An Examination of Newspaper Accounts of Nonviolent Social Movement Leaders

Patrick Kennelly
Marquette University

AN EXAMINATION OF NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS OF NONVIOLENT SOCIAL MOVEMENT LEADERS

by

Patrick Kennelly

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School,
Marquette University,
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

May 2023

ABSTRACT
AN EXAMINATION OF NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS OF NONVIOLENT SOCIAL MOVEMENT LEADERS

Patrick Kennelly

Marquette University, 2022

Leadership studies scholars consider transformational leadership theory a full range universal theory. It is one of the most taught leadership theories in American higher education. Leadership scholars often cite leaders of nonviolent social movements like Gandhi and Dr. King as transformational leaders. Transformational leadership scholars frequently use press accounts of historic leaders to examine how transformational they were. In this study, I use thematic analysis to examine press accounts of the leadership of three nonviolent social movements: the March on Washington, the Civil Defense Drills, and the Journey of Reconciliation. I compared the themes that emerged to the main tenets of transformational leadership theory and discovered notable patterns and absences. When reporting and writing stories about the leadership of nonviolent social movements, journalists focused their storytelling on a select group of leaders who were almost always male, heterosexual, educated, and had institutional affiliations. The newspaper portrayals also provided a partial and often inaccurate portrayal of leadership, selectively including and omitting certain details. This selective inclusion and exclusion by the press makes it an unreliable source from which to draw conclusions about the validity of transformational leadership theory. I conclude that the press's use of an archetypal leader, maintain the status quo. Additionally, news stories, as the only data source, are not valid or reliable sources of data to examine if leaders were transformational rather the news stories provide insights into the press's cultural transformational function. Additionally, the press accounts offer accounts that leadership of nonviolent social movements may be more of a collective phenomenon.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Patrick Kennelly

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help, guidance, and encouragement from my family, friends, and colleagues.

THANK YOU to Dr. Louise Cainkar who encouraged me to pursue a PhD and chaired my committee. I am so grateful to you for your guidance, availability, and friendship. You taught me to be a better writer, read more critically, and think about how one can contribute to peace through scholarship.

THANK YOU to my committee, the brilliant scholars, Drs. Garner, Rynne, and Caulfield. Each of you inspired me through your teaching and challenged me and guided me through this process.

THANK YOU to my outstanding colleagues at the Marquette Center for Peacemaking and from across the University: Rana Altenburg, Heidi Bostic, Tyeshia Boyle, Tom Durkin, Chris Jeske, Willie Maryland, Michael McNulty, Sam Morris, Julie Novak, Irfan Omar, Kelsey Otero, Jacqueline Schram, Olivia Smith, Sherri Walker, and all who supported me through this process. Each of you has shown what peacemaking in action means.

THANK YOU to the running group: Mike Broeker, Steve Frieder, Chris Geiser, John Klika, Gary Krenz, Mike Lovell, and Jenny Staab, who taught me a thing or two about grit. I fondly recall the many hours and miles you inquired about my progress, encouraged me, and provided me weekly reasons to prioritize running over writing.

Finally, and most importantly, THANK YOU to my family. To my wife, Emmey, who read and edited every page of the dissertation and gave feedback throughout the

writing process. I am grateful for you every single day. You are the smartest and most amazing person I know. I love you. To my siblings, Mary, Ellen, and Nora, I appreciate you keeping an eye out for your brother. To Jean, Kevin Sr., and Kevin Francis Jr., you inspire and have taught me about the importance of friendships, the power of love and family, the fragility of life, and perseverance. To my parents, Chris and Marty, I appreciate your unconditional love and support, and for always encouraging us to pursue education and be peacemakers. I hope to do the same for my children. To my children, Kevin, Teresa, Eamonn, and Mairead you inspire your mom and I every single day.

This dissertation is dedicated to all of you. THANK YOU.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter I
BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

American academics and media outlets have long been intrigued by the concept of leadership, who and what makes a good leader, and if there are characteristics of leadership that should be considered universal. Transformational leadership, one recognized type of leadership, is defined as a model of leadership in which leaders engage in transformational or transactional behaviors with followers to achieve outcomes that exceed the follower's expectations. Transformation leadership has been highlighted in mainstream U.S. media, self-help literature, and professional development sessions (Bass & Riggio, 2006). It is used as an exemplar to show who effective leaders are and how they function (Alvesson & Karreman, 2015; Bass, 1999; McCleskey, 2014). For over 40 years, transformational leadership has been the dominant leadership theory taught in U.S. academic leadership programs and published in academic journals focused on leadership.

In both academic and popular literature, a foundational theme surrounding transformational leadership is that those leaders who are more transformational are more effective leaders (Bass & Riggio, 2006). While attempting to highlight examples of the supposed efficacy and universality of transformational leadership, scholars frequently identify and focus on leaders who share three similar characteristics or traits: famous, male, and heterosexual. Generally, examinations of transformational leadership focus on leadership in education, employment, or military organizations. Occasionally, transformational leadership is attributed to nonviolent social movements where depictions of leaders have also focused on famous, male, heterosexual leaders. For

example, the work of Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. have been cited as evidence that leaders who are more transformational are more effective.

While there has been diverse leadership in social movements that employ principled nonviolence, the dominant portrayal of the social composition of leadership tends to exclude certain types of individuals, including those from lower socio-economic classes, women, and non-heterosexuals. This selective identification of leadership creates a typology of leaders as disproportionally male, well-educated, heterosexual, and of the same race or ethnicity as the movement supporters. As this non-representative typology conforms to heteronormative patriarchy, questions are raised about how research and news coverage about leadership function to reinforce structural power and ideological boundaries in American society.

Statement of Problem

Leadership studies scholars, including Bernard Bass, consider transformational leadership theory a universal theory that applies in all situations around the globe (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Leadership scholars, including Northouse (2010) and Bass & Riggio (2006), have published many books and articles on transformational leadership citing famous historical leaders as exemplars of transformational leaders. These well-known leaders are usually male and include presidents, revolutionaries, military officers, and executive-level leaders. Leadership scholars often include leaders of nonviolent social movements, like Dr. Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi, among their list of leaders to support their position, that transformational leadership applies to all types of organizations.

Transformational leadership scholars primarily use the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire, a survey instrument given to leaders and other individuals who work directly with the leader to assess whether a leader is transformational. However, when access to the leader is not possible, leadership scholars have identified other means to assess leadership. Transformational leadership scholars, including Steinwart and Ziegler (2014) and Jense, Potocnik, and Chaudry (2020), use media stories to assess whether leaders like Steve Jobs, Larry Page, Rupert Murdoch, and Hugh Grant are transformational. However, leadership scholars including Bass, Avolio, and Goodheim (1987), note that one problem in leadership studies is that famous and/or historical leaders are cited in academic literature as engaging in a particular type of leadership without evidence.

This lack of evidence to support claims about the qualities of historical leaders in transformational leadership research is evident, particularly when leading transformational leadership scholars write about nonviolent social movements. For instance, Bass and Riggio (2006) and Northouse (2010), offered no support or evidence for their conclusion that Gandhi and King were transformational leaders. The claim of the universality of transformational leadership without evidence is problematic because it is especially difficult to verify in cases of historical nonviolent social movements. These shortcomings raise questions about how to determine if a historical leader of a nonviolent social movement was or was not transformational and if transformational leadership is universal and applies to all types of organizations.

Purpose of Study

The primary purpose of this study is to examine two questions: 1) how the newspaper portrayals of leadership in nonviolent social movements comport with the transformational leadership theory developed by Bernard Bass; and 2) how knowledge of press portrayals and transformational leadership theory may offer an improved understanding of nonviolent social movements and leadership.

Significance of Study

This research is particularly timely as a new wave of nonviolent social movements confronting racial injustice, police brutality, and militarism have swept the United States. This research is significant for its theoretical and practical contributions to an understanding of nonviolent social movements and transformational leadership. Finally, the study builds upon research that shows how news stories serve as cultural artifacts that reflect and reinforce social values and ideologies through narratives and stories shared by journalists. These three significant contributions are explored in this dissertation.

Since 2016, a national conversation has played out about nonviolent social movements, often in the form of smaller conversations about racism, militarism, police brutality, democratic freedoms, including enfranchisement, and the capacity of nonviolent social movements to bring about change. Although these conversations have taken place since the founding of the United States, they have taken on a renewed significance following the 2020 highly publicized murder of George Floyd, a Black man, by police in Minneapolis. Floyd's murder sparked the large nonviolent social movement Black Lives Matter.

For the purposes of my study, I address important questions about who leads nonviolent social movements and what tactics are used. There are also questions about how the leadership of the current social movements is portrayed by the media. This study offers important insights into press portrayals of historical social movements for those involved in, studying, or observing today's nonviolent social movements. It examines various dimensions of leadership in nonviolent social movements and highlights different nonviolent tactics and dimensions of the role of the nonviolent leader as highlighted in the press. Additionally, and quite significantly, this analysis calls attention to the role and contributions of women and non-heterosexual leaders and the fact that these contributions were historically largely ignored by the media.

This study offers significant contributions to understanding transformational leadership theory, particularly when examined in its larger social context, and about leadership in three specific nonviolent movements: Civil Defense Drills, Journey of Reconciliation, and the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. First, journalists' inclusion and exclusion of leaders highlighted in news stories makes press accounts an incomplete and, unfortunately, unreliable source from which to draw conclusions about the usefulness of transformational leadership theory. Second, the study demonstrates that leadership is a much more contested and complicated concept than is currently described in most transformational leadership literature and in press accounts. Transformational leadership scholars need to give more attention to how social context influences and informs our understanding of leadership.

This research builds upon the work of media scholars who have shown that newspaper stories serve as cultural artifacts reflecting social values, beliefs, and

ideologies. This study shows how journalists, through the repeated use of archetypes, communicate a larger narrative about the leadership of nonviolent social movements. These media narratives offer insights into how certain leadership attributes, values, and ideologies are held up as a standard. Additionally, this research challenges the status quo in terms of who is considered a leader by showing that the newspaper accounts of the leadership in the three social movements examined are incomplete portrayals, and highlights how more work is needed to fully understand the leadership within nonviolent social movements.

Definition of Terms

1. Transformational Leadership

Transformational Leadership is a social process through which leaders and followers interact. Bass and Riggio (2006) define transformational leaders as those whose actions and behaviors inspire followers to act beyond their own self-interest to accomplish objectives that exceed those of the individual follower's expectations. Research on transformational leadership identifies three types of behaviors that leaders exhibit: 1) transformational behavior, 2) transactional behavior, and 3) *laissez-faire* behavior. The three behavior types combine to form a transformational leadership style that influences the actions of followers and outcomes (Dugan, 2017, pp. 189-191). According to Bass, leaders who are "more satisfying to their followers and who are more effective leaders are more transformational" (Bass, 1999, p. 11).

The dominant theory of transformational leadership is articulated by Bernard Bass, an organizational psychologist who published the most comprehensive treatment and measurement of the theory (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Bass claims transformational

leadership theory is a multidimensional full range theory of leadership that represents a continua of leadership activity and effectiveness (Bass & Riggio, 2006). As described in this full range theory, all leaders fit somewhere on the continuum of leadership.

2. Principled Nonviolence

Principled nonviolence refers direct action used to transform relationships and society in a way that avoids harming, oppressing, exploiting, or killing others. Gene Sharp, a leading advocate of nonviolence, states that nonviolence is "a tool for socio-political action without the use of violence" (Sharp, 1999, p. 567). Nonviolence as a tool is rooted in the fact that it is accessible for all. In contrast to violence, which harms and can kill people, nonviolence allows people to participate fully in society as it seeks to transform situations without destroying the person. This is true in both times of conflict and times of peace. Principled Nonviolence, a form of nonviolence which includes Gandhian or Kingian nonviolence, is often associated with a moral, ethical, or religious motivation or commitment. The goal of principled nonviolence is to transform relationships, societies, and adversaries through nonviolent direct action so individuals are not oppressed or exploited. The power concern is to build "power with others" to shape society. Ensuring continuity between means and ends is a key component of principled nonviolence. This requires that nonviolent means be used to achieve nonviolent ends. It includes a willingness to endure rather than inflict suffering and seeks to transform rather than destroy adversaries. Principled nonviolence derives its strength from its consistency – nonviolence is viewed as a way of life.

3. Representation

Representation refers to how media portray people, groups, locations, ideas, topics, or events. Critical media scholars demonstrate that media content, including newspapers, provides a lens through which the media consumer forms perceptions and knowledge (Morgan and Shanahan, 2017). Kellner points out that specific ideologies are embedded in the media. Stuart Hall notes that through content selection, omission, and portrayal, the media offers representations that are decoded by the consumer. These representations offer a broad cultural message that signifies ideologies and contributes to cultural myths about the topic being portrayed (Hall, 1997). These ideologies convey meaning regarding gender, race, class, and sexuality while also reinforcing the belief that some groups are superior to other groups (2018). The impact of these media representations include reproducing and legitimizing the domination of some individuals and groups and the subordination of others. In many cases, these representations advance a social narrative that promotes hegemony.

4. Hegemony

Popularized by Antonio Gramsci (1971), hegemony is defined as the way the elite, ruling, or dominant groups exert influence and control over other groups through consent as a mechanism for social power. At its core, hegemony operates by having groups that are exploited or harmed by the elite, ruling, or dominant social groups adopt the dominant ideologies and accept them without critical examination. Hegemony operates by the oppressed voluntarily accepting dominant ideologies and the status quo as "natural or common sense." Hegemony is a form of social power used to order societies

and it is essential to acknowledge that the media, as a critical social institution, plays a role in spreading hegemonic power (Dines, Humez, Yousman, Bindig-Yousman, 2018).

5. Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a qualitative research method that identifies and analyzes patterns and themes in qualitative data sets (Miller, 2018). Thematic analysis is most often used to identify how texts form meaning. Meaning formation is accomplished through rigorous examination of the way the content, topics, and ideas are presented. It involves identifying the patterns of how the topics, ideas, or subjects are portrayed to shape meaning. This study utilizes the 6-step thematic analysis framework developed by Braun and Clark (2006), which is widely used in interdisciplinary research. The analytical framework involves following a consistent and methodical approach to organize, categorize, and interpret data with clarity and validity. As the data is organized, themes emerge, and the researcher identifies common experiences, phenomena, and meanings across the data set.

6. Ideology

Ideologies are systems of values, world views, beliefs, and attitudes that come together to form a system of meaning. Ideologies are embraced by individuals to define and pass judgment about persons and/or groups that are prescriptive for how a society or culture should operate. Ideologies are not necessarily true and may present distorted realities. Sociologists and media literacy scholars (Hall, 2018; Hooks, 2000) point out that dominant ideologies are those that major social institutions advance; they offer guidance on the prevailing cultural norms and are used to justify the status quo.

7. Homophobia

Homophobia includes negative attitudes, fears, and prejudices towards homosexuals and homosexuality. Homophobia is displayed through discrimination, exclusion, and harm (Smith, Oades, McCarthy, 2012).

8. Patriarchy

Patriarchy refers to the system of social structures, relationships, and actions in which heterosexual men dominate, oppress, and exploit women and non-heterosexuals. It is used conceptually by scholars to analyze male-dominated institutions, including the media (Dines, Humez, Yousman, Bindig-Yousman, 2018).

9. Archetype

Archetypal characters represent key types of individuals possessing a familiar and consistent set of traits that are recurrent across the human experience and in stories. According to Kidd and Procedia (2016), archetypes have several characteristics in media. First, they are characters in the story. Second, archetypes represent “mental modes” that consumers of media recognize as themselves or others and evoke an emotion. Third, archetypes function on the subconscious level, allowing the media consumer to identify the character’s role. Fourth, they are culturally relevant to the media consumer and are easily learned and recognized. Common archetypes include the good mother, hero, villain, etc. Archetypes allow journalists to quickly tell a familiar story in a short period of time in a way that seems relevant to the audience. Journalists who employ archetypes in their reporting on a character may attribute unique details to that person or story; however, the archetypal characters’ most basic role and way of functioning remains the same, providing the news consumer with a framework to understand the world.

Methodology

The examination of the phenomena of newspaper portrayals of nonviolent leadership is inherently interdisciplinary and requires a conceptual framework that allows for an examination not limited to a single theoretical perspective but instead draws from multiple disciplines that includes the following: Leadership, Peace Studies, Sociology, Journalism, and Media Studies.

Thematic analysis is the methodology employed in this study because it offers a qualitative research method that identifies and analyzes patterns and themes in qualitative data sets (Miller, 2018). Clarke and Braun (2013) argue that thematic analysis is a useful approach when researching subjects focused on the representation of groups in media and phenomenon. It involves following a consistent and methodical approach to organize, categorize, and interpret data with clarity and validity. The researcher can identify the themes that emerge and note common meanings across the data set. This systematic approach allows researchers to identify overt and latent meanings related to the question being examined.

One of the defining characteristics of thematic analysis – and the primary reason it was selected as a conceptual framework – is that thematic analysis is independent of a theoretical or epistemological framework (Miller, 2018; Braun & Clark 2006; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). This freedom from a specific theoretical framework allows researchers to examine paradigms including cross disciplinary and interdisciplinary concepts (Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017) and makes it well-suited for this study.

Research Questions

1. How is leadership of nonviolent social movements portrayed by the U.S. mainstream media and do these portrayals offer support for the assertion by transformational leadership scholars that transformational leadership is a universal theory?
2. How can understanding the press portrayals of social movement leaders offer an improved understanding of nonviolent social movements and leadership?

Organization of the Study

This dissertation is presented in six chapters.

Chapter I includes the background of the research, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, significance of the study, definition of terms, theoretical framework, and research questions.

Chapter II presents a review of the literature, which includes background on the historical events, overviews of leadership theories, and the concepts of news as cultural narrative.

Chapter III describes the methodology used for this research study. It includes the research design of the study, the selection of thematic analysis, the data collection and analysis process

Chapter IV presents the study's findings related to newspaper's portrayal of leadership of nonviolent social movements and the journalist's use of archetypes to tell news stories and to frame a cultural narrative of who is and who is not a leader in nonviolent social movements. This chapter highlights the four themes that emerged from the thematic analysis of the newspaper stories.

Chapter V presents the study's findings related to newspaper portrayals of nonviolent social movement leadership and their relation to the portrayal of transformational leadership theory.

Chapter VI summarizes the study, discusses the findings and their implications for academics and practitioners of nonviolence, makes recommendations for future research, and offers conclusions.

Chapter II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This study examines depictions of leadership of nonviolent social movements as portrayed by newspapers and contrasts that with how leadership is described in leadership theory, especially transformational leadership theory. Transformational leadership theory is understood to be a universal and full range leadership model; therefore, it is expected to be found around the world in all types of organizations with all leaders displaying components of the transformational leadership model to some extent (Bass & Riggio, 2006). The media plays an important role in explaining social movements to the public. For many years, newspapers functioned as their primary media source. This literature review provides the rationale for examining the role of newspapers in portraying leaders of nonviolent social movements through the lens of academic leadership theory. For this literature review, newspaper stories and research publications serve as cultural artifacts.

By employing an interdisciplinary technique, including leadership, journalism and communications, and peace studies, this chapter explores the literature that informed the study. This interdisciplinary approach is necessary because these research questions are beyond the scope of any single discipline. An interdisciplinary framework allows careful study of transformational leadership and further explores the role of media in reflecting societal values about leadership.

The chapter includes a brief overview of three events used as case studies in this study: the Civil Defense Drills, Journey of Reconciliation, and the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Next, I conduct an overview of major theories of leadership, including an in-depth exploration of transformational leadership. Finally, I discuss news stories as cultural narrative and the use of archetypes by journalists.

This literature review offers the interdisciplinary framework through which the research questions previously stated are examined.

Social Movements

The three events examined in this study are the Fellowship of Reconciliation Journey of Reconciliation (1947), Civil Defense Drills by members of the Catholic Worker Community and War Resisters League (1955), and the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (1963). The events were selected because they were successive, and the leadership of the earliest movement informed the leadership of the latter two movements. These three events represent different ways that principled nonviolence was used in the U.S. during the late 1940s through the 1960s. The events shared overlapping leaders and participants, and the organizations were interconnected. When planning the above activities, the leaders of the groups often collaborated. And while each of these campaigns was well documented and written about in mainstream newspapers and each is considered a historically significant nonviolent movement, Bayard Rustin, who played a pivotal role in all these campaigns, is hardly, if ever, mentioned.

Journey of Reconciliation

In *Morgan v. Virginia* (1946), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregated seating on interstate travel was illegal. Despite the ruling, segregated seating remained the norm. In April 1947, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Fellowship of Reconciliation joined forces to launch the Journey of Reconciliation, a nonviolent direct-action campaign, to verify and test the implementation of the Morgan decision. A group of 16 men – 8 White and 8 Black – departed from Washington and traveled a 15-city route through the Upper South.

Bayard Rustin, a Black participant, and organizer of the noncooperation campaign of the Civil Defense Drills, led the trip and George House, a Caucasian man, was both a participant and an organizer. Along the route, the participants documented segregated seating arrangements. When asked to sit in segregated seats, the riders refused to comply. In the evenings, they organized an outreach campaign, spoke to local groups and shared their observations and experiences with the press. Along the journey, members of the group were arrested six times, attracting publicity, and demonstrating the power of nonviolence. Additionally, although they were unsuccessful, the participants in the Journey of Reconciliation used the arrests to challenge the court system to uphold the Morgan decision. Fifteen years later, CORE dusted off the same nonviolent tactics and sponsored the famed Freedom Rides of the Civil Rights movement.

Civil Defense Drills

In 1955, during the height of the Cold War and the nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the U.S. government, the U.S. began implementing a project called "Operation Alert." The primary activity in Operation Alert involved civil defense drills. At an appointed time around the country, sirens sounded, and civilians took cover and vacated the streets for 15 minutes. Municipalities, including New York City, passed laws requiring compliance and punishment for those who refused to participate.

On June 15, 1955, a group of pacifists from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, and the Catholic Worker movement in Manhattan declined to participate in the mock attack. During this act of civil disobedience, 27 nonviolent activists, including Dorothy Day, A.J. Muste, and Ammon Hennacy, remained on park benches and were arrested. Meanwhile, Bayard Rustin, who helped organize the

resistance to the Civil Defense Drills, assisted in raising bail money for those arrested and coordinated press communication. This small act of civil disobedience launched a multi-year campaign to challenge the assertion that people could survive a full-scale nuclear attack. The civil defense resisters argued that the drills were psychological preparation for war and insisted that peace was the best defense against nuclear war. Each year from 1955 until 1962, when the Civil Defense Drills were canceled, the resisters gathered with sympathetic civilians to use nonviolence as a challenge to "war games" and refused to participate in the preparation for war. When arrested and jailed, participants used the courts to challenge how military preparations infringed upon civil liberties. These acts attracted publicity. Over the years, the number of individuals refusing to participate grew from fewer than three dozen to more than 2,000 and expanded to include several other peace groups, including the National Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy (SANE).

Launched from a park bench, this nonviolent movement is widely seen as the spark that led to the end of the drills. The men and women who led the opposition to the Civil Defense Drills included prominent leaders of the day like Dorothy Day, Mary Learson Sharmat, Janice Smith, Pat McMahon, Bayard Rustin, Adrienne Winegrand, A.J. Muste, Robert Gilmore, and Ammon Hennacy.

March on Washington

On August 28, 1963, an estimated 125,000 people gathered on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Historians considered this the largest nonviolent gathering in American history at that time. At the March on Washington, Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his historic "I Have a Dream" speech. The following "Big Six" civil rights organizations organized the march: National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Conference of Racial Equality (CORE); and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The other co-sponsors included the United Auto Workers (UAW), the American Jewish Congress (AJC), Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, and the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. A. Philip Randolph served as the titular leader of the March on Washington while Bayard Rustin, Randolph's deputy at the time, served as the primary organizer. While Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women played a key role in the planning, Anna Arnold Hedgeman was the only woman on the executive committee for the March on Washington.

The March came together in just under three months and the organizers and those assembled presented 10 demands to the federal government. The demands focused on civil rights, voting rights, eliminating racial discrimination, racial equality, and economic justice, including jobs and a living federal minimum wage. The historic gathering was a key turning point in American history and directly led to the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights act.

