A "Demonstration Plot" for Equality: A Qualitative Analysis of Clarence Jordan and Koinonia Farm

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to explore the biography of a white, Southern Baptist-reared Clarence Jordan and his goals in the creation of Koinonia Farm. This thesis explicitly evaluates these motives through the examination of archival material—specifically Jordan's sermons and speeches—that uncovers Jordan's *own* words and testimony. This thesis answers the following questions: (1) What was Clarence Jordan's aim in founding Koinonia Farm and continuing to implement it over time? (2) How did he go about methodically achieving his aim? And (3) How effectively were the objectives achieved as reflected in measurable outcomes-—did Jordan's sermons frame his position so as to make Koinonia Farm work over its lifetime? Additionally, this thesis challenges the methods of Clarence Jordan and Koinonia Farm in the way they employ the agricultural and industrial educational models as a means of liberation and uplift for African Americans and poor whites in Sumter County, Georgia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to explore how and why Clarence Jordan's conservative, Southern Baptist upbringing became the catalyst for the creation of the liberal-cause community, Koinonia Farm. This study goes further by examining *how* he framed his speeches and sermons in pursuit of his fight for racial equality. This thesis employs the social movement theory of framing in order to answer the following questions: (1) What was Clarence Jordan's aim in founding Koinonia Farm and continuing to implement it over time? (2) How did he go about methodically achieving his aim? And (3) How effectively were the objectives achieved as reflected in measurable outcomes--—did Jordan's sermons frame his position so as to make Koinonia Farm work over it's lifetime? The data for this study comes from the Clarence L. Jordan papers that are housed at the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia. Historical, archival, and textual analysis of Jordan's speeches and sermons are used in order to uncover methods and results of the founding of Koinonia Farm through his *own* testimony.

Koinonia Farm began as an intentional, interracial, Christian community formed in the 1940s in the rural town of Americus, Georgia. The goal of founder Clarence Jordan was "to tear down the walls that separated people" during Jim Crow (K'Meyer 1997). The examination of Jordan's personal documents in this thesis illustrates whether or not Jordan and Koinonia Farm sought and succeeded in being a beacon for social change—something prior written works denied or failed to address all together. While prior research conducted on Koinonia Farm utilized the archives, the *full* employment of the Clarence L. Jordan Papers at the University of Georgia has not been analyzed before in the way in which it is presented here. This study gives a unique perspective on the framing of Koinonia Farm by employing Clarence Jordan's *own*

words while also critically analyzing the scope of what Jordan and Koinonia Farm hoped to do in the fight against racial inequality and his promotion of social justice.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to highlight the goals, methods, and outcomes of the white, Southern Baptist-reared Clarence Jordan in his establishment of the interracial, pacifist, intentional community of Koinonia Farm—specifically exploring the metamorphosis of a conservative upbringing that yielded a life of fighting for liberal causes. In addition, this research analyzes the way Jordan framed the problem of social inequality, and his proposed solutions, in order to gather support and participation for his cause. This thesis uses archival data that was previously overlooked and unexamined, giving a stronger voice to the farm's founder through gathering evidence uncovered in the archives that bear his name.

This thesis also addresses an issue not previously discussed in prior works on Clarence Jordan and Koinonia Farm—the scope of his advocacy for racial equality in focusing solely on promoting farming and industrial education to poor and rural African Americans and poor whites. This is the same progress that Booker T. Washington defended when asserting that African Americans should depend on industrial education as a means of uplift (Washington 1895). This study examines Jordan's views on racial equality and whether or not he considered the industrial education model to be the *only* route that African Americans should take to gain equality in America.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

The Upbringing of a Prophet

Koinonia Farm's roots grew out of the racist Jim Crow South from the scripture pages of a Southern-Baptist minister (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997). While Jordan was raised Southern Baptist, he would eventually be rejected from the Baptist Church after the church took issue with his social teachings that promoted racial integration (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002). It wasn't until 1995 at the denomination's 150th anniversary that the Southern Baptist Church apologized for its long-standing belief in segregation, stating "we lament and repudiate historic acts of evil such as slavery from which we continue to reap a bitter harvest, and we recognize that the racism which yet plagues our culture today is inextricably tied to the past," continuing that "forgiveness from our African-American brothers and sisters, acknowledging that our own healing is at stake" (Niebuhr 1995). This unique, anomic community of Koinonia Farm was pacifist and communal in nature—holding convictions of active non-violence and sharing all things in common. Like Jordan, Mahatma Gandhi (1927) believed that "nonviolence is infinitely superior to violence" and he held firmly to that belief after witnessing the lacerated backs of South African Zulu's in the 1906 rebellion in Nepal. In order to understand the tenets of Koinonia Farm, one must first examine the life and upbringing of its founder, Clarence Jordan.

Born the middle child of seven to a middle class family in Talbotton, Georgia in 1912, Clarence Jordan was raised a devout Southern Baptist (Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997). Being of this strict denomination, the Jordan family didn't limit devotional time to Sunday school, but they also planned prayerful time every day of the week (Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997). The

Jordan family also maintained the status quo when it came to addressing race relations in the South, as they followed the prejudiced Southern Baptist doctrine that whites and blacks should not mingle, work, pray, or conduct business together. When it came to interactions between whites and blacks, Clarence Jordan grew up in an era where each race had their own place in society that was rigidly defined—something he would come to question as he got older (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997).

As a young boy, Jordan began to reflect on his Southern Baptist upbringing and the conflicting nature of the gross inequality all around him. During his seminary schoolwork, Jordan reflected on this dichotomy when reading these lyrics of the famous children's song "Jesus Loves the Little Children" which declared:

> Jesus loves the little children,
> All the children of the world.
> Red and yellow, black and white,
> They are all precious in his sight
> Jesus loves the little children of the world (Coble 2002).

In his personal journal, Jordan questions if little black children were truly loved by God as the little white children, eventually coming to the conclusion that it is *man*, not God, who turns blacks away from white churches, pays them low wages, and treats them as second class citizens (Coble 2002). It was the environment created by white supremacy that taught Jordan that black children were not precious in white people's sight (Coble 2002).

The internal conflict between the witnessing of race relations in rural Georgia and his commitment to the Southern Baptist doctrine was further underscored when Jordan witnessed the struggle of chain gang members at a jail located right out the backdoor of his family home. Talbot County Jail sat only one hundred yards from the property line of the Jordan home and was a setting that bore witness to chain gang members, mostly African Americans, being bound at

their ankles to keep them from fleeing while performing physically exhausting work (Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997). W.E.B. Du Bois (1899) spoke of the ills of this convict leasing system which, born out of the necessity of replacing slave labor, allowed states to imprison blacks for a variety of crimes and then lease them out as laborers to plantation owners as well as corporations during Reconstruction. Jordan witnessed the brutality these men faced as they were beaten, whipped, and tortured on stretchers, recalling that the experience "made tremendous, traumatic impressions on me" (McSwain and Allen 2008). He recalled being awakened by groans of chain gang members being tortured on the stretcher, which was a "Georgia version of the ancient rack-used in disciplining convicts" (McSwain and Allen 2008).

A second experience left a young Clarence Jordan deeply shaken as he witnessed the racism of his own father. At the age of nine or ten, as he recalls, he observed his father chastise a young African American male for delivering the family's dry-cleaning to the front door of the home instead of the socially customary back door. Jordan recalls lecturing his own father for treating the delivery boy so badly, an experience that left a young Clarence embarrassed, ashamed, and angry (Blackmon 2008; Du Bois 1899; McSwain and Allen 2008).

Each of these experiences Jordan faced as a child shaped what he studied in college, who he would become, and his life's work. Jordan's oldest brother Frank remarked that Jordan "was a little different, saw things different than we did" (K'Meyer 1997; McSwain and Allen 2008). Ann Louise Coble (2002) writes that Jordan often enjoyed being alone, excelled in verbal and written hobbies, and often debated with his parents and siblings about current events and other issues. McSwain and Allen (2008) reveal that Jordan could never grapple with the hypocrisy he witnessed when he saw people who had a showy religious devotion, yet in their everyday life they had unrepentant racist behaviors.

Jordan's argumentative nature almost led him to law school, but he decided that he would instead better tackle racial inequality by taking a look at the sharecropping system and the way it suffocated the African American community in the South (Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997; McSwain and Allen 2008). Ian D. Ochiltree (1998) writes that in the early years of the twentieth century black sharecroppers often worked and harvested their crops on white-owned farms. A defining feature of the postbellum South, sharecropping "reflected the social and economic roots of discrimination and segregation" in racially divided areas which emerged out of dislocation, depression, and insecurity after the Civil War (Ochiltree 1998: 355). At the same time, sharecropping concerns arose regarding the freedom that black sharecroppers were able to achieve in this paternalistic system. Even though slaves had been freed, "cotton still needed to be picked, and the wartime devastation of the southern economy only made more urgent the necessity for new labor arrangements to get field hands back to work" (Ochiltree 1998: 355).

