

MORE THAN ALTRUISM: AN EXAMINATION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING  
JR.'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE CHICAGO CAMPAIGN AND PROTEST OF THE  
VIETNAM WAR

by  
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## ABSTRACT

STEPHANIE POIROUX: More than Altruism: An Examination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Involvement in the Chicago Campaign and Protest of the Vietnam War  
(Under the direction of Willa Johnson)

This mix-method study examines whether Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s writing reflects altruism. Utilizing content analysis, I examined 60 of King's sermons, speeches, letters, newspaper statements, and telegrams about the Chicago Campaign and the Vietnam War over two separate two-year periods starting from January 1, 1965 to December 31, 1967. King's documents were scored based on the Altruistic Personality Scale for Leaders and Protest, which was created based on the characteristics of both passive and active bystanders derived from studies written by scholars of psychology. After analyzing the range, complexity, and density of King's altruism, this study shows that all but seven of King's writings expressed altruism with his writings concerning his involvement in the Chicago Campaign and protest of the Vietnam War being moderately altruistic. A pattern emerged within the documents indicating that King envisioned the formation of an entirely new social movement that sought to change the social structure of the northern cities by addressing three major social problems that he saw as paralyzing progress: education, employment, and housing. The effects of such a movement when considered within the range of events such as the Poor People's Campaign portend change for people of color and for the country as a whole.

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## *Introduction*

The present study is a mixed-method historical-sociological project that analyzes archival data. The goal of this study is to see if Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s protest of the Vietnam War and his involvement in the Chicago Campaign was motivated by altruism. In order to do this, I systematically examined King's sermons, speeches, statements, newspaper articles, letters, and telegrams over two separate two-year periods. When I began my examination of King's protest of the Vietnam War, I posed the following research questions: 1) Was King's protest of the Vietnam war altruistic?; 2) How did religion or religious belief play a role in whether or not King engaged in altruism?; and 3) How are King's nonviolent ethic, personalism, and altruism linked?<sup>1</sup> I hypothesized that King was altruistic and that he was motivated by his religious beliefs to help everyone affected by the war including the poor, the people of Vietnam, and members of the U.S. military pertinent to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Upon completion of my study of King's protest of the Vietnam War, I wondered if King was more or less altruistic in other situations. To answer this question, I selected King's involvement in the Chicago Campaign and posed the following research questions: 1) Was King's participation in the Chicago Campaign altruistic?; 2) Why did King switch

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<sup>1</sup> When I first began this study and created these research questions, I did not think that I would be examining King's writings rather than his actions. We realized that it would be more feasible and efficient to study King's writings about the Chicago Campaign and the Vietnam War than looking at his actions. From this point forward, I describe King's writings as altruistic; although, his actions seem to align with his writings.

from the Chicago Campaign to the Peace Movement?; 3) Was his participation more or less altruistic than his protest of the Vietnam War?; and 4) If his involvement was less altruistic, why did he display more altruism in his writings about the Peace Movement than in this part of the Civil Rights Movement? I hypothesized that King's writings concerning the Chicago Campaign were less altruistic because he saw the end of the Vietnam War as a more pressing matter. I first became interested in this topic of altruism after re-reading Viktor Frankl's *Man's Search for Meaning*. I wondered how people could put themselves at risk for the sake of others. However, over the course of the Chicago analysis, I began to notice that King's writings, although altruistic, seemed to point to the formation of a new social movement. As I analyzed the Chicago Campaign, I shifted my focus from altruism to social movements as this appeared to be the direction in King's writings.

Although rhetoric does not always align with actions, the same cannot be said about King in regard to the Chicago Campaign and the Vietnam War. The goal of this study was not to study King's actions during these periods of his activism; rather it was conducted in order to determine if his writings concerning the Chicago Campaign and the Vietnam War were altruistic. In King's case, his rhetoric coincides with his actions. For example, during a civil rights march through Gage Park in Chicago in 1966, King decides to keep marching even after being struck in the head with a brick.<sup>2</sup> He also expresses weariness in his "Why I Must March" speech by stating, "I don't mind saying to you tonight that I'm tired of living every day under the threat of death. I have no martyr

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<sup>2</sup> David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1999), 500.



complex, I want to live as long as anybody in the bldg. [*sic*] tonight, and sometimes I begin to doubt whether I'm gonna make it through. I must confess I'm tired."<sup>3</sup> Yet, King continues to speak out. He is even killed one year after declaring his opposition to the Vietnam War.<sup>4</sup> These examples and others seem to indicate that King's rhetoric aligns with what he actually did during these movements.

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<sup>3</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., speech, "Why I Must March," August 18, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta (hereafter cited as "Why I Must March," The King Center).

<sup>4</sup> Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 623.

## *Literature Review*

Depending upon the situation, humans have the ability to commit both extreme good and extreme evil. Good can be defined, behaviorally, as prosocial acts such as helping.<sup>5</sup> Evil, in contrast, is “the destruction of human beings,” and includes actions such as killing or creating conditions that make it difficult for people to hold on to their dignity or even survive.<sup>6</sup> Bradley Campbell found that the same person could carry out both good and evil actions.<sup>7</sup> Although humans are capable of good and evil, most research has been focused on the role bystanders play, specifically the ones who do absolutely nothing to stop perpetrators or their violence against the victims. Bystanders, whether internal or external, have a great effect on the actions of perpetrators.<sup>8</sup> In fact, Ervin Staub claimed that activating bystanders may be a key factor in preventing genocides and mass killings.<sup>9</sup>

While focusing on bystanders who do nothing is an important area to research, few have delved into the study of active bystanders. Researchers have tended not to

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<sup>5</sup> Arthur G. Miller, *The Social Psychology of Good and Evil* (2004; repr., New York: The Guilford Press, 2005), 4.

<sup>6</sup> Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence* (1989; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 25.

<sup>7</sup> Bradley Campbell, “Contradictory Behavior During Genocides,” *Sociological Forum* 25, no. 2 (2010): 297. <http://www.jstor.org.umiss.idm.oclc.org/stable/40783395>.

<sup>8</sup> Ervin Staub, “The Psychology of Perpetrators and Bystanders,” *Political Psychology* 6, no. 1 (1985): 78. doi:10.2307/3791271.

<sup>9</sup> Ervin Staub, “Preventing Genocide: Activating Bystanders, Helping Victims, and the Creation of Caring,” *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 2, no. 3 (1996): 199. *PsycINFO*, EBSCOhost.

focus on studying the extreme good that people are also able to do. According to C. Daniel Batson, there is also a stock answer among psychologists to the question about whether humans care for others or only themselves. He claims that most psychologists believe that people are only capable of caring about themselves.<sup>10</sup> However, Batson points to evidence from three of his studies and others to support the notion that humans do indeed have the capacity to care not only for their own welfare, but also the welfare of others.<sup>11</sup>

While historical evidence also points to the idea that humans can care for others, even going so far as to risk their lives in order to help someone in need, scholars nevertheless perceive altruism differently. Some regard it as a type of behavior whereas others, such as David Konstan, consider altruism as an interpretation of behavior.<sup>12</sup> If altruism is the interpretation of behavior, then there must be some underlying motivation that drives it. Sociologists Brent Simpson and Robb Willer found that it could be difficult to discern prosocial motivations due to the social mechanisms that surround it.<sup>13</sup> For example, Yuta Kawamura and Takashi Kusumi found evidence that the relationship between altruism and rejection avoidance is influenced and moderated by social norms.<sup>14</sup> The motivations that Simpson and Willer mentioned can be egoistic, the goal of which is

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<sup>10</sup> C. Daniel Batson, "How Social an Animal? The Human Capacity for Caring," *American Psychologist* 45, no. 3 (1990): 336. *PsycINFO*, EBSCOhost.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 338.

<sup>12</sup> David Konstan, "Altruism," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-) 130 (2000): 2. <http://www.jstor.org.umiss.idm.oclc.org/stable/284303>.

<sup>13</sup> Brent Simpson and Robb Willer, "Beyond Altruism: Sociological Foundations of Cooperation and Prosocial Behavior," *Annual Review of Sociology* 41 (2015): 58. doi: 10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112242.

<sup>14</sup> Yuta Kawamura & Takashi Kusumi, "The relationship between rejection avoidance and altruism is moderated by social norms," *Personality and Individual Differences* 129, (2018): 26. *PsycINFO* EBSCOhost.

to benefit the helper, or altruistic, meaning the objective is to help the person in need.<sup>15</sup>

In two studies, Batson et al. found that egoistic motivations are not strong drives for prosocial behavior. First, Batson et al. found that extrinsic religion that is used as a means to obtain safety and social standing actually decreased prosocial motivation.<sup>16</sup>

They then concluded that the empathic joy hypothesis, which states that people only help others in order to share vicariously in the pleasure of the needy person's relief, did not increase prosocial behavior.<sup>17</sup> Because motivations are a crucial factor in determining what altruism is, the present study defines altruism as an act that benefits another or others, even at great personal cost to the helper.<sup>18</sup> The actors' must be purely motivated by a desire to help the others.<sup>19</sup>

There are several ways in which altruism may be interpreted or classified. When examining the idea of an altruistic personality, Batson et al cite previous research by J.P. Rushton and Ervin Staub claiming that there is a certain type of altruistic personality that people can possess.<sup>20</sup> However, Batson et al. found that four "altruistic" personality traits, namely self-esteem, social responsibility, ascription of responsibility, and dispositional empathy, are not associated with altruistic motivation.<sup>21</sup> One type of altruism that has been studied is known as altruism born of suffering. Ervin Staub and

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<sup>15</sup> C. Daniel Batson et al., "Religious Prosocial Motivation: Is It Altruistic or Egoistic?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 57 (1989): 874. *PsycINFO*, EBSCOhost.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 878.