Overview of Leadership Theories

The foundation of leadership studies in the West can be traced to the 1840s and 1850s. Over the past two centuries, a large body of scholarship from primarily American and European scholars resulted in a wide variety of leadership theories and explanations. In a review of 587 publications, Rost (1993) found 221 definitions of leadership ranging from very specific to very broad definitions. This broad range of definitions shows that there is no definitive answer to the most fundamental question: What is leadership? Bass

& Bass (2008) claimed that the search for a single universal definition of leadership is fruitless and instead argued leadership should be defined by the purposes it serves.

Despite the ambiguity surrounding the definition of leadership, scholars have focused on developing theories that claim to be based on coherent ideas, concepts, and constructs that are logical and provide a way to explain and understand a generalized idea of leadership. Three prominent leadership theories have dominated Western leadership studies over the last 150 years: trait-based theories, situational theories, and transformational theories (Bass & Bass, 2008). Additionally, since the 1970s, scholars have analyzed leadership and developed several notable theories, including contingency theory, collective leadership, distributive leadership, and humanistic leadership. These theories are rooted in the social sciences and provide explanations for the development and success of leadership. Below, I offer a brief overview and critique of each leadership theory, including a more in-depth discussion of transformational leadership, which is the foundational leadership theory for this study.

Trait-based Theories

Trait-based theories of leadership are rooted in the idea that individuals possessing a unique set of traits are better equipped to be leaders. The origins of trait-based leadership can be traced to modern scholarly interest in leadership at the end of the 19th century (Grint, 2011). For the most part, male European writers, such as Thomas Carlyle, advanced normative theories of leadership that focused on the innate characteristics of exceptional individuals (Grint, 2011). These descriptions emphasized leadership as a set of extraordinary traits possessed by a select few men and extraordinarily few female leaders. Notable exceptions to male leaders included Joan of

Arc and Catherine the Great. The heroic “great man” theories focused primarily on white political, religious, and military leaders and emphasized supposedly special traits only these “great men” possessed (Bass & Bass, 2008). Throughout the 1940s, leadership studies used a psychological lens to identify the traits leaders supposedly possessed. Like the “great man” theories of the 19th century, researchers used primarily Caucasian, Western men as their research subjects. Unsurprisingly, the traits identified in the 1940s were traits commonly associated with masculinity, including intelligence, alertness, confidence, initiative, persistence, sociability, and responsibility. During the 19th century and for most of the 20th century, it is important to note that women, with few exceptions, were denied leadership roles and the few women who were in leadership roles were largely overlooked by leadership scholars. Therefore, the leaders who were studied and the traits that were subsequently identified were masculine. However, this does not mean women did not possess these leadership traits. Rather than offering insight about leadership, trait-based research findings reflected the cultural biases and traits valued by leadership scholars of that era.

The notion of a “great man” theory of leadership based on a universal set of exceptional traits was challenged by Stodgill and other leadership researchers (Harrison, 2018). These researchers tested whether a consistent set of leadership traits distinguished leaders from non-leaders. When comparing traits possessed by leaders in a variety of situations, Stodgill concluded no universal set of leadership traits relevant in all situations exists (Northouse, 2010). Other critiques of trait theory focused on three premises that were rooted in eugenics and biological-genetic thinking of racial and gender superiority that were popular at the time: 1) that individuals are self-made and/or born leaders, 2) that

there are a small number of individuals who are capable of becoming leaders, and 3) that leaders are inherently different from all other people. The “inherent difference” idea has been discredited and is rooted in the pseudoscience of racial and gender superiority. It is a holdover from eugenics and biological-genetic thinking that was prominent a century ago. Additionally, critics of trait theory argue that leadership is not determined by a single variable (Northouse, 2010; Bass & Bass, 2008). Instead, scholars have noted that the context of leadership and role of other people in leadership must be considered. Despite these criticisms, leadership scholars still spend considerable time studying trait-based approaches of leadership (Northouse, 2010).

Situational Leadership Theory

Situational leadership theory is based on the idea that leadership is determined by context. Individuals who assume leadership roles are moderated by the situation (McCleskey, 2014). This theory arose and was promulgated from the 1940s through 1970s. Situational leadership theorists argue that different types of situations require different types of behaviors and leaders (Northouse, 2010; Klimoski, 2013). Championed by psychologists, organizational scholars, and sociologists, situational theory argues that leaders need to alter their leadership style to the context. According to situational theory, after assessing the situation, leaders should decide whether to use either a task-focused or relation-focused approach that considers the needs of followers. Situational leadership describes leadership behavior on a continuum with an axis of high to low levels of support for followers and high to low directive style. Effective leaders accurately read the situation and adopt the necessary leadership style. Unlike trait-based approaches,

situational theories of leadership believe the leader's ability to lead is dependent upon the leader's ability to guide the agency of the followers in a situation.

Critiques of situational leadership have generally focused on three areas: lack of internal consistency, conceptual contradictions, and lack of empirical evidence that supports reliability (Yukl, 1999). Dugan noted the greatest theoretical flaw of situational leadership is that there are too many different versions; each of which has used different core concepts and versions. This is most evident in the two dominant situational leadership theories. The original version developed by Hersey and Blanchard (1979) is referred to as "situational leadership theory" and "situational leadership model." A second form of situational leadership theory was also championed by Blanchard, who introduced the original theory known as situational leadership II (Thompson & Vecchio, 2009). In both formulations, the leader assesses the needs of the followers. However, no consistent definition of a "follower" nor way of assessing "needs of followers" exists. This lack of agreement on even a basic tenant of the theory has made measurement difficult. As a result, few studies using either situational leadership theory or situational leadership II appear in academic journals (Dugan, 2017). Of those that do, few scholars have found empirical evidence for the model and frequently raise questions about its relevance (Alvesson & Karreman, 2015). Because of these critiques, situational theory is perceived by scholars as having little descriptive or normative value for understanding leadership. These critiques also raise another question: what function is served within leadership studies to keep propagating a theory that lacks utility, validity, or reliability?

Contingency Theory

Contingency theory of leadership refers to models that are premised on the belief that a leader's effectiveness is contingent upon leadership style matching the needs of the situation (Northouse, 2010; Vroom & Jago, 2007). Hence, contingency theories are sometimes referred to as leader-match situations (Northouse, 2010). Developed by Fred Fiedler, a psychologist, contingency models of leadership rose to popularity in the 1970s and 1980s and were the focus of much of the academic research on leadership scholarship during that period (Bass & Bass, 2008). Contingency theory rejects the idea that leadership should be viewed solely through the lens of the leader's traits and disposition or that leadership should solely be based on the situation. Instead, contingency theory scholars contend that to understand when leadership is going to be effective, one must consider the leaders' leadership style, situational needs to complete the tasks, and situational variables such as power and relationships with others. Additionally, contingency theory recognizes that the situation often has a far greater impact than the individual leadership in determining outcomes.

Fiedler developed the Least Preferred Co-worker scale to evaluate leadership styles across a continuum of being task-motivated or relationship-motivated. The Least Preferred Co-worker scale categorizes leaders as *highly task motivated*, *socio independent*, or *relationship motivated* (Northouse, 2010). Further, Fiedler and contingency theorists argue the leader's style is fixed and cannot be easily adapted (Vroom & Jago, 2007). To increase the probability of leaders' effectiveness, contingency theory states that a leader either needs to lead in a context that fits their leadership style

or alter the situational variable to achieve a better fit with the leader's style (Northouse, 2010).

To assess the leaders' fit in a situation, Fiedler suggested three factors needed to be taken into consideration. First, leader-member relations refer to the level of trust, loyalty, and confidence between the leader and followers. Second, task structure refers to the amount of structure and ambiguity associated with the task or goal the leader is trying to accomplish. Third, position power refers to the amount of authority to recognize or reward followers or hold followers accountable (Northouse, 2010; Bass & Bass, 2008). Fiedler and others note that most of these situational variables are not in control of the leader (Vroom & Jago, 2007). These three variables, when combined, are predictive of what type of leadership styles are most likely to be effective in different situations.

Fielder's Contingency theory offers many strengths and insights into leadership. First, there is empirical support for its reliability and validity as predictive about what leadership style will be most effective and in which situations (Northouse, 2010, Bass & Bass, 2008; Vroom & Jago, 2007). Second, it has forced leadership scholars to consider how situational variables, including those not under the leader's control, can impact leadership behaviors (Northouse, 2010). Third, contingency theory also allows for consideration of how situations can impact the consequence of a leader's actions (Vroom & Jago, 2007).

Collective Leadership

All of the leadership theories and transformational leadership which is discussed at the end of this chapter represent a unitary view of leadership, i.e. one in which the leader, as an individual, and his or her behavior is the primary focus of the leadership

theory. However, since the 1990s, a growing group of scholars have focused on reformulating an understanding of leadership to be a shared concept in which leadership is "a collective phenomenon that is distributed or shared among different people, potentially fluid and constructed in interaction" (Denis, Langley, & Sergi, 2012, p. 212). This new school of leadership thought, focused on plural conceptions of leadership, goes by many different names including "shared," distributed," "collective," "collaborative," and "relational" and has been coined by scholars as "leadership in the plural" (Fletcher, 2004; Denis, Langley, & Sergi, 2012).

In their major literature review on collective leadership, Denis, Langley, & Sergi (2012, p. 213-214) identified four unique streams of collective leadership scholarship. The first stream is "Sharing leadership for team effectiveness." This stream focuses on interaction occurring among individuals who are members of the group that seek to achieve the group or organizational goals. This stream is rooted in the organizational behavior tradition and includes integrated leadership. The second stream is "Pooling leadership capacities at the top to direct others." This stream focuses on the formation of small groups – usually two or three executive leaders – who direct the work of other teams where the leaders at the top are not members. The third stream is "Spreading leadership within and across levels over time." This stream describes the leadership interactions among people at different levels within and across organizations or inter-organizational networks. This stream is most associated with distributed leadership and the dispersal of leadership is essential. The fourth stream is "Producing leadership through interaction." This stream considers leadership as a decentralized process that occurs through interactions. This stream is most closely associated with relational

leadership and is furthest of the four collective leadership streams from focusing on leadership as the action/s of an individual. Instead, this stream is centered on the notion that leadership is comprised of numerous interactions that are influenced by situational factors and come together to collectively determine the directions and outcomes. Caulfield (2019) notes that collective leadership may be useful because it addresses complexity well and can be used to solve "wicked problems" which are complicated, chronic social problems.

Distributive leadership is one type of collective leadership and is part of the third stream. Also, it is the form of collective leadership that most explicitly deals with interorganizational collaboration. Distributive leadership focuses on leadership as a social process emerging through the interaction of individuals dispersed within and across organizations and/or inter-organizational collaborations (Bolden, 2011). Leadership is a fluid group activity in which individuals, in a variety of contexts and positions, execute different leadership responsibilities at different times to achieve outcomes (Denis, Langley, & Sergi, 2012). Mayrowetz (2008) identifies distributive leadership as a democratic form of leadership because it spreads leadership across an organization and involves the interaction of multiple individuals and disperses power and authority and in some cases involves shared decision-making. This democratic notion stands in contrast to unitary conceptions of leadership in which leadership is hierarchical or reserved for a few individuals and power rests primarily with the leader.

Distributive leadership is primarily studied in education, social systems research and inter-organizational collaboration (Denis, Langley, & Sergi, 2012; Stroh, 2015). First, it problematizes the dominant notion of leadership as the domain of the individual

and instead contends that leadership is a process rooted in relationships and participation of individuals in collective interactions that influence outcomes (Denis, Langley, & Sergi, 2012). This new way of understanding leadership allows for more consideration of a holistic understanding of leadership situations including how power and systems influence leadership and outcomes (Bolden, 2011). Second, for Bolden (2011), distributive leadership has the potential to mobilize teams, organizations, collaboratives, and networks into collective engagement in which individuals are more aware of power dynamics and their individual and collective engagement. Finally, it offers a framework for understanding the interplay between situational, individual, and collective aspects of leadership. In short, as Bolden (2011) puts it the "key contribution of DL, it would seem, is not in offering replacement for other accounts, but in enabling the recognition of a variety of forms of leadership in a more integrated and systemic manner" (Bolden, 2011, p. 264, Stroh, 2015).

Critiques of distributive leadership have focused on several items. First, the concept of distributive leadership is not widely studied. Using the SCOPUS database, one of the world's largest databases of abstracts and citations, Bolden (2011) discovered that from 1980-2009, there were 82 articles and/or reviews of distributive leadership published. The bulk of the distributive leader research published focuses on education and business settings. In fact, 68% of all distributive leadership research was published in journals focusing on education and education management, while 19% of the articles were published in business, management, and leadership journals. Additionally, all the articles included first authors whose national affiliation was the U.S. or United Kingdom. These data points suggest the knowledge gleamed from these articles may be limited to a

specific sector and certain countries. Additionally, Denis, Langley, and Sergi, (2012) point out that much of what has been written about distributive leadership has been case studies. These case studies of distributive leadership often provide positive examples of the success of distributive leadership in action. However, as they note, these case studies do not provide evidence or a prescription for how distributive leadership can lead to success or intended outcomes. A third major critique of distributive leadership is that the terms and concepts are not clearly defined and are often used by scholars to describe other plural forms of leadership including shared leadership.

Humanistic Leadership

Humanistic leadership is an important emerging trend in the field of leadership. Scholars pursuing humanistic leadership argue the current challenges facing the world call for "new and responsible leadership" rooted in scientific expertise, ethics, and placing human dignity and flourishing as central to decision making (Lawrence & Pirson, 2015). According to Lawrence and Pirson (2015), leadership is understood "as the process of ensuring long term human flourishing, protection of human dignity, the promotion of societal welfare, the protection of the planet, and thus the survival of the species" (p. 385). Humanistic leadership perspective draws upon the "four drive" motivation theory, which states that there are four motivational drives that influence human behavior: the drive to acquire, the drive to defend, the drive to bond, and the drive to learn (Caulfield, Lee, & Baird, 2021; Lawrence & Pirson, 2015). Each of these drives are independent of the other drives and influential on motivation and human behavior. The key to responsible ethical leadership is achieving a balance of each the motivational drives. Lawrence and Pirson (2015) argue that moral failure and irresponsible leadership

happens when these drives are out of balance, resulting in ethical failures that harm human dignity and flourishing. Humanistic leadership happens when the motivational drives are balanced.

Humanistic leadership scholars such as Lawrence and Pirson (2015) argue that many leadership theories do not adequately account for human behavior because they only account for behavior based upon economistic perspectives and neoclassical theories of human behavior. The basic critique of non-humanistic leadership theories is rooted in the belief that leaders act opportunistically for the leader's personal benefit or the leader's organizational benefit over societal benefit. Lawrence and Pirson (2015) claim non-humanistic perspectives and theories of leadership are steeped in a Spencerian understanding of Darwinism which is simplified into the understanding of survival of the strongest over the weak. Additionally, Caulfield, Lee, and Baird, (2021) note these non-humanistic leadership perspectives overemphasize the motivational drives to defend and acquire.

According to Lawrence and Pirson (2015), humanistic leadership perspective offers several important contributions to understanding the phenomenon of leadership. First, it is rooted in leadership studies and draws upon scholarship in evolutionary biology, anthropology, neuroscience, and neuropsychology. This multidisciplinary approach provides a more holistic understanding of leadership. Second, it provides a broader concept of leadership and the motivation driving leadership to go beyond the economistic perspective that is the basis of many unitarian leadership theories. Also, it recognizes that leaders operate for reasons such as bonding and learning. Third, it provides leaders a framework for making decisions that center the common good, human

dignity, and may assist leaders in making moral decisions when thinking about how organizational systems craft motivational strategies that incorporate all four of the motivational drives discussed above.

Transformational Leadership Theory

For the past 40 years, transformational leadership has been the dominant theory guiding research and advanced by academic journals (Alvesson & Karreman, 2015; Bass, 1999; McCleskey, 2014). Diaz-Saenz identified 476 articles on transformational leadership in the SCOPUS database published between 2000-2010, making the theory the most frequently researched leadership theory in the past twenty years (2011). Wange et al. (2011), discovered 113 studies focused on transformational leadership and follower performance. Antonakis (2012) noted that in 2009 alone more than 200 papers were published just on the relationship between transformational and charismatic leadership. Over the years, transformational leadership has risen in popularity as claims of its utility were bolstered through empirical survey data gathered through the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) a survey instrument used to measure transformational leadership. Additionally, many famous “great men” were also identified as transformational leaders including Martin Luther King Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, John F. Kennedy, and Jack Welch (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

Bernard Bass, an organizational psychologist, articulates the dominant understanding of transformational leadership. Bass published the most comprehensive treatment and measurement of the theory (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Bass claims transformational leadership theory is a multidimensional full theory of leadership that represents the continua of leadership activity and effectiveness (Bass & Riggio, 2006). As

a full theory, it implies that all leaders fit somewhere on the continuum of leadership described by the theory. I draw on Bass's scholarship on transformational leadership for this study because: 1) it is the newest of the major leadership theories and Bass is the principal architect of the theory, 2) it is the most widely studied theory in the leadership literature over the past 30 years, and 3) as a "full range" theory, transformational leadership supposedly encompasses all leadership.

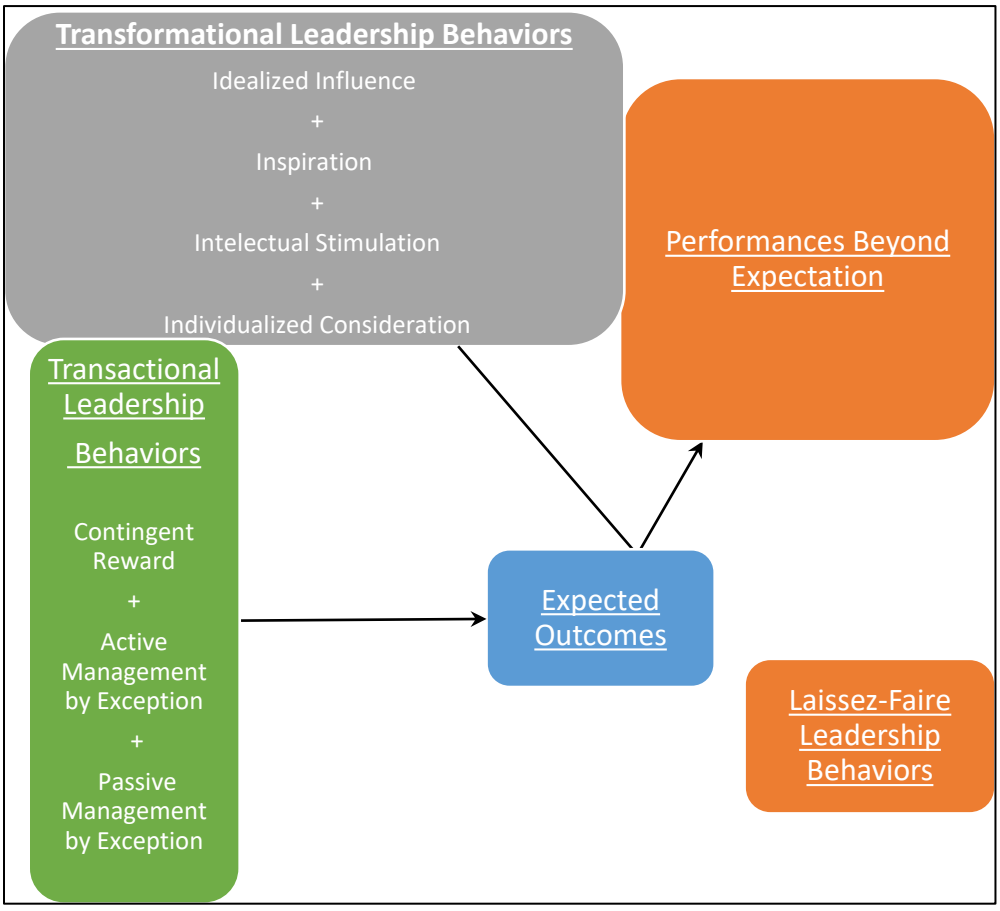
At its core, transformational leadership defines leaders as people whose actions inspire followers to act beyond their own self-interest to accomplish objectives that exceed those of the individual follower's expectations. They do this through a combination of transformational and transactional behaviors, which will be defined and discussed in greater depth in the following section. According to Bass, leaders who are "more satisfying to their followers and who are more effective leaders are more transformational" (1999, p. 11). The right combination of transformational and transactional leadership behavior results in performance and goal attainment that exceeds expectations (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

It is important to note several important claims Bass has made about transformational leadership theory. First, that it is universal, found all over the world, and in all forms of organizations (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Second, for individuals to be authentic transformational leaders, the leaders' goals extend beyond their own personal interests or motivations and focus on the common good of their followers (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Third, is the claim by Bass and Riggio of its "best fit" – as the "best fitting model for effective leadership in today's world in that transformational leaders are more effective than transactional or non-transformational leaders" (Bass & Riggio, 2006 p. 224).

Research on transformational leadership has identified three types of behaviors that leaders exhibit: 1) transformational behavior, 2) transactional behavior, and 3) *laissez-faire* behavior. These three behavior types are independent, distinct, and occur on a leadership continuum. The leaders use each behavior type to form a leadership style and, in turn, influence the actions of followers and outcomes (Dugan, 2017). Both the transformational behavior and transactional behavior include sub-factors. The chart below lists the three behavior groups and their associated sub-factors for the respective behavior types. Figure 1 illustrates how Bass claims the three behavior groups lead to goal accomplishment that exceeds expectations for both leaders and followers. It is important to note Bass does not believe *laissez-faire* leadership behavior leads to or exceeds expected outcomes.

Figure. 1

Transformational Leadership



The four attributes of transformational leadership behavior typically cited in the literature are idealized influence, inspiration, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration (Alvesson & Karreman, 2015). When operationalizing transformational leadership, scholars frequently pair the first two mechanisms of transformational leadership to describe charisma (Northouse, 2010).

Idealized influence is determined by the behavior of the leader and the attributes followers assign to that behavior. Transformational leaders are leaders whose behavior causes them to be seen as role models by followers. Attributes of transformational leadership include sacrificing personal gain, demonstrating ethical behavior, and acting

with consistency. According to Bass, transformational leadership requires “high moral development” (1999, p. 9). It also requires that followers are sufficiently impressed by the leader that the follower seeks to cultivate similar behavior in themselves.

The second attribute of transformational leadership behavior is inspiration. Inspiration cannot be separated from idealized influence. This attribute refers to the leader’s ability to inspire followers to accomplish more than they had intended or imagined could be accomplished (Bass & Bass, 2008). This includes helping followers move beyond Maslow’s hierarchy of needs to work for a higher cause, organization, or society, i.e., something greater than themselves (Bass & Bass, 2008). Inspiration requires articulating a vision for the future that includes high performance, determination, confidence, and high standards (Bass & Bass, 2008). Leaders exhibit this through symbols and emotional appeals (Northouse, 2010).

Intellectual stimulation, the third transformational leadership behavioral attribute, refers to the leader’s ability to be innovative and creative (Bass & Bass, 2008). It includes involving followers in problem solving, and the use of rational thinking and logic to address challenges (Bass & Bass, 2008). Leaders demonstrate intellectual stimulation by challenging followers to reconsider their own beliefs about the leader, organization, society, and themselves (Northouse, 2010).

Individualized consideration, the fourth transformational leadership behavior factor, is exemplified when leaders are attentive to the needs of individual followers and invest in their development (Northouse, 2010; Bass, 1999). The leader acts as a coach and offers mentorship to followers, taking into consideration how individual needs vary while also creating space for development of followers. Some scholars have identified

this trait as a recognition of each individual person's gifts, regardless of cultural differences (Bass, 2008).

Transactional leadership behavior focuses on the "exchange relationship between the leader and follower to meet their own self-interest" (Bass, 1999, p. 10). Researchers identified three transactional leadership behaviors: contingent rewards, active management by exception, and passive management by exception. At their core, the transactional factors are an exchange between the leader and the follower to meet each person's needs. In transactional leadership, the leader and follower are not trying to accomplish something greater than meeting their respective needs even when something greater occurs.

Contingent reward, a transactional leadership behavior factor, focuses on the leader providing physical or psychological rewards for performing an agreed upon task (Bass & Bass, 2008). Material rewards may be money, awards, documentation, etc. Psychological awards may include compliments, positive feedback, praise, or recognition.

Active management by exception, a transactional leadership behavior attribute, is discipline. It refers to active supervision of the follower by the leader. The leader monitors behavior, noting when there is an error and addresses it through corrective action (Bass, 1999). Corrective action may take many forms, but it is usually punitive, withholding material reward, discipline, or negative feedback.