In "The Origins of Southern Sharecropping," Edward Royce (1993) writes that sharecropping and tenancy farming replaced the plantation system. Large plantations were broken apart into smaller tracts of lands that were leased on a year to year basis to individual families, and at the end of each season they would receive a share of the crop (Royce 1993). Planters, however, often withheld payment or refused to allowed the tenant farmers their share of the crops they helped cultivate (Ochiltree 1998; Royce 1993). African Americans also attempted to buy their own land while planters yearned to establish a new system of forced labor either through freed slaves or immigrants (Royce 1993). Unable to envision labor any differently than what planters had grown up with, a system was set up that reproduced plantation slavery, including the implementation of gang labor, "with field hands working under the close supervision of the landowner or his agent, much as they had done under slavery" (Ochiltree

1998: 355). White landowner's original plan had been to work gangs of wage laborers under the supervision of overseers, with the promise that the workers would get a monthly stipend or a share of the crop. Unfortunately, the planters often found some reason to withhold any kind of payment for the work that was performed, resulting in an environment where the workers left their jobs and the planters were unable to own their laborers as they had previously sought to do (Ochiltree 1998). White planters maintained a reluctance to replace slave labor with another subordinate and servile labor force, although sharecropping was just that "a wage system of labor which they found to be slavery in all but name" (Ochiltree 1998: 55).   Walter Sillers Jr., a zealous segregationist and Mississippi lawyer, stated that "Negroes ought to be happy and thankful for the privilege of enjoying the civilization that the white man is giving them in America" especially as they are "fresh from savagery" (Woodruff 1994: 270).

By his high school graduation, Jordan had decided to address this social problem of sharecropping by attending the Georgia State College of Agriculture at the University of Georgia in Athens (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997). By enrolling in the College of Agriculture, Jordan hoped to teach poor rural farmers—black and white—how to greatly improve the capabilities of their own farms. This would become the impetus of Clarence Jordan's social activism.

The Collegiate Years

In the fall of 1929, Jordan began his collegiate career at the University of Georgia during the Great Depression. He blossomed as a student, and participated in fraternal life, the campus literary society, debate team, band, drama, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and the agricultural honor society (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997; McSwain and Allen 2008). In addition to extracurriculars, Jordan was involved in the Baptist Student Union and the

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local Baptist church, eventually becoming the president of his local chapter by his senior year of college (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997; McSwain and Allen 2008). Jordan always maintained and fostered this faith by spending personal time studying the Bible and engaging in discussions about the Scripture with his classmates.

In addition to his religious affiliations and memberships, Jordan also enrolled in the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC), and at the urging of one of his professors, he participated in a military boot camp in the summer of 1933 (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997; McSwain and Allen 2008). It was here that he began questioning his own views on the military and the way it conflicted with his personal stance of pacifism, just as Gandhi experienced an epiphany while serving as a Sargent Major in the British colonial force trying to put down the Zulu uprising (Gandhi 1927). As Dallas Lee (1971) states, an officer's position in the military was a highly sought after and esteemed dream of many southern men. Devoting his free time during the boot camp being absorbed in Jesus' words in the Sermon on the Mount, Jordan specifically took to Matthew 5:43. This Scripture stated, "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But I say to you, Love your enemies" (Lee 1971). Jordan could no longer fathom participating in militaristic action while also following God's word. He pondered how one could love their enemy yet also engage in battle with them. It was during this time at military boot camp that Jordan became a devout pacifist, and from then on he advocated for nonviolent solutions to problems in society.

After returning to the University of Georgia following boot camp, Jordan attended a Baptist student retreat where he felt the calling to become a preacher (Coble 2002). This spirituality, coupled with his continued desire to help the poor through agriculture training, led

him to the decision to attend seminary where he would further his study on how he could turn his preaching into practice (K'Meyer 1997).

The Seminary Years

During the fall of 1933, Jordan began his studies towards a Master's of Divinity at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky just as Hitler was coming to power in Germany. During seminary school, Jordan was confronted by what Paul Harvey (2005) refers to as "professors who shocked students with progressive ideas." Focusing on the Greek New Testament, Coble (2002) reveals that Jordan "saw his study of the biblical texts to be crucial in his preparation for working in rural Georgia." She writes that his professors, contrary to the Southern Baptist denomination's tendency, were at the moderate end doctrine (Coble 2002). In his article entitled "Southern Baptists' Long Journey," Timothy George (2012) writes that since the founding of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845, it has passed thirty-one resolutions on race. At the inception of the Southern Baptist Convention they called for the "religious instruction of our colored population," which George (2012) argues reinforced apartheid in the South. He also reveals that lynching only became condemned by the Southern Baptist Convention in 1933, and it wasn't until the 150th anniversary of the Convention in 1995 that they denounced *all* forms of racism (George 2012). Jordan's faithful devotion to social justice went against the racist doctrine that the Southern Baptist Convention had held for so long.

During the mid-1930s one of Jordan's most influential professors, Edward A. McDowell Jr., took a group of his students to the Southern Interracial Commission. This experience, along with witnessing large numbers of poor and rural people struggling to find work and food in Louisville, deeply affected Jordan (Coble 2002). While most of Jordan's ministering during his time in Kentucky had been to that of rural white churches, he devoted much of his time to inner-

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city ministries beginning in 1936. As a graduate student he became a fellow teaching part-time at a small African American seminary, Simmons University (Coble 2002). In a letter to his mother, he wrote that he was heartbroken at the condition of people in Louisville and he was determined to minister "in the service of suffering humanity" the remainder of his days (Coble 2002). It was also during this time that Jordan began subscribing to a newsletter of the Southern Baptist nonconformist Walter Nathan Johnson, and it was through this newsletter that he would meet the future co-founder of Koinonia Farm, Martin England (Coble, 2002; McSwain and Allen, 2008).[1] Their shared beliefs in non-violence and living the word of Jesus would come to fruition as they collectively sought to establish an intentional community in the rural South. Like Jordan, Martin England also sought to establish an interracial agriculture experiment to demonstrate the teachings of Jesus.

Koinonia Farm Begins

Charles Marsh (2004) writes in "Beloved Community: How Faith Shapes Social Justice, From the Civil Rights Movement to Today," that while Clarence Jordan was working on his doctoral studies in Louisville, Kentucky, he assembled a group of seminary students whose primary goal was to foster racial reconciliation within the church (King, 1967). The Louisville-based Koinonia group established a common purse, where shared funds were deposited and where members would draw money as needed (Marsh 2004). While there were no African American members of this group, Jordan did encourage the members to attend black churches and join them if they felt moved to do so (Marsh 2004). Charles Marsh (2004) writes that in encouraging the Koinonia members to attend and join black churches, Jordan sought to "deepen

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[1] While the role of Martin England was integral to the founding of Koinonia Farm, for the purposes of this thesis, a primary focus is given to Clarence Jordan, as he stayed with the farm the longest and was a pillar of that community.

white missionary philanthropic work in the neighborhoods of these churches by creating opportunities of interracial fellowship and cooperation that lay beyond philanthropic endeavors." The Louisville Koinonia endeavor involved student members—however, the transient nature of the group's composition began to weigh on Jordan, and the group never moved past the experimental stage (K'Meyer 1997; Marsh 2004). When Jordan met his spiritual soul mate, Martin England, they both decided that "if the barriers that divide man, and cause wars, race conflict, economic competition, class struggle, labor disputes, are ever to be broken down they must be broken down in small groups of people living side by side" (Marsh, 2004).

In looking for a setting to establish their demonstration plot, Jordan sought to find a place that epitomized the typical poor, rural, predominantly black farming community in the South— and in this they found their home on 400 acres in Sumter County, Georgia in a town called Americus (Chancey 1991; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997). This community was a mix of poor black and white farmers—whom he realized *both* faced similar plights that were only worsened by political rabble rousing (Harvey 2005). In 1940, United States Census data show that Sumter County, Georgia had had a population of 24,502—61.2 percent of which were African American (United States Census, 1940). Conversely, in 2010 Sumter County had a population of 32,819— 51 percent of which were African American (United States Census, 2010). From 1942 on, Koinonia served as a place that promoted a strong sense of community—all residents held income, property, possessions, and community decisions in common. Families of all races worked, worshiped, and ate together (Chancey 1991).

Jordan, equipped with his degree in agriculture, believed in promoting agriculture and industrial education as a means of improving the plight of poor African Americans. He and England sought to teach farmers about new machinery and the use of fertilizer in order to make

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better use of the land (K'Meyer 1997). In addition to the community's agricultural mission, they sought to be a non-violent, pacifist community that promoted racial equality. Because Americus, Georgia was in the heart of the Jim Crow South, Koinonia faced much oppression, even after it was afforded an initial peaceful ten-year existence after its founding in 1942.

