. To be the youngest of 12 children in a family of sharecroppers who began volunteering and risking his own welfare in the civil rights movement at age 19, to working on the Algebra Project in the Mississippi (formed by Bob Moses, uses math literacy to improve public school education), to forming and running his own organization, Southern Echo, Hollis Watkins has continued forward on his original mission, to work toward change. "Well the SNCC years, I guess, continues on today," he commented, meaning, he is doing the same work he has been doing since he was nineteen years old. His persistence and perseverance exemplified dominance.

Watkins also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of nurturance. Family was important to Watkins, who was especially close to both grandmothers. When they died within 24 hours of each other, this was what Watkins remembered as a low point in his life. He said this created a void. He missed talking to them but also missed helping them with whatever they needed.

Another example of Watkins' nurturance was the way he worked with people. Much like the Mississippi movement, Watkins had specialized in pairing old with young. One of his methods for creating change was to bring generations together. He considered this one of his biggest life challenges. "...getting both younger and older people to come to the table and sit down and discuss, from each perspective, what they see the problems are, how they see work that needs to take place, in order to overcome those challenges," Watkins explained. But he could not bring young and old together without youth at the table, freely sharing and listening. One of his strategies is to get younger people invested prior to the older people. He did this by nurturing them, listening, and giving them what they need to help, including transportation and food.

While working in Greenwood, Mississippi alongside Bob Moses and Jimmy Travis, Moses and Travis had plans to drive to work in another Mississippi Delta city, Greenville. But after observing white people in unmarked cars driving past their office and in black neighborhoods, Watkins tried to stop them from leaving Greenwood for Greenville that night, fearing “something was in the making that wouldn’t be good,” he said. This is one of the markers for the moral characteristic of power, stepping into a situation to try to create a positive outcome. Watkins had the patience, observation skills, and power to see that something needed to be done and did it. Moses and Travis left for Greenville that night anyway. “Once they got about eight miles outside of Greenwood on Highway 82 going to Greenville, their vehicle was shot into. That’s where Jimmy Travis had one of the bullets that was lodged in his neck. Long story short on that is that it was so close to a major nerve that the doctors say they couldn’t take it out, because they were afraid that just the slightest movement of that would kill him,” he says. Watkins received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of power.

Watkins also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affiliation and intimacy. Throughout Watkins’ interview, there was the thread of the importance of the way we treat each other. When asked what his life’s greatest single value is, Watkins answered the Golden Rule, “Do others the way you want them to do to you.” He stated that his fundamental belief is justice, but he defines justice as “fair dealings with one other.”

Watkins emphasized the central theme of his life as commitment and dedication. In his own words discussed earlier, he committed to SNCC at age 19 and continues that work today, sixty years later. His work with the Algebra Project and Southern Echo continues today, with Southern Echo’s work being so diverse as to include Census 2020 promotion and providing

information about the coronavirus. For these reasons, Hollis Watkins received a positive score for the moral characteristic of generativity.

Hollis Watkins sees himself as a spiritual person. From his perspective, religion can become divisive. He believes he avoids divisiveness with his spirituality. “Everything is connected to spirituality. And, we see it in many instances, when we be talking about doing things, or seeing people doing things, you know? What’s that spirit, as it relates to this? If you know what the spirit is, then you can pretty much determine where they are, without even asking,” he explained. But he also believes he benefits from the spirits of his ancestors, who help and guide him, he says, “but by genetics, part of them is in me. And by part of them being in me, that spirit is awakened for my benefit, at a specific time and specific place.” Watkins received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of spiritual self-transcendence.

“I think I developed certain moral values when I was real small, and in most cases, you could see the morality coming through, especially when my father and mother would talk to me about things, so the foundation was laid back then, and I see me still laying those foundations, and in some cases, building on the building that sits on, the foundation.” Watkins made the point that who he is and what he values were ingrained in him from childhood. As the youngest child of 12, growing up on a farm, Hollis Watkins was the “water boy,” he says, taking water to his father in the fields. “One day, as I was approaching my father with the bucket of water, I stumbled and wasted, and fell, and while getting up, I looked in the face and they eyes of my father, and he did not scold me for having wasted. Looking at me in the eyes, he said, ‘That’s alright son,’ he said, ‘we all make mistakes sometimes. You can go back and get another,’” Watkins told. This event has stayed with Watkins all this time. Did this mercy, patience, and understanding shown to him that day contribute to Watkin’s ability to not expect immediate

change and to persist in his work all his life? Watkins received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of identity and personal growth.

Hollis Watkins received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of agency. His volunteering to work with SNCC at age 19, his continued work with SNCC, the Algebra project, and forming and directing his own organization, Southern Echo, all of which have been previously discussed, were illustrations of Watkins' agency. About his choice to volunteer to work with SNCC Watkins says, "he accepted the reality of life at that particular time and accepting the reality of life at that time. I was also accepting the fact that there was a lot of things that needed to be changed, and that I could possibly help bring about a positive change, which was needed."

Hollis Watkins was arrested three times, each for registering people to vote, which earned the charge of disturbing the peace. He once spent 55 days in the infamous Parchman Penitentiary on death row for registering people to vote. Watkins has spent his entire life working on behalf of other people. This defined communion. One of his most vivid memories is going to Monteagle, Tennessee to meet with other civil rights volunteers. "The meeting included black civil rights workers, white civil rights workers, black and white that was working with coal miners, and the thing that was so enlightening and informative about this, I didn't know of any place that existed, where black and white could come together and develop strategies and plans by which to work together. And, even today that's something that still goes on," he described. Watkins received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of communion.

Watkins also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affective tone. As previously discussed, Hollis Watkins believes in the fair dealings between people, which he calls justice. He also noted that he believes in doing unto others as you would have

them do unto you. He also believes that when he runs into obstacles that he can call upon the spirits of his ancestors and his spirituality and that these will help guide him beyond the obstacle. This was the essence of his affective tone.

Watkins was working with SNCC in Greenwood, Mississippi, in the Mississippi Delta. He was searching for a place where SNCC could store and distribute food and clothing to the people of the delta. He said he went to every church in Greenwood, asking each one if the group could store and distribute food and clothing from there. Watkins stated every church refused them. He said he was disappointed because these were churches but especially because many of the people they were trying to accommodate were members of these congregations. "It did hurt, but I didn't see it as a defeat. I say that because, and this is why it was not a defeat, and I tell people that I work with today, and meet with, and talk with, is we should never assume. The same day that I had been turned down by one particular church, I was coming down the street, and there was an elderly lady sitting on the porch, in a rocking chair, and she said, 'Hey, baby,' she said, 'come here.' And I turned, went over to her, and she said, 'I see you are not from here.' I said 'No ma'am. Not from here. I'm from Mississippi, but not here.' So we talked a little bit, telling her about where I was from. So she asked me, said, 'Well, what are you doing here?' 'Oh, we're trying to get black people registered to vote, but right now, we trying to find a place to store food and clothes that we can pass out to the community that's in need,' and she said, 'Well I got a church. Why don't you use my church?' So, 'We're glad to do that if we can.' She says, 'Just come by tomorrow, right after 12:00 and I'll have the keys for you.' And I asked her, I says, 'Where is your church?' And she told me. That was a church that we had already gone to and talked to the pastor and the deacons and they said no," he explained. She affirmed again that he should come by the next day after 12:00 and she would have the keys for him. Watkins stated

the next day he went to her house at the appropriate time. She was there, reached in her bag and pulled out the keys, “Here they are!” This is redemption and therefore, Watkins received a positive score for this moral personality characteristic.

When Hollis Watkins was eight years old, his father quit sharecropping and bought his own land. This put his entire family to work for themselves. They cleared the land, stacked the lumber, removed the stumps to make room for planting, and they built their own house. In growing their own food, Hollis, his parents, and his eleven siblings, grew enough food to give some away every week to the elderly, single mothers, and others in need in the community. Watkins received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of needs of others.

Watkins also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of having helpers in his life and few enemies. Hollis Watkins had helpers in his father, mother, siblings, extended family, and his grandmothers.

Watkins also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of attachments. He was securely attached to his parents and his grandmothers. He missed them when they died in Hollis’ in the 1930s, “because they were teachers, you know?”

Hollis Watkins received a Life Story Interview score of 96. His agency, communion, and redemption has been previously discussed. He did receive a contamination score of one. This resulted from the death of both grandmothers within a 24-hour period. He said his grandmothers were like mothers and second mothers to him, so this created a void and left the youngest of twelve sad and lonely.

Clara Ester

Table 7

Exemplar 7: Clara Ester

Birthdate: April 4, 1947

Participant	Moral Personality Characteristics	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination	LSI Total Score
Cara Ester	14	32	32	30	1	95

Clara Ester has been a life-long community organizer, Methodist deaconess, and the former National Vice President of United Methodist Women. The charge of a Methodist deaconess is love, justice, and service. In 2006, she retired as the Executive Director of Dumas Wesley Community Center, located in the neighborhood of Crichton in Mobile, Alabama (<https://unitedmethodistwomen.org/news/deaconess-clara-ester>). She currently volunteers with Communities of Transformation, which seeks to somewhat anonymously mentor or share knowledge while the participants are rebuilding or improving their lives. But before this, growing up in Memphis and inspired by her life experience, observation, and the Memphis Sanitation Workers' strike, Clara went to work in the civil rights movement while she was in college.

Coming of age during the turbulent 1960s, Clara processed the news of Medgar Evers' assassination in Jackson, Mississippi, learning for the first time, she said, that people could be murdered for good works, followed by the assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Stunned and distraught, she and her classmates listened to live radio reports of the Kennedy assassination while in study hall. For Clara, this learning curve was long but slow, courtesy of a relatively care-free childhood, sandwiching the events of the sixties and a first, racially-based episode at age six. Her mother had taken Clara and her older brother on a trip from Memphis to see Lookout Mountain in Chattanooga, Tennessee by train. Being part native-American, Clara's

mother had a fair complexion and straight hair. But her children had darker skin. While waiting for a car up to Lookout Mountain little Clara had to use the facilities and chose the nearest, cleanest option. But after a shift change in the train station, a station employee scolded Clara's mother in front of her children, "You know better," shouting and shaking his finger in her face. Clara's mother held onto her children's hands, her brother getting more furious with every shake of the station employee's finger. "No one had ever talked to my mother like that," Clara explained. Her mother begrudgingly but politely back-peddled her way out of the situation, directed her children to wait outside of a café while she went inside to get food for their journey to Lookout Mountain the only way she could, to-go.

Later, on the trip, Clara asked her mother, "Why did he holler at her like that? And all she said was 'One day.' She said, 'One day.' Then, I was a happy little child again." She stayed that way from that day until she found out about Medgar Evers' assassination. "I felt that within my heart and soul, became an issue that was always burning, that I did not address until I probably turned into my next chapter (of life)," she explained.

That next chapter involved being a young parishioner of Clayborn Temple, where Jim Lawson, mentor, fellow civil rights leader, and best friend of Martin Luther King was her minister. Clara became the Lawson's babysitter, developing a closeness with the Lawson family, "I fell in love with that family," she says. It was then that the Memphis Sanitation Workers' strike occurred. The Sanitation Workers' strike occurred after the sanitation workers had long been made to ride in the back of garbage trucks with the garbage, regardless of the weather. Memphis Public Works Department workers were poorly treated in many ways over a long period of time, but the final straw came when two sanitation workers, Misters Cole and Walker, were working during a severe thunderstorm. The men asked if they could ride in the truck, given

the lightening outside but they were refused, and returned to riding with the garbage, only to be crushed to death by the malfunctioning garbage compactor

(<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/memphis-sanitation-workers-strike>). By the time the Sanitation Workers' strike occurred, Clara was in college, reaching her own last straw. She went to her parents, asking for their approval to participate in the Freedom Movement.

The Sanitation Workers' strike began in February 1968 and continued through the Memphis spring months, resulting in gatherings, marches with men carrying posters, reading, "I am a man," and riots. Reverend Lawson called Dr. King to Memphis to speak to sanitation workers in March. King went to Memphis twice in March but the second time, the crowd became violent. When it broke into a riot, King was taken away and Lawson sent the rioting crowd to Clayborn Temple, only to be followed by police, who released tear gas in the sanctuary and clubbed those gasping for air on the floor. King hesitantly returned to Memphis in early April to follow-through to a commitment to nonviolent economic justice

(<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/memphis-sanitation-workers-strike>). Clara recruited other young people, one of them, Mary Hunt, with whom she became close friends and worked for the movement. Like others, the recruits used Clayborn Temple as a base for picketing, mass meetings, and organizing. On April 4, 1968, Clara and Mary had just arrived at the Lorraine Motel when they saw Dr. King walk onto the balcony. According to Clara, "Ben Branch says to Dr. King, 'Doc, you might want to go back in and get your jacket. It might get a little nippy.' And he turns like he's going to get it, but Ralph is standing, Abernathy, right behind him, and Ralph says, 'No, Doc, I'll get it.' And he goes back into the room. And Dr. King then may have said to Ben, 'Play my favorite song, Precious Lord.' And wham! Ralph Abernathy had just gone back in the room. Martin had the prettiest smile on his face, and I saw

him, because I heard this guy, 'Oh, my God,' and I see him standing, talking, but now he's being lifted up and thrown back. And at some point, I was on the balcony and McCollugh (Marrell), and I said, 'Get towels,' because I released the buckle of his belt. He was barely getting any kind of air and his towel was blown off, just full of blood and I said, 'Get towels, but fresher.' So McCollugh did that. He got on his knees on the bleeding side of Dr. King. I was on that bleeding side and then I stepped back over. I remember hearing the ambulance, but I don't ever remember seeing them take him away." Clara remembered pounding a white police officer in the chest to let her leave to go home. She says he put handcuffs on her when she says another white officer intervened, saying, "Man, don't you know what happened here today? Let that woman go. He released her, she stated. And, she went to call Jim Lawson. "I remember saying, 'Dorothy, is Jim there?' And she said, 'Are you ok?' I said, 'I need to talk to Jim,' because I knew I couldn't go through it twice and I knew, knowing Dorothy, I knew if I had said they just shot Dr. King and it don't look good, because that's what I said to Lawson, I knew she would've went, 'Jim! Ah!' and he would've grabbed the phone and then I wasn't going to be able to say it again...He came to the phone, I said, 'They shot him, they shot Dr. King.' And I said, 'It don't look good,'" Clara exclaimed.