Passive management by exception, the third transactional leadership behavioral attribute, is when the leader waits for an issue to arise before providing feedback or making a corrective action (Bass & Bass, 2008). Like active management by exception,

the corrective action associated with passive management by exception may take many forms, but it is usually punitive in a similar way to active management by exception.

The third leader behavior group is *laissez-fair*. As the name implies, it is demonstrated by passive leadership in which the leader neither interacts with followers nor acts (Northouse, 2010, p. 182). Bass defines *laissez-fair* leadership as the avoidance or absence of leadership (2006). It is demonstrated when a leader does nothing, including failure to make decisions, inaction, ignoring situations, and not getting involved in day-to-day activities.

Measurement of Transformational Leadership.

Bernard Bass identified three primary ways to evaluate transformational leadership. The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) is the primary instrument used to empirically measure transformational leadership (Bass & Riggio, 2006). The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire assesses the full range of leadership including transformational, transactional, and *laissez-faire* components. It includes a self-evaluation of leadership behavior by the leader and an evaluation of the leader by followers and associates. According to Bass and Riggio (2006), MLQ is the most dominant form of evaluation of transformational leadership. Bass and Riggio (2006) identify other forms of measurement for transformational leadership; one example is by asking individuals to keep diaries of their own leadership and leadership they observe, and then scoring responses based upon the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire. A third option promoted by Bass and Riggio (2006), is to conduct structured interviews with leaders using an interview protocol entitled the Full Range of Leadership Development Program. In addition to the measurement strategies developed by Bass and Riggio, scholars have

developed three alternative surveys to measure transformational leadership. However, these instruments have not been widely used.

All the measurements of transformational leadership discussed so far have focused on living leaders. However, Bass and Riggio (2006) have identified several deceased individuals as transformational leaders, including Dr. King and Gandhi. Yet Bass and Riggio did not offer empirical evidence for their conclusion about these individuals and what made them transformational; rather what is offered is anecdotal.

Transformational leadership scholars, including Steinwart and Ziegler (2014) and Jense, Potocnik, and Chaudry (2020), researched whether leaders who are deceased or living but unavailable to the researcher could be called transformational leaders. In these studies, leaders identified as potentially transformational were analyzed using textual analysis and content analysis of media stories. Leaders evaluated included Steve Jobs, Larry Page, Rupert Murdoch, Indra Nooyi, Don Thompson, Ian Read, Alison Cooper, and Hugh Grant.

Critiques of Transformational Leadership.

Despite its prevalence in the literature, few critiques of transformational leadership exist. One of the most fundamental critiques is focused on the rapid rise of transformational leadership as the dominant theory in leadership studies as promoted by a small group of leadership scholars. This critique questions if transformational leadership theory is widely useful or if the promotion by academics who widely disseminated the theory is the reason for its broad success. During its nascent years, Bass and Riggio (2006) identified that the development of transformational leadership as a theory focused on empirical research in the military (Bass, 1988; Bass & Riggio, 2006) and then spread

to other sectors (Avolio & Yammarino, 2002) including public service, education, health care, and nonprofit service. Conger (1999) points out that in just under two decades, a very small amount of time,

> a significant portion of the interest has been shaped by a small group of scholars, some of whom have been in the leadership field for several decades. These include people such as Bernard Bass and Robert House, and a small group of newer scholars to the field – individuals such as myself, Mike Arthur, Bruce Avolio, Jane Howell, Rabi Kanungo, Boas Shamir, Fran Yammarino, and others. In large part, we all appear to share a deep curiosity about exemplary forms of leadership and their influence on followers and organizational adaptation. I suspect we also share a general dissatisfaction with the earlier models of leadership, which have seemed too narrow and simplistic to explain leaders in change agent roles. (p. 146-147)

Like Conger's observation, Alvesson and Karreman (2015) question if the failure of situational and trait-based leadership to produce widely accepted scientific knowledge created an existential question about the field of leadership studies, that gave rise to transformational leadership (Antonakis et al., 2004). Anderson and Sun (2015) notes the popularity of transformational leadership does not make logical sense given its conceptual limitations, lack of empirical support as a universal theory, lack of evidence that transformational leaders are truly more effective, and questions about whether transformational leadership theory is applied in a consistent manner that produces practical, useful, generalizable, and scientifically accepted knowledge.

Conceptual Weakness.

Several critiques of transformational leadership theory focus on conceptual weakness. Yukl (1999) notes there is considerable ambiguity regarding the definition of the four transformational factors. Yukl also states that transformational leadership theory does not offer an explanation about how leaders influence processes. Yukl (1999) states that transformational leadership theory overemphasizes the trope of leader as hero. The heroic leadership stereotypes attribute the leader's action as the primary factor for inspiring, developing, and empowering others. In combination with a lack of consideration of situational factors, Yukl notes significant weakness in this theory (1999). Another weakness is that it is difficult to address the theory's effectiveness because of the focus on a leader's actions, skills, and behaviors while failing to measure the outcome or impact on organizational performance.

Another conceptual critique identified by scholars is a lack of clarity about how to distinguish between transactional and transformational behaviors. Bass and Riggio (2006) claim that both transformational and transactional behavior are unique, but also may be displayed by the leader at various times and with different levels of intensity. Shamir (1995) questions how leaders could display both behaviors and identifies that lack of clear definitions to distinguish between behaviors and identify how the behavior was perceived by followers limits applicability. Similarly, Yukl (2010) argued transformational leadership does not sufficiently explain the interplay between these two leadership behaviors.

A third conceptual ambiguity related to transformational leadership is the nearly unbelievable claim that it is a universal and full theory applicable to all leadership in all

contexts and in every location. Anderson and Sun (2015) point out that theories are either universal or context specific, not both. While transformational leadership theory acknowledges that environmental, gender, societal, and organizational factors impact effectiveness, organizational outcomes are not addressed in the theory articulated by Bass and Riggio (2006), and the theoretical framework articulated by Bass does not include a contextual variable (Anderson & Sun, 2015). The claim of universality and contextual theory is at best ambiguous, but more likely a contradiction that is used to salvage the theory in instances when it is not universal (Anderson & Sun, 2015).

Lack of Empirical Support and Measurable Results.

Multiple scholars have identified issues with the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire and the methodology used in studies to evaluate transformational leadership. Diaz-Saenz's critiques focus on overreliance on one survey instrument – the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire – by researchers (2001). Yukl (2010) described how most evaluations of transformational leadership ask subordinates of a leader to use the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire to assess the leader's behavior at a single point in time and rely on the subordinate's opinion of the leader's performance. Anderson and Sun (2015) and Lowe et al. (1996) note this mono-method bias may lead to inaccurate ratings of leader behavior and effectiveness. Additionally, these measure perception rather than effectiveness or outcomes. This calls into question the empirical support for transformational leadership.

A core claim of transformational leadership is that transformational leadership results in enhanced effectiveness of the followers and the organization (Anderson & Sun, 2015). Multiple scholars note that the lack of agreement about organizational

effectiveness and a limited understanding of follower's expectations are fundamental issues when measuring the effectiveness of the theory (Hoy et al., 1994; Anderson & Sun, 2015). At the core of this critique is that without clear definitions, it is impossible to measure.

Alvesson and Karreman (2015) point out transformational leadership lacks theoretical value and there is unimpressive empirical support for the theory. They critique the ideology and assumption that transformational leadership is effective. They identify that it has been propagated by mainstream transformational leadership measurement and research, including in the *Journal of Management Inquiry* and many leadership textbooks. The tautologic implication of this assumption leads to results that conclude transformational leadership is effective (2015).

Alvesson and Karreman (2015) focused on two reasons transformational leadership remains popular. First, transformational leadership has ideological value for managers and other leaders who are "positively disposed to leadership [and] use the term to build and maintain a positive, celebrating, even glamourous view of organizational relations, and naturalizing and freezing (asymmetrical) social relations" (Alvesson & Karreman, 2015, p. 4). Second, transformational leadership may offer an identity boosting function for leaders, fueling the notion that leaders are heroes and saviors who inspire others. Alvesson and Karreman's (2015) contributions are important because they are a call for academics to recognize the idea that transformational leadership contains ideological elements that may have contributed to its popularity.

News Stories as Cultural Narratives

This study examines transformational leadership and nonviolent social movements through an analysis of newspaper stories. Berkowitz (2011) identified three vantage points for thinking about and conducting research on news: journalistic, sociological organization, and cultural. The journalistic and cultural vantage points are relevant to the research questions for this study.

The journalistic perspective is grounded in the idea that journalists are detached, objective, and independent reporters who produce news stories that portray events as they occur and without bias (Berkowitz, 1997). Studies from a journalistic perspective are often focused on judging news from a professional critique focused on journalism standards. That occurs when questions such as the following are asked: if and what bias was present in the reporting; were elements of a story misrepresented or not fully reported; or do the news stories meet the journalistic professional codes of conduct ensuring truth, accuracy, fairness, and balance (Barnett, 2006). This perspective is commonly held by individuals in journalism schools and among journalists working in the profession (Berkowitz, 1997) and according to Berkowitz (2011) can be understood as a professional ideology. However, it is critiqued by media scholars as a perspective that does not fully explain news as a human phenomenon that is socially and culturally created (Berkowitz, 2011).

The cultural vantage point for examining news is focused on news as a cultural narrative; it focuses on the way news stories draw upon a long human tradition of storytelling. One of the key components of this vantage point is that news is not an objective statement or account of fact and reality; rather it is a form of storytelling.

According to Bird and Dardenne (1988, p. 333), “news accounts are traditionally known as stories, which are by definition culturally constructed narratives.” Media scholars including Berkowitz (2011), Garner and Slattery (2012), Bird and Dardenne (1988; 2009) state that journalists function as storytellers by using recognizable story structures and conventions, archetypes, and other narrative construction to craft news stories. These elements of news stories have led scholars like Bird and Dardenne (1988; 2009) to argue that news stories must be understood both as individual stories but also as cultural artifacts that contain information about societal values, beliefs, and power (Berkowitz, 1997). Scholarship of news as cultural narrative has focused on two closely related but unique ideas: “news as myth” and “news as storytelling.”

To explain “news as myth,” (Bird & Dardenne, 2009) argue that individual news stories do not function in the same way as an individual mythical story; rather news stories are a unified body of work that, when viewed as a whole, may function like myth. As a story, myths do not reflect reality but tell a story about reality that maintains a sense of continuity, social order, and reassurance by making things, especially uncertainty and crisis, seem natural (Bird & Dardenne, 1988; 2009). Garner and Slattery (2012) note that myths as a story form are embedded with cultural values, ideologies, and use enduring narratives and archetypes that appear natural to explain phenomenon. Through analysis of newspaper coverage of mothers during World War I, Garner and Slattery (2012) showed how journalists, like other storytellers, used mythical archetypes and a repertoire of themes and story forms to write newspaper articles that resonated with audiences. They showed how story after story about mothers of soldiers were written against the backdrop of other news stories on the same topic; the authors argue that, while individually unique,

each story added to and built upon the previous stories on the same topic. This re-telling of news stories about the role of mothers in war time often relied on archetypes and shows one way news stories function much like myths – they help maintain social order and reflect to the reader societal values and ideologies. Similarly, Lule's (2001) archetypal and mythical analysis of *New York Times* stories demonstrated how the repeated use of the familiar narrative patterns, mythical archetypes, and stories, present an explanation for the events reported in news coverage, making the stories simultaneously seem individually unique yet simultaneously familiar. In doing so, Lule (2001, p. 187) argued news can be understood as a recurring re-telling of myth and vehicle for transmitting "humankind's eternal stories." The scholarship of news as myth has been useful in showing how the near-universal themes in folklore and myth are present in news reporting. More importantly, it has shown that news stories serve both as a written record of cultural narratives and as a way societal values are reflected in stories, as well as the way news stories are one vehicle by which cultural values are transmitted.

News as myth is important because it provides a framework for studying news and the cultural meanings of news. However, there are several critiques of examining news as myth and mythical archetypal analysis of news. Bird and Dardenne (2009) noted three attributes of myths that make scholars question how useful it is to view news as myth. The first attribute is that myths and mythical archetypes have a universal quality. The second is that effective myths unify people around shared values. The third claim by Bird and Dardenne (2009) is that myths help to maintain the status quo. This led them to ask two important questions: 1) If news is myth, whose story is being told? and 2) If journalists are modern day bards, do they, through their story telling of news stories serve

to maintain the status quo? These critiques led scholars like Bird and Dardenne, (2009) to propose viewing news from the vantage point of "news as storytelling" and ask how news stories both act as a repository for cultural messages and transmit them.

News as storytelling, like news as myth, views news as narrative that reflects the dominant values and ideologies of a society. However, the key difference is that news as storytelling states that when telling stories, journalists are not simply retelling the same universal and eternal mythical story in a new form. Rather, by crafting news stories, the journalist uses narrative structure, archetypes, and familiar themes to tell stories that reflect familiar cultural scripts along with sociocultural values (Berkowitz, 2011). The result, according to Berkowitz (2011), is "the values inherent in cultural narratives inform news in a predictable way so that news ultimately reproduces cultural values and contributes to their longevity" (p. 243). During this process, the journalist does not intentionally insert these cultural values into their reporting; rather the values are present in the story as a byproduct of the journalist being part of society. In this way, news as storytelling allows for the analysis of news stories as reflection of culture and answers questions regarding whose story is being told and what narratives and values are being advanced through the news stories.

Archetypes in the Media

Archetypes are crucial concepts to gain an understanding of news narratives as cultural text and are a major part of this study. Therefore, I am including here a discussion of archetypes in the media. Archetypes are story characters that represent key types of individuals possessing a familiar and consistent set of traits that are recurrent across the human experience and in stories. According to Kidd (2016) archetypes have

several characteristics in media. First, they are characters in a story. Second, archetypes represent “mental modes” that the consumer of the media recognizes in themselves or others and evoke an emotion. Third, they function on the subconscious level, allowing the media consumer to identify the character’s role. Fourth, they are culturally relevant to the media consumer and are easily learned and recognized. Common archetypes include the good mother, hero, villain, and so on. Archetypes allow journalists to quickly tell a familiar story in a short period of time that seems relevant to the audience. Journalists who employ archetypes in their reporting of a character may attribute unique details to that person or story; however, the archetypal characters most basic role and functioning remains the same, providing the news consumer with a framework to understand the world.

Manz and Simms (1989) identified four primary leadership archetypes: Strongman leader, transactional leader, visionary hero, and super leader. According to Scully, Sims, Olian, Schnell, and Smith (1994), the visionary hero leader archetype has its genesis in transformational leadership theory as articulated by Bernard Bass. The leader is the source of wisdom, combining rational and inspirational appeals to attract followers. In this archetype, followers become enamored with the leader’s vision and dedicate themselves to advancing it.

The fact that media coverage plays an important role in the transmission of cultural narratives is a key component of this study. According to Entman (1993), media stories, including newspapers, are cultural artifacts that reproduce and advance cultural and ideological narratives. This occurs when journalists, often unconsciously, frame stories so they are familiar to the reader of the story and the publisher. One way of doing

this is by appealing to existing ideas and values (Mann, 2016) and explaining the news in a way that seems relatively familiar to the news consumer. Archetypes are essential to the way journalists report news stories. As the storyteller, the journalist uses archetypal characters in their reporting so stories will resonate with their audience (Garner & Slattery, 2012). Garner and Slattery (2012) note news stories shape individual self-perceptions and perceptions of others. Simultaneously, archetypes influence individuals to engage in certain behaviors or roles; they eventually become part of the collective psyche, influencing how people believe work should be ordered. In sum, understanding the role of news stories as cultural artifacts allows the researcher to be conscious of the creation of those stories and the way culture is transmitted.

Chapter III
METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology used to examine the research questions. The chapter is organized into four sections: (a) research design, (b) selection of the sample, (c) data collection, and (d) data analysis.

Research Design

This study uses the thematic analysis framework developed by Braun and Clark (2006) to answer the research questions. Thematic analysis is a qualitative research method that identifies and analyzes patterns and themes in qualitative data sets (Miller, 2018). It involves following a consistent and methodical approach to organize, categorize, code, and interpret data, and to identify emerging themes. The researcher then identifies common experiences and phenomenon in the data and meanings emerge from the data set. This systematic approach allows researchers to identify overt and latent meanings related to the question/s being examined and to explain what this means.

While many different orientations towards thematic analysis exist (e.g., Alhojailan, 2012; Boyatzis, 1998), this study followed Braun and Clark's (2006) six steps for thematic analysis. I selected Braun and Clark's orientation towards thematic analysist because it is more interpretivist, deductive, and critical than other forms of thematic analysis, which tend to be more post-positivist oriented and rooted in an essentialist epistemological stance. The six steps are summarized in this section and a more detailed explanation of how the steps were implemented for this study is included in the data analysis section below. The six steps of Braun and Clark Thematic Analysis Framework include:

1. The researcher familiarizes themselves with the text.
2. The researcher identifies segments of the text and codes the text to describe the meaning.
3. The researcher generates themes by looking for patterns in the coded items generated during step two.
4. The researcher reviews the themes for accuracy and logical representation of the data.
5. The researcher assigns each theme a name and defines it.
6. The researcher presents their findings by writing a report for dissemination so that the work can be shared, scrutinized, and adds to the knowledge about the topic.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis offers several advantages that make it the preferred methodology for this study. The advantages are that thematic analysis offers theoretical independence, a prescriptive element, and ability to identify the semantic and latent meanings in text. The disadvantages of thematic analysis are that it cannot assess the impact or the reception of the audience to the messages included in the text, it may be subject to researcher bias in identifying and defining theme meaning, and it requires an appropriate sample size to achieve data saturation.

Thematic analysis is common in social sciences and has been used to explore cross-disciplinary topics such as Leadership and Nursing (Ryder, Jacob, & Hendricks, 2018), Business and Leadership (Herd, Bowers, & Sims, 2016), and Audiology, Sociology, and Media Studies (Koerber, Jennings, Shaw, & Cheesman, 2017). One of the defining characteristics of thematic analysis – and likely the reason for its popularity – in

exploring cross-disciplinary topics is that thematic analysis is independent of a theoretical or epistemological framework (Miller, 2018; Braun & Clark, 2006; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). According to Nowell, Norris, White, and Moules (2017), by freeing researchers from a specific theoretical framework, paradigms – including cross- and inter-disciplinary concepts – can be closely examined. The freedom to work outside of a specific theoretical framework is especially important for this study to allow the close examination of leadership from a cross- and inter-disciplinary perspective while incorporating insights from sociology, media studies, leadership, and peace studies. As Clark and Braun (2013) point out, researchers who use thematic analysis have the flexibility to explore questions and concepts, and to understand phenomenon without producing findings that are predestined to adhere to a single theoretical framework (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

The prescriptive element of thematic analysis has several benefits and is another reason for its selection for this study. The six steps of thematic analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006) outlined above provide clear instructions for consistently and coherently conducting research, including identifying, analyzing, interpreting, managing, and reporting. First, thematic analysis is appropriate when handling large volumes of data (Nowell et al., 2017) and can be used to examine secondary sources such as news stories. This study involves 15 data sets drawn from five newspaper archives. Second, since thematic analysis has clear direction for application, it can be used by both novice and experienced researchers. It provides a method through which the researcher simultaneously provides context for the data, immerses themself in the data, and provides an audit trail so that others can evaluate the trustworthiness of the findings. Third,

thematic analysis requires the creation of thematic maps, along with development, and definitions of themes; the final reporting of each are useful elements that will aid in conducting research in a rigorous and methodical manner. These elements provide documentation of the choices and decisions made to substantiate the claims. This will allow others to evaluate this research and, if desired, replicate the study.

The final advantage of thematic analysis is that it allows the researcher to identify the semantic and latent meanings in text (Braun & Clark, 2006; Patton, 2002). This research project seeks to uncover how meanings are produced across several different data sets in which many key concepts (ideologies, portrayal and description of nonviolent tactics and theory, and portrayal and descriptions of leadership) are not explicitly discussed in the text. Thematic analysis can demonstrate how ideas, assumptions, paradigms, and ideologies about leadership and nonviolence are embedded in texts.

While the advantages of thematic analysis are many, there are also disadvantages. One limitation of thematic analysis is that the researcher makes claims about theme meaning as identified by the researcher. However, because of the flexibility of thematic analysis, the research must clearly show how the meaning claims made align with the meaning the researcher identified. For instance, thematic analysis does not provide clear guidance for interpreting themes and prioritizing the importance of the meanings of certain themes. All media has a dominant narrative. However, in thematic analysis, the researcher has discretion to define themes and emphasize the importance of themes, subordinate certain themes, or omit themes. In essence, the researcher can create certain narratives while obscuring a message. By not addressing alternate readings of themes, thematic analysis can also allow the research to misrepresent the findings from the data.

To address this, the research needs to state the epistemological position guiding the research (Nowell et al., 2017).

A second limitation of thematic analysis is that it does not allow for the assessment of reception by the audience. Using thematic analysis, the researcher can identify specific themes that are embedded in the text and can speculate about how these themes may reflect societal values. However, it does not allow the researcher to assess the impact of media portrayals of phenomena or claims of how the media consumer understood the messages communicated in the news stories.

Another limitation is that if the appropriate amount of data is not analyzed, the analysis may not sufficiently answer the research questions. When a sample size is too large, researchers may not accurately capture the complexity contained in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2016). Conversely, when a sample size is too small, it may result in a limited and inaccurate understanding of a phenomenon by missing rare but valuable information. In this study, by focusing on three events and 15 representations, a deep dive into the data to discover the complexity and nuances of the source material is possible. The amount of material is adequate to uncover significant patterns in the representation of nonviolent leadership. This allows themes to emerge, and a comparison analysis of transformational leadership theory literature may be undertaken. In short, this sample size offers data saturation, or the point at which data collection and analysis produces no new or additional knowledge (Guest et al., 2006).

Data Collection

Selection of Events

This dissertation is a thematic analysis of how leadership of three different nonviolent social movements were depicted in the media. These events are: 1) the Fellowship of Reconciliation Journey of Reconciliation (1947), 2) Civil Defense drills by members of the Catholic Worker Community and War Resisters League (1956), and 3) the March on Washington (1963). The three events were selected because they represent different ways that principled nonviolence was used in the United States from the late 1940s through the early 1960s. Both the leaders and participants of these groups overlapped, the organizations were interconnected during planning, and the leadership between the groups often collaborated. Finally, the young participants during the events of the 1940s became the leaders of the events in the 1950s and 1960s. Each of these campaigns were well-documented and written about in newspapers. This documentation provides the source material for this study.

Selection of Newspapers and News Stories

Newspaper stories describing the leadership of each of the social movements were collected using databases accessible through the Marquette University Libraries, including *The New York Times* (ProQuest), *Milwaukee Sentinel and Milwaukee Journal* (Newsbank), *Chicago Defender* (ProQuest), The *Catholic Worker* (Catholic Research Resources Alliance), and the *Atlanta Daily World* (ProQuest). The newspapers chosen – *The New York Times* and *Chicago Defender* – represent two national publications that targeted different audiences. The *New York Times* target audience was predominantly Caucasian whereas the *Chicago Defender* targeted an African American audience. To

capture a Southern regional perspective, the *Atlanta Daily World* was selected. To capture a Northern regional perspective, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* and *Milwaukee Journal* were selected. The reason both the *Milwaukee Sentinel* and *Milwaukee Journal* were selected is the two papers merged and their archives are combined. As a result of the combined database, results from my search of the archive resulted in articles from both papers appearing in the search results. The *Catholic Worker*, the official publication of the Catholic Worker organization, was selected because it is both a newspaper for public consumption and it serves as an alternative press item to mainstream news, with a target audience of peace activists. The *Catholic Worker* serves as a primary source press document of how the leaders of the Catholic Worker movement portray leadership of each of the nonviolent social movements.