<sup>17</sup> C. Daniel Batson et al., "Empathic Joy and Empathy-Altruism Hypothesis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 61, no.3 (1991): 425. *PsycINFO*, EBSCOhost.

<sup>18</sup> Batson et al., "Religious Prosocial Motivation," 874.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 874.

<sup>20</sup> Batson et al., "Where is the Altruism in the Altruistic Personality," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50, no. 1 (1986): 212. *PsycINFO*, EBSCOhost.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

Johanna Vollhardt found that past victimization and positive helping models may aid in fostering altruistic desires to help others.<sup>22</sup> Krzysztof Konarzewski distinguishes between two other types of altruism.<sup>23</sup> The first is the empathy hypothesis of altruism, which states that a person is led to help another if he incorporates the other into himself, thus attempting to rescue himself in the other.<sup>24</sup> The protest hypothesis of altruism argues that a person helps another due to disagreements with the social order.<sup>25</sup> Konarzewski concludes that it is a synthesis of these two hypotheses that contributes to altruism.<sup>26</sup>

Scholars such as Batson and Konarzewski argue that religion may play a role in altruism.<sup>27</sup> In their study, Batson et al. found that both extrinsic religion as a means and intrinsic religious as an end were both egoistically motivated.<sup>28</sup> Religion as a quest neither increased nor decreased prosocial behavior but did possibly change the motivation of that behavior to be altruistic.<sup>29</sup> Konarzewski found that early religious experience weakened a person's dependence on others.<sup>30</sup> This independence allows the protest hypothesis of altruism to manifest, which helps a person to engage in altruistic

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<sup>22</sup> Ervin Staub and Johanna Vollhardt, "Altruism Born of Suffering: The Roots of Caring and Helping After Victimization and Other Trauma," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 78, no. 3 (2008): 271. *PsycINFO*, EBSCOhost.

<sup>23</sup> Krzysztof Konarzewski, "Empathy and Protest: Two Roots of Heroic Altruism," in *Embracing the Other: Philosophical, Psychological, and Historical Perspectives on Altruism* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1992), 22.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>27</sup> Batson et al., "Religious Prosocial Motivation," 882. & Konarzewski, "Empathy and Protest," 27.

<sup>28</sup> Batson et al., "Religious Prosocial Motivation," 882.

<sup>29</sup> Batson et al., "Religious Prosocial Motivation," 883.

<sup>30</sup> Konarzewski, "Empathy and Protest," 27.

behavior.<sup>31</sup> Based on Konarzewski's findings, it is possible to conclude that religion could have influence in cases when the protest hypothesis of altruism is at work.

It is important to note that altruism is not a form of generalized exchange nor does it produce the need for reciprocity. Brent Simpson et al. studied two types of processes that govern generalized exchange systems: generalized reciprocity and indirect reciprocity.<sup>32</sup> Both are egoistic since generalized reciprocity is motivated by gratitude and reputational benefits for indirect reciprocity.<sup>33</sup> But since altruism is purely motivated by a desire to help the other, it cannot be viewed as an exchange that generates reciprocity.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, if there is indication within King's writings of seeking or expecting something in return, then it cannot be considered altruistic.

This historical sociological study examines Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s writings in support of the Chicago Campaign and protest of the Vietnam War to determine if his actions were altruistic; and if they were, to analyze the range, complexity and density of altruism in King's documents. If King's writings were altruistic, we can learn more about how he became so—the structure of his motivations and the dynamics of his altruism. Knowing this may help social scientists to consider further alternatives to the dilemmas experienced by bystanders in the face of violence and other social ills. This study also attempts to combine both psychology and sociology in the study of altruism. After explaining and detailing past research of altruism, Jane Allyn Piliavin proposes that

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>32</sup> Simpson et al., "The Roots of Reciprocity: Gratitude and Reputation in Generalized Exchange Systems," *American Sociological Review* 83, no. 1 (2018): 89. doi: 10.1177/0003122417747290.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>34</sup> Batson et al., "Religious Prosocial Motivation," 874.

future research of altruism and helping should be a combination or synthesis of psychology and sociology.<sup>35</sup> A second purpose of this study is to establish a systematic way to measure altruism in any historical figure based on the examination of archival data.

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<sup>35</sup> Jane Allyn Piliavin, "Altruism and Helping: The Evolution of a Field: The 2008 Cooley-Mead Presentation," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (2009): 222. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25593924>.

## *Methods*

This study is split into two parts, but the process of analysis remained the same and I used descriptive statistics with both of them. This study is a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of 26 of Dr. King's 1966-1967 documents about the Vietnam War and 34 of Dr. King's 1965-1966 writings concerning the Chicago Freedom Movement. I analyzed two sermons, seven speeches, 13 letters, and four telegrams relating to Vietnam. For the Chicago Campaign analysis, I examined 23 speeches and statements, six letters, two newspaper articles, and three telegrams. I also examined combined total of 50 letters, 11 for the Chicago analysis and 39 for the Vietnam analysis. The purpose of this analysis was to gauge how much support and resistance King faced for his participation in the Chicago Campaign and protest of the Vietnam War. King's writings would be seen as more altruistic if he continued to protest in spite of the opposition he faced, so this analysis was used to quantitatively and qualitatively measure any support or opposition he received. In order to establish what constituted altruism, I created a scale to systematically define altruism.

The unit of analysis for the study is the documents, the dependent variable is altruism and the independent variables are the subcategories of the altruism part and the other main categories in both the Vietnam and Chicago coding frames. Below is a chart that lists the main categories and subcategories of the coding frame for Vietnam and the Chicago Campaign. The main categories of each coding frame are in bold.



Table 1

## Vietnam Coding Frame At a Glance

<b>Altruism</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Bystander</b>	<b>Resistance</b>	<b>Other Motivations</b>	<b>Letters to MLK</b>
Protest on behalf of the military (Protest Military)	Mentions religion as a motive (Religious Motive)	Recognizes humanity of outgroup (Recognizes humanity)	Lyndon B. Johnson (LBJ)	Civil Rights	Support
Protest on behalf of the U.S. (Protest U.S.)	Mentions a belief related to personalism, love, or nonviolence (Mentions Personalism)	Resists or protests actions of perpetrators (Resists perpetrators)	The Press (Press)	Great Society	Protest
Protest on behalf of the People of Vietnam (Protest Vietnam)	Cites a biblical verse or passages (Cites Bible)	Does not ignore injustice	Former supporters		Date
Opposition King faced due to his protest (Opposition to Protest)	Mentions other theological ideas or beliefs (Other theologies)	Does not give in when facing resistance (Facing resistance)	Other people		
King's decision to protest anyway (Will Protest Anyway)		Does not conform when pressured by powerful people (Pressure from top people)			
Altruism Score					
Conscience					
Date					
Complexity					
Altruistic Sentences					
Total Sentences					
Density					

Table 2

## Chicago Coding Frame At a Glance

<b>Altruism</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Bystander</b>	<b>Resistance</b>	<b>Letters to MLK</b>
Date	Date	Date	Date	Date
Protest against the slums (Protest Slums)	Mentions religion as a motive (Religious Motive)	Recognizes humanity of outgroup (Recognizes humanity)	White people	Support
Protest for the people of Chicago	Mentions a belief related to personalism, love, or nonviolence (Mentions Personalism)	Resists or protests actions of perpetrators (Resists perpetrators)	Richard Daley	Protest
Weariness	Cites a biblical verse or passages (Cites Bible)	Does not ignore injustice	Real estate	Neither
Small -> Big	Mentions other theological ideas or beliefs (Other theologies)	Does not give in when facing resistance (Facing resistance)	Landlords	
Stresses nonviolence	Mentions stories and verses from the Bible (Mentions Bible)	Does not conform when pressured by powerful people (Pressure from top people)	Others	
Conscience				
Altruism Score				
Complexity				
Altruistic Sentences				
Total Sentences				
Density				

The documents I examined for Vietnam came from the King Center Digital Archive, which is an online archive. I physically found the documents for my Chicago sample in the King Center Library and Archives.