Clara Ester received a score of 14 out of 14 on moral personality characteristics. She received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of dominance. From her "one day" train experience at age six, to being aware of the assassination of Medgar Evers and actively his supporting funeral-goers, to being fed up with hand-me-down school books, to the Sanitation Workers' strike, Clara said she felt like all of this hit her at once, like a slap in the face, "I don't know what, but remember saying to myself, 'You're gonna help this cause as much as you can. You're gonna give it your all.'" She talked with her parents about wanting to get

involved in the movement. Her father remained quiet, Clara says, but her mother, citing her father having already saved for all of Clara's college expenses, suggested that Clara was right to want to be involved, but wanted to wait another year until she finished college. "I wasn't angry with her or him, I just think there was something. I looked at her, I put my finger in her face, which I knew was something you should not do and I said, 'One day.' I did like that and I said, 'One day, remember you told me one day.' She just started crying. She threw her hands up and said, 'Just be careful.' I said, 'I will.' And Daddy said, 'Keep your grades up.' I had put my foot down."

Clara has the ability to put herself in others' shoes. In describing why she went to serious effort to help some of the people she worked with at the Dumas Wesley Community Center in Mobile, Alabama. Clara explained, "But it was, the least, least of our brothers and sisters, that I thought, and if nothing came from that... The reality that we are our brothers' keepers in that neighborhood..." Clara's entire life has been spent in service to the least of those. For this reason, she received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of nurturance.

"When I first moved here nobody was doing anything to assist this couple," Clara says. He told her she was a piano player in church, that he was not good, a drunk, and he would hang around church, waiting for her to finish playing the piano and walk her home. They called them Dinner Bucket and Honey Gal but their names were Willie and Mary Thompson. Clara called them Mr. and Mrs. Thompson. She followed them "home" one day, to the back of a burned brick house. Black soot covered the walls and there were no utilities. She wanted to help them by giving them aid from the Community Center she directed but they had to have a residence to be qualified to receive aid. So, Clara negotiated with the owner of residence nearby to arrange to let them move there with the aid money they would receive from old age assistance. Clara put

out a plea for basic furniture and housewares. She said all the white churches started bringing more donations than the Thompsons needed and then the white churches started giving them meals. Clara said, “the black families living around them was like, ‘Hmm... We can take care of our own people. And so, they respected them differently. But folks would ask me, ‘What is it about this old drunk and his wife that turns you on?’ And I said, ‘I don’t know. Maybe it’s the story that’s about the Good Samaritan, and how the righteous people walked around them, but it was a good Samaritan, that wasn’t’ the most popular person, which I consider I ain’t saw something, and a couple that they could do to help. And I said ‘I don’t know. I just did.’”

When Mrs. Thompson died, Clara found a plot for her, a free casket, arranged for pall bearers, and negotiated a funeral and burial for less than \$300.00. She wanted Mr. Thompson to see his neighbors as his family, which she did not know if they had. She had men stay in the Community Center with Willie at night, in an effort to keep him sober for the funeral. The men showered Willie, loaned him a suit, and dressed him. Willie said that day, “This is the nicest thing that anybody in the world has ever done for me,” she recalled. Clara continued her friendship with Willie Thompson until his death, she says. This is one story but is routine for the way Clara ran the Community Center. She reformed a community center in Memphis and was sent to this center in Mobile to reform this center as well. For her unique ability to lead by example, regardless of how unpopular, Clara has a way of garnering support, building community, and seeing things through while respecting people. For this, Clara received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of power.

“My hope is that we can be at that storm driven love and compassion level that we...we’ve become so concerned about what damage is...But even those neo-Nazi young people, at some point, somewhere, if they get caught in that storm and somebody is either going

to win them over by offering help or they are not going to see those clouds and they're going to offer help. But then we get to where God has glued us, and we can't separate ourselves back into that world we live in every day. If that makes sense...But within all of us we got something good. How can we stay glued? You know? It would be a beautiful world." This preceding statement was representative of all of Clara's statements and is a reflection of affiliation and intimacy, a moral personality characteristic for which she received a positive score.

"My life journey, my work journey has been to try to make a difference in people's lives. That if I can make and help create systemic changes, that we fight and struggle a long time for, but the law changes, and it benefits people. If I can help get living wages for folks that are working every day. So I'll go to my grave, probably, standing up saying, one day," Clara declared. This statement was descriptive of not only Clara's past endeavors but also indicates her intent to continue her meaningful work to the end. She received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of generativity.

In 1985, Clara's father died. She drove herself, her mother and her son from Mobile to Memphis for his funeral. In Memphis on Interstate 55, in a torrential rainstorm, an eighteen-wheeler jack-knifed, hitting Clara's car and propelling her body out the rear window of the car. Her young son had glass in his scalp and her mother had broken ribs, but they were okay. However, Clara was nowhere to be found. Her mother remained conscious, "That was the first hands-on that God had in control," she stated. Her mother told paramedics, "I'm not leaving until you find my daughter." Police took her young son's hand and walked him down the now-closed interstate until he spotted her lying in the grass beside the interstate, six tenths a mile away from her wrecked car, "That's my momma. That's my momma," she recalled. "If my mother had not been conscious, I would have bled-out. I had five surgeries," she explained. "I

know my belief in a God, and that He holds me in His hands. It's a blessing, but it's because God's not finished with whatever it is that I need to do," Clara proclaimed. Clara Ester received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of spiritual self-transcendence.

Clara received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of identity and personal growth. She described her mother as a disciplinarian, keeping Clara and her brother on a straight track. One day, Clara found a quarter on the sidewalk on her way to the grocery store. When she returned home, her mother wondered how she got the extras she had with her, cookies, chips, candy, and so forth. Clara said her mother re-bagged the food Clara had bought with the quarter she found on her way to the store. Her mother walked her back to the store, gave her cashier the bag of Clara's food, got the quarter back from the cashier and gave Clara's found quarter to the cashier, and told the cashier to keep it, that someone may return for the quarter. On their way home, Clara's mother told her, "nobody laid that quarter on that sidewalk with your name on it, it wasn't yours and it wasn't yours to spend. You don't know what difference that quarter may have meant to whomever it belonged to." Clara explained that she has never been able to take what was not hers to take, even if she receives food she did not order or too much change. She will not eat the extra food, return the food, and call the restaurant to inform them of the mistake they made so their sales match at the end of the day. She immediately returns extra change if a cashier makes a mistake in her favor. "I say to myself sometimes, you know I could have had that for almost nothing, but it's my mama that beat this stuff into me, yeah," she explained.

When the Methodist church assigned Clara to the Dumas Wesley Community Center in Mobile, it was to improve the situation there as she had done in Memphis. She displayed agency in the manner in which she performed her job and got involved and solved problems, therefore

receiving a positive score for this moral personality characteristic. According to Clara, one of the first people at the community center in Mobile she met was Rabbit, a smart, tall, African American high school boy who loved to play sports at Dumas and participated in the activities he was not getting at home. A nearby grocery store manager called police to report that a man matching Rabbit's description in a car matching the description of Rabbit's car beat the grocery store manager to the ground on his way home one night, stealing the grocery store's earnings for the day, which the manager said he was taking home in a brown paper bag. Police searched Rabbit's car and found a brown paper bag in the trunk of the car. Rabbit was arrested and went before a judge, who had recently released another suspect, only for that suspect to rob another store, killing the store owner upon release. Rabbit promised Clara he did not do rob the grocery store owner. As it turned out, a Dumas Wesley board member was on the grand jury. The board member had heard Clara talking about Rabbit and the situation in which he found himself at the center. This prompted the board and grand jury member to ask enough questions of the grocery store manager to discover that Rabbit could not have beaten the much shorter man the way he described and that in fact, the grocery store manager himself was the thief of the grocery store's money. Clara says Rabbit went on to get a job and became a loving, compassionate person, standing up for justice. She shuttered to think what Rabbit's fate would have been had he been indicted and convicted of a crime he did not commit.

Since Clara Ester has spent her life as a civil rights volunteer, a deaconess, and community organizer. She received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of communion. But the evidence beyond what has already been outlined is Clara's own word.

When asked if she discerned a central theme in her life, she had a one-word answer:

“Community.” One last reflection she offered further explains the drive behind her commitment,

“And hopefully, you learn over years why you have this opportunity to be alive, that you should share and say what you want to say and share because tomorrow’s not promised.”

When asked what she thinks the single most important value for human living is, Clara responded, “To love one another. I think love is the answer to everything, and relationships. Once you establish relationships, you put back, on the back burner, the things that may have kept you separated because you know that person now.” The way with which she approached a lifetime of caring for people like Rabbit and the Thompson’s results in a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affective tone for Clara.

Clara did not speak about the Dr. King’s assassination for fifty years. During this time, she worked as a deaconess, at building community centers in Memphis and Mobile, at helping to rebuild the people there. She received the King Award and other leadership awards for her selfless service but never spoke about witnessing the assassination that changed so much. Few knew she could be seen in the photographs on the balcony with Dr. King or that she was even in Memphis that day. What she saw and what it meant to her traumatized her into silence on the matter. “When I talk about it,” she says, “there’s no way not to see him on that platform and to reflect back to the night before, when it was so weird, tornado watch, thunder and lightning, and they tell him, ‘Weather’s bad, folks not gonna show up, so why don’t you stay here and rest so Ralph can speak tonight?’” Years later, returning to Memphis, she discovered an “I Am A Man” statue and plaza memorial had been built near Clayborn Temple. While there, she accompanied some family from out of town to the National Civil Rights Museum at the Lorraine Motel. She recalled the experience, “They had opened the museum to where you could actually see where his body was, and I lost it. I got to that point, and I just... And the crowd started, I was holding the crowd up, and you know, my family was with me, and they were talking me out of it, and

they said, 'it's okay. When you get ready, we'll move on, when you get ready.' But I couldn't see." But then one day she was asked to speak at Vanderbilt University. She said the professor introduced her to the waiting audience and she suddenly realized the two of them had not reviewed the details of what Clara might say, "You know we never talked about me. So, I'm gonna write something down, some little bullet points." She said the professor turned to her and said, "No, I've done my work." Then proceeds to describe to the crowd the events surrounding Dr. King's assassination from Clara's perspective, details he had studied from the Federal Bureau of Investigations' report. It is only since then that Clara's been discussing the matter. About this she says she did not know much about herself until ~~she~~ that day at Vanderbilt. Since then, she has spoken to newspapers and television networks about it, and, more importantly has reintegrated it into her life, making meaning and gaining wisdom from doing so. This is the essence of the moral personality characteristic of redemption. For this she received a positive score.

Many people traveled through Memphis to attend the funeral of Medgar Evers. These travelers were housed, fed, and cared for at Clayborn Temple, where Jim Lawson was minister, which was also Clara's church. Some stayed at Clara's house. She remembered her mother making sandwiches for them. Because it lasted several months, during the Sanitation Workers' strike, some of the striking workers had no money with which to buy food. Many lived off of donated Wonder Bread with utility supplier's cutting of their utilities (<https://ksdk.com/article/news/nation-now/the-witness-clara-ester-the-lorraine-motel-and-the-legacy-of-martin-luther-king-jr/465-a5e5840a-20d11-4e58-06991b3de3ae>). Her father's friend came to Clara's house. They had run out of bread and had no milk for their infant. Her parents shared theirs. Every time her mother cooked large meals, usually on holidays, her mother, her

brother, and Clara would walk past their neighbors houses and decide where they would return later that day. They would go home, enjoy their own turkey and ham, she said, and then make plates and deliver them to every one of their neighbors they had pinpointed on their earlier walk, spending 30 minutes visiting with each one. This was a ritual Clara still continues today with her son. This exemplifies the moral personality characteristic of needs of others, for which Clara received a positive score.

Clara was very close to both parents, but especially her mother. She was also a part of a broader network of helpers, her church. She says, “Always my birthday parties and Christmas and family and being a part of a church that embraced you, even though some of it wasn’t positive when church members say, ‘I saw what you did,’ but realizing that they are there to help you grow and mature into something.” Clara received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of helpers. Clara was securely attached to both parents, so she receives a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of attachments.

Clara received a Life Story Interview score of 95. Agency, communion, and redemption have been previously discussed. Clara received a score for contamination sequences. Clara recalled the low point in her life as the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States. More pointedly, she has great sadness, she says, over what she sees as the regression of society after so many died and suffered so that hatred and bigotry would no longer be acceptable. But she feels we have stepped back, “Yeah, it’s not only a step back, it’s a slap,” Clara said with a ‘One day’ look on her face.

Flonzie Brown Wright

Table 8

Exemplar 8: Flonzie Brown Wright

Birthdate: August 12, 1942

Participant	Moral Personality Score	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination Sequences	LSI Total Score
Flonzie Brown Wright	14	32	32	32	1	97

Flonzie Brown Wright, from Farmhaven and Canton, Mississippi, received the FBI Director's Community Leadership Award in 2016 for her work in civil rights. In 1966, Dr. Martin Luther King asked her to help accommodate and feed 3,000 people marching from Memphis to Jackson. Flonzie answered his call by helping to organize and provide for the marchers. She testified to a senate subcommittee about the need to send federal examiners to Mississippi to investigate three missing civil rights workers, Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner, who had been abducted and murdered in Neshoba County, Mississippi (<https://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/2016/02/23/mississippi-civil-rights-activist-honored/80818018/>).

Flonzie was the first African American woman to hold public office in Mississippi since reconstruction. She certified petitions for those trying to qualify to run for public office, appointed and trained poll workers, and implemented a jury selection system (<https://fbi.gov/about/community-outreach/dcla/2016/jackson-flonzie-brown-wright>). Flonzie also served as Vice President of the Institute of Politics at Millsaps College, an investigator for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, a student affairs scholar at Miami University (<https://mulvanearthmuseum.org/calendar/2020/02/Flonzie.Lecture.html>),

on the Mississippi Humanities Council, and helped develop the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum. A courtroom is named after her in the City Hall building in Canton, Mississippi (<https://www.thehistorymakers.org/biography/flonzie-brown-wright>).