I conducted a search for articles, editorials, photos, and cartoons. The following were included in the search criteria: front page article, article, editorial, photo standalone, letter to editor, other, review, editorial cartoon, full text, and standalone related to each of the three social movements. The following key words were included in the search: March on Washington, Journey of Reconciliation, reconciliation, and Civil Defense Drills. Each search was limited to news stories seven days before and seven days after the event for events that lasted more than one day. Articles were examined for the seven days before and after the event as well as the duration of the event. For instance, the timeframe of the Civil Defense Drills stretched from the initial protest to the conclusion of the court case. Similarly, the Journey of Reconciliation search included the week before the campaign began and the week after it concluded. For publications that were not published daily, the search dates were changed to include all publications to cover the timeframe of a week

before and after the event. A total of 2,646 articles were identified and reviewed. Tables 1, 2, and 3 summarize the search parameters, including the publication, key words, types of articles, dates searched, and number of articles found for each event.

Table 1

March on Washington

Event	Paper	Time Frame	Articles	Articles Mentioning March on Washington	Total Quotes
March on Washington	New York Times	8/21/1963 - 9/3/1963	158	93	253
	Chicago Daily Defender	8/18/1963- 9/5/1963	130	44	89
	Atlanta Daily World	8/21/1963- 9/3/1963	52	26	71
	Milwaukee Sentinel and Milwaukee Journal	8/21/1963- 9/3/1963	183	38	97
	Catholic Worker	8/21/1963 - 9/3/1963	30	2	11
	Total		**553**	**203**	**521**

Table 2

Journey of Reconciliation

Event	Paper	Time Frame	Articles	Articles Mentioning Journey of Reconciliation	Total Quotes
Journey of Reconciliation	New York Times	04/01/1947 - 04/30/1947	21	1	2
	Chicago Daily Defender	03/27/1947 - 4/27/1947	4	2	5
	Atlanta Daily World	04/01/1947 - 4/30/1947	4	3	6
	Milwaukee Sentinel	04/01/1947 - 5/7/1947	25	0	0
	Catholic Worker	04/01/1947 - 5/7/1947	26	0	0
	Total		**80**	**6**	**13**

Table 3

Civil Defense Drills

Event	Paper	Time Frame	Articles	Articles Mentioning Civil Defense Drills	Total Quotes
Civil Defense Drills	New York Times	1955-1961	203	35	80
	Chicago Daily Defender	1955-1961	13	1	1
	Atlanta Daily World	1955-1961	13	0	0
	Milwaukee Sentinel	1955-1961	216	0	0
	Catholic Worker	1955-1961	1568	8	81
	Total		**2013**	**44**	**162**

Data Analysis

Following the steps of thematic analysis outlined above, the researcher became familiar with all the articles by reading each story. After completing the initial reading, the researcher reread each story and eliminated any stories that did not specifically discuss the movement, the actions of those involved, or leadership. For example, articles that mentioned leadership and discussed individuals organizing or leading the March on Washington were included. However, articles that mentioned a leader who was not involved in the March on Washington were excluded. Another example of an exclusion is of an article about the leader of a local organization who did not attend the March on Washington, whereas an example of an article that was included is a story about an individual who attended the March on Washington but did not play a leadership role.

After this initial sorting of stories, the researcher reread each article for a third time and eliminated all stories that did not contain explicit reference to the event's leadership, manifest through either identification of leadership in the article, or if the reference is latent and leadership is implied. For instance, there were several articles that mentioned the March on Washington but did not include a reference to leaders. Many of these articles dealt with topics such as road closures and business hours being impacted. Similarly, there were articles about universities punishing student journalists for covering the Civil Defense Drills. In both cases, the nonviolent social movement was mentioned but the article did not relate to leadership for the Civil Defense Drills (lest anyone think that leadership from universities should have been included in the last example). After this multiple step process of reading the articles, 253 stories related to the three social movements, leadership, or the actions of the leaders were included in the study.

The second step in thematic analysis is to identify and transcribe segments of the data. In this case, quotes from the news stories were used and the data was coded by assigning the quotes meaningful labels. Quotes were identified using an inductive method and labels were coded inductively. The criteria for selecting quotes included a leader being specifically mentioned by name, words and phrases that described leadership, activities related to leading social movements, or the use of nonviolence. Attention was also paid to which leaders were being described, the context in which the leader was being described, and the context of the story. For instance, sometimes leaders were specifically named, and the newspaper articles described the leaders' activities. Other times, leadership was referenced but individuals were not named. This was often the case when leadership was talked about collectively through phrases such as "the chairmen of

the March" or "leaders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation issued the following statement." An inductive approach to identify data and coding was selected because it allows the researcher to see what concepts, paradigms, and ideas emerge from the data rather than looking for a specific meaning. After reviewing all the data, coded material was sorted into groups.

The third step in thematic analysis is to take a broader view of the data to begin interpretation and to identify repeated patterns that may represent a potential theme. The researcher constructs meaning by coding the data and sorting the coded data segments into themes. Themes signify the presence of patterned meaning within the data related to the research questions. To ensure that all coded data was relevant to each theme identified, the researcher identified overarching themes, major themes, minor themes, and subthemes.

In the fourth step, the researcher reviewed and refined the work completed in steps two and three by analyzing two items. First, the researcher searched for patterns between coded data and themes. The researcher asked whether themes and coded data identified in the previous steps were coherent, needed to be merged, reconceived, refined, or removed. Second, the researcher examined the validity of the identified themes from the data set. The researcher considered if the themes were credible, convincing in relation to the entire data set, and significant. For the themes in which the answer was yes, the researcher proceeded to the fifth step in thematic analysis. For the themes in which the initial answer to the category "credible and convincing" was no, themes were revised until credible themes were developed or identified. For the data that did not fit a theme, it was still considered to provide context for the themes and was examined to see if it might

help explain what else was occurring. For instance, press coverage of a Congressman making accusations against a social movement leader or claiming the social movements would spark disorder provide context for press portrayals of leaders saying that they had not been affiliated with communism or press portrayals of leaders saying there would not be violence.

The fifth step in thematic analysis was the development of definitions and narratives. These definitions and narratives are related to each theme and the entire analysis. In this stage, the researcher provided an in-depth analysis of each theme and an explanation of its relation to other themes and subthemes.

The sixth and final step in thematic analysis is to produce a final analysis and report. This dissertation strives to provide an account of the research process, a persuasive story about the data, context, and an analytical narrative that included a response to the research questions situated in the existing literature.

Summary

This chapter described thematic analysis and discussed the strengths and weaknesses of this methodology and the research design. The criteria for how the social movements, newspapers, the initial search results (2,646 news stories), and the final 253 articles selected were also described. The results of this data analysis are presented in the following chapters.

Chapter IV
LEADERSHIP OF NONVIOLENT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AS CREATED AND PORTRAYED BY THE U.S. MAINSTREAM MEDIA

How can understanding the press portrayals of social movement leaders offer an improved understanding of nonviolent social movements and leadership? Journalism scholars argue that the mainstream media, in general, and newspapers in particular, can best be understood as cultural artifacts that contain narratives about societal values, beliefs, and power (Berkowitz, 2011; Bird & Dardenne 1988; Bird & Dardenne, 2009). In this chapter, I examine how a diverse range of important domestic newspapers portrayed the leadership of three nonviolent social movements: the March on Washington, the Civil Defense Drills, and the Journey of Reconciliation. Using thematic analysis, I found newspaper coverage of the leadership of these social movements selectively used a limited number of depictions of nonviolent leadership to report on each social movement. This selective portrayal of leadership is repeated in each of the newspapers examined and is repeated across hundreds of newspaper stories. Notably, the newspaper coverage also excluded coverage of many social movement leaders, especially the following women who helped lead the resistance to the Civil Defense Drills: Mary Learson Sharmat, Janice Smith, Pat McMahon, and Adrienne Winegrand. In addition, media coverage never mentioned the two women in leadership roles of the March on Washington: Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women, who played a key role in the planning, and Anna Arnold Hedgeman, who was the only woman on the executive committee for the March on Washington. The newspaper accounts, thus, portrayed a more limited image, one that was incomplete, of nonviolent leadership of the social movements described in this chapter. As a result, the newspaper coverage played an important role in

communicating specific cultural values and in perpetuating existing power structures and social order. This coverage reinforced narratives about socially acceptable roles, who can be a leader of a nonviolent social movement, and what traits they must exemplify.

Four Themes of Press Portrayals of Leadership of Nonviolent Social Movements

The following four primary themes about media portrayal of leadership emerged across all the newspapers and social movements from the thematic analysis: 1) personal characteristics of leaders, 2) principled nonviolence deployed creatively, 3) skilled communicators, and 4) powerbrokers. Combined, these themes created an archetypal nonviolent leader who was consistently described across sources and social movements. The first theme, personal characteristics of leaders, focuses on press portrayals that characterize the leader as almost always a male and a person with institutional connections and personal commitment. Institutional connections were often professional, faith-based, and paired with a personal commitment to the movement. The second theme, principled nonviolence deployed creatively, examines how press portrayals describe leaders who were committed to and used nonviolence. The press coverage of nonviolent leadership actions often included the language of faith and voluntary suffering, along with Gandhian and Gospel nonviolence, all of which presumably added legitimacy to the leader and their use of nonviolence to bring about social change. It is important to note the media often highlighted the religion, faith, or spirituality of the leader to add legitimacy to the use of nonviolence. The combination of newspaper accounts highlighting the leader's nonviolence intertwined with the leader's institutional connection and personal commitment to the social movement means themes one and two often overlap. The third theme, skilled communicators, emerges from press portrayals of

leaders who were lauded as excellent communicators. Leaders used distinct communication styles to connect, engage, challenge, and leverage their movement. Finally, the fourth theme, powerbrokers, focuses on press portrayals showing the leaders acting as powerbrokers who united people and causes by facilitating collaboration among partner organizations, by building alliances with other organizations, and by enlisting and engaging prominent people to their cause.

The four themes: 1) personal characteristics of leaders, 2) principled nonviolence deployed creatively, 3) skilled communicators, and 4) powerbrokers revealed by thematic analysis will be described in more detail below. While identifying these themes is important, it is essential to note that they represent the media's selective coverage of social movement leadership, as will be discussed later in more detail. Many of the leaders of these social movements were not covered by the press. For example, only two women and one non-heterosexual leader were included in the press coverage. This representation of leadership as almost exclusively male and heterosexual demonstrates what media scholars (Van Dijk, 1993) have identified as the role of news stories to influence, sustain, and reproduce ideological narratives that support the status quo. This finding will be discussed after the identified themes are presented.

Theme 1: Personal Characteristics of Leaders

Newspaper descriptions of the social movements revealed an archetypal leader who was male, educated, and had institutional connections. These institutional connections were often professional, and/or faith-based, and paired with a personal commitment to the movement and a willingness to suffer for the cause.

Newspaper depictions showing leadership of nonviolent social movements reveal an archetype of a homogenous group of leaders who were almost always male – despite the presence of many female leaders within the three social movements. The men were professionals, affiliated with an organization (often religious), and personally committed over the long-term to the movement as demonstrated by their sacrifices for the social movement. The typical characteristics attributed to leaders by the media was that of a well-educated, heterosexual male. Details such as the leader's name, race, and age are often included in the press accounts that drive this point home. For instance, The *New York Times* writing about the March on Washington reported:

> These 10 men signed today's appeal to the marchers: Mathew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, vice chairman of the Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches; James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Also, John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, chairman of the American Jewish Congress; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council and director of the March on Washington; Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League. (Robertson, 1963)

Similarly, press coverage of the Civil Defense Drills by The *New York Times* noted the leader's profession, affiliation, and age in their coverage, "Dorothy Day, 61 years old, and Ammon Hennacy, 65, both of whom are editors of *The Catholic Worker*, a monthly newspaper." ("Five Who Defied Air Raid Drill," 1959). Likewise, the Journey of Reconciliation press coverage by the *Chicago Daily Defender* identified the leaders, noted their age, and "The team led by a Negro, Bayard Rustin, 32, and by a white, George Hauser" (Scott, 1947). The *Atlanta Daily World* noted the leader's professions in the following: "Members of the deputation include George M. Houser, Racial Industrial Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Executive Secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality; Bayard Rustin, field representative of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and part-time worker with the American Friends Service Committee" (Scott, 1947).

The repetitive and routine chronicling of the name, race, age, and professional affiliation of the leaders convey their societal status. Emerging from these press portrayals is a cultural message about who a leader is and should be. However, it is important to note which leaders were not included in the press accounts or were marginalized. As noted above, there were multiple female leaders who helped plan and execute the Civil Defense Drills (Oates, 1998) and March on Washington (Norwood, n.d.). However, in all the press coverage of these social movements, only Dorothy Day was consistently identified as a leader, but she wasn't given the same treatment by the press. Unlike males identified in press accounts with their professional credentials, when Day was mentioned as a leader in newspaper accounts, except for *The Catholic Worker,* she was often connected to a male colleague, a pattern that emerges in several accounts. For instance, The *New York Times* coverage stated, "A plan to refuse to take shelter and

to urge nonparticipation by others in war efforts, income taxes and politics was announced by Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy, editors of *The Catholic Worker*, 223 Chrystie Street" (Kihss, 1955). This linking of Day to a male colleague works to reaffirm this idea that the depiction of leadership roles was gender-biased. Additionally, the press largely excluded non-heterosexual leaders of these movements. Bayard Rustin played a leadership role within each of the three social movements. Rustin, whose same-gender relationships were well-known, was often excluded when the leadership of these movements was covered (D'Emilio, 2003) and, as will be shown later, stories that described Rustin were often cast in a negative light.

Press coverage often noted the religion of the leader, their church affiliation, if the person was clergy, and/or how the leader connected the social movement to religion. Identifying the faith or religious connection of the leader reinforced the institutional connections of the leaders and communicated legitimacy for the leader and the social movement. For instance, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* included this description of a story on the leaders of the March on Washington: "The 10 chairmen of the march include three religious leaders: Mathew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, vice chairman of the Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, chairman of the American Jewish Congress. In addition, a fourth chairman, like many other Negro civil rights leaders is a minister - the Rev. Martin Luther King." ("Churches Will Send Thousands To March," 1963). Similarly, an account of Day, in The *New York Times* emphasizing her quarter-century long commitment to peace and nonviolence exemplifies this pattern. "For over twenty-five years Miss Day's views on

the religious obligation to oppose violence have been well-known. For over twenty-five years she has preached and practiced a life of heroic charity that is famous far beyond the bounds of her own church" (Skillin et al., 1957). This description elevates Day's involvement in the Civil Defense Drills as an act of faith while also noting her membership within a Christian community. The linking to faith of the individual leaders was not included in any of the press accounts across each of the newspapers describing the Journey of Reconciliation.

The archetype of the leader having a connection to institutions was continued by press coverage that highlighted the ways leaders from each of the movements and events spoke of the transcendence of the movement, thus, linking the movement back to institutional religion. Sometimes, the leader's appeal was to faith in order to inspire, to motivate; at some points, it was passive aggressive, calling on others to live out their faith commitment. In press accounts, leaders invoked faith as a call to action. For instance, the leaders of the Civil Defense Drill resistance were quoted in the *Catholic Worker* as justifying their actions in terms of religious obligation:

> We break the law because we are Christians and Roman Catholics. Our faith impels us to it. The memories of our predecessors in the faith, those early Christians, who must always be our norm in the Christian life, cannot be blotted out. Would it have been so terrible for them to throw the pinch of incense, sometimes we can't quite see why they didn't. But they didn't. That's the point. They thought it was a denial of Christ. (Steed, 1960)

This type of press portrayal of leadership reinforced the leader's connection to religion while also implying that participation in the movement was an act of living out the leader's religious commitment.

By creating the archetype of the nonviolent social movement leader with institutional connections, usually professionally and through a religious affiliation, the press accounts also emphasized that leader's long-haul personal commitment was personally costly and highlighted how leaders suffered for their work. This was done in two primary ways: first by emphasizing the many years a social movement leader had dedicated to the movement and second by offering a portrayal of the personal sacrifices the leader made.

The long-haul personal commitment was epitomized in *New York Times* coverage. In one instance, The *New York Times* described Dorothy Day as follows: "She has voluntarily shared the sufferings of the destitute and the outcasts from society… It was in the spirit of her whole career that, before the air-raid drill, Miss Day announced her group's intention to refuse to take shelter 'as a matter of conscience'" (Skillin et al., 1957). In another account, The *New York Times* offers language depicting religious significance by suggesting that A. Phillip Randolph, the Director of the March on Washington, "perhaps more than any other American has consecrated his life to the fruition of the civil rights movement" ("Equality Is Their Right," 1963).

Often the long-haul commitment was revealed in press accounts when depicting the way leaders suffered voluntarily for their social movements. Dorothy Day was often quoted in the *Catholic Worker* talking about voluntary suffering. For instance, Day noted, "Our demonstration was to show our willingness to go to jail, to be deprived of our

freedom, to suffer disgrace in the eyes of those who cannot understand our position. God knows, it is a suffering" (Day, 1956). Similarly, The *New York Times* press coverage of leaders of the March on Washington noted how all the leaders suffered: "Several leaders – except for the three clergymen among the 10 – concentrated on the struggle ahead and spoke in tough, and even harsh, language. But paradoxically, it was Dr. King who had suffered perhaps most of all who ignited the crowd with words that might have been written by the sad, brooding man enshrined within" (Kenworthy, 1963). Frequently, suffering was portrayed as physical and due to harsh treatment during arrest or imprisonment. The *Chicago Daily Defender* noted Rustin and Hauser continued the Journey of Reconciliation even after being detained, "Despite arrests in both Durham and Chapel Hill, N.C. and again in Peterburg, V.A., the anti-Jim Crow team of the Fellowship of Reconciliation continues its tour of the upper South, the FOR national office told the *Chicago Defender* last week" (Scott, 1947). Similarly, the *Atlanta Daily World*, reported on Bayard Rustin's arrest and risk of violence while in jail, stating, "[Rustin and three others were] bailed out as soon as they were arrested and were taken by the Rev. Charles M. Jones, local white Presbyterian minister to his home in order to 'protect them' from possible violence." ("North Carolina's Jim Crow Travel Law Faces Court Test," 1947). Numerous arrests faced by leaders of nonviolent social movements during the many years of opposition to the Civil Defense Drills were also covered in the press. For example, the *Catholic Worker* reported, "It was for her [Dorothy Day] the fourth visit [to the Women's House of Detention]" (Hennacy, 1960). Taken as a whole, these types of press accounts present a consistent narrative that leaders of nonviolent social movements are deeply committed to the point of suffering for their cause.

One other important aspect of the leader's suffering that emerged in the analysis of the press accounts was the way it was reported that leaders conducted themselves with dignity even when they were suffering. For example, the expectation of a calm demeaner and principled response is shown in this *New York Times* quote: "It would be too much to expect the front-line troops to demonstrate the Olympian calm and reflective spirit of the headquarters officials" (Handler, 1963). Similarly, press accounts from the *Chicago Daily Defender* reporting on the Journey of Reconciliation note the leaders conducted themselves with dignity, neither participating with injustice nor refusing the consequence of their actions for justice. The account reads, "The men have submitted quietly to arrest, but refused to change seats in the buses until a law enforcement officer arrests them" (Scott, 1947). This commitment was also seen in the newspaper accounts of Dorothy Day's use of Gandhian tactics when facing a judge after being arrested for civil disobedience. The press account by the *Catholic Worker* stated she maintained her composure by using a Gandhian prayer technique (Hennacy, 1955). These press accounts show that the archetypal leaders conducted themselves with dignity and courage.

In sum, theme one demonstrated the way the media portrayed the leadership of nonviolent social movements. Representative examples of the way the press coverage of leadership in each of the social movements reveal an archetype of the nonviolent social movement leader. Those in leadership roles were primarily depicted in newspapers as a male professional leader who was affiliated with an organization (often religious) and had a long-term commitment to the movement as demonstrated by their sacrifices for the social movement.

Theme 2: Principled Nonviolence Deployed Creatively

The second theme that emerged during the thematic analysis was that of an archetypal leader who was committed to principled nonviolence and tried to use nonviolence pragmatically to bring about social change. In news accounts, the leader's application of nonviolence was characterized as deploying different nonviolent tactics and strategies in different venues, and helping followers use nonviolence in the social movements.

Principled Nonviolence

By using consistent news narratives that portrayed leaders of social movements using Gandhian and Gospel-based nonviolence, the press helped create the archetype of the leader of social movements as committed to and using principled nonviolence. The *New York Times* portrayal of leaders of the March on Washington highlighted Dr. King's call for Satyagraha or "soul force" in response to violence, "Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force" ("Again And Again," 1963). In another *New York Times* article describing the aspirations of the leaders for the March on Washington, A. Philip Randolph is quoted as using the teachings of Gandhi to call attention to how human beings treat one another. The article notes, "It was Gandhi's teaching that the extension of love in a fight for freedom struck deep into the guilt and conscience of the oppressor. It is not enough simply to examine the fruitlessness and stupidity of bigotry. It is essential that each of us re-examine our moral posture as regards to our fellow men" ("What The Marchers Really Want," 1963). Similarly, during the Civil Defense Drills, the *Catholic Worker* reported on Dorothy Day's use of Gandhian tactics when facing a judge after being arrested for civil disobedience. Day

explicitly stated that she relied on Gandhian tactics, using both a strategy he used and referencing him directly: “Thank God for short and repetitious prayer. Gandhi said that he used to repeat the name of God over and over again to give himself courage” (Hennacy, 1955). Gandhi’s nonviolence and beliefs about confronting injustice were found in other articles from the *Catholic Worker*. For instance, the *Catholic Worker* described Dorothy Day recalling Gandhi’s teaching: “We are certainly willing to exalt the courage of men at war, and with Gandhi to point out that it is better to fight than to run away” (Day, 1956). Like in The *New York Times* and *Catholic Worker*, the press portrayals of nonviolent leaders in the *Milwaukee Journal* noted the way Dr. King drew on Gandhi, stating, “King touched all the themes of the day…full of the symbolism of Lincoln and Gandhi” (Reston, 1963).

Press portrayals of leaders using principled nonviolence were not limited to the teachings and example of Gandhi. Accounts also included Gospel-based nonviolence, focusing on the life and teachings of Jesus as the inspiration for principled nonviolence. When reporting on the March on Washington, press accounts in the *Atlanta Daily World* highlighted the movement being led by some of America’s most prominent religious leaders; the leaders were calling on Christians to act out their faith. For instance, the *Atlanta Daily World* reported, “One of the nation's top religious leaders, the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, executive head of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., appealed to Americans to abide by the spirit of God” (“Over 200,000 ‘Orderly’ March In Washington,” 1963). Similarly, the *Chicago Daily Defender* included stories noting that the March on Washington was led by prominent religious leaders who drew upon their faith, “Leaders of these three groups served with the leaders of Negro civil rights

organizations as co-sponsors of the demonstration… Leaders of all three faiths emphasized, in statements prior to the march, their common conviction that removing racial barriers is one of the nation's most urgent moral problems" (Cassels, 1963). Similarly, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* noted that leaders injected religious basis for nonviolence into the social movement: "The religious aspect was introduced in the invocation by Roman Catholic Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle of Washington" (May We Shun Violence," 1963). When reporting on the Roman Catholic Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle's support and leadership of the March on Washington, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* referenced the Gospel to validate his support, "May we shun violence, knowing that the meek shall inherit the earth" ("May We Shun Violence," 1963). The *Catholic Worker* cited Ammon Hennacy, who stated that his principled commitment to nonviolence comes from his Catholic faith, as follows: "I acted as a Catholic who chose to obey God rather than man, as St. Peter had done after being arrested again and again" (Hennacy, 1959). By connecting the social movements' commitment to principled nonviolence to faith or religious experiences, the press created a paradigm through which the movements could be understood while simultaneously elevating the cause.

Pragmatic use of Nonviolence

The press accounts reveal an archetype of a leader using nonviolence pragmatically to bring about social change. The characteristics of the leader's use of nonviolence, which included using different nonviolent tactics and strategies in different venues, helped followers use nonviolence to advance the social movements. The pragmatism was sometimes quite explicit, especially in coverage of the March on Washington leaders. The *New York Times* began one description of the March on

Washington leaders' use of nonviolence by noting that, "[t]he Negro leaders believe that the efficacy of street action as a political weapon has been proved beyond doubt" (Handler, 1963). Similarly, The *New York Times* accounts portrayed Dr. King extensively and referenced King's use of nonviolence, explaining both his belief in the practice and its practicality, "I am persuaded that the use of nonviolent direct action is the most practical and useful vehicle to fulfill the normal dreams and aspirations of the Negro, or any oppressed people" ("What The Marchers Really Want," 1963). The *New York Times*' press coverage of A. Phillip Randolph also exemplified the press portraying leaders' use of nonviolence as an effective means of change during the March on Washington, "he has preached nonviolence and self-reliance to the Negro and has practiced politics with the aim of 'revolutionizing the conscious and subconscious mind of the dominant white people'" ("Negroes' Leader A Man Of Dignity," 1963). Randolph used nonviolence "not as a rock to batter the barriers of racial prejudice but as water to engulf and drown them" ("Negroes' Leader A Man Of Dignity," 1963) showing that it could be an effective weapon wielded for change.