Jim Crow Meets Clarence Jordan and Koinonia Farm

In order to understand the experience of Koinonian's throughout the first decades of its existence, it's important to know what race relations were like in Georgia during this time. Stephen G. N. Tuck (2001) writes that in the 1940s, "for all black Georgians in each region of the state, whether in peonage, independent farmer, or urban worker, the common denominator was Jim Crow, buttressed by violence." He goes on to say that Malcolm X once reflected that "Negroes born in Georgia had to be strong just to survive" (Tuck 2001). Tuck (2001) continues that lynching was routine and typical in any location in the state, and occurred "more often in Georgia than in any other state except Mississippi." Georgia in the 1940s was characterized by economic discrimination that was as common as educational and health discrimination for African Americans—with the state allocating "less than $10 a head for each black pupil, the lowest of any other southern state, in contrast to over $40 for each white child" (Tuck 2001; Williford 1975). This was the setting that Koinonia Farm was founded in—a setting of violent, indiscriminate, institutional racism towards African Americans and those who chose to help them.

Negative reactions to Koinonia Farm, while at first nominal, began at its inception in 1942 when Jordan went against Southern custom by inviting three black men to break bread with them after the men offered to help Jordan plow Koinonia's fields (Chancey 1991). Opposition to this community continued when they exercised their pacifist views by speaking in opposition to

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the United States. This hostility came to a head during the late 1950s when Koinonia's interracial activity drew attention and incited anger, as civil rights became a national issue in wake of the Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court Decision in 1954 (K'Meyer 1997). Koinonia's involvement in civil rights issues also came under attack when it was reported that Jordan was working to endorse two African American students seeking to enroll at the Georgia State College of Business in Atlanta in 1956. Because the school required the endorsement of two *alumni* for the student's acceptance, his was deemed ineligible because Jordan was an alumnus of the University of Georgia and not Georgia State College (Chancey 1991). Regardless of Jordan's ineligibility, however, Koinonia Farm became the target of angry Americus residents, and they endured harassing phone calls, gunfire, and vandalism. In July of 1956, Koinonia's roadside market was bombed, destroying the farm's primary source of income (Chancey 1991; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997). When Koinonia tried to elicit police involvement and protection, the local police force refused to help, believing that the blame fell on the hands of the agitators—Koinonians (K'Meyer 1997). It was also during this time when Southern Congressman continually blocked legislation that made lynching a federal offense, something that Congress eventually apologized for in 2005 (Thomas-Lester 2005).

The pressure placed by outsiders onto Koinonia really hit its apex when local and national vendors initiated an economic boycott of all the farm's products and supplies. Local community members, who had once been in support of Koinonia Farm, began shunning the group as well. Some local farmworkers did not help Koinonia Farm bring in their cotton crop; another local merchant would not help the farm fix any mechanical issues with their vehicles; and local feed and seed stores refused to sell any products to the farm (Coble 2002). In addition, Koinonia had their insurance cancelled and bank accounts closed. Due to the boycott, Koinonia

had few resources and no steady income for nearly an entire year. While it crippled the farm's

economic base, it allowed for Koinonians to become more creative in inventing new and unique

ways to generate income (Coble 2002). Koinonia Farm thus began to process pecans and sell

them by mail, with their slogan reading, "Help Us Ship the Nuts Out of Georgia" (Coble 2002).

Koinonia Farm's Fight for Civil Rights and Beyond

A primary mission of Koinonia Farm was to educate and support agricultural and

industrial education to African Americans in order to release them from the binds of

sharecropping, or agricultural slavery, in the South. Clarence Jordan's hope to teach African

Americans and poor whites how to cultivate farmland more fruitfully parallels the work of

botanist George Washington Carver, who was "determined to free the South from

overdependence on cotton" (Karenga 2010). Like Carver, Jordan encouraged other farmers to

grow crops that wouldn't deplete the soil the way that cotton did (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002;

K'Meyer 1997). This path in addressing racial inequality was similar to the Booker T.

Washington ideology. Washington believed that the path to racial justice and uplift of the black

community was for them to engage in vocational and skill-based training (Washington 1895).

Opposite to arguments made by W.E.B. Du Bois, Washington overstressed pursuit of vocational

skills at the expense of formal education (Washington 1895). In his Atlanta Compromise,

Washington expanded on this belief in accomdation, arguing that one of the keys to black

economic success was to engage in practical occupations such as agriculture and mechanics:

> "Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may
> overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands,
> and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify
> and glorify common labour, and put brains and skill into the common occupations
> of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the
> superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No
> race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in
> writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor

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should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities" (Washington 1895).

He also held that agitation was not beneficial to the fight for social equality because "artificial forcing" would not end discrimination as quickly or successfully as productive labor and business (Washington 1895).

These Washingtonian themes of accommodation can be found in Koinonia Farm's founding tenet that a key to social uplift for poor African Americans and poor whites was to teach them how to better farm their land. Clarence Jordan and the members of Koinonia Farm did not promote formal education as much as vocation and agricultural training, thus taking a stance of accommodation rather than agitation.

Koinonia's Later Years and the Founding of Habitat for Humanity

As national press got word of what was happening at Koinonia Farm, support came in from near and far: from churches and other organizations, with some sending financial assistance during the boycott (Coble 2002). Koinonia also sent out newsletters asking for support—from financial donations, to recruiting carpenters, painters, day laborers, and general farm workers (Coble 2002). With this support, Koinonia was able to make it to the other side and arrive in the 1960s intact—and although the farm had dwindled from a larger community to only a few, the farm maintained its mission to live out the teachings of the New Testament. In the 1960s, Koinonia sought to do whatever they could to rebuild the farm into a profitable operation. Because farming went from a sharecropper model to a factory model, Koinonia changed the ways in which it worked with farmers—moving from teaching black workers better agricultural practices, to hiring them to work in the pecan plant along with poor whites (Coble 2002). By the end of the 1960s, the use of this business model helped Koinonia Farm become a respectable, profitable local business.

In addition to becoming a profitable business, Koinonia Farm began partnering with other likeminded people—one of note, Millard Fuller. A millionaire from Alabama in search of a more peaceful life, Fuller came to Koinonia Farm with his wife after he "sold his boat, house, and some of his cars" after realizing he and his wife had become "money addicts" (Coble 2002: 170). During the Fuller's initial month at Koinonia Farm, "Millard transacted by phone much of the business necessary to liquidate his assets in Montgomery, Alabama, and to distribute them to charitable purposes" (Coble 2002: 172). Because of his keen business sense, he was able to come up with big ideas to attract attention and business to the farm (Coble 2002). While the ultimate goal remained to help the local community, Fuller and Jordan worked to create a new mission statement for Koinonia Farm—and this would include helping to build housing for the poor (Coble 2002). This came in the form of what the new Koinonia Partners called "The Fund for Humanity"—which sought to build and sell four-bedroom houses to families on a twenty-year loan with no interest. The Fund for Humanity would later become Habitat for Humanity.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this thesis, social movement theory of framing is employed. Social movements are defined as a "collection of formal organizations, informal networks, and unitary actors engaged in a more or less coherent struggle for change" and represent what is deeply rooted in the moral nature of humans (Meyer and Whittier 1994: 277; Smith 1996). Framing a social movement is necessary to garner support for a cause by developing a certain conceptualization of a particular issue (Chong and Druckman 2007; Polletta and Jasper 2001). Koinonia Farm is a movement that emerged prior to the apex of the Civil Rights Movement in rural Georgia in the early 1940s. Clarence Jordan founded this interracial, pacifist, intentional community after his moral

standards were violated as he witnessed the hypocrisy of his Southern Baptist upbringing and the unequal treatment of African Americans in the rural South.

What compels one to engage in political activism and how effective are framing strategies in participant mobilization? In **"Resisting Reagan: The U.S. Central America Peace Movement,"** Christian Smith (1996) reveals that social movement actors develop a sense of what is right and wrong based on cultural traditions and lived experience. He further suggests that people conduct their lives in order to fulfill these normative standards, and when others violate these norms, they are moved to participate in activism to stop what transgresses their beliefs of what is just and unjust. Social movements, in turn, serve to represent this deeply rooted, normative, and moral nature of humans. The social movement theory of framing addresses how these movements produce and construct reality to its members and potential supporters, with movement actors actively engaging in the "production and maintenance of the movements meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers" (Benford and Snow 2000; King Jr. 1967).