### *Data Collection*

#### *Vietnam*

In order to find the documents, I searched the term “Vietnam” using the advanced search mechanism. I used the date of January 1, 1966, as the start date and December 31, 1967, as the end date. To choose the content type, I used the dropdown box and selected sermons, speeches, correspondence, and telegrams. Due to the limited number of speeches, sermons, letters, and telegrams related to Vietnam in the online archive, I read all of the pieces written by King. Of the first two pages of the search results, there were 77 letters written by other people to King. Since there were many more letters written by other people to King, I used random selection to choose which letters to read by skipping every other one. I read the first letter on the list, skipped the second one, read the third letter, and so on. Even though the list of 77 letters filled three separate notebook pages, I looked at it as one continuous list, so I did not restart the random selection process. When determining which letters to analyze, I examined the title of each letter. I did not read the abstract or the letter itself beforehand. As long as the title of the letter said that the document was written by someone else to King, I included it in my sample.

#### *The Chicago Campaign*

I visited the King Center Library and Archives in Atlanta, Georgia, and spent two days searching the archives in order to collect documents related to the Chicago

Campaign. I used the archives' binders to determine which boxes and folders to look through. For the King papers, everything but speeches and statements were sorted by topic and then the date of the document. King's speeches, sermons, and statements, however, were organized by the date and title of the piece. I also examined the binder, boxes, and folders, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) papers to find letters written by others to Dr. King. I did not read through the documents thoroughly when I came across them. As long as Chicago was mentioned and the subject of the piece related to Chicago, I made a copy of the document and added it to my sample. It was much more difficult to find letters written by other people to King about Chicago, so I collected any one I came across. I even included three telegrams in this sample, making the total correspondence from other people to King 11 documents.

### *Data Analysis*

#### *Quantitative Analysis*

There were three quantitative measures of the documents: one score for altruism, a second for density, and a third for complexity. To determine whether the documents written by King had altruistic features, I first modified the Altruistic Personality Scale created by J.P. Rushton et al (1981). Since the scale created by J.P. Rushton et al. was designed to score every day instances of altruism, such as helping someone change a flat tire, I used different elements of both passive and active bystanders that I drew from scholarly articles about altruism and bystanders to develop the Altruistic Personality Scale for Leaders and Protest.<sup>36</sup> I used this scale to find the range of altruism within the

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<sup>36</sup> Batson et al., 1986; Batson et al., 1989; Batson, 1990; Batson et al., 1991; Staub, 1985; Staub, 1996; Staub & Vollhardt, 2008.

King's writings. I scored each document based on when elements of the scale, such as "Not passive in the face of injustice" appeared within the document. (See The Altruistic Personality Scale for Leaders and Protest in Appendix A). I scored every sentence for altruistic elements. I created a score sheet and tallied how many times an item from the scale appeared. I then counted up the tallies and applied a scale to score each item. According to the scale, zero tallies earned a "1-Never"; one tally earned a 2 for "Once"; two to four tallies were given a score of 3 for "More than once"; five to seven tallies were given a 4 to designate "Often"; and eight to ten tallies earned a score of 5 for "Very often." Once each item was scored, I added all of the values together to find an overall *altruism score*. The lowest score a document could earn was a 20, while the highest score was a 100.

As I was progressing through my analysis of the documents, I realized that the scale did not take into account the length of the document. For example, a very altruistic document could still earn a low altruism score because it was so short. In order to correct for this problem, I reread all of the documents and counted the number of altruistic sentences I found within each document. I determined whether or not a sentence was altruistic based on the elements I used to create the scale. I then compared the number of altruistic sentences to the total number of sentences of a given document to establish a *density score*. After finding this ratio, I then used a formula within Microsoft Excel to find the percentage of altruistic sentences within the document. This *density score* gives a clearer indication of how altruistic a document is regardless of its length.

The coding frames I created for both the Vietnam and Chicago analyses were also used to determine the complexity of King's altruism within his documents. I used a

binary system to assign scores within the coding frame, by assigning 1 for “yes” whenever a particular altruistic element appeared in a document and 0 to represent a “no” when an altruistic element did not. The subcategories for the Altruism category for both coding frames can be seen in Table 1 and Table 2 at the beginning of this section. I added the scores for all six categories to develop a *complexity score*. This score measures how comprehensive King’s altruism was. The lowest score a document could earn for complexity was a 0 while the highest was a 6.

### *Qualitative Analysis*

I also used the coding frames in order to conduct a qualitative content analysis of the documents. Here I examined King’s documents to see if certain themes were repeated throughout King’s writings about Vietnam and the Chicago Freedom Movement. I used the coding frames to qualitatively assess altruism and to examine King’s writings for themes, reasons, and motives for King’s altruism within his writings. The altruism category functioned as both a quantitative and qualitative measure while the other major categories were only used for the qualitative analysis. The main categories and their subcategories can all be seen at a glance in the previously mentioned tables. The purpose of this analysis was to see if these themes were repeated and reached saturation.

*Findings*

*Quantitative – Vietnam*

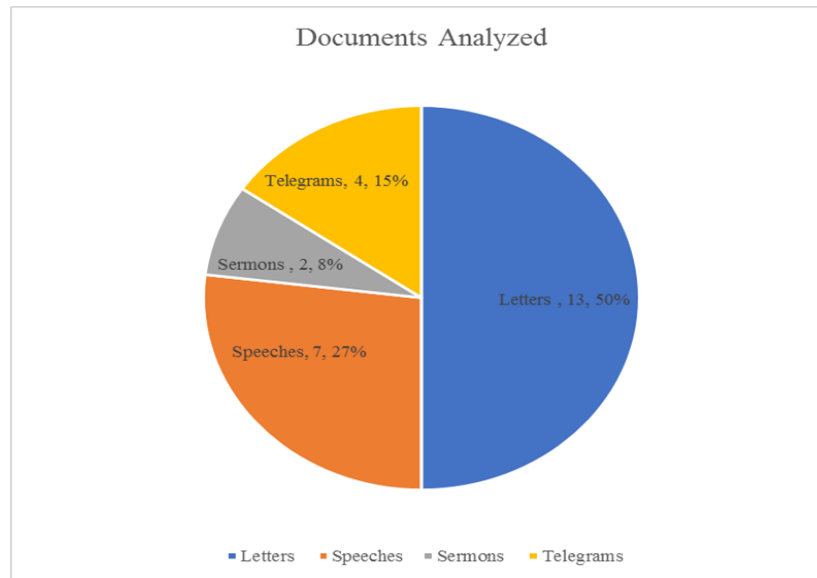


Figure 1

After analyzing the data I collected, I was able to answer all of my research questions. My first question asked, “Was King’s protest of the Vietnam War altruistic?” Through the data I collected, I concluded that King’s writings about the Vietnam War were moderately altruistic.

Through the data I collected, I concluded that King’s writings about the Vietnam War were moderately altruistic.

Table 3 **Scale of Altruism by Document Type**

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Average</b>
<b>Speeches</b>	7	58	31	26	35.3
<b>Sermons</b>	2	57	48.5	40	48.5
<b>Letters</b>	13	39	26	20	26.5
<b>Telegrams</b>	4	26	22	20	22.5
<b>Overall</b>	26	58	27	20	29.9

20 = Zero Altruistic Mentions

Table 3 shows the median, high, and low scores of altruism by document type. The lowest achievable score of 20 means the document had zero altruistic mentions. Only three out of the 26 examined documents that King wrote about Vietnam received a score of 20 based on the Altruistic Personality Scale for Leaders and Protest. The other 23 documents scored within a range of 21 to 58. Of the six categories related to Altruism (Protest on behalf of the U.S. military, Protest on behalf of the people of the U.S., Protest on behalf of the people of Vietnam, Opposition to Protest, and Will Protest Anyway), at least one of these appeared in all 23 of the documents that I examined as Tables 4 and 5 show.



Table 4

**Complexity**

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Average</b>
<b>Sermons</b>	2	6	3.5	1	3.5
<b>Speeches</b>	7	6	3	0	3.14
<b>Letters</b>	13	4	0	0	1
<b>Telegrams</b>	4	0	0	0	0
<b>Overall</b>	26	6	1	0	1.62

Table 5

**Density**

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Average</b>
<b>Sermons</b>	2	0.281	0.238	0.195	0.238
<b>Speeches</b>	7	0.7	0.321	0.110	0.308
<b>Letters</b>	13	0.5	0.263	0	0.244
<b>Telegrams</b>	4	0.667	0.334	0	0.334
<b>Overall</b>	26	0.7	0.272	0	0.275

Table 4 accounts for the complexity or dimensions of King’s altruism within his writings. Table 5 covers the density of altruism, which I found by comparing the number of altruistic sentences to the total number of sentences in a document.

While analyzing the 39 letters from others to King, I did not expect to see the resistance he faced or support he received while protesting the war.

Table 6

<b>Support/Resistance</b>		
<b>Support</b>	<b>Resistance</b>	<b>Neither</b>
18	9	12

*Quantitative – Chicago*

As with the Vietnam section of this study, I have summarized the data I gathered from my analysis of the Chicago Campaign documents into one Figure and three Tables. Figure 2 shows the percentage of documents analyzed by type.