The social movement leaders depicted in the press used nonviolence pragmatically by deploying different nonviolent strategies and tactics to reach different audiences and accomplish different aims. In all three movements, press accounts show the leaders used a combination of nonviolent tactics that focused on mobilizing followers, engaging in civil disobedience, testing laws in courts, and calling for legislative or government action. Summarizing the leaders' actions in different arenas, press coverage of the Journey of Reconciliation shows the leaders Rustin and Hauser strategically using nonviolence to raise awareness in the public setting and to test laws in court. Rustin and

Hauser's refusal to sit in segregated transportation facilities was in the public realm and they used civil disobedience and arrest to bring nonviolence into the courts that the *Chicago Daily Defender* describes as, "equally important is their testing, as they travel from place to place, the segregation laws of various states as applied to transportation facilities" (Scott, 1947). Similarly, the press accounts of the resistance to Civil Defense Drills focused on the public protest and refusal to comply with the compulsory air raid drills and Dorothy Day's efforts to advance the issues in the courts. For example, the *Catholic Worker* quoted Dorothy Day as saying, "There were a couple of lawyers' meetings while we were preparing for our trial for not obeying the Civil Defense Act of New York, and of course the ordeal is much on our minds, especially today when we are due to go into court at two o'clock" (Hennacy, 1955). *The New York Times* also reported on the March on Washington being conducted in different venues, "The civil rights struggle has been conducted in three arenas: in the streets, in the courts, and in Congress" ("The News Of The Week In Review," 1963). The *Atlanta Daily World* described the successful demonstration on the National Mall, noting that A. Philip Randolph introduced Roy Wilkins as "our expert on legislative affairs" ("JFK Promises Efforts To Boost Employment," 1963). Likewise, The *New York Times* noted the struggle was both focused on nonviolent demonstration and nonviolent change through legislation. All these accounts reveal an archetypal leader whose pragmatic use of nonviolence is strategic and deployed differently in different situations to effectively bring about social changes.

Another important characteristic of the archetypal social movement leader is that of the innovative nonviolent leader who invents new forms of nonviolence. Press

coverage of the March on Washington describing leaders' use of nonviolence routinely mentioned that the leaders were adopting new methods of nonviolence including walk-outs and sit-ins developed by leader John Lewis to protest injustice. The *Atlanta Daily World* reported that Lewis created new ways of practicing nonviolence by stating, "[Lewis] promoted a new type of demonstration in cities which have token school desegregation. 'We will have hundreds of students walk from an all – Negro school to a white school…and sit in to hasten the pace of integration'" ("Rights Leaders Predict Second Revolution," 1963). This reporting communicates to the reader and wider society that leaders of nonviolent social movements bring new ideas and actions about how to practice nonviolence.

Helping Followers use Nonviolence

The press portrayal of archetypal nonviolent social movement leaders described leaders who provided instructions for followers to put nonviolence into practice. The press accounts described the archetypal leader as ensuring that followers who practiced nonviolence would be supported and safe, especially when facing violence or undertaking civil disobedience. During the Civil Defense Drills leaders, Rustin and others are described in *Chicago Daily Defender* as making decisions facilitating options to exit situations when faced with violence during the Journey of Reconciliation: "The four young men, joined by other team members, left the ministers home when they learned about the threat" ("North Carolina's Jim Crow Travel Law Faces Court Test," 1947). Equally, The *New York Times* reported Rustin was busy raising bail so others who committed civil disobedience did not remain detained. "Mr. Rustin said that more than $45,000 had been sent voluntarily to the organizations in the last two days to help meet

bail and other expenses. Much of the money came in small amounts, he said, and there were many non-members who contributed" ("Pacifists Plan Test Of State Defense Act; Seized In Raid, May Go To High Court," 1955). The leaders of the March on Washington repeatedly described how the event would be free from violence and organized off-duty police officers to serve as safety marshals. *The New York Times* reported:

> A. Philip Randolph, Director of the March, announced the appointment of William H. Johnson Jr., a New York city patrolman, as Chief parade marshal. Mr. Johnson is president of the Guardian, a Negro fraternal organization of city policemen. He will have under his orders 1,500 to 2,000 volunteer marshals drawn from 16 Negro civil service fraternal organizations, and the principal civil rights groups. (Robertson, 1963a)

The *Milwaukee Journal* reported that the March on Washington leaders worked to ensure safety by highlighting that "the demonstration organizers are providing 1,500 civilian parade marshals themselves most of them recruited in New York City" ("Washington Braces For Marchers," 1963). Other press accounts from The *New York Times* described how March on Washington leaders delegated labor organization. "The marshal's task, according to leaders of the March, will be to ensure that the demonstration maintains an atmosphere of 'dignified protest' rather than one of 'confused anarchy'" (Tomasson, 1963). In addition to providing safety personnel, the *Chicago Daily Defender* reported that leaders instructed participants about safety, "King said he was sorry to hear all the talk about violence concerning the March. He added that every precaution has been taken to guarantee that there will be no instances of violence.

He said that the planning committee has issued pamphlets of instruction to minimize the danger of any flare ups of violence" (Hunter, 1963).

In the same way, The *New York Times* described how Civil Defense Drill leaders had provided instructions for participants about where to distribute communication material and how to act during the Civil Defense Drills and additional details about the event:

> On May 3 the annual compulsory civil defense drill will take place at 2:15 P.M. During and before this time there will be a protest demonstration against civil defense at City Hall Park. Some people will distribute leaflets against civil defense in "shelters" during the air-raid drill. Others will sit openly in City Hall Park knowing they are as safe there during an attack as anywhere in the city. When the police formally request them, they will take shelter under protest. There will be those who refuse to take shelter at all. No attempt will be made by any person to resist arrest. (Black & Gilmore, 1960)

From direct instruction about how to conduct themselves to arranging for the well-being of their followers, press coverage showed that the archetypal nonviolent social movement leader encouraged the use of nonviolence and instructed others in nonviolence.

In summary, theme two focused on press portrayals of the nonviolent social movement leaders' commitment to and use of nonviolence. The data analysis revealed across the papers and social movements an archetypal leader committed to principled nonviolence rooted in Gandhian and Gospel-based nonviolence. The archetypal leader depicted in the press used nonviolence pragmatically and in many different arenas (public

space, courts, and encouraging government action) and used a variety of tactics from mass mobilizations, sit-ins, civil disobedience, and other strategies. The leader also encouraged and instructed others in nonviolence.

Theme 3: Skilled Communicator

The third theme that emerged from the thematic analysis was that of an archetypal, nonviolent, social movement leader who is a skilled communicator who earned press coverage and leveraged it to connect to followers and to the nation. The archetypal leader had a distinct communication style used to connect, engage, challenge, and grow their movement.

The archetypal, nonviolent, social movement leader described in the newspaper stories was a skilled communicator who used earned media coverage to highlight their cause. Earned media refers to press coverage which occurs organically. The hundreds of news stories examined in this study are evidence that the leaders were able to attract press attention. This coverage served to bring the social movement into the popular consciousness, to define it, and make it familiar to the reader, with the benefit of promoting it to a wider audience. In this way, a larger group of people were exposed to the social movement, spreading the message, and possibly widening the impact. Across all three social movements, there was evidence that the leaders had a proactive communication strategy to attract press coverage. This was usually in the form of a press release, news conference, or notification from the social movement leader to newspapers. For instance, the *Catholic Worker* regularly reported on Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy's activities to attract press coverage. For instance, one account noted:

> Dave Dellinger did a fine job of printing, and I mailed one with an accompanying letter to the Acting Mayor, the FBI, the police, N.Y. TIMES, N.Y. POST, Associated Press and United Press. On the morning of June 15th the N.Y. Times in its announcement of the air raid drill stated that we had planned to publicly disobey the regulations at City Hall Park. A television company asked us to read a statement while we were giving out leaflets near the City Hall… A message was read at St. Patrick's the Sunday before asking all Catholics to take part in the air raid drill. (Hennacy, 1955)

Similarly, the press accounts from the *Atlanta Daily World* covering the Journey of Reconciliation reported on a press release announcing the start of the Journey of Reconciliation:

> On April 9, an interracial deputation representing the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality will begin a two-week tour of the Upper South, touching at points in Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee to speak before church, civic, and student groups to discuss the question of segregation in travel. The group will travel together during the two-week period on the trip. (“Interracial Group To Tour The South,” 1947)

The *Atlanta Daily World* also described the leaders of the Journey of Reconciliation issuing statements to the media and reported on these statements. “Following a fourteen-day bus trip through the Upper South by a mixed group of whites, Negroes, the Fellowship of Reconciliation issued yesterday a statement asking bus

passengers to ignore the race-segregation pattern in many Southern communities" ("Segregation Rule Tested," 1947).

Coverage of the March on Washington also portrayed leaders engaging in proactive communication strategy that gained media attention. The *Atlanta Daily World* reported on a press release urging the participants to maintain order. "In a statement issued here, the white and Negro march leaders urged demonstrators "to make the march a disciplined and purposeful demonstration" ("Negro Leaders Say March Worth Risk Of Violence," 1963). Likewise, the *Chicago Daily Defender* reported on the leaders of the March issuing statements: "Leaders of all three faiths emphasized, in statements prior to the march, their common conviction that removing racial barriers is one of the nation's most urgent moral problems" (Cassels, 1963).

The archetypal leader portrayed in the press used earned media coverage to communicate with different audiences important to the movement. One of the most important uses of media was to share information about how the wider population could participate in the social movement. Press accounts from the *Atlanta Daily World* highlighted how the Fellowship of Reconciliation invited the wider community to participate. "The Fellowship of Reconciliation issued yesterday a statement asking bus passengers to ignore the race-segregation pattern in many Southern communities" ("Segregation Rule Tested," 1947). Similarly, the press accounts from the *Chicago Daily Defender* passed along instructions from leaders of the March on Washington, explicitly quoting leadership, "Leaders of Wednesday's civil rights March on Washington warned participants against provoking violence and disorder from 'evil persons . . . determined to smear this march and discredit the cause of equality . . . '" (General, 1963a). Further, the

Chicago Daily Defender portrayed the leaders of the March on Washington as calling for order and nonviolence, spreading a message about how the movement should be conducted. “We call for self-discipline so that no one in our ranks, however enthusiastic, shall be the spark for disorder” (General, 1963). In this way, the press portrayed leaders as setting ground rules for how the movements were to be conducted, announcing their use of nonviolence for both participants and the reading audience.

In each of the social movements, leaders were portrayed as using media coverage to invite a larger audience to join in on the movement. The organizers of the Civil Defense Drills were described in The *New York Times* not only to instruct, but also to invite participation and give details about the location and time of events. “On May 3 the annual compulsory civil defense drill will take place at 2:15 P.M.” (Black & Gilmore, 1960). *The New York Times* goes on to explain steps involved in the drills: “During and before this time there will be a protest demonstration against civil defense at City Hall Park. Some people will distribute leaflets against civil defense in “shelters” during the air-raid drill. Others will sit openly in City Hall Park knowing they are as safe there during an attack as anywhere in the city” (Black & Gilmore, 1960). Additionally, *The New York Times* spread instructions for the Civil Defense Drills’ use of nonviolence and civil disobedience, explaining the leaders’ expectations of interactions with law enforcement. “When the police formally request them, they will take shelter under protest. There will be those who refuse to take shelter at all. No attempt will be made by any person to resist arrest” (Black & Gilmore, 1960).

Many leaders were depicted in *New York Times* arranging logistics and communication material. Leaders of all three movements planned when and how to

convene people and assist with their movements. Extensive press coverage focused on how the leaders handled the logistics of convening hundreds of thousands of followers for the March on Washington. The *New York Times* depiction of leaders note that leaders coordinated transportation. “A rail tie-up Wednesday night might affect the departure from Washington of persons taking part in the civil rights march here. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said he had received assurances from the railroads that the evening departures of passenger trains would be completed” (Five rail unions authorize strike early Thursday, 1963). Other reports from *The New York Times* show the coordination of other forms of transportation. “National headquarters of the March on Washington reports that, as of this weekend, six hundred chartered busses and eleven special trains are scheduled to transport 40,000 persons from The New York metropolitan area to the nation's capital next Wednesday (Handler, 1963a). In this instance, the media depicted a leader who is concerned about logistics so participants can have avenues for participation in the social movement.

Press accounts of leaders focused on the diverse communication methods and styles described above. The press accounts also described the tone, length, and style of communication revealing that archetypal leaders used a variety of tones and communication strategies ranging from inspirational to confrontational. The confrontational communication styles can be seen in press coverage including *The New York Times* quote from Randolph: “Legislation is enacted under pressure. You can't move Senators and Congressmen just because a measure is right. There has to be pressure” (Smith, 1963). Randolph further reminds participants of their strength in numbers,

shifting to an inspirational tone, “He reminded his audience that more than 200,000 marchers pledged at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial yesterday ‘to return to their communities to build fires under their congressmen’” (Smith, 1963). The *Atlanta Daily World* also noted John Lewis’s confrontation style: “The third leader, John Lewis, head of the student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, pledged militant demonstrations in Nashville, Atlanta, and Durham. He predicted a ‘new type of militancy’ aimed at ending job discrimination in the northern tier of Southern states and continued sit-ins designed to end segregation of restaurants, lunch counters, and movies in the Deep South” (“Rights Leaders Predict Second Revolution,” 1963). In their coverage of Lewis The *New York Times* qouted him, invoking a blend of defiance and inspiration,

> “We will not slow down: we will not stop our militant, peaceful demonstrations; we will not come off the streets until we can work at a job befitting of our skills in any place in the land. We will not stop our marching people until our kids have enough to eat and their minds can study a wide range without being cramped in Jim Crow schools. We will not stop until the heavy weight of oppression is removed from our back, and like proud men everywhere, when we can stand tall together again.” (Excerpts from addresses at Lincoln memorial during capital civil rights march, 1963)

The press portrayal of leaders using a confrontational communication style was also depicted in the *Catholic Worker’s* coverage of the Civil Defense Drills. While communicating with a police officer after his arrest, Amonn Hennacy said: “In court I asked officer O'Hearn why he had not arrested Dorothy and me as in other years. ‘Why

didn't you ask me?' he replied. My answer was that he knew where we were by our signs, and that next year there would be a thousand of us and he had better get more police" (Hennacy, 1954).

The inspirational tone and the appeal used by some leaders was also depicted in the *Milwaukee Journal's* coverage from the March on Washington. "King touched all the themes of the day, only better than anybody else. He was full of the symbolism of Lincoln and Gandhi, and the cadences of the Bible. He was both militant and sad, and he sent the crowd away feeling that the long journey had been worthwhile" (Reston, 1963). The *Catholic Worker* press coverage also depicted leaders who used an inspirational communication style,

> "Who are the American leaders who could inspire in us such confidence, firmness, and dedication that a Quarter million of us literally peopling the mile between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial could achieve our purpose in perfect informality? Who else but John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee?" (Turner, 1963)

Press coverage showed that leaders used a variety of emotions to communicate with followers. Sometimes leaders were depicted using humor. The *Chicago Daily Defender* noted, "Further on, Wilkins drew laughs from the crowd in a vow to Southerners: 'Give us a little time, and we'll emancipate you, too. Someday you'll be able to attend a civil rights rally just like this'" (Stone, 1963). Other times, press accounts showed that leaders used empathy and recognition of their followers as distinct individuals to help participants realize they were part of a movement. For instance, a

leader of a major civils rights group was qouted in the *Milwauke Journal* as saying, “Now, I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells” (Partial text of Rev. King’s speech, 1963). In the *Catholic Worker* during the resistance to the air raid drills, Dorothy Day is quoted, “Those arrested come from a variety of backgrounds, they are not all pacifists, they don't all agree about religion or politics but they all have one conviction in common: that there is no defense against nuclear attack except peace” (Steed, 1959). These communication styles connected people to the movement. Finally, the leaders sometimes communicated a sense of urgency. For instance the *Milwaukee Sentinel* portrayed John Lewis as delivering an urgent message. “The urgency keynote of the demonstration was stressed by John Lewis, chairman of the student nonviolent coordinating committee who told the gathering: “To those who have said 'be patient and wait' we must say that 'patience is a dirty word.' We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually, we want our freedom now’” (“Freedom Now’ Cry Raised,” 1963). From this qoute, we see how the leader is portrayed as demonstrating their skill as a communicator doing many things simultaneusly including earning media, instructing followers, striking a defiant tone to government leaders, and a tone of determination to the followers.

In summary, theme three showed how the thematic analysis of the press stories of leadership of Journey of Reconciliation, Civil Defense Drills, and the March on Washington revealed an archetype of the nonviolent social movement leader who earned media and possessed a variety of communication styles. The press portrayals of the leaders spanned across newspaper accounts and revealed the different leaders depicted

had a distinct communication style. Some leaders were portrayed as empathetic, some as confrontational, some as humorous. In some instances, the same leader was depicted using various communication styles. However, a leader's ability to both earn media and then communicate to connect, engage, challenge, and leverage their movement was revealed across the press accounts. Taken as a collective story about the social movements, rather than individual stories, these press portrayals depict an archetypal leader who had a distinct communication style and was a skilled communicator.

Theme 4: Powerbroker

The press accounts revealed an archetypal nonviolent social movement leader who is a powerbroker. In this role the archetypal leader was both a connector and administrator. The leader engaged in uniting people and causes by: 1) facilitating collaboration among partner organizations, 2) enlisting and engaging prominent people to their cause, 3) using these connections to create an internal structure that included handling the administrative and logistical needs of the social movements and that showed strength in numbers, and 4) making demands of government leaders and proposing solutions to problems.

The archetypal nonviolent social movement leader portrayed in the press was a connecter who facilitated collaboration. The newspaper accounts described how the social movements involved a collaborative effort of different organizations working together. Accounts of the March on Washington described the 10 civil rights organizations sponsoring the March. The Civil Defense Drills identified with the Catholic Worker movement included collaboration with the War Resisters League and Fellowship of Reconciliation ("31 Flouting Test Seized By Police," 1955). The Journey of

Reconciliation was a collaboration between the Fellowship of Reconcilation and the Congress on Racial Equality. Press accounts of leadership repeatedly described how the leaders-built alliances to advance their goals, naming other participating and supporting organizations. For instance, the *Chicago Daily Defender* reported that "Religious participation in the March on Washington was organized by the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice, and the American Jewish Congress. Leaders of these three groups served with the leaders of Negro civil rights organizations as co-sponsors of the demonstration" (Cassels, 1963). Newspaper accounts of the Civil Defense Drills from the *Catholic Worker* highlighted collaboration between groups pursuing civil disobedience: "As in the past members of the Catholic Worker Movement and others from various groups will in Ammon Hennacy's charming phrase 'offer civil disobedience'" (Steed, 1963). Similarly, the press accounts of the Journey of Reconciliation show leaders connecting, convening, and collaborating with other organizations. The *Chicago Daily Defender* noted, "FOR [Fellowship of Reconciliation] staff members speak at interracial meetings in each town" (Scott, 1947). Each of these examples show that the leaders both connected groups and collaborated between the groups to advance the social movement.

In their role as a powerbroker and connector, the archetypal nonviolent social movement leader ensured that prominent people attended events and that their presence was noted in the media. For instance, the *Chicago Daily Defender* reported, "The ordinary people were led by the most impressive array of top personalities ever assembled for such a cause. Government leaders, labor officials, entertainers" (General, 1963a). The *Milwaukee Sentinel* also reported on famous singers being invited by the

leaders, “Later Miss [Marian] Anderson appeared on the speaker's platform and sang at the request of A. Philip Randolph, leader of the demonstration” (“Civil Defense Act Wins In First Test,” 1963). This tactic was evident in the star-studded program on the National Mall during the March on Washington. *The New York Times* reported the attendance of notable participants, “Stage and screen stars from all over the country and the world, and thousands of ordinary people, made last-minute plans to take part in tomorrow's massive civil rights march on Washington” (“News Summary And Index.” 1963). *The New York Times* reported that the Civil Defense Drills were attracting support from influential noted leaders including A. J. Muste (“Civil Defense Act Wins In First Test,” 1955). By repeatedly reporting on how leaders attracted prominent followers, the press accounts help create an aura of increased importance around the role of the archetypal leader.

As a powerbroker, the archetypal leader as described in press accounts carried out many administrative functions, including providing guidance to the collaborating organizations, raising funds, and handling logistics from food to transportation to speaking at events to raise awareness of the movement and build strength through numbers. These powerbroker functions were carried out because the archetypal leader was able to build an infrastructure by connecting organizations and individuals.

The press often covered how leaders engaged in fundraising and awareness raising. *The New York Times* press coverage, for example, shows that Bayard Rustin played a key role in raising funds for the Civil Defense Drills, including raising $45,000 in bail funds for those who were arrested for civil disobedience (“Pacifists Plan Test Of State Defense Act; Seized In Raid, May Go To High Court,” 1955). While planning the March on Washington, Rustin, according to *The Chicago Daily Defender*, explained

where the funds came from: “Rustin said that major contributions came from labor, about $35,000, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, $10,000. Other civil rights organizations, he said, have contributed less than $2,000 each” (“March Costs 125,000 Hope To Show A Profit,” 1963). Rustin also shared his hope of continued fundraising and explained how the money will be used. “The deputy director said he was hopeful the one-day rally would show a monetary profit. He said any surplus would be divided among the participating civil rights organizations” (“March Costs 125,000 Hope To Show A Profit,” 1963). In the *Catholic Worker*, Dorothy Day explained how she fundraised, “Our appeals are made for the poor with whom we live and share” (Day, 1955). *The New York Times* also described A. Philip Randolph speaking at a fundraiser at the Polo Grounds in New York City to raise money for the March (Arnold, 1963). The *Chicago Daily Defender* also included press accounts of James Farmer’s fundraising activities, “Farmer spoke at a rally at Trinity Methodist Church to raise money for a huge civil rights march in Washington, Aug. 28” (“Civil Rights Round Up,” 1963).

Another common way leaders were portrayed as powerbrokers was by arranging speaking events that raised awareness. For instance, press accounts about the Journey of Reconciliation focused on organized speaking events. The *Atlanta Daily World* reported that “the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality will begin a two-week tour of the Upper South, touching at points in Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee to speak before church, civic, and student groups to discuss the question of segregation in travel” (“Interracial Group To Tour The South,” 1947). Comparably, *Catholic Worker* reports about the Civil Defense Drills raised awareness of the leaders speaking events, “Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy are both out of town at

the moment fulfilling speaking engagements, but they will be back at the end of the week and will again openly refuse to take shelter during the drill" (Steed, Rogers, & Dugan, 1958). Through these press accounts, a portrait of the archetypal leader was created in which the leader served as fundraiser and awareness raiser. One exception to this pattern was that there were no descriptions of the Journey of Reconciliation leaders conducting fundraising activity.

Another element of the archetypal leader as powerbroker was the leader provided important logistical support ranging from printing materials to organizing for safety, arranging legal support, and training their followers in the use of nonviolence. Press accounts in *The New York Times* describing the March on Washington noted Rustin and other leaders organizing and instructing participants and collaborating with organizations about needed information on how to participate in the movement:

> In a ramshackle building in Harlem last week a handful of Negro and white volunteers worked with all deliberate speed to complete preparations for Wednesday's civil rights march on Washington. To dozens of organizations, they sent manuals listing Negro demands and the day's program including the homely suggestion that marchers equip themselves with peanut butter and jelly sandwiches. Recommended slogans for posters emphasized two words – 'demand' and 'now.' ("Now The March," 1963)

According to news reports in the *Catholic Worker* and *The New York Times*, the leaders of the Civil Defense Drills provided instructions for participants about how to participate in resisting the civil defense drills. For

instance, *The New York Times*, reported on the plan and instructions, "A plan to refuse to take shelter and to urge nonparticipation by others in war efforts, income taxes and politics was announced by Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy, editors of *The Catholic Worker*, 223 Chrystie Street" (Kihss, 1955).