Framing is a central organizing idea that suggests what is at issue at a given time or place (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). Smith (1996) states that framing involves the assignment of meanings to events and social issues by selecting out and organizing certain elements into a carefully composed package of story lines through the use of anecdotes, metaphors, visual images, assertions, and catchphrases. This in turn puts a spin on an event in order to elicit a specific interpretation (Smith 1996). An effective and successful frame includes three key items: *diagnosis* of the problem; *prognosis* for a solution; and *motivation* that provides rationale for political involvement to help the specified problem (Smith 1996; Snow and Benford 1988). The success of a given frame that addresses this diagnosis, prognosis, and motivation is shaped by the

emotional impact of catchphrases and visual images, as well as the strength of its cultural

relevance. Frames that have strong cultural relevance, Smith writes, deeply engage a target

audience's emotions by resonating with primary themes that are deeply embedded in society's

normative standards and cultural traditions (Smith 1996). Successful frames and meaning

construction "help to render events or occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize

experience and guide action" (Benford and Snow 2000). As Smith (1996) states, both Jewish

and Christian traditions hold ethical orientations that lend themselves to worldly activism with an

emphasis on social justice by giving activists a legitimate theoretical background and ideological

impetus for involvement. As with the Central American peace movement, Koinonia Farm may

not have emerged as it did without these religious pointers and the framing of the movement's

founder, Clarence Jordan. Like discourse analysis, the social movement theory of framing

analyzes discourse in order to reveal the processes of social construction that constitute and

organize organizational life (Phillips and Hardy 2002). This thesis examines his framing

techniques in the following pages.

        After establishing Koinonia Farm in 1942, Clarence Jordan strategically frames his

movement in order to garner support for his cause from the public. Framing is defined as

rendering events meaningful by denoting "schemata of interpretation that enable individuals 'to

locate, perceive, identify, and label' occurrences within their life space and the world at large"

(Snow et al. 1986). By situating events as meaningful, framing serves as a way to guide action

whether it be individual or collective in nature (Snow et al. 1986). As Benford and Snow (2000)

posited, successful frames and meaning construction "help to render events or occurrences

meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action" (Polletta and Jasper

2001). Additionally, a successful frame makes a compelling case for injustice by distinguishing

between "us" and "them" by "depicting the antagonists as human decision makers rather than impersonal forces such as urbanization" (Polletta and Jasper 2001). One of the ways that Jordan got the word out about his movement was by giving speeches and sermons about Koinonia Farm to ministries and groups all around the country. Snow and Benford (1988) write that in order for this movement to be successful, it must employ an effective diagnosis of a problematic issue; a proposed solution; and a rationale for ameliorative action (Smith 1996). The more attention paid to these three tasks when framing a movement, the more successful the mobilization effort (Snow and Benford 1998). This thesis examines how—and how effectively—Clarence Jordan uses these techniques when framing his sermons in order to recruit support for Koinonia Farm as he spoke from the pulpit in churches throughout the United States. Going further, how does this framing relate to the white frame analysis theory of Joe Feagin (2010), given that Koinonia Farm was devalued primarily because of the inclusion of African Americans?

Discourse Analysis

For this thesis, a discourse analysis is employed. Linda L. Putnam (2009) defines this type of analysis as a large body of research which intersects linguistics, literary studies, and communication. Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy (2002: 2) define discourse analysis as the examination of a "set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception that brings an object into being." This type of analysis focuses on how language and symbols shape meanings of identities, goals, activity, and relationships though the examination of written texts, spoken word, pictures, symbols, artifacts, and so forth (Phillips and Hardy 2002: 2; Putnam 2009: 146).

In "Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method", Louise Phillips and Marianne W. Jorgensen (2002) write that discourse analysis is a method of examination of language that is

structured based on the patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life.   Some may argue that discourse analysis is simply an analysis of spontaneous spoken word, however when closely transcribed, it is highly ordered and purposeful (Stubbs 1983). Stubbs (1983: 20) argues that "a close transcription of conversation can allow us to see ways in which conversation is ordered which we would never imagine just by thinking about it." He continues to reveal that "transcribing conversation into the visual medium is a useful estrangement device, which can show up complex aspects of conversational coherence which pass us by as real-time conversationalists or observers" (Stubbs 1983: 20). Subsequently, one is better able to examine framing techniques by a transcription than by an audio records, although each provide different insights into the orator's messages.   Phillips and Hardy (2002) argue that the most important contribution of discourse analysis is how it examines in what way language constructs phenomena, and in the case of this study, the discourse analysis will examine how Clarence Jordan's religious language constructs and frames involvement in his movement.

Stubbs (1983: 30) writes that there is one important consideration to a researcher when utilizing discourse analysis, which is "how do we understand what someone is talking about?" He (Stubbs 1983) writes that in order to understand what one is talking about, discourse analysts must be concerned with the way in which topics are selected, formulated, and conveyed to an audience and subsequently that this information is assumed to be known and shared knowledge. Stubbs (1983: 31) reveals, "part of a speaker's task is to understand his hearers, what they know already, and what they expect and want to hear." Clarence Jordan knew that the parishioners and audiences he was speaking to knew the Biblical narratives in which he was speaking to, and

it was his job to join that with the idea of social activism, marrying the two together to mobilize the audience to fight for his cause and the causes of the greater Civil Rights Movement.

Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy (2002) state that discourse analysis is notable for its roots in social constructivism as opposed to narrative and conversational analyses that focus simply on text or speech. This thesis utilizes discourse analysis as a way to not only code and analyze the speeches and sermons of Clarence Jordan, but also seek to examine how the discourse of Koinonia Farm's founder disseminates information in order bring an object, or in Jordan's case an idea, into being for his audience (Phillips and Hardy 2002).

Through archival research, this thesis dissects the orations of Clarence Jordan in order to unearth the motives of this community and how Jordan framed his movement in order to recruit support from the public at large. This method of examination is critical in underscoring and contesting many of the claims made in key texts written about Clarence Jordan and Koinonia Farm, while at the same time giving the farm's founder a more prominent voice in his story.

My goal in writing this thesis is to explore the framing techniques of a lesser-known social justice movement that existed prior to the apex of the Civil Rights Movement. More specifically, I seek to show the importance of the founder's own voice in telling the story by utilizing his own words from the archives that bare his name. Finally, I seek to examine how Clarence Jordan's religious framing techniques helped build his movement over time— illustrating how religious frames can be used to mobilize people instead of creating further division. Lastly, I seek to become the first scholar to analyze the framing techniques of Koinonia Farm, as it is not a technique previously utilized by any other scholars that studied this subject. I also hope this thesis helps to illuminate the importance of the consideration of censorship when approaching archival research.

CHAPTER III: METHODS AND KEY CONCEPTS

METHODS

This thesis employs a critical discourse analysis of Clarence Jordan's personal sermons and speeches gathered from the University of Georgia Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library in Athens, Georgia. This research gives a stronger voice to the man that founded this intentional community by delving further into the motives behind the creation of Koinonia Farm through an analysis of his *own* words. This thesis also examines the way in which Clarence Jordan framed Koinonia Farm to the public in order to garner support for his movement.

The process for this analysis is two-fold. In analyzing Clarence Jordan's sermons and speeches, the following questions are answered: (1) What was Clarence Jordan's aim in founding Koinonia Farm and continuing to implement it over time? (2) How did he go about methodically achieving his aim? And (3) How effectively were the objectives achieved as reflected in measurable outcomes--—did Jordan's sermons frame his position so as to make Koinonia Farm work over it's lifetime? This thesis also examines why Clarence Jordan focused on an industrial and agricultural education model as a means of uplift for the local African Americans in his community.

The data for this study comes from the Clarence L. Jordan papers located at the University of Georgia Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library in Athens, Georgia. A five-day trip to the archives was completed, with each day (8:00am-5:00pm) spent going through each of the 32 boxes in the collection. The primary source of data collection and note taking was the computer word-processing program Microsoft Word, as well as paper and pencil. At the end of each day, a review of the notes took place to ensure clarity and completeness. If my notes were not clear or needed more clarification, I revisited the corresponding box and folder the next

day to ensure that I got all the appropriate information I needed. Photocopies of archival

material, including sermon and speech transcripts, were made if notes could not be gleaned from

them while at the archives—these included items such as large pamphlets or multi-volume

sermons. In addition, photocopies were made of any personal correspondence between Clarence

Jordan and any well-known person that included clergymen, elected officials, and the like.

While at the archives, I placed orders for these photocopies, and they were shipped to me via

United States Postal Service as soon as they were completed.

While going through 32 boxes of archives in the collection, particular attention was paid

to documents written by Jordan himself—specifically sermons and speeches. Papers that had no

direct connection to Clarence Jordan—i.e. purchase order receipts for the farm, letters

requesting speech appearances, etc.—were ignored, as this thesis focuses solely on *his* voice and

message. In further discerning what information to concentrate on, documents and sources with

themes of: God's will, civil rights, the Civil Rights Movement, pacifism, Southern Baptist

doctrine, agriculture education of African Americans, inequality, social justice, and intentional

community will be focused on.