Flonzie was twelve years-old when her father was notified to come to the funeral home to identify the bodies of his children. Her mother took Flonzie and her brothers to the funeral home, fearful of leaving them alone at night in Canton, Mississippi. “I just remember hearing my mother scream,” Flonzie recalled. She said her parents had to walk into the funeral home and identify the bodies of her two cousins, who were from Chicago but were in Canton visiting their family when they were beaten by white men, chained behind the men’s truck and dragged until they were decapitated. Despite this event, sheltered from the knowledge of racism, as a child, Flonzie was living in Los Angeles, California when she heard something in the news about freedom rides, bus- burning, beatings, and protests in Alabama and Mississippi. She called her mother back home to inquire, “Your dad and I thought that we would not expose you all to this at an early age. This was our way of exposing you to the ugliness of racism,” she recalled her mother explaining to her.

Flonzie left Los Angeles, heading home to Mississippi. “I didn’t choose the civil rights movement. The civil rights movement chose me,” she said. When she first arrived, she focused on simply making a living, but when Medgar Evers was assassinated in Jackson, Mississippi, she could wait no longer. “How was it that in America, in my country, how was it that a man could be gunned down in the presence of his wife and children for just attending meetings? Then I understood what those meetings were about. Those meetings were trying to obtain the right to vote for African-American citizens, but I couldn’t understand how Byron de la Beckwith could lie-in-wait in the bushes for him and blow out his heart in the presence of his wife and children.”

Flonzie Brown Wright received a moral personality score of 14 out of 14. Flonzie received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of dominance. In 1964, Flonzie went to the Madison County Election Commissioner to register to vote. African Americans were given a 21-question questionnaire then, including questions such as how many bubbles are in a bar of soap and how many feathers are there on a chicken, and are your parents communists? Flonzie said the last four questions asked her to interpret a section of the United States Constitution about habeas corpus. Whites only had six questions on their registration forms, according to Flonzie, basic questions such as their name, address, and phone number. The election registrar refused her registration application, cursing her out the door. It was at this moment Flonzie decided she would run for this office one day (<https://m.jacksonfreepress.com/news/2012/nov/06/flonzie-wright-brown/>).

As Canton's National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) branch manager, Flonzie registered thousands of Mississippians to vote. In Washington, D.C. in 1965, she also testified to a congressional subcommittee about enforcing the 1965 Voting Rights Act (<https://www.thehistorymakers.org/biography/flonzie-brown-wright>). In 1968, Flonzie was the first African American woman to run and win public office in the state of Mississippi since reconstruction. She was elected to the office of Madison County Election Commissioner.

Flonzie's grandsons were living in Los Angeles, one having broken his leg playing basketball, resulting in a surgery to place a pin in his leg as well as his movement being limited to a wheelchair while convalescing. According to Flonzie's understanding, the brothers, along with some friends, had gone to the store down the street. The store owner accused the boys of stealing something. Back at her grandson's home, five Los Angeles police officers entered, accusing the boys of robbing the store, cursing, and demanding they turn over a gun. Her

wheelchair-bound grandson had been sitting on his hands in his wheelchair. The officers thought he was holding a gun in his wheelchair. L.A. police killed the 18-year-old, shooting him 15 times in his home in front of his brother, mother, and grandmother. He was unarmed. After the sudden death of one son, Flonzie flew to Los Angeles to go to the morgue to help identify her grandson, who had spent summers visiting her. For this reason and others like it, Flonzie received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of nurturance.

The purpose of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is to promote equal employment opportunities for all Americans and to deal with inequities. Flonzie was an investigator for the EEOC. She traveled the country, investigating complaints from those who had been fired, demoted, not promoted, or not hired for jobs for which they were qualified. She said she would work hours to find just one niche others may have missed that might help to prove a case. She said ten of the cases for which she served as investigator have been published to serve as models for other EEOC investigators. But what gives Flonzie a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of power was not just the successful way she performed her EEOC duties but is also the way she enjoyed crafting some sort of satisfactory remedies for the people who felt they had been wronged in their employment.

Flonzie received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affiliation and intimacy. As we will see, her relationships with her parents, her grandparents, her extended family, and her children are close and significant to her. But she also had a best friend with whom she had grown. They met in the second grade. One was an only child, the other an only daughter. Their close life-long friendship was well known in Jackson, Mississippi and was even the focus of a newspaper series on friendship. Their friendship continued until her friend's

death. For her funeral Flonzie prepared her body, dressing her and applying her make-up, fulfilling her friend's last request.

Flonzie has spent over 50 years advocating for others. She is still hard at work, traveling, speaking, teaching, and sharing. She stated she is on call for the purpose of sharing and educating people about the journey. She believes that someone else's life should be better because she "passed their way," and asks such questions of herself with every person for whom she advocates, "Does what I do give someone hope? Does it encourage them? Does it show them that they can achieve? Has somebody's life been changed by mine?" Flonzie received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of generativity.

Flonzie needed a house as soon as possible. She had to leave a bad situation, her marriage, and had to gain physical and financial separateness immediately. She said God directed her to do five tasks like, getting her credit separated from her husband's, to ask her supervisor to write a letter to the bank that she would be getting a raise in a month, and so forth..." You do these five things by Monday morning, and in two weeks you will have a house," she heard God say. "Each time I did one of the things, I was so scared and nervous," she recalled, so she asked for reassurance. "Oh God, am I doing the right thing," she asked. She says she got the same answer to do the five things. She called a realtor, who said a new, vacant house's listing had just come across his desk, but he had no information about it. She met her realtor there but could only look through the windows. She handed the realtor a down-payment in the form of a \$1,200.00 check, a check that her account could not pay. But she continued trying to accomplish those five things, and in doing so, went to the bank president, sat down in his office, telling him the situation, and asking him to not return her check as insufficient, promising him she would get the \$1,200.00 by the time he got her check. He kept his word. The

next week, and before the days of direct deposit, a \$1,200.00 deposit appeared in her account. She called her friend who was the head teller at the bank, telling her she had not made the deposit, “it’s not my money,” and asking her to research the source of the \$1,200.00 deposit. The head teller searched, ultimately saying, “I see the deposit, but we have no record of it being made. It’s money in your account. I don’t understand it either, but it’s your money.” Flonzie said she was scared to touch it, went back to the bank two or three times to see if they had discovered the origin of the deposit, waiting two weeks. No one has ever found the source of the deposit. She explained her point of view, when God said, “You go. While you will never be rich, you will always have what you need.” She added, “I’ve seen it play out, time and time, and time, and time again.” For Flonzie this was a spiritual experience, reflecting on her spiritual self-transcendence, giving her a positive score for this moral personality characteristic.

“I go back to my ancestors and my roots because they meant so very, very much to who I am today,” Flonzie declared. Flonzie’s great grandfather was a slave. Her grandfather Brown lost his hearing to a case of mumps at age 16. He went to work on a plantation. Though grandfather Brown could not read, write, or hear, he could count money, and after some years of working and still owing the landowner money at the end of cropping season, he had fourteen children and walked off of the plantation to make his own way and his own money. “He dressed hogs for three dollars a head, made and sold molasses for 35 cents per can, and dug graves for seven dollars a grave. So that’s in me,” Flonzie explained, “Over my 50 plus years of being in this movement, the success that I have had in trying to share with people the information about our heritage and trying to leave a legacy for young people, that’s important to me; but that came from that plantation man, that man who walked out the plantation, and my mother’s family who were educators.” Flonzie’s identification with her ancestor’s helped her to understand who she is

and always wanted to be. For this reason, she received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of identity and personal growth.

After the assassination of Medgar Evers in 1963, Flonzie decided to get involved in the civil rights movement in a more forceful way. In 1966, Dr. Martin Luther King came to Canton, Mississippi. He met with Flonzie and a few others, asking them to arrange accommodations and food for 3,000 people marching from Memphis to Jackson. She says he spoke of his own impending death as if he knew his days were numbered, and asked Flonzie and the others to promise him that “as long as we live, and as long as we saw racism, and segregation, separatism, that we would do what we could do to not only address it but to try to eradicate it.” Flonzie said she made a vow that day that she would be one of the ones to tell the story. She explained that everything she had done since then, even our interview, has been an effort to keep this vow, this promise to Dr. King, who died 20 months later. “Of course, this is why I’m meeting with you today is because of the vow that I made that if, when I had an opportunity to tell the stories that I would tell them,” she explained. This choice and the actions that followed are the essence of agency, therefore Flonzie receives a positive score for this moral personality characteristic.

Flonzie was in California, far from her turbulent south when the civil rights struggles began to reach their boiling point. When she discovered a battle for freedom was at heart of the strife, she chose to go home instead of to stay in sunny California. Flonzie chose to go home and be a part of the struggle for freedom. She had seen bus burnings, beatings, lynchings, and her own cousins visiting from Chicago had been chained and dragged behind a truck. She knew what this meant. Yet she chose to go home anyway because she felt led to be part of the solution. Referring to her frequent interviews and appearances in newspapers, she says, “This only shows a record of what I’ve done, just a record of people that I’ve met in my lifetime, and

I'm proud to have met those people; but it's not about any of this. It's just about what can I do to make someone else's life better?" For recognizing her place in the larger picture and acting on behalf of the whole, Flonzie received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of communion.

She also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affective tone. "I taught in a drug rehab center for 20 years," Flonzie explained, "and I shared with those residents that you may be dealing with an addiction, but you can use that as a stepping stone to not only help yourself but to help somebody else. I just tried to have echoed in my brain waves that no matter how things go, you can make it. There have been times that I have been financially strapped, but I always knew that God was going to provide a way."

Flonzie had breakfast with her son, one morning. Fifteen hours later, she got a call that he had died of a massive heart attack, she said. He was one day shy of his thirty-fourth birthday. "That's something that you never get over, and it's been three years, I guess. It's been three years. You never get over it. You get through it, but you never get over it," she explained.

She has memorialized her son on a wall in her home, that is the home she bought with the \$1,200-dollar down payment, years ago. Photographs of him throughout his life decorate the wall from floor to ceiling. It is a prominent wall that can be seen from many vantage points in her home. Flonzie explained one way she deals with this loss, "Every day, I mean he's just always right here, just always under the skin. There are so many things that remind me of him. He was a truck driver. If I pass a truck now, I say, 'Where is Ed going today,' to give it some joviality, as opposed to, 'Oh God, my son was a truck driver.' In regard to her life in general, Flonzie displays redemption, "I've been jailed. I've been shot at. I've been tear-gassed. I've had my life threatened. The lives of my children sentenced, their lives threatened from the Klan,

that they will go and kill me, and kill my children. I have gone through all that, but I never fear for one minute because this was not the life I chose. I had to believe that the power that I call God is higher than me. He chose this path for me.” Flonzie received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of redemption.

Flonzie said she was four years old when she knew she wanted to help people. Sitting in True Life Baptist Church in Farmhaven, Mississippi every Sunday, an old lady came in. This lady, Ms. Mag, sat in the same seat each time. Little Flonzie noticed the part in her hair was crooked, yet her dress was old-fashioned but neat, with cotton stockings and little loafers, Flonzie recalled. She asked her mother if she would take her down the street to comb Ms. Mag’s hair. Her mother took Flonzie down the street, knocking on Ms. Mag’s door, asking Ms. Mag, “Well, I’ve got little Flonzie with me. Flonzie wants to comb your hair. Can she come in and comb your hair?” Ms. Mag agreed. “But when I got there,” Flonzie says, “I saw that there was debris in her yard, leaves, paper, and stuff. I wanted to... We had no rakes, so I wanted to sweep her yard... Then I also noticed that her dishes were not washed in the kitchen, so I wanted to wash the dishes. Mother went out in the yard, pumped the water, brought it back and set the little pan on the stove so that I could... wash the dishes. I had to stand on a box to help wash the dishes, but Mom helped me. See, what I didn’t know... Ms. Mag was blind. I didn’t know that the reason her hair was crooked, the part was crooked, she couldn’t see how to part it straight. I didn’t know at four years old that people from the community would drop by two or three days a week, and wash the dishes, bring her food, clean her yard. I didn’t know that but all I saw was this little lady in church with the crooked part in her hair. I knew at four years old that I wanted to help people.” Flonzie received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of being aware of the needs of others.

As we have learned, Flonzie came from a very devoted family, valuing the influence of her family as well as her ancestors. She was proud of her heritage and her family, their beliefs, persistence, determination, and hard work. Her knowledge of her ancestors, including her grandfather who walked off the plantation to work for himself, helped to shape her and to give her strength when she needed it. “In addition to my family’s influence,” she explained, “I developed a mindset that I’m a winner...Mom and Dad taught us if anybody else can do it, you can do it. When I bought my first little home in Canton (Mississippi) in 1967 for \$2,700 dollars, it was a little raggedy shack. I went to mother and I said, ‘Mother, you think I can buy this house? You think I can own a home?’ She said, ‘Baby, if anybody else can do it, you can do it.’” She received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of having helpers in her young life.

Flonzie also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of attachments because of the secure attachment she had with her parents when she was young. Evidence of such attachments came full circle for Flonzie when her parents needed her help. When they became sick in their elderly years, Flonzie was living in Ohio but came back every other month of the year to stay with and care for them for a month, returning to Ohio for one month, then returning to Mississippi for the next month. She even built and maintained a garden in her yard in memory and honor of her mother.

Bettie Mae Fikes

Table 9

Exemplar 9: Bettie Mae Fikes

Birthday: April 16, 1947

Participant	Moral Personality Characteristics	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination Sequences	LSI Total Score
Bettie Mae Fikes	14	32	30	28	0	90

She has been called “the Voice of Selma.” Bettie Mae Fikes, the child of gospel singers and preachers had already sung her first solo in church by age four. She joined the freedom movement while she was in high school, hopping on a bus as a freedom rider at age 15 (https://hometownsource.com/abc_newspapers/news/education/freedom-rider-urges-everyone-to-get-on-the-bus/article_0143c368-0def-5277-800e-5eda9cdfc737.html). After joining the movement and graduating from high school, she toured the country, singing with the Freedom Singers, whose mission was to bring awareness of the intensity of the movement to places not as exposed to it as others and to raise money to help fund the movement. But she was also a participant, registering voters, leading a walk-out of her high school, boycotting businesses and buses, and participating in lunch-counter sit-ins in her hometown of Selma, Alabama. She joined SNCC, meeting Bernard Lafayette in Selma, helping to hand out pamphlets and helping him recruit adults who wanted to register to vote.