Similarly, the Journey of Reconciliation leaders reportedly made sure their followers were cared for and protected. For instance, the *Chicago Daily Defender* reported that immediately after arrests were made, the leaders posted bail ("Legal Test Looms For Jim Crow Travel Laws In North Carolina," 1947).

As powerbrokers, the archetypal leader pursued the strategy for each of the three social movements through strength in numbers and by continuing public actions to maintain pressure on government leaders and draw attention to the injustices they were fighting. This tactic involved earning media that called public attention to the social movement, further increasing publicity and awareness. Leaders, including John Lewis, A. Philip Randolph, and Bayard Rustin, although Rustin less often, were quoted and portrayed in a variety of press accounts published in *The New York Times*, *Chicago Daily Defender*, *Atlanta Daily World*, and *Milwaukee Sentinel* to spread the message, noting, "it was only a beginning" and moreover, that the movement was widespread, "similar demonstrations will be held in many other cities and towns" ("What The Marchers Really Want," 1963) and "That is the only way to get the civil rights bill passed by applying pressure," Randolph said (Cassels, 1963a). Ammon Hennacy was quoted in the *Catholic Worker* during a court proceeding, "next year there would be a thousand of us and he had better get more police." (Hennacy, 1960).

Press accounts portrayed the leader as an important powerbroker who identified problems and made demands to pursue systemic change at a policy level through governmental action. The press described how leaders pursued the goals of their movement through all three branches of the state and federal government. These efforts focused on civil disobedience and the court systems to either change or uphold laws, request action from the federal government, and through legislative action. Their efforts simultaneously brought attention and media coverage to the cause, spreading information to the wider public not affiliated with their organization. Press accounts of the leaders of the March on Washington in the *Chicago Daily Defender* repeatedly highlighted demands made by leaders for action by the executive and legislative branch of the federal government. For instance, the leaders of the March on Washington pushed for civil rights legislation, "We think it is time they [Congress] should pass a lot of laws and we think the fact that 100,000 people will come here from 50 states to show by their presence that they believe this [civil rights] legislation should take place is worth whatever small risks are involved" (General, 1963). In another example of a press account of this type of archetypal leader's powerbroker behavior, *The New York Times* description of the March on Washington included, "We want employment, said Roy Wilkins, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and with it we want the pride and responsibility and self-respect that go with equal access to jobs. Therefore, we want an F.E.P.C. bill as a part of the legislative package" (Sitton, 1963a). *The New York Times* coverage of the opposition to the Civil Defense Drills exemplified a call for federal action, "The abolition of the Federal Office of Civil Defense and Mobilization was called for yesterday by the Civil Defense Protest Committee" ("The Abolition," 1961). Leaders

leveraged all forms of nonviolent action to press their cause and make changes. In the case of the Journey of Reconciliation, the leaders were described in the *Chicago Daily Defender* as testing the laws, "The team led by a Negro, Bayard Rustin, 32, and by a white, George Hauser, FOR staff member, speak at interracial meetings in each town, usually sponsored by the local NAACP. But equally important is their testing, as they travel from place to place, the segregation laws of various states as applied to transportation facilities" (Scott, 1947). The leaders of the Journey of Reconciliation used civil disobedience and the courts to push for social change.

In summary, the fourth theme that emerged was the archetype of the nonviolent social movement leader who acted as a powerbroker. In this role, the leader served as connector and administrator. The leader engaged in prominently uniting people and causes by: 1) facilitating collaboration among partner organizations, 2) enlisting and engaging prominent people to their cause, 3) using these connections to create an internal structure that included handling the administrative and logistical needs of the social movements including fundraising and showing strength in numbers, and 4) making demands of government leaders and proposing solutions to problems.

Discussion

The four themes: 1) personal characteristics of leaders; 2) principled nonviolence deployed creatively; 3) skilled communicators, and 4) powerbrokers described above come together to form an archetypal image of the nonviolent social movement leader presented in newspapers across three different social movements and three different moments in history. They reveal the way the mainstream American press used the archetype of a nonviolent leader to tell news stories that may have resonated with the

reader. The use of the archetype is also important because it provides the reader with a message about who is a nonviolent social movement leader and what nonviolent social movement leaders can and should do.

The archetypal nonviolent social movement leader presented in the press was depicted as a male who is an institutionally connected professional with a deep commitment to nonviolence and a faith or religious connection who can communicate effectively to a wide audience. The leader is portrayed as a person who commits years of their lives and is willing to suffer with calmness and dignity. The leader is almost always portrayed as the head of a professional organization or other institution. Their motivations and use of nonviolence are principled in nature and are used because they believe nonviolence is a pragmatic way to accomplish the goals of their movement. They instruct their followers in nonviolence while simultaneously looking out for the follower. In the press accounts, the leader is a skilled communicator who uses civil disobedience, the press, and the judicial system and other systems and governmental bodies to publicize their cause. The leader is a powerbroker who convenes people and organizations to pursue their cause calling for system change, usually through advocating for legislation or policy change. The archetype leader is portrayed as building an organizational infrastructure that includes a fundraising, communication, and direct-action strategy.

The journalists repeated use of the archetype of the nonviolent social movement leader described above was a storytelling device to report the news. However, the journalists excluded many of the women leaders with Dorothy Day as an exception. As noted earlier, the women not included in the press accounts include Mary Learson Sharmat, Janice Smith, Pat McMahon, Adrienne Winegrand of the Civil Defense Drills.

Also, press reports failed to mention women leaders from the March on Washington including Dorothy Height and Anna Arnold Hedgeman. The lack of press coverage of the women leaders of these movements means the archetypal image of social movement nonviolent leadership found in press accounts is incomplete and does not cover the breadth of leadership that took place. The result is a patriarchal representation of leadership.

This accuracy of archetypal characters is important because archetypes play an important role in communicating cultural values and perpetuating existing power structures and social order. As noted earlier, media scholars, such as Entman (1993) and Garner and Slattery (2012) have shown that news stories are cultural artifacts that work to produce and advance cultural and ideological narratives. The archetypal characters in these newspaper stories render a specific version of social movements and present narratives about what roles individuals can play in society, especially who can be a leader of a nonviolent social movement, namely a white, heterosexual, male. The use of this archetype of the nonviolent social movement leader serves as a benchmark for leaders to conform to and provides a standard for the public to judge who is acceptable and what type of actions are permitted of nonviolent social movement leaders. Further, incomplete archetypes advance sterotyping because the reader is exposed to inaccurate depections of what role individuals and groups play in American society. However, as noted above, this archetypal image of the nonviolent social movement was a limited portrayal of leadership. It was embedded into and repeated in each of the newspapers across hundreds of stories. An important question to consider is what if the press coverage of these social movements had focused on all leaders – like Mary Learson Sharmat, Janice Smith, Pat

McMahon, Adrienne Winegrand, or Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women – who played key roles in the planning of the March on Washington, and Anna Arnold Hedgeman, who was the only woman on the executive committee for the March on Washington, or featured Bayard Rustin, the gay leader involved in all three social movements and was mentioned more than a few dozen times in the news stories. At a minimum, if these important voices were included, there would be more source material to better equip us to understand the leadership of nonviolent social movements. More importantly, such inclusion may have allowed readers to better see themselves and their possible roles in a nonviolent social movement.

Understanding the archetypal image of nonviolent social movement leaders presented in the press and the fact that it excludes many of the leaders of these social movements is important because it requires us to consider what other sources are needed to have a more complete understanding of the actual leadership of nonviolent social movements. Also, it allows us to ask why women and non-heterosexuals were mostly excluded from these depictions. More broadly, it allows questions what role American newspapers, and media in general, serve in creating and shaping cultural narratives about the role of women and women's leadership in society.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I used thematic analysis to understand the press portrayals of leaders of Journey of Reconciliation, March on Washington, and Civil Defense Drills to gain insight into what it means to be a nonviolent social movement leader and how this leadership is portrayed in newspapers. I examined a sample of press articles to understand what narratives about nonviolent social movement leaders were being presented. I

discovered four key themes about what a nonviolent social movement leader looks like and what this leader does based on media depictions. Taken as whole, these themes reveal an archetypal character that journalists repeatedly used when producing news stories about nonviolent social movements. Also, these stories reflect and advance cultural and ideological narratives about leadership. Through their reporting, journalists are story tellers who employ archetypal characters in the stories. These archetypes serve multiple functions including creating a familiar narrative for the news consumer to understand, offering insights into who can be a leader of nonviolent social movements and what behaviors leaders of nonviolent social movements should engage in, and entrenching patriarchy by asserting that only men can lead nonviolent social movements.

Chapter V
ANALYSIS OF PRESS ACCOUNTS OF THREE NONVIOLENT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP THEORY

In this chapter, I assess Bernard Bass's transformational leadership theory. My work builds off transformation leader scholars including, Steinwart and Ziegler (2014) and Jense, Potocnik, and Chaudry (2020), who have used newspaper stories and online press coverage to analyze whether prominent leaders were in fact transformational leaders and to test transformational leadership. Using the findings of my thematic analysis of newspaper coverage of the leadership of three nonviolent social movement campaigns (the Journey of Reconciliation, Civil Defense Drill resistance, and the March on Washington), my findings suggest the following key conclusions:

- Newspapers alone are not valid or reliable sources of data to test transformational leadership theory. Newspaper accounts provide a partial and often incomplete portrayal of social movement leadership. As shown in Chapter IV, not all leaders of the social movements, especially women, were covered in the press. The mainstream press is consistently selective about who is included in coverage, often focusing on those who conform to an established ideal type. Second, the press is selective with the details of its accounts, as many elements of a person's leadership are simply not present or ignored. This means drawing conclusions about transformational leadership theory solely from press accounts offers a false validity to transformational leadership theory.
- When news accounts are examined, as demonstrated in this chapter, I find many elements of the theory are not present and press portrayals do not support transformational leadership theory. The press accounts do raise questions about

how leadership occurred within each of the social movements and support an understanding of leadership as a collective phenomenon and not a singular leader-centered approach that is the basis of transformational leadership. This raises questions for future research and calls into question the universality claim of transformational leadership.

In this chapter, I start by providing a synopsis of transformational leadership theory and then examine it in reference to my analysis of press coverage of the leadership of the Journey of Reconciliation, Civil Defense Drills, and the March on Washington to determine if the coverage offers support for transformational leadership theory. Next, I discuss my findings. Finally, I offer a brief conclusion.

Transformational Leadership Theory

Transformational leadership theory identifies leaders as individuals whose actions inspire followers to act beyond their own self-interest to accomplish objectives that exceed those of the individual follower's expectations. Leaders influence people through a combination of transformational and transactional behaviors or through a "failure to act" in what Bass terms *laissez-faire* behavior (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Each of these three categories of behavior is defined and discussed in greater depth in Chapter II of this dissertation and a brief synopsis is included in the respective sections of analysis in this chapter. The three behavior types represent the full range of leadership; the combination of the leader's transformational, transactional, or *laissez-faire* behavior, in turn, influence the actions of followers and, therefore, the outcomes of both the follower and the organization (Dugan, 2017). Transformational behaviors and transactional behaviors include sub-factors. The chart in Chapter II lists the behavior groups and their associated

sub-factors and illustrates how Bass claims the transformational, transactional, and *laissez-faire* behaviors interact and lead to goal accomplishment that exceeds the expectations of both the leader and the followers. It is important to note Bass does not believe *laissez-faire* behavior leadership by itself leads to expected outcomes or outcomes that exceed expectations.

Bass makes the following significant claims about transformational leadership and leaders:

- Leaders who are "more satisfying to their followers and who are more effective leaders are more transformational" (1999, p. 11).
- Leaders who use the right combination of transformational and transactional leadership behavior will see performance and goal attainment that exceeds expectations of leaders and followers (Bass & Riggio, 2006).
- Transformational leadership theory is a multidimensional full theory of leadership that represents a continua of leadership activity and effectiveness (Bass & Riggio, 2006) and, as a full theory, it claims to encompass all leadership everywhere in the world, in all types of organizations, and that all leaders fit somewhere on the continuum of leadership described by the theory. It is important to note, the theory does not address the fact that within organizations not all leaders are equal or have equal stature.
- For an individual to be an authentic transformational leader, the leader's goals extend beyond their own personal interests or motivations and focus on the common good of their followers (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

- Transformational leadership is considered the "best fitting model for effective leadership in today's world and transformational leaders are more effective than transactional or non-transformational leaders" (Bass & Riggio, 2006 p. 224).

Relational Analysis of Newspaper Portrayals of Nonviolent Social Movement Leadership and Transformational Leadership

The four attributes of transformational leadership behavior typically cited in the literature are idealized influence, inspiration, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration (Alvesson & Karreman, 2015). In this section, I describe what the newspaper depictions reveal about transformational leadership.

Idealized Influence

The first attribute of transformational leadership is idealized influence. Bass and Riggio (2006) note that idealized influence involves two components: 1) the behavior of the leader, and 2) the attribution followers assign to that behavior. Transformational leaders are described as leaders whose behavior leads them to be seen as a role model by followers. Transformational leadership attributes related to idealized influence include consistency, sacrificing personal gain, and demonstration of ethical behavior. According to Bass, transformational leadership requires a "high moral development" (1999, p. 9). It also requires that followers are sufficiently impressed by the leader, such that the follower seeks to cultivate similar behavior in themselves.

In the newspaper accounts, there are many examples of transformational leadership behavior exhibited by the approximately 30 leaders profiled across the three social movements. Several key "idealized influence" behaviors were observed across all three social movements and by most of the leaders identified in the newspaper stories. These included long-term personal commitment demonstrating dedication to the cause,

willingness to voluntarily suffer harm for the cause, alignment with institutions that portrayed a sense of ethical behavior, and a commitment to principled nonviolence demonstrating high moral development. Each of these "idealized influence" behaviors reflect a commitment consistency.

The idealized influence characteristic of consistency was common throughout the media coverage; the press often highlighted the lifetime commitment of the leaders to the social movement, the many years of involvement in the social movement, and consistency in the leaders' behaviors and views. Media coverage of the March on Washington focused on A. Philip Randolph's and Dr. Martin Luther King's long-term commitment to the struggle and their years-long involvement. The commitment of A. Philip Randolph, who conceived the idea for the March on Washington, was epitomized in *The New York Times* coverage, "Randolph, the 74-year-old leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who perhaps more than any other American has consecrated his life to the fruition of the civil rights movement" ("Equality is Their Right," 1963). Sometimes, the consistency and long-term involvement was not as explicit; rather, the commitment and consistency were inferred by referencing past activities, such as this coverage of Dr. King by the *Atlanta Daily World*: "It was King who spearheaded a massive racial protest that led to the desegregation of such downtown facilities as Loveman's" ("$50,000 Is Offered For Birmingham Bombers," 1963).

Similarly, Ammon Hennacy and Dorothy Day's multi-year commitment to ending the Civil Defense Drills was described in the *Catholic Worker* as "the sixth time for Dorothy and me" (Hennacy, 1959). Press accounts highlight both the decades of commitment to the cause and the leaders' consistency in living out their values, "For over

twenty-five years Miss Day's views on the religious obligation to oppose violence have been well-known" (Skillen, Bennet, & Lipham, 1957). In the case of Randolph, it was noted, "Since then he has preached nonviolence and self-reliance to the Negro and has practiced politics with the aim of 'revolutionizing the conscious and subconscious mind of the dominant white people.' His chief tactic has been an unshakable dignity…" ("Negroes' Leader a Man of Dignity," 1963). Across the social movements, leaders were portrayed as demonstrating consistency and long-term commitment, the two key characteristics of the idealized influence attribute of transformational leadership. Of significance, the commitment of four leaders – Dr. King, A. Philip Randolph, Dorothy Day, and Ammon Hennacy – were highlighted consistently while most other press accounts did not include mention of the other leaders' commitment to the social movement despite their many years of involvement.

Sacrificing personal gain, the second characteristic of idealized influence as described in transformational leadership theory, refers to a leader foregoing a personal benefit and/or suffering for the good of their organization. Press accounts consistently depicted the social movement leaders' sacrificing personal gain. In the examples I highlight below, it is important to note that sacrificing personal gain, or, as nonviolence theorists refer to it, voluntary suffering, is aligned with the use of principled nonviolence to change hearts and minds to create nonviolent social change. Media accounts of the March on Washington consistently emphasized the way leaders sacrificed and voluntarily suffered for the movement. In describing seven of 10 March of Washington chairpersons, *The New York Times* noted, "The other leaders, except for the three clergymen among the 10, concentrated on the struggle ahead… it was Dr. King who had suffered perhaps most

of all" (Kenworthy, 1963). Another media portrayal related how movement leaders voluntarily faced arrest and the loss of freedom for the sake of the movement. The *Catholic Worker* described Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy's repeated arrests for civil disobedience, "Dorothy, Ammon, Deane, Karl, and Arthur Harvey had broken this law on previous occasions and refused to pay the fine; they are now serving their sentences" (Steed, 1959). Similarly, the *Atlanta Daily World* noted Bayard Rustin's arrest for refusing to follow segregated seating on the buses and his role in planning the Journey of Reconciliation, "The Negroes were 32-year-old Bayard Rustin, New York educator and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a New York City religious organization that is setting up the cases to test North Carolina's Jim Crow law, and Andrew S. Johnson, 21-year-old lecturer of Cincinnati, O" ("North Carolina's Jim Crow Travel Law Faces Court Test, 1947).

The final attribute of idealized influence is demonstrating ethical behavior. In the transformational leadership literature, Bass and Riggio describe ethical behavior as "high standards of ethical and moral conduct" (2006, p. 78). In transformational leadership theory, Bass does not define ethical and/or moral conduct. The press accounts largely did not explicitly focus on whether the leader exhibited ethical behavior. For instance, I did not find any positive references to the leader's ethical behavior for the Journey of Reconciliation. The media coverage of the leadership of the Civil Defense Drills focused almost exclusively on Ammon Hennacy and Dorothy Day. The coverage of Ammon Hennacy and Dorothy Day focused not on their ethical and principled commitment to nonviolence, but rather on their charitable acts which were not part of the movement to end the Civil Defense Drills. For example, when reporting on Judge Hymen Bushell, who

suspended Dorothy Day's jail sentence for her role in the Civil Defense Drills, the *Catholic Worker* wrote about the judge's admiration for Day's ethical charitable work, "Followed by praise for Dorothy Day, not as a Christian revolutionary, but as one 'who fed the poor' on Chrystie Street" (Hennacy, 1956). Ammon Hennacy and Dorothy Day's ethical behavior and moral courage to use nonviolence was undercut in press accounts that dismissed civil disobedience as an effective tool for social change. *The New York Times* published the judge's critique of the leaders and their followers, "On July 12, therefore, Miss Day and her associates were arrested in New York's Sara Roosevelt Park during the drill. They were speedily arraigned before Magistrate Walter J. Bayer, who denounced them as 'a heartless bunch of individuals who breathe contempt of the law' and sentenced them to thirty days in jail. They are now serving this sentence" (Skillen, Bennet, & Lipham, 1957). While the leaders acted ethically and exhibited moral courage from the perspective of nonviolent activists, the depiction by *The New York Times* cast the leaders and their behavior in a negative light.

Like the Journey of Reconciliation and Civil Defense Drills, the ethical behavior dimension of the 10 chairpersons and their deputies who led the March on Washington was mostly undiscussed except for three leaders: A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King Jr., and Bayard Rustin. Unlike Dorothy Day, press depictions of A. Philip Randolph focused on his consistent ethical behavior. *The New York Times* exemplified the coverage of Randolph by stressing his commitment to nonviolence, "Since then he has preached nonviolence and self-reliance to the Negro… His chief tactic has been an unshakable dignity" (Negroes' Leader a Man of Dignity, 1963). Likewise, Dr. King was described as a moral leader. At the March on Washington, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* described him as a

moral leader, “The most impassioned speaker of all was the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was introduced as the moral leader of our nation” (“Haunting Melody on March,” 1963). Despite being an influential March on Washington leader and having been credited with introducing Dr. King and the Civil Rights movement to nonviolence, Bayard Rustin was not portrayed in a positive moral light primarily because of his previous connection with the Communist Party of the United States. Rather than affirming Rustin, the press rarely covered him and when he was portrayed in the press, the coverage was often negative. For instance, when asked by journalists about Rustin’s connection to communism, the *Chicago Daily Defender* reported Dr. King saying that Rustin “is just part of a great movement” and “not one of the main leaders” (“Wilkins Rejects Communist Help,” 1963).

Inspiration

The second attribute of transformational leadership behavior is inspiration. Inspiration refers to the ability to lead followers to accomplish more than they had intended or imagined could be accomplished (Bass & Bass, 2008). This includes helping followers move beyond Maslow’s hierarchy of needs to work for a higher cause, organization, or society, that is, something greater than themselves (Bass & Bass, 2008). Inspiration requires articulating a vision for the future that includes high performance, determination, confidence, and high standards (Bass & Bass, 2008). Leaders exhibit this through symbols and emotional appeals (Northouse, 2010).

In my analysis, I found 126 press descriptions of leaders engaging in inspirational behavior as defined by transformational leadership theory, but only in press accounts of the Civil Defense Drills and March on Washington. The inspirational behavior of leaders

described by the press generally followed the characteristics identified by Bass and Riggio (2006) including working for a higher cause in society, articulating a vision for the future that included high performance, determination, confidence, and high standards through symbols and emotional appeal. Press accounts of leadership for the Journey of Reconciliation did not contain similar descriptions or references to inspiration as articulated in transformational leadership.

In the three social movements, leaders aimed to encourage followers to work for a higher cause and were explicit about helping followers focus on the greater good of society. At a basic level, Journey of Reconciliation sought to challenge interstate transportation segregation but in the bigger picture changed their aim because of Jim Crow laws and practices. The Civil Defense Drills sought to stop the preparation for nuclear war. The March on Washington sought jobs, improved economic conditions, and civil rights for Black Americans so every American could enjoy their full freedoms. Although the specific aims of each movement differed, the goal of systemic change for the greater good remained.

Journalists published stories describing social movement leaders from the Civil Defense Drills and March on Washington, articulating their purpose and vision for the future by often making emotional appeals to the participants' patriotic, ethical, and religious values. The press reported leaders of the March on Washington infused meaning and vision to help the U.S. for instance, the *Milwaukee Journal* summarized the purpose of the 10 publicly identified chairman of the March on Washington as follows: "Demonstration leaders stated their purpose: 'We march to redress grievances and to help resolve an American crisis.' The demonstrators, including thousands of white civil rights

supporters, poured into town aboard about 20 special trains, nearly 700 chartered buses, nine special flights, and hundreds of cars" ("175,000 March in Capital in Plea for Jobs, Freedom," 1963).

Similarly, in the *Catholic Worker*, same point as above Dorothy Day was described stating that the Civil Defense Drills aimed to make society better,

> We do not wish to be defiant, do not wish to antagonize. We love our country and are only saddened to see its great virtues matched by equally great faults. We are a part of it, we are responsible too. We do not wish to be defiant, we atone in some way, with this small gesture, for what we did in Hiroshima and what we are still doing by the manufacture and testing of such weapons. (Day, 1957)

No such quotes were found regarding the Journey of Reconciliation.

Press accounts of the Civil Defense Drills and March on Washington described how the social movement leaders consistently articulated high standards for the conduct of their followers both providing instruction and setting high standards for expectations. This setting of standards was most clearly articulated in terms of the expectation for nonviolence and its importance for the integrity of the movement. The *Milwaukee Journal* reported that Dr. King stressed the importance of moral and nonviolent conduct, "And that is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds" (Reston, 1963). Additionally, the March on Washington leaders were described on more than two dozen occasions as instructing followers on their behavior. Reporting by *Chicago Daily Defender* exemplified this consistent

reminder of the standards the leaders have for the followers, “Leaders of Wednesday's civil rights March on Washington warned participants against provoking violence and disorder from “evil persons. . . determined to smear this march and discredit the cause of equality . . . We call for self-discipline so that no one in our ranks, however enthusiastic, shall be the spark for disorder” (General, 1963). A similar instruction for good behavior was telegraphed by the leaders in *The New York Times.* “In a neighborhood dispute, there may be stunts, rough words and even hot insults; but when a whole people speak to its government, the dialogue and the action must be on a level reflecting the worth of that people and the responsibility of that government” (General, 1963).