Coding

This thesis is concerned chiefly with the contents found in 39 of Clarence Jordan's

speeches and sermons for which I focused on and drew out major themes for investigation. The

39 sermons I used for analysis included:

1. "Love Enemies #1" (1965)
2. "Jesus the Rebel" (1965)
3. "Jesus and Possessions" (1965)
4. "Metamorphosis" (1965)
5. "Man from Gadera" (1965)
6. "Substance of Faith Parts A" (no date specified)
7. "Substance of Faith Parts B" (no date specified)
8. "Substance of Faith Parts B" (no date specified)

9. "Teaching from Luke Part A" (no date specified)
10. "Teaching from Luke Part B" (no date specified)
11. "Teaching from Luke Part C" (no date specified)
12. "Teaching from Luke Part D" (no date specified)
13. "Teaching from Luke Part E" (no date specified)
14. "Introductory Translation to the Sermon on the Mount" (no date specified)
15. "Parables #1, Side 1" (no date specified)
16. "Parables #1, Side 2" (no date specified)
17. "Parables #2, Side 1" (no date specified)
18. "Parables #2, Side 2" (no date specified)
19. "Parables #3" (no date specified)
20. "The Koinonia Story" (1956)
21. "Being Christian in a World of Violence" (1966)
22. "Adventures of Three Students in a Fiery Furnace" (1968)
23. "Koinonia Work Life Part 1" (1950)
24. "Koinonia Work Life Part 2" (1950)
25. "Koinonia Work Life Part 3" (1950)
26. "Koinonia Work Life Part 4" (1950)
27. "Whiskey" (1969)
28. "Draft the Boys at 65" (1967)
29. "Goofed up Bible" (no date specified)
30. "Ministers Under Pressure Parts A" (1967)
31. "Ministers Under Pressure Parts B" (1967)
32. "Ministers Under Pressure Parts C" (1967)
33. "Seeking the Mind of Christ in Racial Conflict" (1966)
34. "Can a Christian Be Rich" (1966)
35. "10 Commandments Part A" (no date specified)
36. "10 Commandments Part B" (no date specified)
37. "The Lords Prayer Parts A" (no date specified)
38. "The Lords Prayer Parts B" (no date specified)
39. "What Good is a Dead Christian?" (1966).

The coding process for this study was conducted by hand, as none of the documents gathered from archives were electronic. The main foci that were coded included: God's will, civil rights, the Civil Rights Movement, pacifism, Southern Baptist doctrine, agriculture education, inequality, social justice, and intentional community. To streamline these foci, any reference to the words "Civil Rights Movement," "inequality," "segregation/integration," "racism," or "social justice" was coded "civil rights." The remaining codes of God's will,

pacifism, Southern Baptist Doctrine, agricultural education, and intentional community remained in tact.

Each speech and sermon was first read through without coding, and a subsequent second read-through was conducted in order to begin the coding process. Using a red pen, I underlined the main a priori codes of God's will, civil rights, Southern Baptist Doctrine, agricultural education, and intentional community in order to examine how Clarence Jordan framed the main tenets of Koinonia Farm. As each speech and sermon was examined, I used a blue pen to underline emerging codes that became evident as each document was coded. As each sermon and speech was read, patterns of emerging codes became apparent. These emerging codes surrounded the a priori codes and became indicators as to how Jordan framed each message in his orations. These emerging codes included: personal narrative; reframing; posing questions; war; humor; and cultural artifact references. After each sermon was coded, detailed notes were taken via word-processor regarding what major themes the sermon or speech addressed and how the emerging codes helped to frame Jordan's message. Individual notes for each sermon were also taken that notated each a priori and emerging code that was present. An excel spreadsheet was then created so frequency percentages could be tallied based on the frequency of each a priori code and emergent code in each sermon and speech. Percentages were computed based on all 39 sermons and speeches. Additional computations were calculated that excluded the speeches that did not address any of the a priori or emerging codes.

KEY CONCEPTS

For the purpose of this analysis, it is necessary to define some key concepts that are presented throughout this thesis. Koinonia Farm is an *intentional community,* which is defined as a community that is purposely, and voluntarily, established to achieve a specific goal that aims

to solve a specific cultural or social problem (Brown 2002). For Clarence Jordan's community, this goal was challenging racial and social injustice throughout the South and the United States. These intentional communities hold all things in common—money, work, preparation of food, childcare, etc.—and all decisions are made not by one person, but the entire group (Brown 2002). The members of Koinonia Farm believed in a group connected by "economic cooperation, common work and worship, and sharing all aspects of life" (K'Meyer 1997).

Another key concept is *pacifism,* which is defined as a belief in non-violence. Many intentional communities adopted pacifist stances after World War II (K'Meyer 1997). Shaped by Clarence Jordan's experience at boot camp during college, Koinonia Farm advocated for pacifist, or nonviolent, solutions to all of society's problems (Coble 2002).

For the purposes of this study, it is also necessary to offer conceptualized definitions of the a priori and emerging codes. One of the a priori codes for this study is *education.* Education is meant to specifically relate to the agricultural education that Jordan hoped to utilize as a means of uplift to poor African Americans farmers from the confines of the sharecropping system. He specifically sought to teach farmers about new machinery and use of fertilizer in order to better farm their own lands (K'Meyer 1997). A second a priori code is the *Southern Baptist doctrine*, which Jordan himself defined as a strict religious upbringing that followed the firm conviction that whites and blacks should not mingle, work, pray, or conduct business together (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997). This doctrine was so rigidly followed, that it wasn't until 1995 that the Southern Baptist Convention denounced all forms of racism that they had once supported (George 2012).

Another a priori code *God's will,* defined by Clarence Jordan as "the assumption…that Jesus Christ is the head of the church and that the Bible is a reliable account of Jesus' will for us,

his body. So, then, our problem is not to determine whether or not we agree with the scriptures.

Our problem is to determine the meaning of those scriptures and then, by God's grace, to

translate them into our daily lives" **(**Jordan 1957: 2). An additional a priori code is *civil rights*,

and this includes anything relating to the issues the Civil Rights Movement, which sought to

"break down the barriers of legal segregation in public accommodations; achieve equality and

justice for blacks; and organize blacks into a self-conscious force capable of defining, defending

and advancing their interests" (Karenga 2010).

One of the emerging codes that was discovered in the coding process was *humor*, or "the

quality of being funny or amusing" (Webster's *New World Basic Dictionary of American*

English 1998). Jordan used humorous anecdotes at the beginning and intermittently throughout

his sermons and speeches. Another major emergent code that arose during this study is

reframing, or the translation of Biblical narratives. Jordan himself stated, "I shall be translating

it into what I call the "Koinonia Cotton Patch Sub-Standard Version," where he utilized cultural

references and character swapping to translate the biblical passages into present-day narratives.

In a sermon titled "Teachings from Luke #2, Part E," Jordan stated "I think the real translation of

the scriptures is not to translate it into more appealing language. But the real translation that is

so needed today is translating the word in the flesh" (UGAA, Box 4, date unknown).

Another emergent code was *war*, which for the purposes of this study is defined as any

militaristic action, fight, or struggle between two countries or entities (Webster's *New World*

Basic Dictionary of American English 1998). This also includes mentions of major wars such as

the Civil War, World War I, World War II, and Vietnam.   An additional emergent code utilized

in this thesis is *cultural artifact*. Cultural artifacts simply "evoke particular understandings of the

culture(s) they exist within" (Fletcher and Light 2007:424). In this context, culture represents

"the socially acquired life-style of a group of people including patterned repetitive ways of thinking, feeling, and acting" wherein cultural artifacts reflect such lifestyles of a group of people and evoke the ways such groups thought, felt, and acted (Fletcher and Light 2007). Examples of cultural artifacts that Jordan utilizes include a reference to a Model-T car, the Mayo Clinic, Sloan's Liniment, and so on.