She, with the Freedom Singers, sang at the 1963 March on Washington, the 1964 Democratic National Convention and Carnegie Hall. They performed alongside Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, and Peter, Paul, and Mary. Bettie Mae also sang at the Library of Congress, blues festivals, including the Newport Jazz Festival, and at the 2004 Democratic National Convention after an introduction by Maya Angelou. She’s received the Long Walk to

Freedom Award and was inducted into the Smithsonian Institute's Museum of Tolerance (<https://blackthen.com/bettie-mae-fikes-voice-inspired-african-americans-selma-fight-freedom/>).

Bettie Mae initially joined the movement as a teen to get out of the home situation in which she had found herself and to try to find belonging. Having grown up in Selma, she had traveled with her mother to Detroit, where her mother died when Bettie Mae was ten years old. After her mother's death, she traveled back to family in Selma, where she was shuffled to different family members' houses. Having had years of happiness until her mother's death, the shuffling years were difficult for Bettie Mae. There was dysfunction and abuse. Her happy childhood had given way to another reality. Joining the Freedom Movement, she found meaning, purpose, a sense of belonging, and a substitute family, so much so that Movement volunteers even attended her high school graduation (<https://snccdigital.org/people/bettie-mae-fikes>). She became famous during the movement for her own rendition of the song, "This Little Light of Mine." That song represents Bettie's growth during her lifetime in the movement.

Bettie Mae Fikes received a moral personality characteristic score of 14 out of 14. She received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of dominance. Bettie Mae had enjoyed a happy childhood until her mother died. She recalled many happy family memories as well as the warmth, joy, and dedication of her mother. She loved her father as well, but she liked him better when he drank, which, she says, he did a lot. She returned to him by train after her mother's death. Together they bounced around the extended family's houses. When Bettie Mae was in kindergarten, her paternal grandmother once beat her with an extension cord until she wore a wound. She says she was not sure which was worse, the physical pain, the emotional pain of not understanding how someone who professes love for her could do that, or her father's lack of protection. This lack of protection would stick with Bettie Mae throughout her father's

life. Having once confidently placed all of her trust in her mother as her caretaker, she now felt she could trust no one. Her father remarried. Bettie said his second wife was nice to Bettie Mae until the wedding, then became difficult. Bettie Mae says she would spend all of the family's money long before the next paycheck and favored some children over others, including her. Bettie Mae decided it was time to push back against her family. When Bettie Mae confronted Bertha, her stepmother, about her money woes and the disproportionate treatment, the discussion became an argument. Bertha ran out of the house, accusing Bettie Mae of having tried to cut her with a knife. Her stepsister ran in the house, getting a knife and attempted to cut Bettie Mae. Bettie Mae was crushed and felt forsaken. She left to spend the night at a friend's house. She returned the next day to get her clothing, thanked Bertha, and told her father she could not believe their relationship had reached this point. She said her father came up to her car and stood there, saying, "You act like you got something in your heart against me." She told him she "could care less about him being her daddy. And I really couldn't care less about you standing 6'5", 6'7," if you get in front of this car, I'm going to run over your ass. So, your best bet is to get back up in there with all those other stupid people that you have brought into this family. Oh, he wouldn't move. I went and gave him another chance, 'I'm telling you to move, you move. I stick to my word, Dad.' He didn't move. I put the car in reverse, backed out, and I put it in drive. I had him running down the street. I tried for the life of me to run his ass over. I said, 'I've been waiting to do this to you ever since I was a little child.'"

Bettie also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of nurturance. Even Bettie says she has been known for her warmth. She says her personality and warmth make her who she is. The best illustration of this is her singing. In the streets of Selma during protests, Bettie would break into her own rendition of "This Little Light of Mine." She would

alter the lyrics at times to fit the situation, but she was known for her tender but strong portrayal of this song, and how meaningful it was to the Freedom Movement.

On her way to pay her aunt's water bill, Bettie Mae could not resist stopping by the church in Selma where a mass meeting was taking place. The group had planned a march to City Hall. Before she knew it, Bettie Mae was leading the march to City Hall. When police threatened student marchers with cattle prods, Bettie Mae went to her knees in nonviolent protest. She was jailed for her protest in the local jail, jail camps, and state prison camps (<https://snccdigital.org/people/bettie-mae-fikes>). Bettie Mae received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of power.

Bettie Mae affirmed that in the Movement she finally found her place. It was her friends in high school that recruited her into the Movement and the friendships she made in the movement that sustained her, even attending her high school graduation. But she also had a best friend that was a sister to her, named Jillian. Jillian had beaten cancer twice when she was diagnosed with lung cancer several years ago. Jillian refused to believe her doctors or her diagnosis. She tried denial and holistic medication, but the pain and coughing continued to worsen. Her husband was distraught. Bettie Mae visited as a surprise for Jillian. When Bettie Mae saw her friend, she crawled into her bed with her and held her while she cried. Jillian died not long after Bettie Mae's visit. Bettie Mae received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affiliation and intimacy.

Bettie Mae also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of generativity. She spent her lifetime acting, singing, traveling, speaking, and sharing the stories and history of the Freedom Movement. Her attitude reflecting her generativity can be seen in some of her own words. She stated, "I didn't join the movement, the movement captured

me” and “I finally found my place...I could do something,”

(<https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=3HJIgnGZDaE>). She also said about her Freedom Movement

actions: “I wasn’t just fighting for my family. I was fighting for everyone who was oppressed,”

(https://hometownsource.com/abc_newspapers/news/education/freedom-rider-urges-everyone-to-get-on-the-bus/article_0143c368-0def-5277-800e-5eda9cdfc737.html). “My thing is to stand up for what is right, and whatever I can do to help someone else along the way.”

Bettie Mae has experienced several episodes in her life that could be categorized as spiritual self-transcendence. One life-long friendship she made in a grocery store in Selma. An older woman asked her for help reaching an item and spoke as if she knew Bettie Mae. Bettie Mae asked the woman if she knew her, the woman replied, “I don’t know you, but God does.” Another episode occurred when staying with a friend. Nothing had been going right for Bettie Mae at the time and the stress was causing stress headaches. Every day, the headache got worse. One night the pain was so intense that she crawled into the fetus position on a love seat outside of her bedroom. “And when I was in this fetus position, this song that I had never sung because I didn’t know the lyrics started coming to me, verbatim, word by word,” she recalls. It was “Be not dismayed...God will take care of you. And as this song was rolling in my head, that’s the way the pain was being lifted from my body. And it felt like somebody was in the house with me but I knew, wasn’t nobody there but me. But the spirit was so high like someone was there and it was like it was getting closer and closer and closer to me. And when it got to the point where I felt like someone was getting ready to step out of the bedroom into the living room where I was. And that scared me so bad I jumped up and ran completely out of the house. I ran out of the house and I told the next-door neighbor, I said, ‘Someone is in there.’ The spirit was just that high. And it scared me so bad that I didn’t even stop to think I no longer had a

headache. And all the pain was gone. So again, I called the Bishop and told him. And again, his reply to me was, ‘That was your visitation from God and you were not supposed to run.’ And, again I told him, ‘Well tell God to make it plain because He scared the boo boo out of me tonight.’” Now Bettie Mae says she wishes God would visit her again like that. Bettie Mae received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of spiritual self-transcendence.

Bettie Mae said she had lost everything but hope. She said she found herself at a turning point in her life where she had to change her way of thinking and had to believe in something other than herself. About this, Bettie Mae said, “It let me know that I was giving lip service all these years, talking about how good God was and how good God is. My turning point let me know that I hadn’t fully forgiven God for taking my mother and that made me take the world on by myself.” She said she had lost her house, had no one to turn to, and did not know what to do. She decided that she was spiritually sick, saying, “But my awakening came when I had to learn to use my downfalls as stair steps, and learn that you can’t appreciate the sunshine until you’ve had the rain. Mine wasn’t raining; mine was hurricane season and tornado season.” She credits changing her way of thinking to spiritual growth and personal growth. “[I] don’t care how much you say you have accepted, if you have not changed that way of thinking...And believe me, changing your way of thinking is a daily job. I’m still working on it,” she explained. Bettie Mae Fikes received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of identity and growth.

Bettie Mae also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of agency. The best illustration of this of the many in Bettie’s life is her joining SNCC in high school. She has asked, “Why would a 15-year old get on a bus and ride into hell?”

(https://hometownsource.com/abc_newspapers/news/education/freedom-rider-urges-

everyone-to-get-on-the-bus/article_0143c368-0def-5277-800e-5eda9cdfc737.html)? Previously, we have learned that Bettie's childhood was happy until her mother died. She traveled with her mother, a gospel singer, and loved her life as a child. But after her mother died, everything changed for her. She no longer felt she belonged anywhere or with anyone. She continued to feel that way until she joined SNCC. There, though she admits her purpose in joining was to get out of the situation in which she found herself, she found meaning and purpose as well as a sense of belonging. She felt with this group, she could use her life to truly help others. She did, whether by inspiring or comforting with song, nonviolently protesting, or being a friend, she did. We know for an adolescent, feeling a lack of belonging can be a dangerous place. She could have made any other choice to address her feelings. Yet she chose to make a difference. Today, she is still dedicated to this mission.

Bettie Mae also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of communion. Some of the aspects of communion, in Bettie Mae's case, have been previously discussed. Though she initially joined SNCC to save herself, it was not long before Bettie Mae's experience in SNCC became more about helping others rather than helping herself. She says her first friend in SNCC taught her how to approach her work in SNCC, saying, "be actively calm and calmly active." She's already told us that in SNCC she had finally found her place and could do something...something to help. Bettie Mae learned to balance her own growth and happiness with helping others.

Bettie Mae says the major theme of her life is "forward ever and back is never." She said she has thought this way since she graduated from high school. "There's no success backwards. Pick them up and lay them down, you're going forward," she clarified. She also says she's just following her God's lead. She has no idea if there will be a tomorrow, she says. She travels

without a script. Wherever He leads, she'll follow, she explained. But she says, "I have to be open enough, peaceful enough, and understanding enough to know that it's Him leading me."

Bettie Mae received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affective tone.

Bettie Mae also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of redemption. She said it took her a long time to get her belief back in God and to trust again after her mother died. Before her mother died, Bettie Mae says she felt the more she did, the less her mother would have to do. She said she became the cleaner. She explained that her mother kept their house so clean that when her mother got sick, this was her way to contribute. By cleaning, she was fighting for her family, she explained. When her mother died, her body was placed in a casket and boarded onto a train, headed south to Montgomery from Detroit. But Bettie Mae rode the same train, with only a door separating her mother's casket and herself. She said every time the conductor opened the door to check on her that she would get a glimpse of her mother's casket. She called this "torment." When she arrived in Montgomery, her father was at the station to pick her up. But they had to wait at the station for her mother's casket to be picked up by the funeral home. Once in Selma, she says she visited her mother's body in the funeral home each night, sitting in the same room as her closed casket, too afraid to get too close. About dealing with her mother's death she says it had carried her to places she had never been, and she had gone so deep she did not know the way out. She continued to experience loss, trauma, and pain for the next few years of her childhood and early adolescence. "Pain brought me to this place...because I had to learn how to survive. I used to resent tears because that was a sign of weakness, but in that weakness, it gave me strength, so I could stand today. I have found that I have chopped down the stalks as I go, and I, still at this age, still have quite a few more to go. That's why I always say I'm more than a conqueror. I learned these things from biblical

speaking. I am victorious. I am a child of the King. That gave me the power not only to stand, but to fight.” She explained that she has always had to fight, for her family, for herself, and for freedom.

Bettie Mae spent her early years in church with her mother and touring the south with her mother as she sang. Here, Bettie Mae was exposed to the needs of others. At the time, Bettie Mae enjoyed her life and childhood. She learned about the needs of others in church. She received a positive score for this moral personality characteristic.

Bettie Mae received a positive score for the moral characteristic of having helpers in her young life. Her mother was her main caregiver until she died when Bettie Mae was ten years old. She was Bettie Mae’s major helper. But Bettie Mae also had a cousin, Shooter, who was an integral helper to her by being someone she could talk to and someone who was dependable. But Bettie Mae also searched for second mothers as an adult. She found second mothers in the old lady at the grocery store who told her she did not know Bettie Mae but God did. This was Mama Doll, who encouraged, protected, and comforted Bettie Mae as a young adult. But she also found a second mother in Fannie Lou Hamer, a Freedom Movement activist from Mississippi. Fannie Lou had a big, courageous, engaging, warm, and God-centered personality, with which Bettie Mae identified. Bettie Mae called Fannie Lou Hamer, Mama.

Bettie Mae’s mother is her main source of attachment in her early childhood. Her father was present in their home, but Bettie Mae did not experience a secure attachment with him. Bettie Mae did experience a secure attachment with her maternal grandmother in addition to her mother. Bettie Mae received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of attachment.

Bettie Mae received a Life Story Interview score of 90. The components resulting in this score have been previously discussed

Mary Elizabeth King

Table 10

Exemplar 10: Mary Elizabeth King

Participant	Moral Personality Characteristic	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination Sequences	LSI Total Score
Mary Elizabeth King	14	32	32	31	0	95

Mary Elizabeth King is the director of the James Lawson Institute, a professor of peace and conflict studies at the University of Peace, a United Nations affiliated university, and is the Distinguished Rothermere American Institute Fellow at Oxford University. She also serves on the board of the Albert Einstein Institute in Boston.

Before she ever left campus after graduation, Mary was invited by social theorist Ella Baker and historian Howard Zinn, to work on a human relations project in Atlanta, Georgia. By 1963, she joined SNCC, at the age of 23, to work with Julian Bond in communications. Later that year, she spent Christmas in “Big Rock City jail in Atlanta. She participated in Mississippi Freedom Summer, in charge of SNCC’s communications. It was her job to get messages out that someone had been arrested, jailed, or worse. She, along with one of her SNCC colleagues, co-authored essays on “Sex and Caste,” which has been cited as a catalyst for the Women’s Liberation Movement. President Jimmy Carter appointed her the Global Director of the Peace Corps and Volunteers in Service to America. She received the Jannalal Bajaj International Prize for promoting Gandhian values outside of India, the El-Hibri Peace Education Prize for leadership in peace education, an honorary doctor of laws degree by her alma mater, Ohio

Wesleyan University, was elected a Fellow by Aberystwyth University in Wales, where she received her PhD in international politics, and the James Lawson Award for Nonviolent Achievement. She resigned from SNCC in 1965 and worked for the Johnson and Nixon administrations, prior to Jimmy Carter's presidency.