Press accounts of the March on Washington note that the participants largely followed the leader’s instructions and there were no major disturbances caused by the leaders or followers. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* noted, “All hands involved in the Washington civil rights march are to be congratulated for doing the seemingly impossible – carrying off the demonstration without incident” (The March, 1963).

Like the March on Washington, press reports described how leaders of the Civil Defense Drills instructed their followers about personal conduct. The press described how *Catholic Worker* leaders held trainings in conjunction with the War Resisters League about how to engage in nonviolence and the consequences for individuals who engaged in civil disobedience. Dorothy Day, in the *Catholic Worker*, suggested these instructions were not always well received by the followers, “I am sure that in spite of the warning of Bayard Rustin there were those among us coming along because it was a beautiful day, and there were 29 of us and it looked like a party” (Hennacy, 1955). In another instance, the *Catholic Worker* described how the leaders’ expectations for good conduct by

followers meant in some cases asking followers not to participate and sharing why. “Dick Kern, who believes in ‘going limp’ was rebuked as one who invited violence by his attitude, and he was told to off two blocks and demonstrate by himself” (Day, 1955). In both instances, the press provided descriptions of instructions from leaders to followers about conduct expectations.

In transformational leadership theory, Bass claims that leaders inspire their followers by appealing to them using symbols, emotional appeal, patriotic appeal, and religious appeal (Bass & Riggio, 2006). This characteristic of inspiration was not observed in press accounts of the Journey of Reconciliation. However, the appeal to emotion and values was common in accounts of the March on Washington and Civil Defense Drills. The newspaper coverage described leaders using religion to provide meaning for the movement and encouraging followers to participate. Ammon Hennacy and Dorothy Day were often quoted in the *Catholic Worker* discussing how faith compelled them and their followers. In their communication, they would extoll their followers to live out their faith. For instance, “We break the law because we are Christians and Roman Catholics. Our faith impels us to it. The memories of our predecessors in the faith, those early Christians, who must always be our norm in the Christian life, cannot be blotted out” (Steed, 1960). Similarly, March on Washington Leaders were described in the news stories appealing to faith. For instance, Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, a chairman of the March on Washington was described by the *Atlanta Daily World* as appealing to faith,

> Executive head of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.,
>
> appealed to Americans to abide by the spirit of God. ‘We have achieved

> neither a non-segregated society,' he said. 'And it is partly because the churches of America have failed to put their own houses in order. We come in the fear of God that moved Thomas Jefferson to say: 'Indeed, I tremble for my own country, when I reflect that God is just.' ("Over 200,000 'Orderly' March in Washington," 1963)

Other press accounts described leaders of the March on Washington appealing to inspiration. The *Milwaukee Journ*al noted Dr. King's cadence and use of Biblical symbolism to connect with the attendees on the National Mall, "It was King who near the end of the day touched the vast audience. Until then the pilgrimage was merely a great spectacle" (Reston, 1963). It is important to mention that the press accounts noted that these emotional appeals by the leaders did not always reach the followers nor did these appeals have the intended effect of engagement with the movement. *The New York Times* reported that the leaders at the March on Washington used emotional appeals but failed to engage their followers, "At 1:59 the official speaking began. For those who listened it was full of noble statement about democracy and religious sincerity, but the crowd was dissolving fast now" ("Gentle Army Occupies Capital; Politeness is Order of the Day," 1963).

Press accounts of the Civil Defense Drills and the March on Washington did portray leaders using what Bass calls inspiration. However, except for Dr. King, the press accounts note the inspirational appeal did not reach the crowd. The press accounts of the Civil Defense Drills do not address how the leaders' appeal to inspiration were received.

Intellectual Stimulation

Intellectual stimulation, the third transformational leadership behavioral attribute, refers to the leader's ability to be innovative and creative (Bass & Bass, 2008). It includes involving followers in problem solving and the use of rational thinking and logic to address challenges (Bass & Bass, 2008). Leaders demonstrate intellectual stimulation by challenging followers to reconsider their own beliefs about the leader, organization, society, and themselves (Northouse, 2010). The press descriptions do not provide evidence of intellectual stimulation as defined in transformational leadership theory because there were no descriptions of leaders engaging with the followers or seeking follower's input to solve problems or address challenges in a significant way. Instead, the press descriptions of the leaders from the March on Washington and Civil Defense Drills were described as taking a top-down approach in which leaders solve problems and communicate that information to the followers. Leaders requested that their followers participate in addressing those challenges.

A top-down approach was described in press accounts of the March on Washington. For instance, *The New York Times* reported Dr. King saying the next steps after the march were going to be assessed and the leaders would plan "where we will go from here" ("Where We Will," 1963). It is important to note there was no mention of how the followers and participants in the March on Washington would participate. This top-down approach was also highlighted in other press accounts. The *Milwaukee Journal* reported, "If the planners of the March have their way, the whole thing will be totally devoid of spontaneity. In their efforts to avoid any unpleasant incidents, they have turned the demonstration into a carefully staged and rehearsed production" (Kapenstein, 1963).

Similarly, *The New York Times* reported "a small staff of volunteer Negro and white amateurs work in the building, apparently bent on demonstrating that big things can be accomplished with small numbers and a small outlay of money" (Handler, 1963). This notion of top-down leadership was similarly detailed by press accounts of March on Washington; leaders provided detailed instructions to followers on even basic items. For example, *The New York Times* reported that the March leaders provided detailed instructions about what to bring for lunch and what messages to write on placards. "To dozens of organizations they sent manuals listing Negro demands and the day's program including the homely suggestion that marchers equip themselves with peanut butter and jelly sandwiches. Recommended slogans for posters emphasized two words: 'demand' and 'now'" ("Now the March," 1963). The press also described how leaders called on participants to implement the strategy in their home communities. According to *The New York Times*, Journey of Reconciliation leaders issued the following: "Leaders issued yesterday a statement asking bus passengers to ignore the race-segregation pattern in many Southern communities" ("Segregation Rule Tested," 1947). In these press descriptions from the March on Washington and Journey of Reconciliation, leaders made major decisions without input from their followers exemplifying a top-down approach that does not engage followers intellectually.

It is important to recognize that in transformational leadership theory, the intellectual stimulation attribute refers to changing the followers' beliefs about the leader, organization, society, and themselves and involves the followers in solving problems and identifying solutions to challenges. In press accounts, the leaders' actions focused on instructing the follower. Most of the actions were focused on changing how non-

followers viewed the social movement and issues. For instance, the federal government ended the civil defense drills, bus companies and local government ended segregation on interstate travel, and the federal government met the demands of the March on Washington. In essence, the leaders routinely focused on challenges and social change but did not necessarily offer intellectual stimulation to the follower. The absence of press descriptions describing leaders engaging followers intellectually does not offer support for intellectual stimulation, as defined by Bass, as being a part of nonviolent social movement leadership. However, the press accounts raise the possibility that in nonviolent social movements, intellectual stimulation may be more nuanced and could have occurred behind the scenes. It is unclear if leaders engaged their followers to change the wider societal views on the social movement or to spread goals of the social movement by intellectually stimulating others. Another possibility is that the lack of documentation of intellectual stimulation by the press is simply because the press is unable to document it. Intellectual stimulation is defined by Bass as an internal process between the leader and follower rather than a public process that would likely be observable to a journalist, so although it is not noted in press accounts, it was possibly present in the movement.

Individualized Consideration

Individualized consideration, the fourth transformational leadership behavior factor, is exemplified when leaders are attentive to the needs of individual followers and invest in their development (Northouse, 2010; Bass, 1999). The leader acts as a coach and offers mentorship to followers, takes into consideration variation in individual needs, and creates space for the development of followers. Some scholars have identified individualized consideration as a recognition of each individual person's gifts, regardless

of cultural differences (Bass, 2008). As with intellectual stimulation, the press descriptions focused on the leaders actions and not their engagement with individual followers. Across press accounts, I did not identify any depiction of leaders engaging in individualized consideration. As with intellectual stimulation, the lack of evidence for individualized consideration must be considered in context of the role press had, which documented public events. It is unclear if journalists would have access or be able to gather information on the ways a leader engages with individual followers unless the interaction was directly observed. Additionally, even if a journalist was able to access and write a news story about the leaders using individualized consideration, the question remains whether that would be viewed as newsworthy.

Transformational leadership theory has three main behavior groups (transformational, transaction, and *laissez-faire*). I focused above on analyzing press descriptions of leadership for the four attributes of the transformational behavior group. These attributes are idealized influence, inspiration, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration. My analysis shows press accounts of the Journey of Reconciliation, Civil Defense Drills, and March on Washington did not describe leaders as consistently engaging in all key components of transformational leadership. Specifically, the press accounts did not describe the leaders engaging in two key transformational behaviors: intellectual stimulation or individualized consideration. In the discussion section, I address what these findings may mean: either the leaders did not engage in these behaviors and/or the press did not report on them. These are important considerations when using media accounts as source documents to theorize about leadership.

Transactional Leadership

Transactional leadership is the second major component of transformational leadership and, according to the theory, all leaders exhibit a combination of transformational and transactional behaviors. In this section, I examine how press accounts depicted transactional leadership behavior. Transactional leadership behavior focuses on the "exchange relationship between the leader and follower to meet their own self-interest" (Bass, 1999, p. 10). Researchers have identified three transactional leadership behaviors: contingent rewards, active management by exception, and passive management by exception. At their core, transactional factors are an exchange between the leader and the followers to meet each person's needs. In transactional leadership, the leader and follower do not try to accomplish anything greater than meeting their respective needs even when something greater occurs. It is important to note that by this definition of transactional leadership behavior, none of the leaders or followers' actions described in the press would meet the definition of transactional behavior for two reasons. First, the press accounts did not offer evidence of, or accounts describing the leaders or followers needs, and if – or how – they were met. Second, although this is not asserted in the press, it could be argued that each nonviolent social movement leader and follower is working for the greater good and not just to meet their own needs as evidenced by their participation in the social movement.

If the requirement that transactional behaviors are limited to meeting a person's need are set aside, the press descriptions of each of the social movements regularly engaged in contingent reward behaviors. Contingent reward, a transactional leadership behavior factor, focuses on the leader providing physical or psychological rewards for

performing an agreed upon task (Bass & Bass, 2008). Material rewards may be money, awards, documentation, and more. Psychological awards could include recognition, compliments or positive feedback, and praise. Recognition, both in the material and psychological realm, was most described in the newspaper stories.

The press accounts consistently recognized the sacrifices, arrests, and trials and tribulations the followers confronted. For example, in newspaper accounts, Martin Luther King, Jr. was quoted as pointing out that March on Washington participants had traveled great distances to come to Washington D.C., had faced arrest, and spent nights in prison for" ("Excerpts from Addresses at Lincoln Memorial During Capital Civil Rights March," 1963). Reports of the Civil Defense Drills routinely noted when their followers engaged in civil disobedience and often recognized individuals by name. A story from the *Catholic Worker* noted,

> Dorothy Day, Ammon Hennacy, Deane Mowrer and Karl Meyer from the *Catholic Worker* and thirteen others were sentenced to 10 days in jail or $25 for refusing to take shelter during New York State's Civil Defense Air Raid Drill. Those who had broken the law for the first time were given suspended sentences. Dorothy, Ammon, Deane, Karl and Arthur Harvey had broken this law on previous occasions and refused to pay the fine; they are now serving their sentences. (Steed, 1959)

As noted above, most transactional behaviors focused on positive recognition and praise. Across press descriptions, I only found two instances of active management by exception, a transactional leadership behavior attribute which refers to active supervision of the follower by the leader. The leader monitors behavior, notes when there is an error,

and addresses it through corrective action (Bass, 1999). The corrective action may take many forms, but it is usually punitive, such as withholding material reward, demanding discipline, or providing negative feedback. Both instances were connected to the Civil Defense Drills and involved followers who engaged in unruly behavior during acts of civil disobedience or the subsequent trial. In both cases, the *Catholic Worker* described Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy addressing these issues by providing the media with negative accounts of the person's behavior to shame them. For instance, a story in the *Catholic Worker* noted,

> Dick Kern, who believes in 'going limp' was rebuked as one who invited violence by his attitude, and he was told to off two blocks and demonstrate by himself. However, he clung to the crowd and went through his little act, looking strangely pathetic and ridiculous as he was lifted by the arms and legs, unresisting but uncooperative by four large policemen. (Day, 1955)

The third attribute of transactional leadership behavior is passive management by exception, which occurs when the leader waits for an issue to arise before providing feedback or making a corrective action (Bass & Bass, 2008). Like active management by exception, the corrective action associated with passive management by exception may take many forms, but it is usually punitive and may also include withholding material reward, demanding discipline, or providing negative feedback. In each social movement, leaders actively managed their followers. As noted above, press accounts of the March on Washington leaders, Civil Defense Drill leaders, and Journey of Reconciliation describe

the leaders providing clear instruction to the followers and setting expectations. As such, there was no passive management by exception.

In transformational leadership theory, the third leader behavior group is *laissez-faire* which, as the name implies, is demonstrated by passive leadership in which the leader does not interact with followers or act (Northouse, 2010). Bass defines *laissez-faire* leadership as the avoidance or absence of leadership (2006). It is demonstrated when a leader does nothing, including failing to make decisions, inaction, ignoring situations, and not getting involved in day-to-day activities. As noted above, press accounts depict leaders who actively led their followers. This resulted in no press accounts depicting the behavior group as *laissez-faire*.

Discussion

In my analysis, I found the press coverage consistently excluded many social movement leaders and instead focused on select groups of individuals. Press accounts covered in this study noted multiple leaders, between the respective movement, more than 15 people were consistently identified as leaders. Most press accounts, however, focused on a smaller group of leaders: Bayard Rustin, George Hauser, Dorothy Day, Ammon Hennacy, Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, and John Lewis. Of note, except for Dorothy Day, the press omitted leadership portrayals of women and offered very limited and often negative portrayals of non-heterosexual leaders. For instance, the press coverage of Bayard Rustin focused on previous connections to communism or Dr. King's inaccurate claim that Rustin had a small leadership role. It is important to note this exclusion was not because women and non-heterosexual individuals were not leaders; indeed, they held official roles including co-chairing the planning group that helped

organize the Civil Defense Drills and serving as the number two person in the leadership of the March on Washington. Rather, as John D'Emilio points out in his 2003 work, the exclusion was related to both the FBI's efforts to tarnish Rustin's reputation, which include a smear campaign focused on organizing the press to either ignore or negatively report on Rustin and the FBI's successful efforts to play on other civil rights leaders homophobia and gender bias, to limit Rustin and others prominence in the movement.

The newspaper's limited coverage of the social movements' leaders is important for several reasons. It reveals a shortcoming of relying on newspaper stories to examine transformational leadership theory. As source material, newspapers offer only a partial portrayal of social movement leadership and offer an incomplete portrayal and limited view of how leaders and those involved behaved. Transformational leadership scholars who theorize based on news accounts are making their claims using the limited portrayals of leadership presented by the press (see Chapter IV). These case studies of transformational leadership are then integrated into books and articles about transformational leadership and create a narrative of who is a leader and who is not. This is problematic because by relying on newspaper accounts, many leaders are left out of the analysis. What occurs is a reinforcing cycle in which reporters are presenting a selective narrative of social movements that is then examined by scholars, who make claims about leadership based on these limited representations The selective inclusion and exclusion of certain leaders by the press further offers a false validity to transformational leadership theory.

My research reveals several important items to consider about transformational leadership. The first item is that it is unclear if press accounts accurately capture

leadership of social movements or further if press accounts can be used to examine transformational leadership. The absence of some leaders in press accounts creates a significant limitation when attempting to understand social movements and assess transformational leadership. As a result, researchers can only obtain limited information about leadership from press portrayals. The partial coverage is important because it calls into question claims by Bass & Riggio (2006), Northouse (2010) and other scholars that press accounts, biographies, and media portrayals can be used as evidence of social movement leaders exhibiting transformational leadership. By suggesting the use of press accounts to study leadership, scholars may fail to acknowledge – as shown in this research – the fact that press accounts of social movements often do not include a full spectrum of the leaders or leadership involved in the movement. Further, it overlooks the fact that while the press offers early accounts of these phenomena, the role of a journalist and the purpose of news stories is not to examine the major components of leadership or cover the internal workings of an organization. Rather, these news stories are primarily concerned with the public sphere and likely the most prominent leaders within an organization.

Second, my research shows that when news stories are analyzed, there is a lack of support for Bass's transformational leadership universality claim. According to Bass (1996), "Universality implies that the relations between attributes of the person and performance as a leader are a constant across situations. It also implies that similar concepts and behaviors associated with leadership can be relevant everywhere" (p. 731). However, as noted above, the press accounts I analyzed do not reveal leaders engaging in several of the key components of transformational leadership. While the press accounts

do offer support for nonviolent social movement leaders engaging in idealized influence and inspiration, the accounts do not depict leaders engaging in two key transformational behaviors: intellectual stimulation or individualized consideration. Further, my analysis shows that the press accounts did not describe any of leaders engaging in transactional leadership as articulated in Bass's theory because the news stories did not describe the leaders or followers needs, and if – or how – either of these needs were met. While I do not claim that the leaders did not engage in these behaviors, rather, I argue that these aspects were not covered by media and that press accounts exclude some leaders who engaged in elements of transformational leadership theory. This caveat is especially important when using press accounts as source material to examine transformational leadership because the behaviors associated with intellectual stimulation, individualized consideration, and transactional leadership tend to be focused on the internal relationships within an organization and, therefore, the media may not be equipped to cover these dynamics in press accounts.

Third, transformational leadership is a unitary view of leadership. Within transformational leadership theory the focus is on the leader. The behavior of the leader is the primary influencer on the outcomes and the followers. When describing the leader, Bass consistently refers to the leader as a single individual. However, in all the social movements I examined and across all of the newspapers, leadership was a collective phenomenon. Leadership was portrayed as distributed among several different individuals and organizations who were leading the social movements and collaborating. In fact, the press accounts reflected more closely what Denis, Langley, and Sergi (2012,

p. 213-214) identified as “spreading leadership within and across levels over time.” In essence, the press accounts and my analysis showed that collective leadership rather than unitary leadership occurred. This finding calls into question the notion that leadership as described by transformational leadership theory is the domain of a single individual and if it is able to describe the leadership of social movements. More importantly, it asks what type of leadership was used in each of the social movements? Is there a single kind of leadership used by nonviolent social movements or do leaders draw from a variety of leadership types?

Fourth, the partial coverage of the leadership of the nonviolent social movement leaders raises the following question. How can transformational leadership theory address the fact that not all leaders have equal stature or influence within an organization? Bass claims transformational leadership theory is a full range leadership theory, meaning it applies in every leadership situation and all leaders and leadership effectiveness is impacted by leaders being more transformational (Bass & Riggio, 2006). However, when considering why the press only covered select leaders, one possibility may be that some leaders are public facing, have higher social status or more connections, are more prominent, are more relatable and, therefore, have more influence. This raises the question: how does transformational leadership address the role of power dynamics and the fact that not all leaders within a social movement or organization are equal?

Chapter VI
CONCLUSION

Summary of the Study

In this dissertation, I examined the leadership of three nonviolent social movements: the March on Washington, the resistance to the Civil Defense Drills, and the Journey of Reconciliation, as portrayed by a representative sample of newspapers. I then compared the details of those portrayals to the tenets of transformational leadership theory. The primary purpose of this study was to examine two questions:

1. How is leadership of nonviolent social movements portrayed by the U.S. mainstream media and do these portrayals offer support for the assertion by transformational leadership scholars that transformational leadership is a universal theory?
2. How can understanding the press portrayals of social movement leaders offer an improved understanding of nonviolent social movements and leadership?

To investigate these questions, I analyzed 2,646 news stories from *The New York Times, Milwaukee Sentinel, Milwaukee Journal, Chicago Defender, Catholic Worker,* and *Atlanta Daily World.* Using thematic analysis, I reviewed articles related to the three social movements and identified themes and patterns of the press portrayals of the leadership of social movements. Next, I compared the portrayals from across all the newspapers and social movements to Bernard Bass's Transformational Leadership theory.

Discussion of the Findings

In response to the first question, I found that when reporting on the leadership of nonviolent social movements, journalists repeatedly focused their storytelling on a select number of leaders who were almost always institutionally connected, heterosexual males. The newspaper reporting almost always excluded women and non-heterosexual leaders, with a few notable exceptions. In the media portrayals, I discovered four traits that were common among the nonviolent social movement leaders: 1) personal characteristics related to leadership, 2) the use principled nonviolence deployed creatively, 3) communication skill, and 4) the ability to be powerbrokers. These traits converged to create an archetypal nonviolent leader who was described consistently across each of the newspapers and social movements. The archetypal characteristics were a male person with institutional connections, often faith-based, and a professional with a personal commitment to the movement. The archetypal leader was portrayed as an expert practitioner of principled nonviolence, often in the tradition of Gandhi or Jesus. The archetypal leader was also depicted as a skilled communicator who employed distinct communication styles to connect, engage, challenge, and leverage their movement. Lastly, the archetypal leader was depicted as a powerbroker who united people and causes by facilitating collaboration among partner organizations, building alliances with other organizations, and enlisting and engaging prominent people to their cause.

The use of this archetype to describe the leadership of nonviolent social movements is important because news stories are cultural artifacts. These stories create a narrative that reflects societal values, beliefs, and power. The repeated use of the archetype described in this study provided a useful way for journalists to share stories

that resonated with the audience. Also, the archetypal and the cultural narrative embedded in the news stories contained a message about who is a nonviolent social movement leader and what nonviolent social movement leaders can and should do. These stories then create a litmus test for considering the characteristics and traits related to the leaders of nonviolent social movements.

This study demonstrates that the leadership portrayed in the press accounts of the three social movements across all the papers was incomplete and offered a limited view of leadership. The press coverage excluded most women leaders, apart from Dorothy Day, and had limited and often negative coverage of non-heterosexual leaders. The coverage reflected and advanced cultural and ideological narratives that leadership is patriarchal. This incomplete coverage raises several important questions for consideration:

- Why were women and non-heterosexuals mostly excluded from press accounts?
- Did this occur because only a select few male leaders were active in the public sphere and made available to the press?
- What underlying narrative were journalists creating through their coverage of these social movements?
- Was the press coverage specifically focused on the leadership of the social movement or was there a different angle being pursued?
- If a more diverse array of leaders were included in the press coverage, would the audience have been better equipped to see images of themselves in the movement, including as leaders?

Unfortunately, these questions are beyond the scope of this study and require future research. At a minimum, however, if a wider scope of leadership voices were included in the contemporaneous press depictions, there would be more source material to gain a better understanding of the leadership of nonviolent social movements.

In response to the second question, I discovered that news stories are not reliable sources of data to test transformational leadership theory. In my research, it is evident that not all leaders of the social movements are covered by the press. Newspapers provide a partial and incomplete portrayal of social movement leadership. Additionally, the selective inclusion and exclusion of certain leaders offers a misleading validity to transformational leadership theory when tested using press accounts. Further, I claim that transformational leadership scholars who theorize about transformational leadership relying solely on news accounts are basing their claims on portrayals that maintain the status quo about who represents socially acceptable leaders.

I also found that when examining news accounts, which are frequently cited to support transformational leadership theory, the accounts fail to provide adequate support and undermine Bass's transformational leadership universality claim. The universality claim is that transformational leadership theory can be used to account for effective leadership in every situation across the world. However, my analysis of the press accounts revealed that leadership portrayals did not include some key components of transformational leadership. More specifically, the press accounts did not describe the leaders engaging in two key transformational behaviors: intellectual stimulation or individualized consideration. Further, my analysis demonstrates that the press accounts described the leaders engaging in transactional leadership as articulated in

transformational leadership theory including contingent reward and active management by exception. This does not mean those behaviors were necessarily absent, but rather that they are not documented in this source material, calling into question both the universality of transformational leadership theory and the validity of press accounts to validate some leadership theories.

Additionally, my research showed that the press accounts depicted leadership of each of the social movements as a collective phenomenon. Leadership was described in the press as shared among organizations and individuals. This finding calls into question the unitary view of leadership in which a single leader is the primary focus that is presented in transformational leadership theory. Further, it does not offer support for Bass's universality claims about transformational leadership.