A final emergent code was the use of Clarence Jordan's own *personal narrative*, or an account or story about Jordan's own personal experiences over his lifetime. 98 percent of the sermons sampled in this study utilized Jordan's own personal stories about his childhood and eventual experience at Koinonia Farm.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

This study analyzes 39 speeches and sermons given by Clarence L. Jordan in the 1950s and 1960s. Of the 39 speeches, 100 percent of the sermons addressed God's will; 72 percent addressed issues of civil rights; 5 percent dealt with issues of education; and the remaining 23 percent dealt with strictly biblical narratives that didn't contain any of the a priori codes- (See Figure 1.) Intentional community was not found in any of the sermons, and Southern Baptist Doctrine and pacifism served not as a priori codes but emerging codes within the sermons.
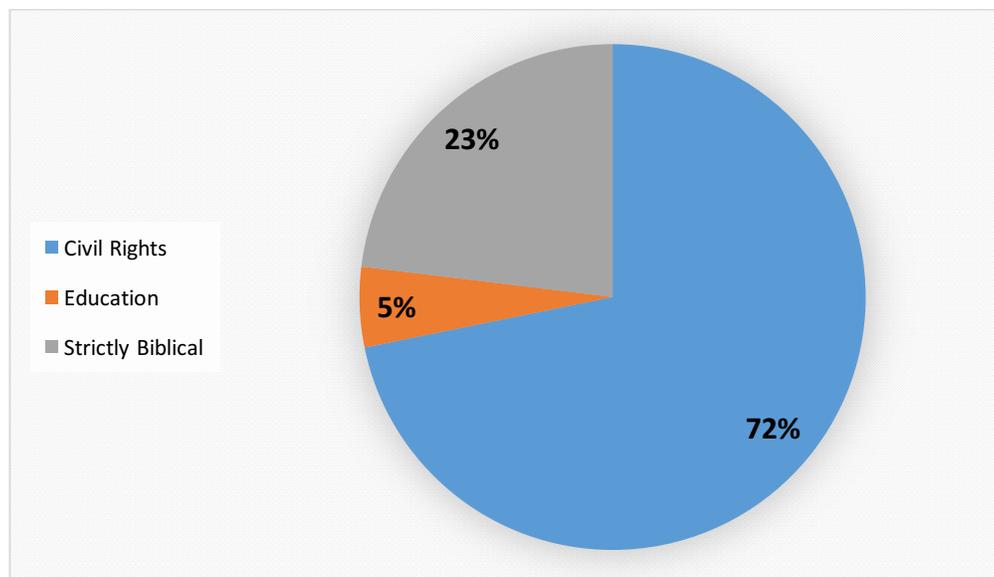
Figure 1: A Priori Code Frequencies

There are nine emergent codes that presented themselves during the a priori-coding process. (See figure 2.) The most common emergent code was the way in which Clarence Jordan reframed the biblical narratives into present-day 1950s and 1960s narratives. Clarence Jordan reframed biblical narratives in 31 out of his 39 sermons, thus resulting in 79 percent of the sample containing reframed bible stories. When focusing solely on the sermons that contained a priori codes education and civil rights, 93 percent of these sermons included reframed bible stories. The second most common emergent code is the inclusion of Clarence Jordan's personal narrative. 31 of 39, or 79 percent, of his sermons included personal narratives. When

discounting the sermons that were devoted solely to biblical teachings which contained no a priori codes, 28 out of 30, or 93 percent of his sermons included personal narratives. The next most-used emerging code is the use of cultural artifacts, which are present in 30 of the 39 sermons, or 77 percent. Among sermons that dealt with a priori codes of education and civil rights, references to cultural artifacts were present in 80 percent of the sermons. The next most-used emergent code was war, and 28 out of 39, or 72 percent of Jordan's sermons contained references to war. When coding only for education and civil rights, war was used in 27 out of 30 sermons, or 90 percent of the sample. Humor was the next most-used emerging code and was utilized in 27 out of 39, or 69 percent of sermons. After excluding the sermons that didn't contain education and civil rights codes, humor was utilized in 77 percent of sermons. The next most-used code was Clarence Jordan posing questions to the audience. These questions were present in 26 of the 39 sermons, or 67 percent. The frequency was the same among the sermons that contained a priori codes.
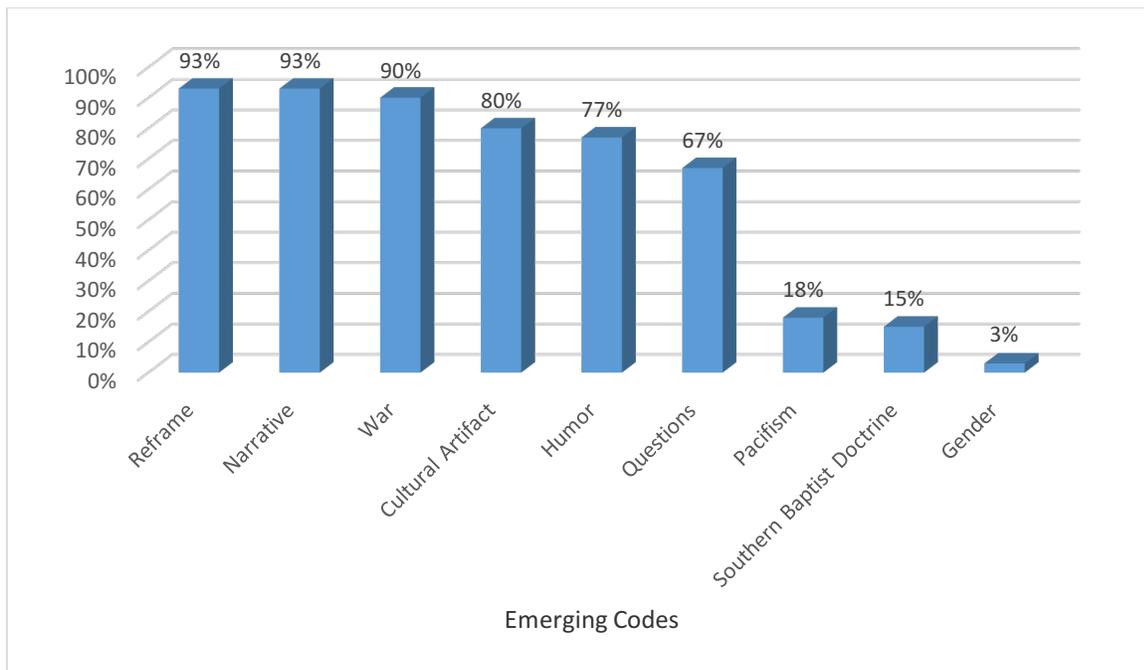

Figure 2: Frequency of Emerging Codes in Clarence Jordan's Sermons

The remaining emergent codes were originally a priori codes, yet were present only in small percentages. Pacifism was used in 7 out of the 39 sermons, or at a rate of 18 percent. Southern Baptist doctrine emerged in 6 of the 39 sermons, or 15 percent. Finally, gender was present in one of 39 sermons, or 3 percent.

CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

ANALYSIS

The first question this thesis sought to answer was, "What was Clarence Jordan's aim in founding Koinonia Farm and continuing to implement it over time?" In many of the sampled speeches and sermons, Jordan touches on Koinonia Farm—alluding to the persecution the community has and is currently facing. One sermon succinctly addresses the motives in founding his social movement. In a speech given to the Fellowship House in West Cincinnati, Ohio, Clarence Jordan spoke of the struggles he faced witnessing discrimination in his own household growing up, revealing: "I saw it in the life all about me, and there were people professing loyalty to Jesus Christ, and yet, there was an unrest there. He would teach men to love one another as themselves. He would teach that, "Red and yellow, black and white; all are precious in his sight;" and yet, that was not a reality. And in my own home, there was always that tension between the gospel of Jesus and the environment in which we found ourselves" (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997; UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, November 5, 1956). Jordan continues that even though he went *away* to school at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, he was at school "all the while, dreaming of the time when [he] could go back to Georgia and seek to set up a fellowship that would be true to those things" that were taught by Jesus (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, November 5, 1956). Continuing to speak to the location of his demonstration plot, he orates:

> "we went down and found an old run-down 400-acre farm in the southwestern part of Georgia. Now, we didn't choose that particular farm for any reason other than that it seemed to us to be fairly typical of the whole south: the white-negro population ratio was about typical of the whole south, the old farmstead was about what you'd find anywhere in the south—it was fairly typical average situation and that's what we wanted, for we felt that we should be experimenting and an experiment would be of value only insofar as it was carried out under typical conditions" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, November 5, 1956).

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In prior works written on Koinonia Farm, Jordan spoke of this desire to find a community that epitomized the plight of the typical poor, rural, predominantly black farming community in the South (Chancey 1991; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997).   His words in this sermon on Koinonia Farm confirm that claim.

In the same sermon, Jordan further explicated the founding tenets of Koinonia Farm. He states that:

> "We had agreed on several fundamental principles. One was that as we read the new testament, it became clear to us that God is the father of me irrestive of their race; and we agreed that we would hold to that, regardless of the consequences. Second, we agreed that the way of Christ was not the way of non-violence, but the way of active good will…. And then third, we committed ourselves to the equality of the believers, economically or otherwise. So that meant, of course, having a common purse. It meant the renunciation of all personal property. Into our fellowship, we would accept people as equals; but we could see how they could come in if property were divided among them. So one of the requirements for membership in our group is that you have no earthly possessions" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, November 5, 1956).

Jordan continues by discussing a desire to confront agricultural problems by "outlining a program of agricultural missionary activity that we could reach out to the people and be a blessing to them" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, November 5, 1956). Jordan briefly discusses the initial problems Koinonia Farm faced in the fundamental elements of farming, yet he never touches on a mission to use his agricultural knowledge to help free African Americans from the binds of the sharecropping system that was prominent when Koinonia Farm was founded in 1942 (K'Meyer 1997).