Mary was born in central Virginia. Her father is the sixth generation in her family to serve as a Methodist minister. Her father and grandfather "really reared me to be the person that I have become," which was an agent of social change but also a meticulous scholar, working to present the evidence of the efficacy of non-violent choices as opposed to violent choices," she explained. Her grandfather, a Methodist minister, had a study where Mary would go and sit with him. He would hand her a book to read and the two of them would discuss what she thought about the book after reading it. But he also took her on drives where they would discuss issues like race. She says her mother, a nurse but also artistic, taught her to multi-task. She says it was her parents who gave her the strength to face the world and not be daunted by it. She credits them with teaching her there was something she could do about things, to work on difficult issues. Mary says she is no longer conscious of her religious values. For her, they are as automatic as inhaling and exhaling.

Mary King received a score of 14 out of 14 for total moral personality characteristics. She received a positive score for the moral personality score of dominance. In 2006, Mary King was asked by the Jimmy Carter Center to serve as an international election observer for the second Palestinian elections between Hamas and Fatah. All observers, many of whom were former prime ministers and such, were vetted and credentialed, traveling in groups of four, with large numbers on the tops of their cars so they could be identified by air. Her group of four international election observers had a schedule to follow, supposed to going to one voting station

after another to back up the local election monitors. But Mary's group, consisting of four men, including their driver, and Mary, got off schedule and then lost in an area of Palestine where they suddenly found themselves in an Israeli installation, surrounded by young, Israeli officers around 18 and 19 years-old, carrying machine guns, scared, and wondering why this group of four men and a woman were approaching. Mary took charge, telling the men with her what to do; get out of the car, keep your hands out of your pockets and open-palmed so they can see nothing's in them, we will walk toward them, and I will call out, she said she directed her group. The group got out of the car and started walking toward the soldiers. Mary said she hit one of the observers, a Georgetown University professor, on his pocket when she saw he had his hands in his pockets, reminding him to remove them. "Hello, we're elections monitors," she called out, "we all have credentials and if you would like to see them we'd be happy to show them to you. And we're lost. We're trying to get to such and such. Can you give us a hand? Can you help us with directions?" The soldiers obliged Mary's disarming request. She said her taking charge in this situation had nothing to do with book smarts but welled up from "very, very deep knowledge, very, very deep inside."

Mary also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of nurturance. As the child of multiple generations of Methodist ministers, Mary was deeply influenced by their gentle, consistent, education of the world around her. But she was also influenced by others, including Ella Baker, who is credited with influencing many. It was Ella Baker who initially recruited Mary and it was Ella who shaped Mary's early understanding of the experiences and obstacles of racism and ways to approach this kind of suffering. She said Ella Baker taught her that the work of organizing was not for everyone, that organizers should be gifted at winning the trust of others at a minimum and should be humble and willing to shun the spotlight. "it's still

forceful with me,” Mary says, “One of the things that she taught me, that I have taken so seriously for the rest of my life, is you must let the oppressed define their own freedom. You can’t do it for them.” This spoke to how Mary learned to honor others’ experiences as unique to them, to meet them where they were, and to help them clear their own path. In further evidence of Mary’s nurturance, during her interview, Mary expressed concerns about her interviewer, making her lunch, checking to make sure her recorder’s batteries were powering her devices, and offering of tea and hot chocolate.

Based on conversations and experiences of women who had worked with SNCC in 1964 and 1965, Mary and her colleague and friend, Casey Hayden wrote a paper, *Sex and Caste*, which addressed gender equity issues in the Movement. From their perspective, women who had worked in the Movement had learned how to politically organize, define political goals, pursue those goals, and then transfer these methods to other situations that arose around them. Mary noted that nonviolent movements tend to open political space for others who notice different grievances to air them. She made the point that the women’s and environmental movements got tremendous boosts from the Civil Rights Movement. Mary discussed how they sent the paper to an editor, who published it, while at the same time sending 40 copies of their article to women who had worked for freedom and peace movements around the country. Historians have given *Sex and Caste* credit as a catalyst for the Women’s Liberation Movement. Since the essence of power is influencing others and offering unsolicited help, Mary received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of power.

Mary received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affiliation and intimacy. A good example of Mary’s affiliation and intimacy is her relationship with her husband, Peter Bourne. They met while Mary was working for the Office of Economic

Opportunity in the Johnson and Nixon administrations. Peter was working as the mental health director for a health center in Atlanta, developed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Peter had become friend and confidant to someone with whom he had worked, at the time, Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter. It was Peter who wrote to Carter, encouraging him to run for “national office.” During her visits to Atlanta for work, Peter took Mary to hear Carter’s speeches. In Carter, Peter and Mary valued his forthright persona. When Carter ran for President, Peter naturally slid into Carter’s most trusted inner circle. As Carter’s success grew, Peter brought Mary into this inner circle. The point here is that their relationship grew, as a reflection of who each one is as an individual, but also amid a tone and in an environment of “openness, transparency, and honesty.” They have been married for more than 40 years and while they were genuinely moved by Carter’s behavior, “it’s more what was happening between Peter and me.” But she also says she resonated particularly well with other Methodists because of their strong sense of social responsibility and with James Lawson “because he and I have the same vernacular, the same vocabulary, the same approach to things. It’s very comfortable, and it’s untutored,” she explained.

Mary King has spent her entire life, working in the Freedom Movement, for economic opportunity, for gender equity, for peace and justice, and for understanding and inclusion. Asked how she would like to spend the rest of her life, she offered, “Well, I would like to stay in the saddle as long as possible and continue doing what I’m doing, which is basically a combination of teaching and writing and research. She sees the central theme of her life as working hard to help people understand that there’s a way to fight continual injustices in a way that doesn’t make things worse, and instead, creates the potential for reconciliation. She also expressed future interest in working on an answer to address atonement for the United States’

historical atrocities of racism. Mary King received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of generativity.

Mary also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of spiritual self-transcendence. She said she has had a number of moments that illustrate this. But she recalled one episode, in particular that brought her to tears. She and Peter had gone to an Episcopal church with friends for Easter Sunday services. “So this is Easter Sunday,” she said, “and we are sitting there because we arrived early. And we are in the pews. And we were listening to the music. And I just felt something. And it was as if God said to me, ‘I am well-pleased,’ to the extent that God can talk to a human being like that. That’s what happened. I am well pleased with me. That was about two years ago...and nothing to, no stimulus, no, no spur...I mean nothing to trigger it so to speak. And, I definitely felt something. And then I felt very, very calm afterwards,” she described.

Mary derived her identity from her family, in large part but, along with her personal growth, derived them from what she learned on senior trip near the end of college at Ohio Wesleyan. As part of a small senior group, who had the opportunity to travel to Atlanta, Nashville, and Tuskegee University. The trip was arranged to allow a small group of students to broaden their knowledge base by exposure to differing viewpoints. In Atlanta the group met Will Campbell, Julian Bond, Jim Forman, and Casey Hayden, Ella Baker, and Howard Zinn. In Nashville, they met Diane Nash, Bernard Lafayette, and John Lewis, among others. From her family, her time at Ohio Wesleyan, and on this trip, as well as her time working on the human relations project and with SNCC, Mary says were enormous periods of growth for her, helping to shape her future work and purpose in life. For these reasons, Mary received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of identity and personal growth.

Mary also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of agency. Joining SNCC is an excellent example of this. We know that it was on her senior trip that Mary was introduced to Ella Baker and Howard Zinn, who we have said that they recruited her to help them with a human relations project in Atlanta. Mary says after the trip, she went back to Ohio Wesleyan to graduate. "I was in the bus station, waiting for the bus to take me home. I got a phone call that was relayed from the dorm. It was Howard Zinn and Ella Baker, asking if I would mind coming to North Carolina for an interview. I said, 'Well, yes.' They said, 'We're running a human relations project. We'd like to interview you.' I called home and I said, 'Mama, Papa, I'm not coming home. I'm going to North Carolina for an interview,'" she says. She explained that in her family, church, and school, she was treated as if she had something important to contribute even though she did not share that opinion. Initially, Mary King had planned to go to graduate school in the deep south, either to Tulane University or Emory University, in order to position herself closer to SNCC and the Freedom Movement. She knew she wanted to be involved but also knew she could not just knock on the door and be allowed to enter. So the invitation from Ella Baker, who with Martin Luther King, guided the leadership philosophy of SNCC, was a welcomed entry into the work she wanted to do. She worked on the human relations project for one year before joining SNCC as a communications worker with Julian Bond, SNCC's communications director. She would be sent to areas like Mississippi and Virginia to be the sole SNCC staff member in charge of communications. For instance, when James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner went missing in Philadelphia, Mississippi, it was Mary who had to call Chaney and Goodman's families to tell them that they were missing, and foul play was suspected. Saying 'yes' to Ella Baker meant saying 'yes' to SNCC. This was a big step for a child of multiple ministers from central Virginia to take.

From her introduction, it should be clear that Mary received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of communion. Mary believed that the years she worked with SNCC were salient to her life because they served as the basis for her authority as a political scientist. Through her work with SNCC, as a professor of peace and conflict studies globally, her work with the Peace Corps, the Carter Center, Mary's life focus has been on helping to create a more open, peaceful, and just world. She has sacrificed herself in order to do this, including her Christmas in jail after joining SNCC. SNCC sent Mary to run communications in Danville, Virginia, which she said in the 1960's was every bit as dangerous as Mississippi. She said the police there were using fire hoses against people trying to walk up the steps to the courthouse to register to vote. She said the fire hoses were so strong, they ripped clothing from the people's bodies, damaged their eyes, and their skin. She learned from a local attorney that authorities there planned to indict her for treason. She escaped from Danville, crossing into North Carolina where she was given sanctuary in a Catholic Convent.

Mary viewed everything she does as "doing the Lord's work." She says she received irreplaceable gifts early, meaning from her family and in SNCC, that "we are creatures that crave meaning. I mean part of my values orientation, is I expect, I demand to have a meaningful life," she explained. She described the areas in which she works as value-laden areas. She says to do this work, one must embrace the fact that their values are "there, and upfront, and primary. We embrace it. We're proud of it. We act upon it. We're cognizant of it. And we're conscious of it, and we live in and with it." Yet, she says she has worked hard to have a positive attitude because she is not the type to feel sorry for herself. This was evidence of Mary's affective tone. For this, she received a positive score for this moral personality characteristic.

Mary's mother died in 1993 and her father in 1998. She affirmed that coping with these losses has been the biggest challenge of her life. She said that she still wants to ask her parent's opinions when she runs into obstacles or difficulty. "So, this is an ongoing difficulty for me," she explained. "In the first year of each of their deaths, it was as if a spear would come from the sky, a spear would just hit me. And it would be disabling. I'd be interrupted mid-sentence with an upsurge of emotion. And it would take me a while to recover from it. If I was teaching, I could hardly teach. I'd have to say, 'Well, shall we take a break,' just because I couldn't, the spear of emotion had broken my train of thought. There's nothing we can do about this. It's part of the human condition." But she says she deals with this by having little meditations with her parents. "I mean they're in my mind all the time, sorting out problems by things that I remember, and searching through my memories of lessons learned from them but that's been a real challenge. And there's nothing we can do about it except to cope. So, I cope. But it doesn't make it any easier. She says she historically mines her memories for ongoing life transition learning. She says she desperately misses her mother, but she and her father were more intellectually aligned. She says she becomes silent, imagining she's having a conversation with him to help her sort through things." Mary King received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of redemption.

Mary became aware of the needs of others, riding with her grandfather and also from her father. She said both would talk to her as if she was an adult. They would explain issues of the day to her, their opinion, and ask her what she thought. From this, Mary became aware of issues of injustice, conflict, and peace. She says of her work with SNCC, that there was nothing rebellious about this work. In fact, this work to resolve injustice was a response of her childhood car rides with her father and grandfather when they would talk to her about such issues like she

was an adult. “I was being an exquisitely dutiful daughter,” she says of her work with SNCC. For her early awareness of the needs of others, Mary received a positive score for this moral personality characteristic.

Mary had plenty of helpers in her life. She strongly identified with six generations of Methodist ministers in her family. She had close relationships with her family that contributed greatly to the person she has become. Her grandfather, her father, her mother, and her teachers served as helpers to Mary in her young life, giving her a positive score for this moral personality characteristic. Mary’s secure attachments to her parents and grandparents gave her a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of attachments.

Mary King received a total score of 95 for her Life Story Interview. Elements of the Life Story Interview scoring for Mary have been previously discussed in the moral personality characteristics.

James Lawson

Table 11

Exemplar 11: James Lawson

Birthdate: September 22, 1928

Participant	Moral Personality Characteristic	LSI Agency	LSI Communion	LSI Redemptive Sequences	LSI Contamination Sequences	LSI Total Score
Jim Lawson	14	32	32	32	0	96

The Freedom Movement was based upon the influence of Gandhi’s nonviolent actions in South Africa and India. James Lawson was responsible for this influence. Without the influence of James Lawson, the Freedom Movement may have been limited in its organization, effectiveness, ability to act nonviolently, and to maintain its focus on its nature and goals. He was integral to this movement. Congressman John Lewis has called Lawson “the architect of the

civil rights movement.” He is the son of a Methodist minister. Having studied Gandhi’s nonviolent methods in South Africa and India for years, during college, he was drafted into the Korean War but, as an opponent of violence and offended by the law behind it he perceived as unjust, Lawson returned his draft cards. He was jailed in federal prison in 1951 and paroled in 1952. Lawson finished college then traveled to India that year on behalf of the Methodist church. While there, he used the opportunity to further study his life-long interest in Gandhi’s nonviolent methods, traveling to connect with and learn from Gandhi’s colleagues.