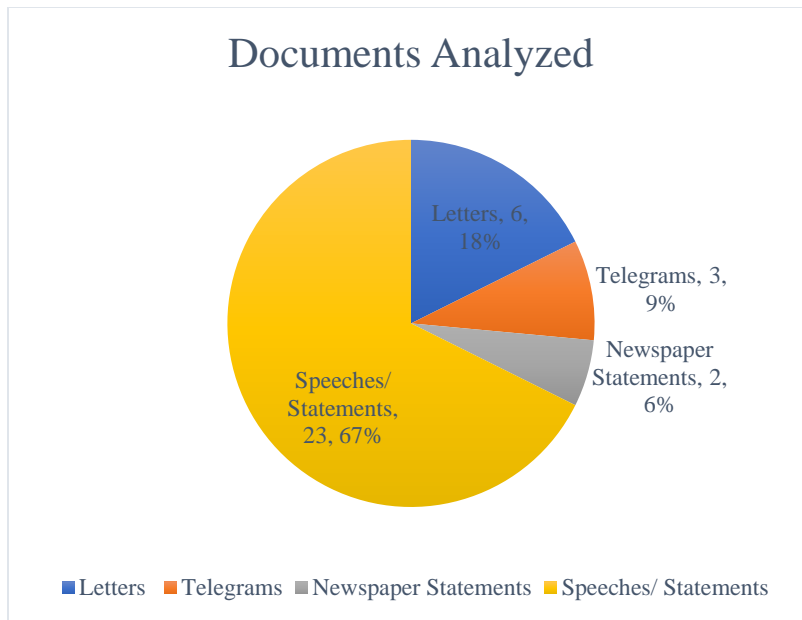


Figure 2

The answers to my research questions for this portion of the study were hard to discern. Drawing on the data I collected, I concluded that King’s writings concerning the Chicago Campaign were altruistic, but much less so than his Vietnam protest.

Table 7 **Scale of Altruism by Document Type**

Unit of Analysis	n	High	Median	Low	Average
Speeches/Statements	23	51	32	20	30.7
Newspaper Statements	2	39	38.5	38	38.5
Telegrams	3	31	24	20	25
Letters	6	27	24.5	20	24.2
<b>Overall</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>29.5</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>29.1</b>

20 = Zero Altruistic Mentions

Table 7 shows the low, median, and high altruistic scores from the four types of documents in this sample. Three of the four types contained a document that received an altruistic score of 20, meaning that a document had no altruistic mentions. While there is evidence of altruism within these documents, King’s writings about the Chicago Campaign were not as altruistic as his Vietnam writings. Five of the 34 documents received a score of 20, which does not seem indicative of no altruistic elements. However, most of the documents had an altruism score that ranges from 23-35, with only eight earning a score higher than that. Based on the data I analyzed and gathered, I found that, although King’s writings do contain some altruistic elements, the sample as a whole was not as altruistic as the Vietnam sample.

Table 8 **Complexity**

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Average</b>
<b>Speeches/ Statements</b>	23	5	2	0	2.30
<b>Newspaper Statements</b>	2	4	3	2	3
<b>Telegrams</b>	3	3	3	1	1.3
<b>Letters</b>	6	2	1	0	1
<b>Overall</b>	34	5	2	0	2

Table 9 **Density**

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Average</b>
<b>Speeches/ Statements</b>	23	1	0.270	0	0.263
<b>Newspaper Statements</b>	2	0.471	0.349	0.226	0.349
<b>Telegrams</b>	3	1	0.5	0	0.5
<b>Letters</b>	6	0.5	0.187	0	0.231
<b>Overall</b>	34	1	0.262	0	0.284

Table 8 displays the complexity of King’s altruism, while Table 9 shows the density of King’s altruism that is found in his Chicago writings. The complexity score represents how diverse King’s altruism within a document while the density score provides a clear indication of King’s altruism within a document regardless of its length.

Even though I had a much smaller sample, it is clear that King had much more support for the Chicago Campaign. Out of the 11 letters and telegrams, six voiced their support, two resisted his involvement, and three did not state any support or resistance to his actions.

Table 10

**Support/ Resistance**

<b>Support</b>	<b>Resistance</b>	<b>Neither</b>
6	2	3

Even though there were less letters voicing opposition to King’s involvement in Chicago, there is an indication that he did face resistance. This evidence, combined with King’s decision within his writings to continue to protest, reinforces the altruistic elements found in his writings.

*Qualitative Analysis – Vietnam*

To highlight the types of altruistic statements King made, I have excerpted sample statements from the 26 documents analyzed that fell within the altruistic themes I listed in my coding frame. In King’s sermon: “Why I Am Opposed the War in Vietnam,” King protests on behalf of the U.S. military by stating:

At this point, I should make it clear that while I have tried in these last moments to give a voice to the voiceless of Vietnam to understand the arguments of those who are called enemy, I am deeply concerned about our own troops. I am as concerned about them as anything else—for it occurs to me that what we are submitting them to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on

in any war where armies face each other and seek to destroy, we are adding cynicism to the process of death.<sup>37</sup>

King also protested on behalf of the people of the U.S. by declaring in his speech “The Casualties of the War in Vietnam” by writing:

Despite feeble protestations to the contrary, the promises of the Great Society have been shot down on the battlefield of Viet Nam. The pursuit of this widened war has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burden both at the front and at home.<sup>38</sup>

King even protested on behalf of the people of Vietnam in his “Beyond Vietnam” speech, saying:

Now there is little left to build on—save bitterness. Soon the only solid physical foundations remaining will be found at our military bases and in the concrete of the concentration camps we call fortified hamlets. The peasants may well wonder if we plan to build our new Viet Nam on such grounds as these? Could we blame them for such thoughts? We must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These too are our brothers.<sup>39</sup>

King also commented on the opposition he faced for speaking out. While giving a speech to the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace, King asserts that:

We have thus far avoided the recrudescence of McCarthyism. It is constantly threatening but it has not yet been able to gain a secure foothold. It is not for lack of trying by the ubiquitous congressional committees. They are trying to bring down a blanket of intimidation, but a healthy resistance holds them in check.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Martin Luther King Jr., “MLK Sermon: Why I Am Opposed the War in Vietnam,” The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/mlk-sermon-why-i-am-opposed-war-vietnam>.

<sup>38</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., “The Casualties of the War in Vietnam,” The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/casualties-war-vietnam>.

<sup>39</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., “Beyond Vietnam,” The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/beyond-vietnam>.

<sup>40</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., “The Domestic Impact of the War in America,” The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/domestic-impact-war-america>.

In spite of the opposition he faced, King declared that he would continue protesting, saying to former supporter Johnnie Lee Halle, “I am sorry that my recent speeches on Vietnam has cost us your support. However, I feel that war is no longer, if it ever was, a valid way to solve international problems.”<sup>41</sup>

Finally, whereas I expected many of the other categories, conscience emerged inductively. Therefore, I recoded the documents for it. One example that reflects the role of King’s conscience in the decisions he made concerning Vietnam comes from his sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church where he proclaims, “So let us be transformed non-conformists. Let us not fear dissent. Let us stand up for that which conscience tells us is right.”<sup>42</sup> Based on the altruistic themes I found and their prevalence within the documents, as well as the quantitative data derived from examining the range, complexity, and density of King’s altruism, I concluded that King’s writings in protest of the war in Vietnam were altruistic.

For my second research question, “How did religion or religious belief play a role in whether or not King engaged in altruism?”, I found that religion did play a role in his actions; however, it did not play as big of a role as I had expected it to. In six of the 26 documents, King mentioned a religious motive, discussed personalism, or cited biblical verses or passages. For example, in his sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church, King cites Rom. 12.2 when telling parishioners to not conform to what the world is doing but

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<sup>41</sup> Martin Luther King Jr., “Letter from MLK to Johnnie Lee Halle,” The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed June 24, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-mlk-johnnie-lee-halle>.

<sup>42</sup> Martin Luther King Jr., “MLK Sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church,” The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/mlk-sermon-ebenezer-baptist-church>.



instead object to the war.<sup>43</sup> In his 1967 speech “Beyond Vietnam,” King states that even if he had not received the Nobel Peace Prize and given the burden to advocate for peace, he would still do so because his “commitment to the ministry of Jesus Christ.”<sup>44</sup>

Although it is not directly stated in all of his documents, the data I analyzed shows that King was, to some degree, motivated by his religious beliefs to speak out against the Vietnam War.

Based on the data I analyzed, I also answered my third research question, which asked, “How are King’s nonviolent ethic, personalism, and altruism linked?” In short, King’s beliefs in personalism were combined with his ideas of nonviolence, which drove him to write in an altruistic manner. Nonviolence was mentioned in six out of the 26 documents examined. King mentions nonviolence in his sermon “Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam,” by saying:

There is something strangely inconsistent about a nation and a press that would praise you when you say “Be nonviolent toward Jim Clark,” but will curse and damn you when you say, “Be nonviolent toward little brown Vietnamese children!”<sup>45</sup>

While this is a commentary on how others reacted to his views on nonviolence, King goes on to expand his beliefs on the nonviolent method in his letter to Johnnie Lee Halle where he states, “It has been my consistent belief and position that non-violence is the only true solution to the social problems of the world and of this country.”<sup>46</sup> Even

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> King, “Beyond Vietnam.”

<sup>45</sup> King, “Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam.”