Earlier works on Koinonia Farm state that Clarence Jordan was a devout pacifist, yet in the sermons coded for this thesis, Jordan himself made statements that contests those claims (Lee 1971). In Jordan's sermon "Love Your Enemies #1", he states "the way of Christ was not the way of non-violence, but the way of active good" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 8, 1965). He

subsequently proclaims that "Jesus did not advocate non-violence. He was not advocating passive resistance" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 8, 1965). While Jordan proclaims in this sermon that he was *not* a pacifist, his advocacy aligned with the philosophy of *active* non-violence—much like Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. (Gandhi 1927; King 1967). Mollin (2006) wrote that radical pacifists, like Clarence Jordan in the 1940s, "dedicated themselves to the pursuit of social justice, a pursuit they wed to the militant use of nonviolent Gandhian direct action" (Mollin 2006).

Christian Smith (1996) posits that social movement actors develop a sense of what is just or unjust based on lived experience and thus create or participate in a social movement that engages in a struggle for change. Clarence Jordan's founding tenets of Koinonia Farm epitomize this theoretical framework of social movement framing as his experience witnessing racism as a child became the catalyst for the creation of his intentional community. Similar to Koinonia Farm, the Highlander Folk School was founded under comparable circumstances.

Established a decade earlier than Koinonia Farm in 1932 by Myles Horton in rural Tennessee, the movement's focus on union labor, education, and race relations grew out of Horton's own experience of "stepping away from the mores of his own society" by tackling what he viewed as unjust (Adams 1975). Horton too had experiences witnessing injustice that informed the creation of his movement when, while away from university, he tried to enter a library with a black student only to find that social mores and attitudes at that time prevented him from doing so (Adams 1975). Clarence Jordan and Myles Horton believed that "you can change things by your own actions," and each of these men's experiences of witness injustice parlayed into social movements that were strong enough to stand the test of time and remain in existence today.

Framing from the Pulpit: What Would Jesus Do?

The second question that this thesis sought to answer is about Clarence Jordan and Koinonia Farm is "How did he go about methodically achieving his aim?" When coding began, "God's Will" was one of the a priori codes. Because Clarence Jordan was a minister, and Koinonia Farm's founding tenets are based on the New Testament, 100 percent of the speeches and sermon sampled in this study use a religious frame—regardless of whether Jordan was speaking to a religious organization or not. Clarence Jordan uses God's will to illustrate what Jesus would do if he were alive during the Civil Rights Movement—or in the case of the sermons presented here, the late 1950s through 1960s. It is the reframing of biblical narratives that prove to be one of the most important framing techniques that Clarence Jordan uses in his speeches and sermons.

In "Jesus the Rebel," Jordan reframed Jesus as a nonconformist (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 9, 1965). More specifically, he replaces the villains in the Bible with members of the Ku Klux Klan and their leader, the Imperial Wizard. Jordan likened Jesus as a trailblazer of a revolutionary movement, much like that of Martin Luther King Jr, and therefore Jordan's call to action is for the followers of Jesus to follow Jesus the *rebel.* Christian Smith (1996) states that Christian traditions hold ethical orientations that lend themselves to activism with an emphasis on social justice, and the religious pointers in the reframed biblical narratives is one way in which Clarence Jordan frames his message.

Present in 98 percent of the sermons and speeches sampled, Clarence Jordan uses common biblical stories and replaces the main characters with characters of the 1950s and 1960s. In his sermon "Jesus and Possessions #3," Clarence reads from the sixth chapter of Matthew, reciting:

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"Put no value on material things which moth and rust consume and which thieves plunder and pillage. But value spiritual things which neither worms nor rust disfigure and which thieves cannot dig into and take away. For what you value is what you are. I think, however that Jesus did not want to set his heart upon wealth because not only of its perishability, but because of its possible effect on people. He could see that it could lead to addiction. Just as alcohol can lead to alcoholism, so money can lead to moneyism. It sets up a fever in the human breast, a craving. It distorts our vision, and then it makes a person awfully vulnerable. A person who's got alot of money is really vulnerable to the temptations and the tax of the evil one. This is true not only of an individual, but also of an organization. The real cutting edge of the civil rights movement was a student group in the south—SNCC and those groups. The reason for it is that college kids don't have any money—by and large they don't, particularly in the Negro colleges—and these kids with no money to lose, were able to give themselves to abandon. The older folks, both white and colored, could hardly participate in it because of the vulnerable economically. Jesus didn't want to be vulnerable. He wanted to be poor so that He could make his decisions clear without any distortion of vision" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 10,1965).

This reframing of Jesus' view of possessions is illustrated in the student movements that were hard at work during the Civil Rights Movement. Polletta and Jasper (2001) posit that a successful frame makes a compelling case for injustice by distinguishing between "us" and "them" by "depicting the antagonists as human decision makers rather than impersonal forces such as urbanization." Clarence Jordan reframes the members of the Civil Rights Movement as not only carrying out God's will, but it removes the label of those who participate in the movement as being the "other." The issues of civil rights and racial inequality become not just a problem for those who suffer persecution, but it becomes something for Jordan's audience to reconsider based on God's will (Berenson 1982).

In select sermons and speeches, Clarence Jordan reframes the audience's vision and idealistic image of Jesus. In "Jesus the Rebel," which delves into the actual image the audience has of Jesus, Jordan states:

"Many of us have a picture of Jesus that we gather from the stained-glass windows of a very delicate, effeminate fellow. Sometimes, we get pictures in our Bibles—I remember when I was a kid growing up, my mother gave me a Bible, an illustrated Bible, and my early images of Jesus were born from that Bible. I

saw him as a good shepherd, walking along with a little lamb in his arms and a pretty little hook, staff in his hand…And long, beautiful, golden auburn hair falling down his neck all nicely fixed up as though He had just had a Head and Shoulders shampoo…The picture we get of him in the stained-glass windows and in our art books are not the pictures of Jesus" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 9, 1965).

Jordan then reframes this common image of Jesus, stating "I think when that man spoke, his voice was a roll of thunder…. Jesus was a man—a man among men—and I think, more than that, He was a leader of a revolutionary movement. He was a rebel, not a southern rebel, but He was a rebel, leading and heading a great revolutionary movement…. For this Jesus, the rebel, would not seek to escape from the awful guilt of a society that can produce a Ku Klux Klan. He is a man among men, dying on a cross, that sweating, bleeding, dying, cursing men may come to know the love of God" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 9, 1965). Clarence Jordan reframes Jesus from a man who was the delicate image illustrated in picture books and stained-glass windows of sanctuaries, to a nose-to-the-grindstone, getting-hands-dirty rebel covered in sweat and blood. Jordan reframed Jesus as a leader of a mass demonstration movement.

The second most used framing technique that arose was Clarence Jordan's use of personal narrative, which was exhibited in 98 percent of the sermons and speeches coded for this study. One such story, combined with humor, addresses the issue of the color line—which for this sermon specifically refers to the line in which African Americans must sit behind on a segregated bus:

"A number of years ago, I was in the city of New Orleans, and while I have been brought up in the south and have been conscious of various racial traditions and customs and tried to be aware of these things as I move in and out, I was unaware of a particular custom which prevailed in that city. I boarded a street car and sat down and, to my surprise, I was sitting back of a moveable Jim Crow line—it was the first time I'd ever seen a moveable one. It was a little wooden sign which had on the back of it "Colored" and, on the other side of it, "White." And it had two little pegs in it and these pegs fit into the back seat of the street car, so that, if there were alot of Negroes on the car, the little moveable sign could be pushed up front and two or three more seats reserved for whites and all the rest of it for Negroes…Well, I was not aware that the Jim Crow line was so flexible and I sat behind this sign which said, "Colored." We went a block

or two and I noticed the motorman looking up in his mirror back at me repeatedly, and finally he stopped at the corner and got up and came back and very angrily picked up the Jim Crow line and put it back of me. And without even moving from my seat, I was transported from "Colored" to "White." So, I kinda laughed at it and grinned alittle bit and said "Well, that's alright, I'm colored." meaning, of course, that I'm not white, shirt white. You know, I do have some color…. Now, when I got off, he said to me, 'Tell me, friend, which was white, your mama or your papa?'" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, no date specified).

In this particular example, Jordan illustrates the "movable partitions" that society puts in place to give a certain group of people, in this case whites, a status of superiority. This sets the stage for his next sermon which discusses God's belief that one certain group of people is not superior to another—that everyone is equal in God's eyes. This sermon connects God's will to the present day race relations in the 1960s. Jordan's use of God's will in his sermons is what Christian Smith (1996) posits is a key ingredient for a good frame, because Jordan's audience's emotions are deeply engaged due to Jordan's discussion of social mores that are profoundly imbedded in society's normative standards and cultural traditions.