In 1956, Lawson returned to the United States, entering seminary at Oberlin School of Theology. Jim Lawson met Martin Luther King in 1957 at a church in Ohio. Lawson had become a fan of King’s work while he was in India, learning about Rosa Parks, King, and the Montgomery bus boycott while there. King, fascinated by Lawson’s philosophy, invited Lawson to Nashville to teach others, saying, “We don’t have anyone like you. We need you in the south.” Lawson moved to Nashville a few months later to do just that, also transferring to Vanderbilt Divinity School. Once in Nashville, Lawson organized nonviolent workshops using the methodologies he learned while studying Gandhi’s movement in India. Participants in his Nashville workshops included John Lewis, Diane Nash, Marion Berry, James Bevel, and Bernard Lafayette. He led their first sit-ins, which eventually led Nashville city leaders to desegregate lunch counters. King called the Lawson-trained movements a model movement. The media called it a highly disciplined movement. Lawson was arrested in Nashville in 1960 and expelled from Vanderbilt. He moved to Memphis in 1962 to pastor Clayborn Temple. He was there during the Sanitation Workers’ strike in 1968 that he called King to help, and there he lost his best friend and colleague. He moved to Los Angeles in 1974 to pastor Holman United Methodist Church, retiring in 1999. Throughout his lifetime, Lawson has continued to lead his

nonviolent workshops, to teach, including at Vanderbilt University, to speak, and has remained consistent in his original philosophy. He also remains active in The James Lawson Institute at the International Center for Nonviolent Conflict. In 2018, several congressmen nominated Jim Lawson for the Congressional Gold Medal.

Jim Lawson received a 14 out of 14 for moral personality characteristics. He received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of dominance. Lawson received his draft notice prior to the Korean War. Qualifying for exemption from the Korean war in three different ways (as a pre-ministerial student, conscientious objections, or deferred as a student), Lawson had studied the Draft Act, determining it is a “bad law” because it is applied without consistence. In addition to refusing to allow himself to be treated unfairly, he objected to the violence of war and felt participation in it was in defiance of God’s will and work. He returned his draft cards. He applied to serve his sentence in Africa for The Board of Missions for the United Methodist Church (then named the Methodist Church). The federal government refused, saying instead that an example needed to be made of Lawson and that punishing Lawson would deter others. He went to federal prison in 1951 and was paroled in 1952. This refusal to be a participant in racism aimed at him and standing firm for his beliefs showed dominance.

James Lawson believed that every human being is divine, every human being is created by God and holds God inside. He has tried to live by the words from the Sermon on the Mount, “The glory of God is a human being, fully alive.” For this reason, Lawson believes in treating everyone with care, consideration, and respect. This includes everyone from the persecuted to the persecutors. He feels a responsibility to take up the cause of any wounded person, including addressing the issues of racism, sexism, violence, and plantation capitalism. He says it is important to raise consciousness and awareness about where the issues of hurt are in society,

adding that in 1962 openly gay men were members of his congregation, the first time Lawson addressed this issue as a pastor. He said in church he challenged the Biblical statements and verses that were used to justify “beating up on gay people in the ‘60’s.” Lawson and his wife, Dorothy are in their 90’s now. Though he continues to be active with his work, he has cut back on travel in order to take care of Dorothy, who was diagnosed with heart failure. He said taking care of Dorothy takes precedence over his work. James Lawson’s nurturance received a positive score for this moral personality characteristic.

Lawson also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of power. This may be most apparent in what Lawson considers his greatest life challenge. This life challenge, “the deconstructing, dismantling of the old disorders and diseases and structures of oppression in places where we’ve caused millions of people to be in pain and hurt and torture, that task remains a major piece of work that has to go on,” he says. He explained that the second part of this task is to dismantle systems in such a way that allows for new possibilities to emerge. This is evidence of power, because at 90, Lawson still considers his greatest life challenge the same big task he has been doing his entire life. The work of just seeing that systems need to be deconstructed and dismantled, much less the work of doing the deconstructing and dismantling is hardly easy. He says his entire life he has been trying to follow Jesus, “that’s still the case and that’s part of my spirituality. But I know that what has emerged in the last 30 years in me is the sense that Moses and Jesus are right and that we have to love God with heart, soul, mind, and capacity, strength. But I continue to see that loving God with the mind is not more critical than it is equal to the rest of it,” meaning, acting on those beliefs is just as important, or more so, than thinking them.

Jim Lawson met Martin Luther King in the spring of 1957. The two shook hands and had their first conversation. By the end of that conversation, King invited Lawson to Nashville, saying, “We don’t have anyone like you. We need you in the south. You need to come now.” Months later, Lawson moved to Nashville. It was not long before King and Lawson became close friends. In describing how the loss of King was one of the greatest losses of his life, he explained, “It was not just the fact that we were the same age and had a lot of the same mind about justice, and desegregating, and the gospel of Jesus in relationship to nonviolence, and what not. It’s not...But we were in a sense, brothers, under the skin in lots of different ways. We both liked music and he had a very good voice. We used to sing in all kinds of meetings. He was a good athlete and he loved to play touch football, basketball, and swimming. So all of those things are things that I loved, too. Loved good food, so there’s all of that.”

Lawson explained that as colleagues, he and King had future plans for the movement as well, ensuring an effective and positive direction. The conversations, exchange of ideas, and sharing of values, Lawson had with King, could not be substituted or replaced. Lawson has had multiple close relationships in his life. He received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affiliation and intimacy.

Lawson’s life-long generativity assured a positive score for this moral personality characteristic. Lawson’s work began while he was a college student and minister, where he studied Gandhi’s methods in South Africa and India. He objected to being drafted into the Korean war, and continued through his time in India, learning more about Gandhi, his active time in Nashville and throughout the Freedom Movement until today. He is still active by teaching nonviolence in his namesake James Lawson Institute, teaching at the University of

Southern California, and his monthly nonviolent workshops he holds at Holman United Methodist Church in Los Angeles.

When Jim Lawson was four years-old he heard his first racial epithet, directed at him in a hostile fashion. He said, now that he looks back at it, it seemed to threaten who he was and what he was about. He lived in Massillon, Ohio in a neighborhood near his father's church, where white and black families lined the streets. The neighborhood children played together. He does not remember the boy's face or name, only the feeling in direct contrast to how he saw himself. He said he "had a great sense of who I was, and a great sense of belonging. A great sense that I mattered, life mattered. And that it was a life that had ability and power and potential for development." Lawson punched the boy, but the episode forced him to examine who he was and what he was. For the next four years, he continued to "strike out with his fists" when he was called "jungle bunny" or "n****r." One day when he was eight, he finally told his mother about an incident on Main Street in Massillon. He was three blocks from home, walking one spring day when a white boy leaned out of an open car window beside the sidewalk, yelling a racial epithet at Lawson. He went home and sat in the kitchen where his mother was preparing dinner at the stove. "Her first words, never looking at me because she was bending over the stove, working on the dinner I guess, and she, her fist word out of her mouth was, without turning to look at me even, was, 'Jimmy, what good did that do?' Then she went on in a soliloquy of who were and what I was, and the backing of God and backing of Jesus, and the backing of the scriptures, and the church congregation, and our family. Then the last thing I remember her saying was, 'Jimmy, there must be a better way.' So I made two important decisions in that experience. One, I made the decision that never again on the street or on a playing field would I strike out in anger with my fists at some incident, whether it was a sports

incident or a racist incident. And based on her thinking and her talking, I decided that the course of Jesus was the course of finding the better way and working from the angle of God's love, and the practice of religion in my life, which is what I did, which therefore became very deeply structured in me from that time on." He recalled this experience his "luminous experience," saying it was a mystical experience as well as a turning point in his life. He said his commitment to God, his family, and Jesus was deepened by that experience when he emerged from it. James Lawson received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of spiritual self-transcendence.

Lawson also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of identity and personal growth due to his time he spent in India, which Lawson described as "very formative years." Recall that Lawson went to federal prison for draft resistance and that he was paroled and traveled with the Methodist Church to India. He said in jail, as well as in India, he lived in cultures other than the one in which he was raised. He said as a result, he came to understand that human beings are human beings, regardless of race, complexion, gender, country, or language. He said in India one of the most important things he learned "was that our personal characteristics and learnings are primarily our tools for becoming alive and human, for loving and caring, and exploiting the power and possibilities of life itself. They're not for us dividing ourselves from other people, making ourselves superior in any way, or inferior, but these personal characteristics and gleanings are the way life has made us in order for us to be strong in tapping the potentials for living that we have."

James Lawson displayed agency when he chose to move to Nashville to help Martin Luther King with the Freedom Movement. He received a positive score for this moral personality characteristic. He was back in the United States from India and was attending

Oberlin School of Theology when he met King for the first time and King invited him to help him in Nashville. “That was another transforming moment in my life,” Lawson reiterated, describing his choice to leave Oberlin and Ohio and move to Nashville. He has said that he knew there would be a movement before the movement knew it was a movement. He knew when he was in college there would be a movement. He knew when he protested the draft but also what he saw as the unjust law behind the draft there would be a movement. And he recognized, seeing American news reports while in India about the Montgomery Bus Boycott, that the time for the movement had arrived. “Boy this has happened. It’s going to happen,” he excitedly explained to himself. “I knew that it was going to happen. I didn’t know what, where or the circumstances, but I knew for me...That was a vision from God. I knew that we would have the campaign and that I would be involved in it. Martin King became my spokesperson and my friend,” he discussed. He chose Nashville as his base and easily enrolled in Vanderbilt Divinity School.

He joined the Nashville chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as President and began running his nonviolent workshops with small groups, beginning in September and going through December. He trained workers like Lewis and Lafayette in the nonviolent tactics of Gandhi, adhering precisely to Gandhi’s methodology. The group did practice sit-ins, which worked, then moved to actual sit-ins. He says he didn’t think the group was ready but adds the workshops and strategies worked “magnificently.” The week after Lawson arrived in Nashville and began his workshops, he was called to Arkansas to teach and support protestors there in nonviolent tactics.

Lawson said he learned from studying Gandhi that leadership must keep the agenda of its people. The British Empire did not represent the agenda of the people of India, he said. Lawson

says, “one of the things that holds me in place is the fact that I see in my own journey and travels and work that the Bank of America doesn’t reflect the agenda of the people who I have served over the years, who I’ve lived among, does not represent the agenda of my own family, or the agenda of the many other people of whom I’ve been a part...people who form governments may have the best power if they choose the agenda of the people rather than the agenda of their power brokers.” John Lewis appropriately called Lawson the architect of the Movement for if not for Lawson’s studied insight, commitment to his faith as he understood it, commitment to his promise to himself, his mother, and God at age eight, and his willingness to act in nonviolence, alongside his Nashville workshop trainees, the Freedom Movement would not have been as critical as it was in American history and culture. Lawson says he did not realize that even with the intense preparations they did in Nashville that he was preparing an entire range of people that would become activists in the next decade. “We prepared the staff that became SNCC people and the SCLC staff. Our people then from Nashville became teachers of nonviolent struggle and traversed the southeast in all kinds of campaigns and adverts. The people from Nashville were very, very creative.” John Lewis tells us Lawson’s training that they were trained to the last detail. Lewis says Lawson told them they had to dress as if they were going to church to protest and Freedom Ride. Lewis said for the Mississippi Freedom Rides, that he had no suit and so, to meet Lawson’s expectations, Lewis went to a thrift store and bought a three-piece suit in which to be arrested. Photos and video of Lewis in his three-piece suit, being loaded into a paddy-wagon can be seen as can the mugshot of Jackson, Mississippi inmate number 20880, Jim Lawson. The two shared the same cell with Bernard Lafayette. For this and for all of his other sacrificial activities for the greater good over the course of his lifetime, Lawson received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of communion.

Lawson also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of affective tone. Lawson's affective tone can best be exemplified in his own language. Lawson says he has been "fighting the good fight" since 1958, after he returned to the United States from India. "Fighting the good fight, in the scriptures, means fighting on the side of God's history, for God's purpose, for human life, fighting out of the mandates to be found in the scriptures, and especially Moses and Jesus, and any number of other biblical writers and thinkers. Fighting the good fight would be fighting against evil, recognizing you cannot fight evil with evil, but you must fight evil with good. You cannot fight hatred with hatred, but you must fight hatred with love."

Lawson was asked if there has been a change in any of his religious or political views. "Hmm, well perhaps one important change has been that I know more than ever before that the way of love and truth and wonder is really the only way to live through our society and to change it. I know more than ever before that nonviolence, struggle, emanating as it did with my life, out of Jesus, out of my mother's teachings, out of the negro spiritual came out of slavery, that that is the truth, the power that the earth the human race has to rediscover and use if the human race is to continue," he stated. Though he fears for our country and world sometimes, he believes, "So that gives me at least a sense that whatever the future may hold, the same power or the same spirit or the same invisible force that brought us to this moment, whether we know it or not, is the force that will probably continue. So what that represents in my judgment is not despair, but hope."

Asked what the greatest single challenge in his life has been, Lawson said, "Living today is the biggest challenge I have had. 'Cause I've seen a lot of change and I know a lot of change. But how we get this together for the future is pretty troubling to me. That may be it. I am very, very frightened by the fact that I do not hear or read any voices that seem to me to be

authentically engaged in the present moment.” He views Donald Trump as the first American tyrannist president and the culture that elected him, as participants in plantation capitalism. None of the last few “outsider” presidents, including Obama have brought with them into office a staff of people of outstanding competence, though the country is full of them, Lawson stated. Yet, he remains conscious of and committed to letting himself be transformed. “Any number of people in the struggle from the ‘60’s did not continue to be transformed and to be transformative. They got stuck along the way,” he explained, “The ability to keep being transformed and to be accepting of people and new scenes is still one of the most important disciplines.” This was demonstrative of the moral personality characteristic of redemption as is Lawson’s ability to recover from the death of his best friend and colleague Martin Luther King. King’s death, along the assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy and the politics of the 1960’s halted the emergence of this nonviolent people’s movement. The Freedom Movement “was going to lift up the best of America, trying to change America,” he reiterated. To reconcile this great loss with the passion of how Lawson views where we are now, as a country and her people is a tall order. Lawson has continued to transform and to be transformative and continues “fighting the good fight” he committed to long ago. Lawson received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of redemption.

Lawson also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of being aware of the needs of others at a young age. From his experience growing up in Massillon, Ohio, Lawson was aware since he was four years-old of the racial epithets and hostility directed toward him and other African-American children in his neighborhood and on their playing fields. He recalled numerous examples of such episodes. He recalled throughout his youth multiple episodes of knowing people from school or other places and not being acknowledged by them in

public or on the streets. “People of color were made invisible,” he explained. Since the cruelest thing a human being can do is to ignore another, this had a profound impact on Lawson and motivated him at a young age to address injustice and to empathize with others’ pain.