<sup>46</sup> King, “Letter from MLK to Johnnie Lee Halle.”

though it was not discussed as many times as I had expected it to be, King makes it clear that nonviolence is one motivation for his actions.

I also excerpted several statements from letters from others to King in order to show what kind of support or resistance he faced for his stand against the Vietnam War. In the opening statement of Eva Rosenfeld's letter, she tells King, "After reading the NAACP denunciation of your stand on Vietnam in today's paper, I feel moved to write to you to tell you how grateful I am that you did take that stand."<sup>47</sup> In contrast, nine of the 39 documents mentioned their resistance to King's protest of the war in Vietnam. In her letter to King, M. Emelene Wishart writes, "We have been proud, and rightly so, of your work with Civil Rights, but this step seems to weaken your main purpose. Are you trying to embarrass the administration, beat Carmichael in the civil disobedience game, or completely separate black from white?"<sup>48</sup> If anything, I expected King to face much more resistance; however, the randomly selected sample of letters to King show more support for his actions.

### *Qualitative – Chicago*

Despite these documents not displaying as much altruism as the writings in the Vietnam analysis, I was still able to find a quote for each category in the altruism coding frame. In King's "Address at Chicago Rally," he protests against the slums by stating:

We are tired of being seared in the flames of withering injustice. We are tired of paying more for less. We are tired of living in rat-infested slums and in the

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<sup>47</sup> Eva Rosenfeld, "Letter from Eva Rosenfeld to MLK," The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-eva-rosenfeld-mlk>.

<sup>48</sup> M. Emelene Wishart, "Letter from M. Emelene Wishart to MLK," The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-m-emelene-wishart-mlk>.

Chicago Housing Authority's cement reservations. We are tired of having to pay a median rent of \$97 a month in Lawndale for 4 rooms while whites in South Deering pay \$73 a month for 5 rooms.<sup>49</sup>

King also speaks out on behalf of the people of Chicago by arguing in "The Chicago Plan" that, "...slum education is designed to perpetuate the inferior status of slum children and prepare them only for menial jobs in much the same way that South African apartheid educational philosophy does for the African."<sup>50</sup> Towards the end of the Chicago Campaign, King voices his weariness that resulted from his involvement in the movement. In his speech, "Why I Must March," King states:

I don't mind saying to Chicago, or to anybody, I'm tired of marching, tired of marching for something that should have [been] mine at first. I don't mind saying to you this night, I don't mind saying to you tonight, an I'm tired of the tensions surrounding our days.<sup>51</sup>

One interesting point that King mentions several times is the idea of looking from the small scale to the big picture. He often states that he wants to use Chicago as a way to make the country aware of the issues of the slums that trap minorities and people of low economic status. In his statement "Segregation Is Not Just a Southern Problem," King addresses this by saying:

We are pleased to be in Chicago at this time to lend our humble support to the great efforts that are being carried out at this time to expose the injustices which exist in this area. And I'm sure you will agree with me in saying that we must solve these problems because this is the chief moral dilemma of America.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., speech, "Address by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to the Chicago Freedom Movement Rally," July, 10, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

<sup>50</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., speech, "The Chicago Plan," January 7, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta (hereafter cited as "The Chicago Plan," The King Center).

<sup>51</sup> "Why I Must March," The King Center.

<sup>52</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., speech, "Segregation is Not Just a Southern Problem," July 28, 1965, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

King addresses nonviolence much more frequently in these documents, most likely because he was trying to separate the Civil Rights Movement from the idea of black power and its connotation of force and violence. King writes in a newspaper piece titled “Why Chicago is the Target” that, “The only solution to breaking down the infamous wall of segregation in Chicago rests in our being able to mobilize both the white and black communities into a massive nonviolent movement, which will stop at nothing short of changing the ugly face of the black ghetto into a community of love and justice.”<sup>53</sup> Unlike the Vietnam documents, King does not mention conscience as much in these writings. In the previously mentioned piece, King states, “My concern for the welfare of Negroes in the North is no less than that for Negroes in the South and my conscience dictates that I should commit as much of my personal and organizational resources to their cause as humanly possible.”<sup>54</sup> The role of conscience did not have a prominent role in King’s writings as it did for his protest of the Vietnam War.

While searching for altruistic elements within King’s writings, I noticed that there were three main themes that surfaced as I analyzed the documents. The first of these was nonviolence. In the wake of black power and escalating hostilities aroused by other civil rights organizations such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), King sought to emphasize nonviolence in the Chicago Campaign. As a result, it was mentioned much more frequently in King’s writings and statements. When detailing the Chicago Plan, King states, “There are two possible ways to concentrate on the problems of the slum: One would be to focus on a single issue, but CCCO and SCLC chose to

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<sup>53</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., newspaper statement, “Why Chicago is the Target,” September 11, 1965, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

concentrate all of our forces and move in concert with a nonviolent army on each and every issue.”<sup>55</sup> As a result of this increased focus, King mentioned nonviolence much more than he did in his writings about Vietnam.

The next theme I found was his focus on expanding from a small perspective to a much larger societal one. While King does acknowledge the problems within Chicago, he often links those issues with the socioeconomic inequality in urban settings across the United States. In a newspaper piece, King comments, “We do not hold that Chicago is alone among cities with a slum problem, but, certainly, we know that slum conditions here are the prototype of those chiefly responsible for the Northern urban racial problem.”<sup>56</sup> This shift from small, relatively confined issue to larger societal ones is emblematic of King’s changing perspective of the class and socioeconomic division as well as segregation in the United States.

The third theme I found was the three issues King sought to rectify through the Chicago Campaign: housing, jobs, and education. While he does address each one separately, King mentions all three in tandem as these are the contributing factors that keep African Americans in the slums. In a statement regarding Chicago’s West Side, King states that the community’s demands “dealt with deprivations in housing, education, job opportunities and welfare” and that it was “not too late for Chicago’s leadership to recognize the aspirations of a despairing people and give them a hand in acquiring

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<sup>55</sup> “The Chicago Plan,” The King Center.

<sup>56</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., newspaper statement, “My Dream,” February 12-18, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta (hereafter cited as “My Dream,” The King Center).

them.”<sup>57</sup> In King’s writings, he states plainly that the solution to the slums involves improvements in housing, employment, and education for African Americans in the slums and in Northern cities in general.

From my analysis of these documents, these three themes were instrumental in King’s participation in the Chicago Campaign. The most widely mentioned theme was nonviolence, but the other themes are necessary in understanding why King sought to move the Civil Rights Movement north. These themes were all repeated and achieved saturation in the documents.

Once again, I included excerpts from letters written by others to King in order to demonstrate the resistance and support he received for his involvement in the Chicago Campaign. In his letter following King’s announcement of the Chicago Plan, Leon M. Despres writes, “Please rest assured that your presence and your efforts in Chicago are urgently needed, deeply welcomed, and profoundly appreciated.”<sup>58</sup> However, there were some who did not agree with King’s transition from the South to the North. Along with sending a newspaper clipping, an anonymous Christian wrote to King saying:

I have read the many, many accounts of your doings in the daily press for quite a few months, and they do not measure up to the teaching of the Bible. You will notice I am not measuring you by my yard stick but by the Bible...Only by the grace of God was I borned white, but I love the Negro and want him to have every right I have, but I believe you are going about it the wrong way.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., statement, “Statement by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,” July 17, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

<sup>58</sup> Leon M. Despres to MLK, January 13, 1966, The King Papers, Box 5, Folder 28, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

<sup>59</sup> Anonymous Christian to MLK, July 19, 1966, The SCLC Papers, Box 2, Folder 9, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

Despite my limited sample, I was not surprised to see that King garnered more support for the Chicago Campaign.

## *Discussion*

My analysis of King's writings concerning the Vietnam War affirms C. Daniel Batson's argument that humans are capable of being altruistic. In "How Social an Animal? The Human Capacity for Caring," Batson discusses how altruism is viewed as a mere fantasy among psychologists.<sup>60</sup> He states that this attitude is reinforced by the implicit idea that the only persons humans are capable of caring about are themselves.<sup>61</sup> This is not to say that a person who is altruistic concerning one matter will be altruistic in all situations. It is the difference between describing altruism as an innate characteristic and whether it is a choice that humans make. Considering Simpson and Willer's study, my analysis of King may demonstrate that King's prosocial behaviors exceed altruism since King's prosocial "cooperation" offered profound social benefits to society at large, but especially to the military, the impoverished, and the people of Vietnam, for example.