Implications of the Findings for Academics and Practitioners of Nonviolence

This study makes several significant contributions that inform a deeper understanding of transformational leadership, particularly when examined in its larger social context, and of leadership of several of nonviolent movements. First, it demonstrates some of the weakness of transformational leadership theory and shows the conceptual contradictions and ambiguities of the theory. Second, the study shows that leadership is a much more contested and complicated concept than is currently described in most of the transformational leadership literature. Third, it identifies that leadership in these social movements was a collective process. Fourth, it contributes to the field by highlighting how newspaper accounts of leadership of social movements are cultural artifacts that serve an ideological function by reflecting and propagating a narrative of leadership that is normative and appealing. This results in the maintenance of the status

quo about who is considered a leader and who can aspire to become a leader. As transformational leadership is taught in universities across the nation, the symbiotic relationship between scholarship and the press can have the unintended effect of discouraging potential leaders and discouraging shared leadership.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study shows that transformational leadership theory, like all human endeavors, is highly influenced by selective perceptions, accounts, and explanations. Journalists and scholars can be influenced – consciously or unconsciously – to present familiar and normative content. This content may be factually incomplete or present a limited view of leadership and nonviolent social movements. By doing so, a limited understanding of effective leaders and leadership is presented. It is incumbent upon future scholars who study leadership to examine a wider scope of leaders, including leaders who do not garner press attention and those who work in domains not often studied. Additionally, more research is needed into the leadership of nonviolent social movements, not as a unitary leadership, but rather a collective leadership. It is especially important that scholars and the media examine many types of leadership of nonviolent social movements to identify and examine the actions of leaders who have not been recognized as such by the mainstream media.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

31 flouting test seized by police. (1955, June 16). *The New York Times*, 19.

$50,000 is offered for Birmingham bombers. (1963, August 22). *Atlanta Daily World*, 1.

175,000 march in capital in plea for jobs, freedom. (1963, August 28). *Milwaukee Journal*, 1.

Again and again. (1963, August 29). *The New York Times*, 21.

Alhojailan, M. I. (2012). Thematic Analysis: A critical review of its process and evaluation. *West East Journal of Social Sciences*, *1*(1), 39-47.

Alvesson, M., & Karreman, D. (2016). Intellectual failure and ideological success in organizational studies: The case of transformational leadership. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 25(2), 139-152.* DOI. 10.1177/1056492615589974

Alvesson, M., & Sveningsson, S. (2003). The great disappearing act: Difficulties in doing 'leadership.' *The Leadership Quarterly*, *14*(3), 359-381.

Anderson, M. H., & Sun, P. Y. (2015). The downside of transformational leadership when encouraging followers to network. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *26*(5), 790-801.

Antonakis, J. (2012). Transformational and charismatic leadership. In D. V. Day & J. Antonakis (Eds.), *The nature of leadership* (2nd ed., pp. 256-288). Sage.

Antonakis, J., Schriesheim, C. A., Donovan, J. A., Gopalakrishna-Pillai, K., Pellegrini, E. K., & Rossomme, J. L. (2004). Methods for studying leadership. In J. Antonakus, A.T. Cianciolo, & R. J. Stenberg (Eds.), *The nature of leadership* (pp. 48-70). Sage.

Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: An analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, *1*(3), 385-405. https://doi.org/10.1177/146879410100100307

Arnold, M. (1963, August 20). Rights panel enters city school dispute. *The New York Times*, 1.

Aronson, J. (1995). A pragmatic view of Thematic Analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, *2*(1), 1-3.

Avolio, B. J., & Yammarino, F. J. (Eds.). (2002). *Transformational and charismatic leadership: The road ahead.* JAI.

Bass, B. (1999). Two decades of research and development in transformational leadership. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *8*(1) 9-32.

Bass, B. M. (1985). *Leadership and performance beyond expectations.* Free Press.

Bass, B. M., Avolio, B. J., & Goodheim, L. (1987). Biography and the assessment of transformational leadership at the world-class level. *Journal of Management, 13*(1), 7-19.

Bass, B. M. (1996). Is there universality in the full range model of leadership? *International Journal of Public Administration, 19*(6), 731-761.

Bass, B. M. (1997). Does the transactional–transformational leadership paradigm transcend organizational and national boundaries? *American Psychologist, 52*(2), 130.

Bass, B. M., & Riggio, R. E. (2006). *Transformational leadership* (2nd ed.). Lawerence Erlbaum Associates.

Bass, R., & Bass, B. M. (2008). *The Bass handbook of leadership: Theory, research, and managerial applications* (4th ed.). London Free Press.

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of knowledge: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Doubleday.

Berkowitz. W. (1997). *Social meaning of news.* Sage.

Barnett, B. (2006). Madea in the media: Narrative and myth in the newspaper coverage of women who kill their children. In *Cultural meaning of news.* Sage.

Biesta, G. (2012). Knowledge/Democracy: Notes on the political economy of academic publishing. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 15*(4), 407-419.

Bird, S. E., & Dardenne, R. W. (2009). Rethinking news and myth as storytelling. In *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 225-237). Routledge.

Bird, S. E., & Dardenne, R. W. (1988). Myth, chronicle and story: Exploring the narrative qualities of news. In *Social meaning of news* (p. 37). Sage.

Boddy, C. R. (2016). Sample size for qualitative research. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal, 19*(4), 426-432.

Bolden, R. (2011). Distributed leadership in organizations: A review of theory and research. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 13*(3), 251-269.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Sage.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2016). (Mis)conceptualizing themes, thematic analysis, and other problems with Fugard and Potts' (2015) sample-size tool for thematic analysis. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 19*(6), 739-743.

Burns, J. (1978). *Leadership.* Grove Press.

Black, A. & Gilmore, R. (1960, May 3). Protesting civil defense. *The New York Times,* 38.

Cassels, L. (1963, September 1). March reflected racial pride. *Atlanta Daly World,* 1.

Cassels, L. (1963, August 29). Church men, all races, creeds march to end racial segregation. *Chicago Daily Defender,* 4.

Caulfield, J. L., & Brenner, E. F. (2020). Resolving complex community problems: Applying collective leadership and Kotter's change model to wicked problems within social system networks. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership, 30*(3), 509-524.

Caulfield, J. L., Lee, F. K., & Baird, C. A. (2022). Navigating the ethically complex and controversial world of college athletics: A humanistic leadership approach to student athlete well-being. *Journal of Business Ethics,* 1-15.

Caulfield, J. L., Lee, F. K., & Richards, B. A. (2021). Leadership as an art: An enduring concept framed within contemporary leadership. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal, 42*(5), 735-747.

Churches will send thousands to march. (1963, August, 25). *Milwaukee Journal,* 2.

Civil defense act wins in first test. (1955, December 23). *The New York Times,* 6.

Civil rights round up. (1963, August 20). *Chicago Daily Defender*, 10.

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2013). Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning. *The Psychologist*, *26*(2), 120-123.

Coates, T. N. (2015). *The case for reparations* (pp. 1-50). Columbia University Press.

Coleman, R., McCombs, M., Shaw, D., & Weaver, D. (2009). Agenda setting. In *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 167-180). Routledge.

Conger, J. A. (1999). Charismatic and transformational leadership in organizations: An insider's perspective on these developing streams of research. *The leadership quarterly, 10*(2), 145-179.

Day, D. (1955, July-August). Where are the poor? They are in prisons, too. *Catholic Worker*, 1.

Day, D. (1955, October). On pilgrimage. *Catholic Worker*, 9.

Day, D. (1956, July-August). C. W. editors arrested in air raid drill. *Catholic Worker*, 1.

Day, D. (1957, July-August). On pilgrimage. *Catholic Worker*, 9.

D'Emilio, J. (2004). *Lost prophet: The life and times of Bayard Rustin*. Simon and Schuster.

Denis, J. L., Langley, A., & Sergi, V. (2012). Leadership in the plural. *Academy of Management Annals, 6*(1), 211-283.

Dines, G., Humez, J., Yousman, B., & Bindig Yousman, L. (2018). *Gender, race, and class in media: A Critical Reader.* Sage.

Dugan, J. P. (2017). *Leadership theory: Cultivating critical perspectives* (p. 131). John Wiley & Sons.

Diaz-Sanez, H. R. (2011). Transformational leadership. In A. Bryman, D. Collinson, K. Grint, B. Jackson, & M. Uhl-Bien (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of leadership* (pp. 299-310). Sage.

Dugan, J. P. (2017). *Leadership theory: Cultivating critical perspectives* (p. 131). John Wiley & Sons.

Edelman, M. (1993). Contestable categories and public opinion. *Political Communication, 10*(3), 231-242.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication, 43(4),* 51-58.

Entman, R. M., & Rojecki, A. (1993). Freezing out the public: Elite and media framing of the US anti-nuclear movement. *Political Communications*, 10, 155-173.

Equality is their right. (1963, August 29). *The New York Times*, 23.

Excerpts from addresses at lincoln memorial during capital civil rights march. (1963, August 29). *The New York Times,* 21.

Fairclough, N. (1993). *Discourse and social change.* Blackwell.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse*. Edward Arnold.

Five rail unions authorize strike early Thursday. (1963, August 25). *New York Times,* 1.

Five who defied air drill jailed. (1959, April 23). *The New York Times,* E9, 9.

Fletcher, J. K. (2004). The paradox of postheroic leadership: An essay on gender, power, and transformational change. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *15*(5), 647-661.

Freedom now' cry raised. (1963, August 29). *Milwaukee Sentinel,* 1.

Fugard, A. J., & Potts, H. W. (2015). Supporting thinking on sample sizes for thematic analyses: A quantitative tool. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *18*(6), 669-684.

Garner, A. C., & Slattery, K. (2012). Mobilizing mother: From good mother to patriotic mother in World War I. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, *14*(1), 5-77.

General, L. (1963, August 27). A whole nation will hold its breath while 250,000 march. *Chicago Daily Defender*, 3.

General, L. (1963a, August 29). Freedom day' will live forever; engraved on history's page. *Chicago Daily Defender*, 2.

Gentle army occupies capital; politeness is order of the day. (1963, August 29). *The New York Times*, 17.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.

Guest, G., Namey, E., & McKenna, K. (2017). How many focus groups are enough? Building an evidence base for nonprobability sample sizes. *Field Methods, 29*(1), 3-22.

Grint, K. (2005). Problems, problems, problems: The social construction of 'leadership.' *Human Relations*, 58(11), 1467-1494.

Grint, K., (2011), A history of leadership. In A. Bryman, D. Collinson, K. Grint, B. Jackson, & M. Uhl-Bien, (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of leadership* (pp. 1-14). SAGE.

Hall, S. (2018). The whites of their eyes. In *Gender, race, and class in media: A critical reader.* SAGE.

Harrison, C. (2018). Leadership research and theory. In *leadership theory and research* (pp. 15-32). Palgrave Macmillan.

Handler, M. S. (1963a, September 1). 40,000 from New York area to take part in capital march. *The New York Times,* 81.

Handler, M. S. (1963, September 1). Tactics for the future: Intensified efforts are pledged throughout the country. *The New York Times,* E3.

Haunting melody on march. (1963, August 29). *Milwaukee Sentinel,* 12.

Hennacy, A. (1955, July-August). Civil disobedience. *Catholic Worker,* 3.

Hennacy, A. (1956, January). Guilty sentence, suspended. *Catholic Worker,* 1.

Hennacy, A. (1959, June). In the marketplace. *Catholic Worker,* 2.

Hennacy, A. (1959, June). In the marketplace. *Catholic Worker,* 50.

Hennacy, A. (1960, June). 500 Defy Civil Defense Drill in N.Y.C. *Catholic Worker,* 1.

Herd, A. M., Adams-Pope, B. L., Bowers, A., & Sims, B. (2016). Finding what works: Leadership competencies for the changing healthcare environment. *Journal of Leadership Education*, *15*(4), 217-233. Retrieved from http://0-search.ebscohost.com.libus.csd.mu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=EJ1130155&site=eds-live

Hersey, P., Blanchard, K. H., & Natemeyer, W. E. (1979). Situational leadership, perception, and the impact of power. *Group & Organization Studies*, *4*(4), 418-428.

Hooks, B. (2000). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Pluto Press.

Hoy, F., van Fleet, D. D., & Yetley, M. J. (1994). Comparative organizational effectiveness research leading to an intervention strategy. *Journal of Management Studies, (21)*4, pp. 443-462.

Hunter, B. (1963, August 19). King visits Gregory in jail. *Chicago Daily Defender,* 1.

Interracial group to tour the south. (1947, April 4). *Atlanta Daily World,* 1.

Jensen, M., Potočnik, K., & Chaudhry, S. (2020). A mixed-methods study of CEO transformational leadership and firm performance. *European Management Journal,(38)*6, 836-845.

JFK promises efforts to boost employment, halt bias in jobs. (1963, September 1). *Atlanta Daily World,* 1.

Kapenstein, I. (1963, August 22). March so organized it may be dull affair. *Milwaukee Journal*, 5.

Kellner, D. (2018). Cultural studies, multiculturalism, and media culture. In *Gender, race, and class in media: A critical reader* (p. 9). SAGE.

Kenworthy, E. W. (1963, August 29). 200,000 march for civil rights in orderly Washington rally; president sees gain for Negro. *The New York Times*, 1.

Kihss, P. (1955, June 15). City Streets to be cleared. *New York Times*, 3.

Kidd, M. A. (2016). Archetypes, stereotypes and media representation in a multi-cultural society. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *236*, 25-28.

Klimoski, R. (2013). Commentary: When it comes to leadership, context matters. In M. G. Rumsey, (Ed), *The Oxford handbook of leadership* (pp. 267-287). Oxford University Press.

Koerber, R., Jennings, M. B., Shaw, L., & Cheesman, M. (2017). Representations of workers with hearing loss in Canadian newspapers: A thematic analysis. *International Journal of Audiology*, *56*(4), 260-266. https://0-doi-org.libus.csd.mu.edu/10.1080/14992027.2016.1265155

Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions.* University of Chicago Press.

Later Miss. (1963, August 29). Singer arrives late, in tears. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 10.

Lawrence, P. R., & Pirson, M. (2015). Economistic and humanistic narratives of leadership in the age of globality: Toward a renewed Darwinian theory of leadership. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *128*(2), 383-394.

Legal test looms for Jim Crow travel laws in North Carolina. (1947, May 3). *Chicago Daily Defender*, 21.

Leung, E., & Chalupa, A. (2019). Coping with imminent death: Thematic content analysis on narratives by Japanese soldiers in World War II. *Omega*: *Journal of Death & Dying*, *78*(3), 211-301. https://doi.org/10.1177/0030222815612786

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry.* SAGE

Lowe, K. B., Kroeck, K. G., & Sivasubramaniam, N. (1996). Effectiveness correlates of transformational and transactional leadership: A meta-analytic review of the MLQ literature. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *7*(3), 385-425.

Lule, J. (2001) *Daily news, eternal stories: The mythological role of journalism*. Guilford.

Lull, J. (1995). Hegemony. In *Gender, race, and class in media: A critical reader* (p. 32). SAGE Publications.

Maguire, M., & Delahunt, B. (2017). Doing a thematic analysis: A practical, step-by-step guide for learning and teaching scholars. *AISHE-J: The All Ireland Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, *9*(3).

Mann, R. D. (2016). Media framing and the myth of religious violence: The othering of Sikhs in the Times of India. *Sikh Formations*, *12*(2-3), 120-141.

Manz, C. C., & Sims, H. P., Jr. (1989). *Superleadership: Leading others to lead themselves*. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

March costs 125,000 hope to show a profit. (1963, August 29). *Chicago Daily Defender*, 4.

Mayrowetz, D. (2008). Making sense of distributed leadership: Exploring the multiple usages of the concept in the field. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *44*(3), 424-435.

May we shun violence. (1963, August 29). Clerics join in call for racial equity. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 13.

McCall, M. W., Jr. (1977). Leaders and leadership: Of substance and shadow (Technical Report No. 2). *Center for Creative Leadership*. https://doi.org/10.35613/ccl.1977.1076

McChesney, R. W., & McChesney, R. W. (2008). *The political economy of media: Enduring issues, emerging dilemmas.* NYU Press.

McCleskey, J. A. (2014). Situational, transformational, and transactional leadership and leadership development. *Journal of Business Studies Quarterly*, *5*(4), 117-188.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1993). The evolution of agenda-setting research: Twenty-five years in the marketplace of ideas. *Journal of Communication*, *43*(2), 58-67.

McGuire, D., & Hutchings, K. (2007). Portrait of a transformational leader: The legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, *28*(2), 154-166. https://doi.org/10.1108/01437730710726840

Mendez, I. M., Pories, M. L., Cordova, L., Malki, A., Wiggins, M. F., & Lee, J. G. L. (2019). A pilot project to increase health literacy among youth from seasonal farmworker families in rural eastern North Carolina: A qualitative exploration of implementation and impact. *Journal of the Medical Library Association*, *107*(2), 179-186. https://doi.org/10.5195/jmla.2019.560

Miller, S. P. M. (2018). Thematic analysis. *Salem Press Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ers&AN=113931226&site=eds-live

Mills, C. W. (2013). White supremacy as sociopolitical system: A philosophical perspective. In *White out* (p. 42-55). Routledge.

Montgomery, M. (2007). *The discourse of broadcast news: A linguistic approach.* Routledge.

Morgan, M., & Shanahan, J. (2017). Television and the cultivation of authoritarianism: A return visit from an unexpected friend. *Journal of Communication, 67*(3), 424-444.

Negroes' leader a man of dignity. (1963, August 29). *The New York Times,* 20.

Negro leaders say march worth risk of violence. (1963, August 27). *Atlanta Daily World,* 1.

News of the week in review. (1963, September 1). *The New York Times,* E1.

News summary and index. (1963, August 27). *The New York Times,* 33.

North Carolina's Jim Crow travel law faces court test. (1947, April 26). *Atlanta Daily World,* 1.

North Carolina's Jim Crow travel law faces court test. (1947, April 26). *Chicago Daily Defender,* 21.

Northouse, P. G. (2010). *Leadership: Theory and practice* (5th ed., p. 15). SAGE.

Norwood, A. (n.d.). *March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.* Retrieved December 9, 2022, from https://www.womenshistory.org/resources/general/march-washington-jobs-and-freedom.

Now I am. (1963, August 29). Excerpts from addresses at Lincoln Memorial during capital civil rights march. *The New York Times,* 21.

Now the march. (1963, August 25). *The New York Times,* E1.

Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *16*(1), 1. Retrieved from http://0-search.ebscohost.com.libus.csd.mu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=126921719&site=eds-live .

Oates, M. J. (1998). *American Catholic pacifism: The influence of Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker movement*. A. Klejment & N. L. Roberts (Eds.). Praeger.

Over 200,000 'orderly' march in Washington. (1963, August 29). *Atlanta Daily World*, 1.

Pacifists plan test of state defense act; seized in raid, may go to high court. (1955, June 18). *The New York Times*, 8.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). SAGE.

Partial text of Rev. King's speach. (1963, August 29). *Milwaukee Journal*, 2.

Pearce, W. B. (1995). A sailing guide for social constructionists. In W. Leeds-Hurwitz (Ed.), *Social approaches to communication* (p. 88-113). Gullford.

Perhaps more. (1963, August 29). Equality is their right. *The New York Times*, 23.

Puehringer, S., Rath, J., & Griesebner, T. (2021). The political economy of academic publishing: On the commodification of a public good. *Plos One, 16*(6), e0253226.

Reston, J. (1963, August 29). Capital feels impact of "dream for equality." *Milwaukee Journal*, 2.

Rev. King said. (1963, August 28). Wilkins rejects communist help. *Chicago Daily Defender*, 4.

Rights leaders predict second revolution. (1963, August 30). *Atlanta Daily World*, 1.

Robertson, N. (1963, August 25). Protest marches are nothing new to nation's capital. *The New York Times*, 80.

Robertson, N. (1963, August 26). Civil rights leaders urge proud and orderly march. *The New York Times*, 1.

Rost, J. C. (1993). Leadership development in the new millennium. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies, 1*(1), 91-101.

Ryder, M., Jacob, E., & Hendricks, J. (2019). An inductive qualitative approach to explore Nurse Practitioners views on leadership and research: An international perspective. *Journal of Clinical Nursing, 28*(13/14), 2644-2658. https://0-doi-org.libus.csd.mu.edu/10.1111/jocn.14853

Sandelowski, M. (1995). Sample size in qualitative research. *Research in Nursing & Health, 18*(2), 179-183. https://doi.org/10.1002/nur.4770180211

Scully, J. A., Sims Jr, H. P., Olian, J. D., Schnell, E. R., & Smith, K. A. (1994). Tough times make tough bosses: A meso analysis of CEO leader behavior. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *5*(1), 59-83.

Scott, L. (1947, April 26). Nine-man mixed team tours south, testing dixie Jim Crow laws. *Chicago Daily Defender*, 7.

Segregation rule tested. (1947, April 28). *The New York Times*, 23.

Shamir, B. (1995). Social distance and charisma: Theoretical notes and an exploratory study. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *6*(1), 19-47.

Sitton, C. (1963, September 1). Status of integration: The progress so far is characterized as mainly tokenism. *The New York Times*, E3.

Sitton, C. (1963, September 2). Southern press plays up march. *The New York Times*, 6.

Skillin, E. Bennett, J., & Lipham, R. (1957, July 30). Pacifists' dissent backed. *The New York Times*, 22.

Smith, F. L., & Keyton., J. (2001). Organizational storytelling metaphors for relational power and identity struggles. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *15*(2), 149-182.

Smith, I., Oades, L. G., & McCarthy, G. (2012). Homophobia to heterosexism: Constructs in need of revisitation. *Gay and Lesbian Issues and Psychology Review*, *8*(1), 34-44.

Smith, H. (1963, August 30). Leaders of march pledge widening of rights. *The New York Times*, 1.

Stabile, C. (2006). *White victims, Black villains: Gender, race, and crime news in US culture.* Routledge.

Steed, R., Rogers, B., & Dugan, K. (1958, May). Civil defense drill. *Catholic Worker*, 2.

Steed, R. (1959, April-May). Dorothy Day serves 10 days. *Catholic Worker*, 1.

Steed, R. (1960, April). Civil disobedience to civil defense. *Catholic Worker*, 2.

Steinwart, M. C., & Ziegler, J. A. (2014). Remembering Apple CEO Steve Jobs as a "Transformational Leader": Implications for Pedagogy. *Journal of Leadership Education*, *13*(2), 52-66.

Stone, C. (1963, August 29). 300,000 march for jobs, freedom! *Chicago Daily Defender*, 2.

The abolition. (1961, May 6). End civil defense, group here urges. *The New York Times*, 31.

Thompson, G., & Vecchio, R. P. (2009). Situational leadership theory: A test of three versions. *The Leadership Quarterly, 20*(5), 837-848.

Tomasson, R. (1963, August 25). Civil rights leaders urge proud and orderly march. *The New York Times, 81*.

Turner, E. (1963, September). Leader is. *Catholic Worker, 1*.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society, 4*(2), 249-283.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite discourse and racism*. SAGE. https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781483326184

Wang, G., Oh, I., & Colbert, A. E. (2011). Transformational leadership and performance across criteria and levels: A meta-analytic review of 25 years of research. *Group & Organization Management, 36*(2), 223-270.

Washington braces for marchers. (1963, August 25). *Milwaukee Journal*, 16.

Weick, K. E. (2000). *Making sense of the organization.* Blackwell.

What the marchers really want. (1963, August 25). *The New York Times*, SM7.

Wiebe, E., Durepos, G., & Mills, A. J. (2010). *Encyclopedia of case study research*. SAGE Publications, Inc.

Where we will. (1963, September 1). Vote drive next Dr. King promises. *New York Times*, 44.

Wu, H. D., & Coleman, R. (2009). Advancing agenda-setting theory: The comparative strength and new contingent conditions of the two levels of agenda-setting effects. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 86*(4), 775-789.

Yukl, G. (1999). An Evaluation of conceptual weaknesses in transformational and charismatic leadership theories. *The Leadership Quarterly, 10*(2), 285-305. Retrieved from https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1048984399000132

Yukl, G. A. (2010), *Leadership in Organizations.* Pearson.

Yousman, B. (2018). [In] justice rolls down like water . . . Challenging white supremacy in media constructions of crime and punishment. In G. Dines, J. M. Humez, B. Yousman, & L. B. Yousman (Eds.). *Gender, race, and class in media: A critical reader* (5th ed., pp. 217-223). SAGE.

Vroom, V. H., & Jago, A. G. (2007). The role of the situation in leadership. *American psychologist*, *62*(1), 17.