Lawson had more helpers than enemies as a boy. His father was a helper in his life and his mother’s help was enormously positively influential in his life. For these reasons, he received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of helpers and enemies. For these same reasons, Lawson also received a positive score for the moral personality characteristic of attachment because he enjoyed secure attachments with both parents.

James Lawson received a Life Story Interview score of 96. Explanations for Lawson’s scores of agency, communion, and redemptive sequences have been previously discussed. Lawson had no score for contamination.

In light of the preceding information gathered from Freedom Movement exemplars, we noted consistencies in and among their stories. We also drew several conclusions from the research from which recommendations emerge.

CHAPTER V:

DISCUSSION

By examining the results of the interviews with Freedom Movement exemplars, consistencies among them were inescapable. Some of their notable consistencies include consistencies in their values, in their spirituality or loving approach to the world around them, in the actions they took, in their early development, and in the consistency of their involvement, actions, and commitment across their life span.

Values Consistency

One of the most consistent values spoken during interviews with Freedom Movement exemplars was the value they placed on justice. Every exemplar spoke of the importance to them of justice. For instance, Bob Zellner spoke about justice during his nonviolent protests in Mississippi. Bernard Lafayette and Ed King viewed justice as an outreach of love. Si Kahn has spent his diverse career trying to right injustice. For the sake of justice, Ruby Sales testified in court against Tom Coleman, who attempted to shoot her in Hayneville, Alabama, shooting her friend, Episcopal seminarian, Jonathan Daniels at a time she was still speechless from the trauma she experienced. Clara Ester wanted to right the injustice done to her mother when she was a small child “one day.” Mary King made her life’s work the pursuit of justice, whether in her time in SNCC, her influence in the women’s liberation movement, her tenure in the Carter presidential administration, or in any of her many writings since. Justice is most often thought of as a legal term. However, the exemplars were not speaking of justice in legal terms. They are speaking of justice as a moral and spiritual element of a healthy society. Furthermore, justice is

connected to every other value, all of which are necessary and interrelated. What they are saying is that without justice, we and the society in which we live have no long-lasting chance to succeed. Their passion and seeking of justice was not only for themselves but for everyone. They may have been pursuing justice while sitting at a lunch counter or outside of their bus on a Freedom Ride but justice was pursued for that moment and always. The value of justice remained consistent with the Freedom Movement exemplars throughout their life spans.

Freedom Movement exemplars also reported the consistent value of seeking the collective good. For instance, Bob Zellner said the common good is his greatest single value. He explains the “we” is the most important single value in human living, saying, “If we take care of that, we’ll do very well, and it’s hard to do, so “we” brings us together and doesn’t separate us. We can deal with all of our difficulties and all of our differences as long as we understand we are in it together. We’re humans, and we owe a debt to each other as human beings, as life.” The research says it is a sign of health to balance agency and communion (Walker, 2013). Freedom Movement exemplars demonstrated this point repeatedly over their lifetime. Time after time, each one of these exemplars knowingly laid their lives on the line for the sake of the greater good. Perhaps society has not seen another movement since the Freedom Movement so focused on our long-term collective good until the recent environmental movement where twenty-somethings and under, like Greta Thunberg (Burtan, 2019) led a movement from seemingly nothing and nowhere, concerned about our collective future and humans’ roles in harming our environment. Freedom Movement exemplars have “fought the good fight,” as James Lawson said, so that others like George Floyd could live freely without having to ask themselves if living was even possible (Due, 2020).

An aspect of the collective good that merits special attention is the collectivistic value of altruism in light of calculated risk-taking seen so often in Freedom Movement exemplars. Each one of the Freedom Movement exemplars knew what they were getting into by joining the Movement, but they also knew the specific risks of each task they undertook in the Movement. Bernard Lafayette's father did everything he could to prevent his son from joining the Movement. He finally agreed to sign a form allowing his first-born son to go but then chose to have another son in case Bernard was killed in Movement activities. Before going on any Freedom Rides all riders had drawn up their Last Will and Testament. This level of willingness to knowingly risk one's own survival for the cause of something greater than self is astoundingly noteworthy.

The values of treating others with love, respect, and equal value were also consistently mentioned by all Freedom Movement exemplars. Recall Bernard Lafayette's Tampa cable car story where his grandmother was made to pay her fare and young Bernard's at the front of the car, step off of the cable car, running on the tracks, alongside the car, in an attempt to gain access to the back of the cable car before the operator closed the doors and moved the cable car forward without them. She fell on the tracks face-first one day, attempting this respond to unequal treatment, Bernard being grazed by the moving cable car as he tried to help her. This event along with many others helped to shape Bernard Lafayette's values of loving all others and treating everyone with equal worth and respect. When looking at Freedom Movement exemplar stories such as Lafayette's, including the assassination attempt made on his life in Selma, the assassination attempt of Ruby Sales that resulted in the violent death of Jonathan Daniels, assassination attempts of Ed King, Clara Ester's witnessing the assassination of Martin Luther King, it is astounding from a human perspective, how anyone could emerge from such direction

of hatred, torture, and torment without hating in return. Yet, every Freedom Movement exemplar chose to love instead. Equality so hard fought, must mean equality for all.

Freedom may seem to be an obvious value of Freedom Movement exemplars. Every one of the exemplars was willing to risk their lives to attain freedom for themselves or anyone else. But from the perspective of Freedom Movement exemplars, this concept is bigger than it may seem at face value. Jim Lawson points out that on June 11, 1963 when two African American students enrolled in the University of Alabama, President John F. Kennedy said their fight for freedom was “as old as the scriptures and as relevant as the constitution.” (blackpast.org, 2010).

The United States was founded on the principle that the freedom of everyone is diminished when the freedom of one is threatened. Freedom Movement exemplars were agentically fighting for their own freedom but were communally fighting for everyone’s freedom at the same time. They believed that rights of all are diminished when the rights of one are threatened. This is why it is offensive to Freedom Movement exemplars to call this movement the Civil Rights movement instead of the Freedom Movement. The freedom for which they fought was not only to serve African Americans. It was bigger than that. They were fighting for the freedom and rights of all of us because of their belief in the principles upon which the United States was founded. That battle for freedom has been fought long before the Freedom Movement, before Gandhi’s Freedom Movement in India, before it was fought against taxation without representation, and before Moses sought to free his people from Egypt. Freedom Movement exemplars in this study emanates from a long line of freedom fighters across history, and as such, they have fought for all of us and not just some of us.

Inclusion is another value Freedom Movement exemplars shared. Having suffered exclusion most of their lives, this value was exceedingly important to exemplars. It is

noteworthy that throughout every interview, there existed no stories of excluding anyone or any group at any point. The American Freedom Movement began in earnest when Rosa Parks was too tired to move to the back of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama where Martin Luther King was pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. The spark that Mrs. Parks began was further lit in Nashville in the workshops, trainings, and organizing of what turned out to be disciples of change, who spread their message to as many corners of the country they could reach. When anyone of any faith, race, creed, preference, nationality, or gender wanted to join or help the movement they were welcomed and included.

It was also noteworthy that all Freedom Movement exemplars were consistently humble. Freedom Movement exemplars in this study ranged from not very well-known to very well-known and varied from regionally known to nationally and internationally known. Becoming well-known and a sought-after author, speaker or presenter can create distraction from purpose and meaning. All of the Freedom Movement exemplars who participated in this study seemed to consider remaining humble a spiritual imperative.

The value of seeing connections between all people and things is also notably shared amongst Freedom Movement exemplars. As discussed, we have seen this expressed in their value of freedom to the point that they find it offensive to call their Movement one of civil rights as opposed to freedom. But Freedom Movement exemplars see themselves and all of us as being connected to health, the economy, politics, the environment, immigrants, and everything and everyone else. It is important to note as well, that this connection is viewed by Freedom Movement exemplars from a scientific, moral, social, and spiritual perspective. From their perspective, we are all related. What one of us does impacts every one of us. How we treat the smallest, seemingly most insignificant of us is the way we treat ourselves and the ones we love.

Another value unanimously expressed, enacted, and present in and by Freedom Movement exemplars is the value of redemption. Each exemplar found meaning, hope, clarity, motivation, and a growth from a bad, difficult, or traumatic event. For example, Bernard Lafayette found inspiration, modeling, and hope in watching Martin Luther King handle his time in the Birmingham, Alabama jail. He said of King, “Jail, a confinement? Oh no, that was refinement. That’s why he was able to write that letter. It was refining in his thoughts and that kind of thing, refinement.”

While even one episode of responding to difficulties with redemption can change lives, Freedom Movement exemplars tended to respond to all of their lives this way. Even after Martin Luther King’s assassination, none of the exemplars interviewed gave up on their work. They have continued to find meaning and purpose in their work today. How must it make Freedom Movement exemplars feel to have sacrificed so much to now see a young, black man gunned down while jogging in his neighborhood, for instance? It pains them to see immigrant families detained or division in the streets. While these events strike fear for our future and pain in their hearts, Freedom Movement exemplars expressed faith in and hope for our future. As James Lawson says, “The astrophysicists and cosmologists have almost had a 90 percent consensus that our sun will last for another five billion years...I know more than ever before that the way of love and truth and wonder is really the only way to live through our society and to change it.”

Love Consistency

Freedom Movement exemplars see love as the binding force between and amongst everyone and everything. It is hard to love someone when they are calling you racial epithets. But to answer hate is what Freedom Movement exemplars felt called to do. They did not want to belittle their overall message. Nor did they want to participate in anything that was not of God

or a force of good. They refused to hate. It seems to more hate they received, the more they became determined not to answer hate with hate. As Lawson points out, “one of the very theoretical teachings of Jesus that’s appropriating on violence is that you cannot overcome evil with evil. Another one is, that if you’re going to change the enemy and change the tyrant, you cannot imitate the tyrant. And Gandhi said, “You escalate the evil. You create a world where everyone is blind and everyone is toothless.” Their love is a fierce, endless, boundless, and all-encompassing love.

This love emanates from each exemplar’s spirituality, a spirituality that may have grown as they grew, together, on the front lines of a war between love and a misguided and misbranded hate. Seeing everything as connected is evidence of this love and spirituality. One specific aspect of religion and spirituality consistently arose in the words of Freedom Movement exemplars. These are the words from Jesus’ Sermon on the Mount. Jesus’ words in the Sermon on the Mount include a directive to “love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you,”(<https://www.biblestudytools.com>). But the Sermon on the Mount also includes directives that represent a social gospel, which Freedom Movement exemplars also consistently mentioned. These are directives such as, “Blessed are the meek...Blessed are the merciful...Blessed are the peacemakers... Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you, and falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of me,” (<https://www.biblestudytools.com>) the Sermon reads. It is important to understand that Freedom Movement exemplars were not living by an external set of rules. An external set of rules would not have held them or prevented them from retribution as their heads were being bashed by the butts of rifles. This was a much larger and deeper force, a force that found expression in the Sermon on the Mount. They each felt called to live a social gospel and not just imitate one.

Consistency in Action

Freedom Movement exemplars also displayed consistence in their actions. First, their inspiration may have been grounded in the Sermon on the Mount, a belief in a social gospel, and a commitment to nonviolence through the strategies of nonviolence, modeled after Gandhi and taught by James Lawson, but these would have been only wonderful ideas had they not been backed by action. Every exemplar in this study spoke of a time when they had to act. They had studied, they had prayed, they had endured, and even moved from the south, but for each of them there came a time to act. So many times, words like Bettie Mae Fikes were spoken by all exemplars, “I didn’t find the Movement. The Movement found me.”

There is consistency in their specific actions as well. Every one of the Freedom Movement exemplars interviewed maintained nonviolence as their approach to the Movement. All of the Freedom Movement exemplars were not directly trained by James Lawson in Gandhian nonviolence. In fact, Bernard Lafayette was the only exemplar studied who was present in Lawson’s Nashville nonviolence workshops. Lawson later worked with Mary Elizabeth King (and still does today) and Bettie Mae Fikes, pastored and befriended Clara Ester, as well as some others. So how did nonviolence remain such a force, technique, and solution for so many years of this Movement among so many?

Developmental Consistency

All of the Freedom Movement exemplars experienced a secure attachment in early childhood and each one of them was taught valuable life lessons by a person with whom they had this secure attachment and other helpers, models, and influencers in their lives. Bob Zellner’s father’s history was incredibly influential to him as was his relationship with his aunt and uncle, for instance. Bernard Lafayette’s grandmother was an enormously powerful influence

in his life though he also had a secure attachment to his parents. Ed King was close to his family as well and to the Methodist youth fellowship. Most of the stories Si Kahn shares to illustrate points involve either or both parents, who were clearly enormous figures in his life though he is clearly his own person. Ruby Sales talked about how touched she was by her father's refusal to let his PTSD negatively impact his children and how influential her mother remains to her life today. Hollis Watkins, so shaped by his father and his father's buying his own land and sharing their crops with others in need that this is essentially what he does today, including continuing to seek advice and guidance from his ancestors. Clara Ester's life was built around a promise her mother made her when she was five years old, "one day." Flonzie Brown Wright, also shaped by her grandfather walking off the plantation to become self-employed, found modeling in her mother, in taking Flonzie to brush Ms. Madge's hair. Bettie Mae Fikes, thanks to her happy, peaceful, gospel singing mother, knew there was more to life than her teenage years offered her, so left it to find a new sense of belonging in the Movement. Mary Elizabeth King, raised to be advanced beyond her years by her father and grandfather and to multitask by her mother, still is and does. And James Lawson, at ninety, is still moved by his mother's words at the stove when he was eight years-old, that reminded him of who he was and the person he could choose to be if he found meaning in it. Every Freedom Movement exemplar had a model, a guide, a trustworthy and incredibly influential force in their lives. As Flonzie said, "You don't plant greens and get corn. If you plant greens, you get greens."

The Consistency of Transformation

Another major area of consistency amongst Freedom Movement exemplar is their ability to be transformed and to be transformative. None of the individuals in this group of exemplars got stuck in their lives. Each one of them continued to adjust to the situations around them while

remaining true to their identity. They each continued to grow and they each transferred their knowledge to other areas as they encountered them, becoming change agents of deeper understanding and effectiveness. To allow oneself to be changed by what one experiences, to reach out and change the world, while all the while remaining the same is a feat few accomplish.