The results of this part of the study imply that if altruism is taught or learned, fostered and chosen, it can result in beneficial outcomes for societies. In King's sermon "Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam" there were 85 altruistic sentences out of the total 302 sentences in the sermon, while in his speech "Beyond Vietnam" there were 90 altruistic sentences out of the total 280 sentences found. These documents also earned a six on the complexity score. This means that King expressed altruism in the following

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<sup>60</sup> Batson, "The Human Capacity for Caring," 336.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 336.



ways: Protest on behalf of the military, Protest on behalf of the U.S., Protest on behalf of the people of Vietnam, Face opposition to the protest, Continue to protest anyway, and Mention conscience. For example, in the sermon “Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam, King protests on behalf of the military and the people of the U.S. by writing:

Perhaps the more tragic recognition of reality, to a place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home, it was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and die in extraordinary high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in South East Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia, and East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with a cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same school room. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village; but we realize that they would hardly live on the same block in Chicago or Atlanta. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.<sup>62</sup>

In the same sermon, King also speaks out on behalf of the people of Vietnam. He writes:

And because I believe that the Father is deeply concerned especially for his suffering and helpless and outcast children, I come today to speak for them. And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam and search within myself, for ways to understand and respond in compassion, my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. I speak not now of the soldiers of each side, nor of the military government in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been under the curse of war for almost three continuous decades now. I think of them, too, because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution until some attempt is made to know these people and hear their broken cry.<sup>63</sup>

These findings argue against the idea that humans only care for themselves.

I began this study expecting to see that King’s beliefs in personalism played a role in his protest of the Vietnam War. Personalism is a philosophical and theological school

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<sup>62</sup> King, “Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam.”

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

of thought that places great emphasis on the values of individual personhood.<sup>64</sup> Personalists seek to “investigate the experience, the status, and the dignity of the human being as a person.”<sup>65</sup> Lawrence Edward Carter asserts that King was able to find a connection between personalism and the nonviolent method of protest that he combined with the Agapé love. Carter claims King considered this concept of love imperative to personalism.<sup>66</sup> While nonviolence appeared in the documents examined as Carter asserts, King did not discuss love as much or necessarily in tandem with nonviolence. One example where King makes the love-nonviolence connection is in his “Beyond Vietnam” speech. There he states, “Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and non-violence when it helps us to see the enemy’s point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves.”<sup>67</sup> King also writes “love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality.”<sup>68</sup> However, he also declares in his speech “The Casualties of the War in Vietnam,” that “we still have a choice today: nonviolent co-existence or violent coannihilation,” thus arguing that the only course of action left to them was nonviolence.<sup>69</sup> These examples show that King’s view about love played a lesser role in the writings about Vietnam that I examined than Carter implied it would. While personalism is evident in King’s comments about consideration in enemies’

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<sup>64</sup> “Personalism,” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, last modified May 11, 2018, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/personalism/>.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Lawrence Edward Carter, Sr., “The African American Personalists Perspective on Person as Embodied in the Life and Thought of Martin Luther King Jr.,” *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 20, no. 3 (2006): 220, *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost. Accessed on June 24, 2018.

<sup>67</sup> King, “Beyond Vietnam.”

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> King, “The Casualties of the War in Vietnam.”

viewpoints and an ultimate reality in the quotes above, love, nonviolence, and personalism as a trio of thoughts do not appear to be the central motivating factor to King's altruism according to the documents that I analyzed.

Although my results did show that personalism was a factor in King's altruism, these results cannot be generalized to every person's use of that philosophical or theological purview. This is because, as historian John Connelly states, not all personalists hold or exhibit the same core values.<sup>70</sup> In fact, Connelly cites examples of personalists who embraced views antithetical to King's.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, while King may have been motivated by personalism, there is no causative link between personalism and altruism. These results also show religion may not have a particularly vital role in altruism. For example, King writes in a letter to Jonathan B. Bingham that the Board of Directors of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) voted to work and spend money towards activities only related to civil rights and not international or foreign policy issues.<sup>72</sup> However, as a religious organization or an organization linked to religion, one might expect the SCLC to act altruistically and to support King's protest of Vietnam. This is not the case. This example argues against the idea that all religions or religious people are necessarily altruistic. Clearly, religion played a role in King's actions, but his writings indicate that he was driven more by his conscience. In a letter to Johnnie Lee Halle, King states, "Finally let me say that I have taken a stand against the

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<sup>70</sup> John Connelly, "Catholic Racism and Its Opponents," *The Journal of Modern History* 79, no. 4 (2007): 838. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/521066>. Accessed on June 8, 2015.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 838.

<sup>72</sup> Martin Luther King Jr., "Letter from MLK to Jonathan B. Bingham," The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed July 2, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-mlk-jonathan-b-bingham>.

war in Vietnam because my conscience leaves me with no other choice.”<sup>73</sup> In King’s case, it seems he was driven by a combination of both his belief in personalism and his conscience.

King’s altruism was in the face of opposition. Even before he had committed himself to opposing the war, King was stunned by the backlash he received for making an antiwar statement in August of 1965.<sup>74</sup> The personal letters to King that I analyzed show that he received support for the stand he made against the war in Vietnam following his 1967 “Beyond Vietnam” speech. However, he faced much more resistance from the press and other civil rights organizations. One piece from *The New York Times*, titled “Dr. King’s Error,” criticizes King for attempting to merge the civil rights and peace movements.<sup>75</sup> In another piece written in *The Bay State Banner*, it was reported that the NAACP voted unanimously against a proposal made by King to combine the civil rights and peace movements.<sup>76</sup> This action by the NAACP goes against Ervin Staub and Johanna Vollhardt’s study, “Altruism born of suffering: The roots of caring and helping after victimization and other trauma,” which argues for the idea of altruism born of suffering. Altruism born of suffering suggests that altruism can be used to help individuals overcome trauma. Models of positive helping behavior then motivate people to altruistically help others. According to this line of thinking, it would seem that the

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<sup>73</sup> King, “Letter from MLK to Johnie Lee Halle.”

<sup>74</sup> Thomas J. Noer, “Martin Luther King Jr. and the Cold War,” *Peace & Change* 22, no. 2 (1997): 118, *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost. Accessed June 23, 2018.

<sup>75</sup> “Dr. King’s Error,” *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, Apr 7, 1967, accessed on July 2, 2018, <http://umiss.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.umiss.idm.oclc.org/docview/117470669?accountid=14588>.

<sup>76</sup> “N.A.A.C.P. Opposes King on Vietnam Stand.” *Bay State Banner (1965-1979)*, Apr 15, 1967, accessed July 2, 2018, <http://umiss.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.umiss.idm.oclc.org/docview/371348520?accountid=14588>.

NAACP and other civil rights organizations, which had received support and assistance in the struggle against American racism and discrimination, would have felt some obligation to protest against the war in order to relieve the suffering of the people of Vietnam, and indeed, the poor African Americans and white youths who were being maimed and killed at war. But this is not the case since the NAACP rejected King's proposal to merge the movements. King also lost supporters. In his letter to King, J.V. Jones asks, "Has it occurred to you that you could be wrong in the course you are following? You are doing your race more harm than good, in my opinion."<sup>77</sup> In another letter, Herbert E. Brown writes that he will no longer support King should he try to merge the civil rights and peace movements. Brown noted:

I know you are sincere, but so am I, and I disagree with you. If you link my support of your thoughtful and dedicated efforts to improve the lot of the Negro with your public disagreement with our nation's policy in Viet Nam, you lose my support. You can have me and others one way, but not both ways.<sup>78</sup>

Other civil rights leaders also tried to distance themselves from King. Historian David Garrow remarked that Phil Randolph and Bayard Rustin refused to comment on King's statement while Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young separated themselves from King.<sup>79</sup>

This resistance King faced marks the great personal cost that could befall helpers who are altruistic. King's persistence in protesting the war despite it resulting in the loss of supporters, less funding for the SCLC, negative statements from the press, and the

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<sup>77</sup> J.V. Jones, "Letter from J.V. Jones to MLK," The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed July 4, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-j-v-jones-mlk#>.

<sup>78</sup> Herbert E. Brown, "Letter from Herbert E. Brown to MLK," The King Center Digital Archive, JPMorgan Chase & Co., accessed July 4, 2018, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-herbert-e-brown-mlk>.

<sup>79</sup> Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 553.

dissociation of other civil rights organizations and leaders from himself. Jeopardizing everything he had spent years building, King chose to continue with his protest of the war.

In isolation, it is easy to see how King's writings protesting the Vietnam War were altruistic. Based on the results I discovered and the conclusions I made in my Vietnam analysis, I decided to examine another part of King's activism. I choose to do this in order to determine if King's writings were only altruistic in the context of the Vietnam War or if he had written in a similar manner before. With this in mind, I began my analysis of King's documents concerning the Chicago Campaign and searched only for altruistic elements. According to my quantitative results, the Vietnam documents scored slightly higher in the range of altruism but received lower scores in complexity and density compared to the Chicago documents. Although these results could be attributed to the larger sample size for the Chicago writings, this data provided me with a concrete way to examine and show how much altruism, and the types of it, appeared in King's writings. Even though altruism was the main focus of these analyses, I began to notice a pattern within King's documents indicating that he was actually moving toward the formation of an entirely new social movement.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference's (SCLC) involvement in Chicago would begin in January of 1966, when King and several other SCLC staffers traveled to the city to formulate a plan with the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO).<sup>80</sup> The result of this meeting was "The Chicago Plan," which was a document

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 456.

that detailed the movement's and the areas they would focus on.<sup>81</sup> While there were several areas that the document listed, King mainly focused on the issues he deemed responsible for the creation and maintenance of the slums: inadequate education, poor housing, and lacking employment opportunities. In a speech at a rally with Mahalia Jackson, King details the issues faced by African Americans in the north by stating:

Stay in your place in the north means be content with a low-paying job and if you don't have a job at all, don't complain about it. Stay in your place in the north means that you should be content to live in high rise buildings where it takes you half a day to get up to the top and where you find yourself day in and day out confronting the agony and bewilderment of life. Stay in your place means that you must be content with overcrowded and inadequate schools.<sup>82</sup>

He goes on to say that "Those who praise the efficient work of riot control trained policemen and dogs should also be vocal in the denouncement of those city agencies which ignore dangerous social conditions caused by deprivation in housing, job opportunities, welfare and education" following riots that broke out in Chicago in June of 1966.<sup>83</sup> In a recruiting essay against the slums, King continues with these points by writing:

A slum is where people can't earn enough money for the simple reason that they are caught up in slum education which is less than second-rate compared to schooling in other parts of the city...A slum is where 50% of the men living there are unemployed, and not because they are lazy or poorly trained, but because machines are doing their jobs faster and better now...A slum is also where new housing (by all white labor) and the Board of Realtors has agreed not to sell any of those houses to Negroes.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 456.

<sup>82</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., speech, "MLK Rally with Mahalia Jackson," August 8, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

<sup>83</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., telegram, "Statement re Chicago Violence," June 14, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

<sup>84</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., statement, "How Do We End Slums?," 1966, The King Center Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

To King, the combination of inadequate schools, poor housing, and the lack of job opportunities perpetuated the northern ghettos. In a newspaper article titled “My Dream,” King addresses this mindset by writing, “The SCLC crusade in Chicago is our organization’s first sustained Northern movement, directed against the public and private institutions which over the years, have created infamous slum conditions directly responsible for the involuntary enslavement of millions of black men, women, and children.”<sup>85</sup> The issue of the state of Chicago schools for African Americans was what first brought King to Chicago, but it was the combination of these problems and their implications for African Americans in the north that compelled King and the SCLC to participate in the northern movement.

Over the course of this study, I began to think less of altruism as it became clear that it was not King’s core motivation for his involvement in the Chicago Campaign and his protest of the Vietnam War. The quantitative data shows for both instances that King’s writings were altruistic; however, the analysis of the documents reveals that King ultimately sought to lead a social movement and change the social structures that perpetuated the slums. In their article about civil societies and forward and backward infiltration, Steven Klein and Cheol-Sung Lee define civil society as “the field in which individuals, primarily less powerful challengers but also dominant interests, come together to collectively act and to legitimate their interests.”<sup>86</sup> They argue that civil societies can use the politics of influence, the politics of substitution, and the politics of

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<sup>85</sup> “My Dream,” The King Center.

<sup>86</sup> Steven Klein and Cheol-Sung Lee, “Towards a Dynamic Theory of Civil Society: The Politics of Forward and Backward Infiltration,” *Sociological Theory* 37 (2019): 67. doi: 10.1177/0735275119830451.



occupation in order to influence or alter aspects of the state and the economy. Particularly, they posit that “civic associations and social movement forces emerging from civil society challenge the legal and institutional boundaries established by the state in order to change the prevailing structures of power among different social groups divided by wealth, gender, skin color, and occupations.”<sup>87</sup> The Civil Rights Movement could be seen as a social movement that emerged from a civil society and sought to change societal structures (i.e. segregation) through protest and legislation, which falls under the politics of influence. In Chicago, however, King realized that significant change could not be made due to racist ideologies being embedded within the social structures of northern cities. Once he made this connection, King switched from the politics of influence to the politics of occupation. According to Klein and Lee, the politics of occupation occurs when either members of civil society systematically entered the state or economic realms or when civil societies seek institutional participation in state programs or economic institutions.<sup>88</sup> They expand upon this in terms of social movements by stating the certain actors seek to insert themselves directly into formal political arenas and fit themselves into formal institutional politics.<sup>89</sup> They add that “The politics of occupation, instead, points to a more aggressive and significant replacement of status quo institutions. Under the politics of occupation, challengers reach a stage in which they become new institutional actors replacing old, established actors and their rules.”<sup>90</sup> This is the direction that King seemed to be moving in his writings about the

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 66

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, 73

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 73

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 73

Chicago Campaign. He saw this embedded racism within the social structures of northern cities that perpetuated slum conditions as much worse and more ingrained than southern racism. He even compares it to a cancer as he states in his speech, “Why I Must March”:

We are the social physicians of Chicago revealing that there is a terrible cancer...We didn't cause it, but that cancer is there, at the center of this city and I've been kind enough in our, I think my techniques of social analysis and even my concern for humanity and my optimism are great enough to say to this cancer, it's not in its terminal state, it's in its early stages, and it may be cured if we get at it now.<sup>91</sup>

Instead of the overt racism that they faced in the South, this “cancer” of the North was much more embedded in society and its structures, to the point that many people did not recognize its existence until the Chicago Campaign began in the city. In this same speech, King expands upon this point by saying:

No, we haven't caused the hatred. We've just brought to the surface, hatred that was already there. Not only are we the social physicians, in a physical sense, but it may well be that we are the social psychiatrists, bringing out into the conscience, things that have been in the subconscious all along. These people have probably have latent hostilities toward Negroes for many, many years. As long as the struggle was down in Alabama, and Miss., they could look after and they could think about it, and say how terrible people are. And when they discovered brotherhood had to be a reality in Chicago and that brotherhood extended next door, then those latent hostilities came out.<sup>92</sup>

Because this racism was an integral part of the social structure of northern cities and were the cause of the slums, it also became increasingly clear that the law would not be effective in desegregating the North as it had been in the South. Instead, the solution to Chicago's problems would be in solutions other than introducing and pushing for

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<sup>91</sup> “Why I Must March,” The King Center.

<sup>92</sup> “Why I Must March,” The King Center.

legislation. This is where King begins to switch from the politics of influence to the politics of occupation by proposing the creation of programs that could rectify these issues. King brings attention to this point in a speech about African American families by saying:

Chicago has deprived Negroes of a fair chance, as has every other major city. A pattern of systematic economic exploitation exists which deprives the Negro of the equal opportunity which is so essential to our social salvation and the survival of our family units. This pattern of exploitations is symbolized in the Slum. Our campaign in Chicago is a campaign to end slums and all of those social forces which restrict the Negroes' life and create slum conditions. Slums arise and are maintained because of powerful forces operation to keep them intact. Some of these forces are operating to make high profits; other are institutions functioning on the basis of benign racist presuppositions. Operating in concert, they exert a pressure upon slum dwellers so massive that only very few are capable of a meaningful life in their midst.<sup>93</sup>

In a press conference about the West Side riots, King introduces this idea of changing the status quo by asserting that, "If all these things continue I think the community is only inviting social disaster. So I think its very important at this time for the whole political structure and power structure to reinterpret its posture and to develop more bold and adequate imaginative programs to deal with these problems."<sup>94</sup> He mentions this point again in another speech by arguing:

If we continue to talk to the political leaders of our cities all over this country and our words fall on deaf ears and they tell us only about progress that has been made without understanding that it is not enough to have surface progress we've got to have progress that will make certain structural changes. It's like improving food in a prison. One day that man wants to get out of prison, now improving the food is a little progress. But it still didn't get the man out of prison. And the fact

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<sup>93</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., statement, "An Address by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.," January 28, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

<sup>94</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., press conference, "West Side Riots," July 12, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Archives, Atlanta.

is that millions of Negroes are still living on a reservation. They need to get out, the ghetto needs to be dispersed and small programs won't do it now.<sup>95</sup>

In response to the racism he saw and how societal structures perpetuated the slums, King saw the implementation of domestic programs as the only way to truly solve this issue in cities across the United States.

While that strategy would work on a local and state level, King realized that it would difficult to introduce these programs on a federal level due to the Vietnam War. King mentions in a letter to Reverend Leon Davis that, "In the meantime, much of the liberal sentiment which was formerly directed toward civil rights is now being directed toward the peace issue and especially the question of Vietnam. This, of course, we do not consider bad, but it does make certain practical financial problems for us."<sup>96</sup> Over the course of the Chicago Campaign, King became more and more concerned about the conflict in Vietnam, particularly because the war effort was taking money from domestic programs that could resolve the issues that northern cities, such as Chicago, faced. In a statement about the war and Chicago, King states:

I do plan to intensify my personal activities against this war and I do that as I said a few minutes ago because the war is hurting us in all of our programs to end slums, and to end segregation and to make quality education a reality; and to end the long night of poverty, the fact is that when a nation becomes obsessed with the guns of war, domestic programs are left behind and we need a radial re-ordering of our national priorities. It seems to me that we are more connected as a nation about winning the war in Vietnam than we are about winning the war against poverty right here at home.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> "I Need Victories," July 12, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

<sup>96</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., to Rev. Leon Davis," June 1, 1966, The King Papers, Box 5, Folder 30, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

<sup>97</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., statement, "MLK: On His Stand On the War," April 22, 1966, The King Papers, The King Center Library and Archives, Atlanta.