Consistency in Generativity Across the Life Span

Most Freedom Movement exemplars joined the Movement when they were very young, most in their teens and twenties. They are now in their seventies, eighties, and in the case of Lawson, nineties. Yet, every one of them is still doing the same work they did years ago. Bob Zellner is still getting involved in political causes, Bernard Lafayette is still working with the SCLC and has started the Selma Center for Nonviolence, Truth, and Reconciliation. Ed King is still teaching ethics at the University of Mississippi Medical Center, speaking, sharing, and writing. Si Kahn is still speaking, writing, and performing music and musicals and is a leader of Musicians United to Protect Bristol Bay. Ruby Sales still shares her story and works with her Spirit House Project and Black Lives Matter, which offers a Jonathan Daniels Fellowship as part of the Jonathan Daniels Institute. Hollis Watkins still runs his Southern Echo organization, developing leaders and bolstering residents in rural Mississippi. Clara Ester still volunteers with United Methodist Women and other social work volunteer organizations around Mobile, Alabama and is finally sharing her story 50 years after witnessing tragedy. Flonzie Brown Wright was instrumental in the establishment of the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum, and still volunteers, works with youth, and shares the stories of the Movement. Bettie Mae Fikes is still touring, singing gospel and blues songs, and teaching the social gospel behind the Movement to school children across the country. Mary Elizabeth King is still sharing, teaching on multiple continents, and deeply researching and writing. James Lawson is still leading nonviolent

workshops once a month in Los Angeles, teaching, working with the James Lawson Institute, and taking care of Dorothy. Lawson arranged to be interviewed at his office, which is upstairs at Holman United Methodist Church. There was an elevator directly beside the staircase leading to his office. He took the stairs.

This study brought the following research questions to mind. Each will be addressed, followed by conclusions and recommendations in the next sections.

1. Is spirituality a motivator of moral action in those who've explicitly stated they've merged moral and spiritual considerations in choosing to act;
2. Do existing exemplar models fit a group of participants that explicitly merges moral and spiritual motives; and
3. Of particular interest will be the spiritual dimension that was previously so apparent in exemplar findings as well as that which is apparent in the existing language of Freedom Movement exemplars.

Conclusions

From the research with Freedom Movement exemplars several conclusions can be drawn. The first conclusion that can be drawn from the research is that spirituality was a motivator for action for Freedom Movement exemplars. One of the aspects of Freedom Movement exemplars' actions which makes them unique is that during the turbulent 1960's, they knowingly took risks with their own lives for the cause of the greater good, even if the greater good could not be fully realized in their generation. They were well trained. What they had not experienced to the fullest extent, they had witnessed and soon would experience. These risks were calculated. On the Freedom Rides, for example, Bernard Lafayette recalls passing signs along the road that said, "Prepare to meet thou God." He says they never knew if they were old or new signs, but he said,

they certainly got the Freedom Riders thinking about the costs associated with the tasks they were undertaking. Their wills were drawn at age 18, 22, and such.

Exemplar after exemplar in story after story told stories highlighting their spiritual motivations. Bob Zellner, for instance, said his religious and spiritual beliefs were shaped by his parents and his father's rejection of the Ku Klux Klan and all that it meant. Zellner's father was disowned by his parents and his brothers never spoke to him again. Though his beliefs changed over time, he said, "My religious and spiritual beliefs are still extremely strong, and they still provide the basis for a lot of my political work." Bernard Lafayette talked about growing up in church with his family, "More than that I have good role models and examples, my grandfather and my grandmother, and both my parents. They all had that kind of religious commitment, and I did a lot of study and developed those kinds of values, so I understood the meaning of love and how to put that into action." Ed King spoke of his point of view, "But I believe in some mystical way, we're not even isolated from all other humans. Beyond that, none of us as humans are alone. I believe in the grace and the spirit of God is somehow with us. That's certainly a psychological comfort. It may be a gimmick, but it's what I believe."

Hollis Watkins says he thinks of himself as being more spiritual than religious, "If I'm dealing with spirituality, I don't get into the divisive piece, you know? Everything is connected to spirituality. And we see it in many instances, when we be talking about doing things, or seeing people doing things you know? What's that spirit as it relates to this? If you know what the spirit is, then you can pretty much determine where they are, without even asking." Clara Ester's most important single value for living is loving self and others. The central theme of her life and actions has been community, she says. Flonzie Brown Wright has never been able to pinpoint where the \$1,200 down-payment came for her house but does not doubt its source.

Mary King describes her religious and spiritual beliefs as being so deep that they are just like breathing. She has spent a lifetime in the highest levels of intellectual pursuit and yet told us about an Easter not long ago where she joined friends at church that morning and felt a reassuring presence that brought her to tears. James Lawson explains that for all he has done, he was just simply trying to follow, “What has emerged in the last 30 years in me is the sense that Moses and Jesus are right and that we have to love God with heart, soul, mind, and capacity, strength. But I continue to see that loving God with the mind is not more critical than it is equal to all the rest of it. ..We should see in all human beings the face of God...I know more than ever before that the way of love and truth and wonder is really the only way to live through our society and to change it...And that scientific world is going to have to say that something other than ourselves gives meaning to this existence, and I love therefore the Hebrew Bible’s emphasis on a God who cannot be imagined. A God whose name cannot be pronounced, a God whose presence however, can be profoundly felt and known by all sorts of people and had known it across the centuries.” Indeed, for Freedom Movement exemplars, their spirituality informed everything down to every action and reaction. It gave their lives and actions meaning and purpose from childhood to today where it fuels their attempt to make a positive difference in their lives and the lives of others. Results such as these mirror Walker and Reimer’s (2006) findings, which were inspired by William James’ (1902) writings long ago.

The second conclusion that can be drawn is that existing exemplar models can fit research with Freedom Movement exemplars. The findings in this research, though possibly more explicit and prolific of religion and spirituality, followed the findings of existing research such as Colby and Damon (1992), Rule and Bebeau (2005), and Walker and Frimer (2007). However, some interesting results were found with this group of exemplar participants as

compared to other exemplar participants. Walker and Frimer's brave and caring exemplars (2007), for instance, found caring exemplars had higher levels of all moral personality characteristics except for the characteristic of identity and personal growth. Walker and Frimer's (2007) caring exemplars were specifically found to have higher levels of affiliation and intimacy, communion, sensitivity to the needs of others, attachments, and redemptive sequences, second only to significantly higher levels of the moral personality characteristics of nurturance, generativity, and affective tone. In this way, results from research with Freedom Movement exemplars is similar to findings in existing research with caring exemplars. Freedom Movement exemplars did seem to share many commonalities with Walker and Frimer's (2007) caring exemplars. However, comparatively, Freedom Movement exemplars scored positively on all fourteen moral personality characteristics. This is unusual. All fourteen moral personality characteristics are not often attributed to most exemplars. Especially noteworthy here is that Freedom Movement exemplars showed traits of dominance, nurturance, power, and agency, traits not necessarily found to be particularly strong in caring exemplars. Freedom Movement exemplars' possession of the seemingly opposing traits of dominance and nurturance is particularly interesting. While it is true that exemplars are often known for balancing seemingly opposing traits, such as agency and communion, prior research has not found balance of dominance and nurturance in exemplars. What makes Freedom Movement exemplars different from other exemplar groups in possessing all fourteen moral personality characteristics? Could it be that the calculated risks they were taking required some level of dominance and their spirituality fueled their nurturance score?

One area which existing exemplar models may not fit Freedom Movement exemplars well is in the area of faith development. Since Freedom Movement exemplars had led such long

lives at the time of this research and due to the nature of their growth and development during their life spans, there was no allowance for faith or spiritual development across time in current exemplar models nor was there any existing method of accounting for this growth in current psychological exemplar models though the Faith Development interview (Fowler et al., 2004) does provide a method and coding manual for these purposes. Employing this additional framework to this study may help to further explain the exemplarity of this group of Freedom Movement participants who scored so highly in the current measures.

If we consider the first two conclusions drawn from the research with Freedom Movement exemplars as it relates to Kohlberg's theory (1969) of moral development, we can see our exemplars' orientation for universalized ethics. But Freedom Movement exemplars' rich data in spirituality informing their actions might be interpreted as a part of Kohlberg's seventh stage, which has been criticized by the field.

Freedom Movement exemplars seemed to possess the Minnesota Group's (1999) four components of moral sensitivity, moral judgment, moral motivation, and moral character, but this does not seem to fully address their calculated risks, nor does it explain the spiritual aspects of their thoughts and actions. According to Blasi's (2004) theory of moral personality, we can see in the stories of our Freedom Movement exemplars, that their development played an influential role in the development of their moral personalities. Similar to Walker and Frimer's (2007) findings with brave exemplars, Freedom Movement exemplars scored positively for identity and personal growth. They knew who they were and continued to grow throughout their lives, "to be transformed and to be transformative," as James Lawson says. Their families were incredibly powerful influencers in the development of their identity and moral personalities, their secure attachments, having helpers in their young lives, and their early sensitivity to the needs of

others. However, this does not fully explain all factors of Freedom Movement exemplars' behavior because it does not fully explain the role of spirituality. Is spirituality part of a moral personality or does it exist on some other plain of human functioning? Should it be treated as a separate entity, one that adds to morality, or are they interrelated?

In the final conclusion interest was paid to the spiritual dimension previously so apparent in exemplar findings as well as Freedom Movement exemplars' existing language. The narrative inquiry (McAdams, 2008) utilized was instrumental in achieving this goal as was the nature of narrative inquiry. The technique utilized in this research gave Freedom Movement exemplars opportunity to expand on their own points and allowed for spiritual dimensions to emerge. Furthermore, this study contributes to the field of knowledge by studying the life stories of Freedom Movement exemplars, a group that has been previously interviewed in other ways, by other methods, with other foci, but not studied in this manner.

The current research shed light on individuals whose voices may not have been heard or have not been widely heard, previously, and did so in a thorough way. Bernard Lafayette commented that the interview questions probed deeply into his experiences, which allowed him to share different types of information. The Life Story Interview questions "were not focused on facts but truths," he said, "The questions were different. They were not the typical kinds of questions and just simply sharing experiences, but the meaning of those experiences, that what I found different about this interview."

Recommendations

This exploratory research could prove useful in a variety of venues and ways. Firstly, it could prove useful to the field of moral psychology. Walker (2004) encouraged us to study more "intrapyschic aspects or morality that have long been eschewed" in order to attempt to bridge the

judgment action gap (p.845). The interest paid to the spiritual dimension of Freedom Movement exemplars' life stories yielded explicit results. Previous exemplar studies, such as Colby and Damon's (1992), Rule and Bebeau's (2005), and Walker and Frimer's (2007) yielded results that pointed in the spiritual intrapsychic direction. The spiritual dimension may serve as an intrapsychic aspect deserving of further review.

Information in identity development gleaned from this study might prove interesting to developmental psychologists, child development experts, caregivers, and parents. Seeing the consistency in each exemplar's early childhood experiences in regard to secure attachments, modeling, and providing an environment that encouraged growth as well as the freedom and support to challenge injustice is yet another powerful affirmation of the well-known concepts of healthy development. Freedom Movement exemplars' stories could be directly beneficial to children but the concepts behind them are useful to all human development.

A college class focusing on each Freedom Movement exemplar would be a fascinating and beneficial class. Not only does it make history tangible through personal stories, but it carries the added benefit of engaging youth in meaningful ways that may help them to prevent the mistakes of prior generations. Furthermore, college and high school educators can use information from this study to guide students in their own development. For example, in recent years, anxiety has been plaguing college, high school, middle school, and even elementary school aged children. Learning the Gandhian and Freedom Movement exemplars' techniques for dealing with adversity as well as their approach to their own inner growth and transformation could prove invaluable to this generation of students who have grown up in a post 9-11 world.

Much like Freedom Movement exemplars' experiences with their parents and helpers, parents, churches, spiritual direction counselors, and mental health professionals may find

information from this study useful in helping people learn to constructively deal with life's obstacles and adversity as well as how to be person of faith in controversial environments. Those who would like to be or are in charge of public policy might find this information helpful. Workers in the field of justice might find information from this study particularly helpful as can those in charge of social and law enforcement reform. Information gathered for this study, derived from the words of Freedom Movement exemplars is uniquely and powerfully transferrable to many content areas.

Final Thoughts

The current exploratory study's aim was to replicate and extend current research by exploring the life stories of Freedom Movement exemplars, paying particular interest to the spiritual dimension that was so apparent in their existing language. It did give participants an opportunity to address an intrapsychic aspect of morality, answering to some degree, Walker's (2004) call for broader considerations in addressing the judgment action gap in moral psychology. The purpose of the present study, which was to examine the life stories of Freedom Movement exemplars through the use of Life Story Interview (McAdams, 2008) was fulfilled. Research questions were addressed. Spirituality was found to have been a motivator for action amongst Freedom Movement exemplars. Existing exemplar models were found to fit a group of participants who explicitly merged moral and spiritual motives. Particular interest was paid to the spiritual dimension so previously apparent in prior exemplar findings as well as that which is apparent in the existing language of Freedom Movement exemplars. Overall, this study provides an original contribution to knowledge by studying a group of participants not previously studied as well as learning that some exemplars can further balance a synthesis of opposites in the same manner as agency and communion, but with dominance and nurturance.

Because he could not serve as a participant in this study, Martin Luther King's words from 1963 are no less potent or germane today. Dr. King's words of wisdom, seem fitting at the close to this study.

Only through an inner spiritual transformation do we gain the strength to fight vigorously the evils of the world in a humble and loving spirit... This hour in history needs a dedicated circle of transformed nonconformists... The saving of our world from pending doom will come, not through the complacent adjustment of the conforming majority, but through the creative maladjustment of a nonconforming minority (King, 1963)

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APPENDIX A:
IRB APPROVAL

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA® | Office of the Vice President for
Research & Economic Development
Office for Research Compliance

April 17, 2020

Robin L. Harvey
Department of ESPRMC
College of Education
The University of Alabama
Box 870231

Re: IRB # 16-OR-124-R4 "The Moral and Spiritual Dimensions of Civil Rights Exemplars"

Dear Ms. Harvey:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your proposed research. Your renewal application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

The approval for your application will lapse on April 16, 2021. If your research will continue beyond this date, please submit a continuing review to the IRB as required by University policy before the lapse. Please note, any modifications made in research design, methodology, or procedures must be submitted to and approved by the IRB before implementation. Please submit a final report form when the study is complete.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



Carrianna T. Myles, MSW, CHM, CH
Director & Research Compliance Officer