As a result, King began to place greater emphasis on the Peace Movement and bringing an end to the Vietnam War, much to the dismay to other civil rights leaders. This is why, I believe, King switched so quickly from the Chicago Campaign to the Peace Movement. When I first began this study, I was under the impression that King had simply abandoned Chicago because he saw the end of the war as a more pressing matter. In reality, King recognized that there was no way that change could be fully introduced in the North and the slums eradicated unless domestic programs that changed societal structures were created and funded through local, state, and federal governments. With the war still looming over the United States, there was no plausible way for King to secure funding for these programs unless the war was brought to an end and the funds used to sustain it were then funneled into these domestic programs.

It is not that King did not care about the people of Chicago or Vietnam; the evidence from my analysis proves that his writings did have some altruistic elements to them. However, King knew that in order to bring an end to the slums, certain social structural changes needed to be made. Laws and protest would not be effective in bringing about this change in the North, and money would be needed to fund the domestic programs that King writes about. In order to bring about this social change and re-structure American cities, the war in Vietnam needed to end. The end of the war would allow the United States to use the money that was going towards the war effort to be used to fund those domestic programs that would help combat poverty in the United States. King realized that the war would have to end before he could make any substantial changes regarding American cities and the slums. As a result, King sought to create an entirely new social movement that would not only bring an end to a senseless

war, but also allow the United States to focus more on the plight of those trapped in the slums and change the entire structure of society in the North. More than altruism, King sought to completely change the structure of American society in order to free people from the grips of poverty and the slums.

When King began his transition to the Peace Movement, some saw it as the end of the Civil Rights Movement. To King, however, this was not the case. Rather, this study shows that King's shift to the Peace Movement was the start of an entirely new social movement. It targeted the economic injustices and educational disparities that required attention in order to end the problems related to the slums and racial discrimination in housing that typified the plight of blacks in the north and throughout the United States. This new movement was meant to act as an extension to the Civil Rights Movement, not the end to it. The strategies King had employed in the South would not be enough to resolve the problems he found in the North. Thus, this new movement, with its shift to class issues and economic disparities, was designed to address the topic of civil rights in a more comprehensive way.

### *Concerns and Limitations*

The biggest limitation of this study was the limited amount of time I had to gather the Chicago documents. Due to the King Center online archives no longer being available online, I travelled to the King Center Archives in Atlanta, Georgia, to collect documents for my sample. I was only able to spend two full days at the archives, which was not enough time for me to become fully adjusted to the archive's system of organization. As a result, I was left with a much smaller sample, particularly with the letters from others to Dr. King. Due to my schedule being pushed back, I also had a limited amount of time to find and read literature regarding social movements. I did not make the connection between King's writings and social movements until after I had read through the documents, so I did not have enough time to conduct a much more thorough review of social movement literature.

### *Future Work*

Future research should focus on the examination of other civil rights leaders and advocates within the movement. This should be done in order to determine whether they were also seeking change and influence social structures as well. This investigation should also be applied to other instances of protest or activism. Future research should also examine King's writings from his involvement in the Chicago Campaign to his death in order to learn more about the different aspects of the social movement that related to the ending of the Vietnam War. This investigation could reveal how King sought to transition, organize, and conduct this new social movement.



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## APPENDICIES

### Appendix A

#### Altruistic Personality Scale for Leaders and Protest

1 – Never

2 – Once

3 – More than once

4 – Often

5 – Very often

1. Helps people at great personal cost (Batson et al., 1989)
2. Driven by a desire to help the other person (Batson et al., 1989)
3. Does not seek social or self-rewards for helping (Batson et al., 1989)
4. Goal for helping is solely to benefit the other (Batson, 1990)
5. Not passive in the face of injustice (Staub, 1996)
6. Does not distant himself from the victim and justify actions of perpetrators (Staub 1996)
7. Believes that the world is a just place and that people who suffer must deserve their suffering for some reason (Staub, 1996)
8. Does not devalue the victims or outgroup (Staub 1985)
9. Religious beliefs are a key motivation for helping (Staub, 1985)
10. Does not participate in violence against victims (Staub, 1985)
11. Does not feel hostility towards the victims (Staub, 1985)
12. Recognizes the victims' humanity (Staub, 1985)
13. Accepts responsibility for the wrongs against the victim group (Staub, 1985)
14. Rejects "truth" from the government or media (Staub, 1985)
15. Reacts to actions of perpetrators rather than ignore it (Staub, 1985)

16. Resists or protests the actions of the perpetrators (Staub, 1985)
17. Has experienced past victimization which causes him to help others (Staub & Vollhardt, 2008)
18. Does not seek material or social rewards for helping (Batson et al., 1986)
19. Does not seek to feel empathic joy by helping the other (Batson et al., 1991)
20. Does not differentiate between the ingroup and outgroup and foster antagonism toward the other (Staub, 1985)

Scoring

Score each document individually.

## Appendix B

### Sample Coding Frames (Vietnam)

#### Coding Frame: Altruism

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Protest Military</b>	<b>Protest U.S.</b>	<b>Protest Vietnam</b>	<b>Opposition to Protest</b>	<b>Will Protest Anyway</b>	<b>Altruism Scale Score</b>	<b>Conscience</b>
MLK Sermon: Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam	1	1	1	1	1	57/100	1
Beyond Vietnam	1	1	1	1	1	58/100	1
Letter from MLK to Johnie Lee Halle	0	0	1	1	1	36/100	1
Telegram from MLK to Rabbi Abraham Heschel	0	0	0	0	0	26/100	0

#### Coding Frame: Religion

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Rel. Motive</b>	<b>Mentions Pers.</b>	<b>Cites Bible</b>	<b>Other theol.</b>
MLK Sermon: Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam	1	1	1	0
Beyond Vietnam	1	1	1	0
Letter from MLK to Johnie Lee Halle	0	1	0	0
Telegram from MLK to Rabbi Abraham Heschel	0	0	0	0

**Coding Frame: Bystanders**

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Rec. humanity</b>	<b>Resists perp.</b>	<b>Does not ignore injustice</b>	<b>Facing resist.</b>	<b>Pressure from top people</b>
MLK Sermon: Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam	1	1	1	1	1
Beyond Vietnam	1	1	1	1	0
Letter from MLK to Johnie Lee Halle	1	1	1	1	0
Telegram from MLK to Rabbi Abraham Heschel	0	1	1	0	0

**Coding Frame: Resistance**

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>LBJ</b>	<b>Press</b>	<b>Former Supporters</b>	<b>Other People</b>
MLK Sermon: Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam	0	1	0	0
Beyond Vietnam	0	0	0	1
Letter from MLK to Johnie Lee Halle	0	0	1	0
Telegram from MLK to Rabbi Abraham Heschel	0	0	0	0

**Coding Frame: Other Motivations**

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Civil Rights</b>	<b>Great Society</b>
MLK Sermon: Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam	0	0
Beyond Vietnam	0	1
Letter from MLK to Johnie Lee Halle	0	0
Telegram from MLK to Rabbi Abraham Heschel	0	0



## Appendix C

### Sample Coding Frames (Chicago)

#### Coding frame: Altruism

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Protest Slums</b>	<b>Protest for People of Chicago</b>	<b>Weariness</b>	<b>Small -&gt; Big</b>	<b>Stresses Nonviolence</b>	<b>Conscience</b>	<b>Altruism Score</b>
I Need Victories	7/12/1966	1	1	0	0	1	0	41/100
My Dream	2/12-18/1966	1	1	0	0	0	0	39/100
Telegram from MLK to Richard J. Daley	7/17/1965 (7/19/1965)	0	1	0	0	0	0	24/100
Letter from MLK to Rev. Leon Davis	6/1/1966	1	0	0	0	1	0	26/100

#### Coding Frame: Religion

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Religious Motive</b>	<b>Mentions Personalism</b>	<b>Cites Bible</b>	<b>Other theo.</b>	<b>Mentions the Bible</b>
I Need Victories	7/12/1966	0	0	0	0	1
My Dream	2/12-18/1966	0	0	0	0	0
Telegram from MLK to Richard J. Daley	7/17/1965 (7/19/1965)	0	0	0	0	0
Letter from MLK to Rev. Leon Davis	6/1/1966	0	0	0	0	0

Coding Frame: Bystander

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Rec. Humanity</b>	<b>Resists Perpetrators</b>	<b>Does not ignore injustice</b>	<b>Facing resist.</b>	<b>Pressure from top people</b>
I Need Victories	7/12/1966	1	1	1	0	0
My Dream	2/12-18/1966	1	1	1	1	0
Telegram from MLK to Richard J. Daley	7/1/1965 (7/19/1965)	0	0	0	0	0
Letter from MLK to Rev. Leon Davis	6/1/1966	1	1	1	0	0

Coding Frame: Resistance

<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>White People</b>	<b>Richard Daley</b>	<b>Real Estate</b>	<b>Landlords</b>	<b>Others</b>
I Need Victories	7/12/1966	0	0	0	0	0
My Dream	2/12-18/1966	0	0	0	0	1
Telegram from MLK to Richard J. Daley	7/17/1965 (7/19/1965)	0	0	0	0	0
Letter from MLK to Rev. Leon Davis	6/1/1966	0	0	0	0	0