Another example of Clarence Jordan's use of personal narrative is found in "Love Enemies #1," where he reveals,

"Down in Georgia, some of our kids working in the civil rights movement ran out of gas—and they were in the country, and two of the white ones decided they'd go for some gas. So they came to a farmer and asked him if he had some gas. "Yes, sure" and he got them out a gallon of gas and said, "Where's your car?" They said, "'Bout a mile up the road." And he said, "Well, get in. I'll take you up there," and they said, "No, we…we'll walk." And he said, "Why no, it's too hot. I wouldn't think of letting you walk! Get in!" "No they said, "Uh, we…we'd just rather walk. We need the exercise." "Well," he said, "No, it's too hot. Come on. Get in. I'll take you up there" So, very reluctantly, the two white kids got in with this white farmer and they drove along and finally, he said, "Where's your car?" They said "There it is, right over there." So, they stopped and got out and the farmer realized it was some of those integrationists. And he became infuriated! He grabbed his can, put it back in the car, and drove off in a huff. If they had been all white, he would have been a fine southern gentleman, a deacon in the Baptist church, asleep in the arms of Jesus. But now he's dealing with people of a different race and he can't love those people" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 8, 1965).

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Clarence Jordan uses his pulpit on this day to give his own testimony of his relationship and experience within the Civil Rights Movement. His experience is what ultimately motivates him to found Koinonia Farm, where he is able to engage in activism in order to stop what transgresses his beliefs of what is just and unjust (Smith 1996).

In "Love Enemies #1," Jordan likens a biblical notion of limited love to the race relations in America. He states that "we love America, and limit our love to the shores and the boundaries of the United States," (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 8, 1965). He uses a story about integrationists not being able to find aid when their car breaks down to convey his message about the Civil Rights Movement, and people who oppose the movement engaging in and believing in limited love. Jordan then connects this to the biblical notion limited love versus loving one's enemies, stating that when the final chapter of history is written, it will be the peacemakers, not the warriors, who will be called the sons of God.   The use of Clarence Jordan's personal narrative in his sermons not only demonstrates his own role and personal beliefs in the fight for racial equality, but it answers the question of "What [Clarence Jordan thinks] Jesus would do" in the fight for racial equality if Jesus was alive today.

Another important framing technique is the way in which Jordan poses questions to the audience. This was found in 67 percent of the sermons sampled. In other words, Jordan would ask his audience "what would Jesus do?" in any given situation that he spoke on. For example, after discussing Jesus' wish for a new order, a "dawning new era, a great light arising…This is the figurative way of saying that Jesus had come to usher in the dawn of a new movement," Jordan asked "Where is this kingdom of God you're talkin' about? He could say, "Right there. There's Simon, there's Matthew, there's Rock Johnson—here're the men that I've planted these ideas among and here is the way it's expressing itself" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 11,

1965). Jordan answers this question by stating that this new era, and this new spirit that Jesus

speaks of, exists in the present day society, with Jesus stating "Metamorphose! There's a new

order, a new day breaking" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 11, 1965).

Clarence Jordan speaks on Jesus' belief that one should love their enemies—and people

from all nations and all walks of life no matter how they've treated you. Jordan asks, "What

does it mean to be a Christian?" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 12, 1965). He answers this

question by stating:

> "Jesus said it is not enough to limit your love to your own nation, to your own
> race, to your own group. You must respond with love even to those outside of it,
> respond with love to those who hate you. This concept enables man to live
> together not as nations, but as the human race. We are now at the stage of history
> where we will either take this step or perish. For we have learned with
> consummate skill to destroy mankind. We have learned how to efficiently
> annihilate the human race. But, somehow or another, we shrink with horror from
> the prospect not of annihilation, but of reconciliation. We will either be
> reconciled, we shall either love one another, or we shall perish" (UGAA, CLJP,
> Box 4, February 12, 1965).

Jordan concludes by proclaiming "it will be the peacemakers, not the warriors, who will

be called the sons of God" (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 12, 1965). Jordan utilizes

asking "what would Jesus do" in 67 percent of these sermons and speeches, revealing that

it plays a key role in his framing methods.

A fourth major framing technique is Clarence Jordan's use of cultural artifacts—which

are present in 80 percent of the sermons sampled. These references to cultural artifacts are a key

element in the reframing process, resituating biblical narratives into the present day time period.

He uses cultural relics such as "Head and Shoulders shampoo," "Sloan's Liniment," "Billy

Graham," "Mayo Clinic," "Oral Roberts," "Model-T," "Harley Davidson," and "Sears Roebuck"

throughout his sermons (UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, February 8, 1965; UGAA, CLJP, Box 5,

November 5, 1956; UGAA, CLJP, Box 4, no date specified). The 80 percent frequency in which

Clarence Jordan utilizes references to cultural artifacts helps engage the audiences deeply held emotions and beliefs.

Conclusion

A social movement is defined as "a collection of formal organizations, informal networks, and unitary actors engaged in a more or less coherent struggle for change," representing what is deeply rooted in the moral nature of humans (Meyer and Whittier 1994: 277; Smith 1996). Clarence Jordan's farm in rural Georgia embodies all the characteristics of a social movement, albeit on a small scale. In order to address issues of civil rights and education, while drawing people in to supporting his cause at Koinonia Farm, Clarence Jordan used many tools to frame his movement. Clarence Jordan primarily utilizes reframing biblical narratives; personal narratives; war; culture; and humor to pose the problem of racial inequality to his audiences and congregations. He also uses questions throughout his sermons in order to pose the question, "what would Jesus do?" and subsequently uses God's will in order to illustrate how Jesus, in his opinion, would approach racial inequality in their own community. In each sermon that addressed issues on civil rights, Jordan transforms Jesus into a modern-day character, subsequently illustrating what Jesus would do as a member and leader of one of the largest social movements in history, the Civil Rights Movement. Clarence Jordan framed the problem of race relations, and Koinonia Farm's response to fight these challenges, by utilizing humor, cultural references, and personal narratives in order to reframe Jesus and biblical narratives into culturally resonant calls to action.

Christian Smith (1996) wrote that a successful frame of a social movement includes a diagnosis of a problem, prognosis for a solution, and motivation that provides the rationale for political involvement to resolve the specified problem. Clarence Jordan's framing of Koinonia

Farm, and the issues of racial inequality, include all three items that Smith states constitute a successful frame. Jordan uses his personal narrative, and the narratives of the members of Koinonia Farm, to diagnose the problem of racial inequality, he then reframes the biblical narrative through cultural references, humor, and personal narratives, as a way to provide a prognosis for the problem of racial inequality. Finally, Jordan asks "what would Jesus do?" in order to motivate and provide the rationale for involvement in the movement, because—Jordan believed—Jesus would be involved in the Civil Rights Movement. These framing techniques helped render events as meaningful and important, subsequently functioning to mobilize action through the use of religious pointers throughout his sermons (Polletta and Jasper 2001). Jordan's use of reframing biblical narratives; posing questions to his audience; and the use of cultural artifacts and personal narratives are his key ingredients in disseminating his message.

This thesis shows *how* Jordan framed his movement and his beliefs in racial equality. This thesis did not explicitly state *why* he framed his movement, therefore one can only speculate on the purpose of the framing techniques discovered and examined above. The speeches and sermons themselves serve as a framing method, and answering *why* he chose these methods would only produce conjecture. In terms of the *effectiveness* of Jordan's frame, this is an implication for future studies to delve into, as the enrollment numbers for Koinonia Farm were not available to compare against *when* these sermons were given. Koinonia Farm is still in existence today, and that itself is a testament to how successful Clarence Jordan framed his movement.

Richard Bauman's "Verbal Art as Performance" he writes that "performance…is a unifying thread tying together the marked, segregated esthetic genres and other spheres of verbal behavior into a general unified conception of verbal art as a way of speaking"

(1977: 5). He continues "in artistic performance…there is something going on in the communicative interchange which says to the auditor, 'interpret what I say in some special sense; do not take it to mean what the words alone, taken literally, would convey.'" (Bauman 1977: 9). He therefore suggests that verbal performance sets up an interpretive frame within from which the messages disseminated to the audience are to be understood. Some of the types of interpretive frames, while not an exhaustive list, include insinuation, joking, imitation, translation, and quotation. Some of these interpretive frames are utilized in Clarence Jordan's sermons and speeches, otherwise referred to as verbal art. One of the most used interpretive frames in Jordan's sermons and speeches is *translation*, or where "the words spoken are to be interpreted as the equivalent of words originally spoken in another language or code" (Bauman 1977: 10). Jordan's use of reframing biblical narratives epitomizes this interpretive frame of translation in 100 percent of the speeches and sermons analyzed in this study.

Stephen Valocchi (2005) writes that "the key to framing is finding evocative cultural symbols that resonate with potential constituents and are capable of motivating them to collective action." Subsequently, a frame is said to be successful if the audience finds its interpretation and expression of grievances compelling and thus are more apt to mobilize if a frame "is articulated by cultural symbols that 'appear natural and familiar' to them" (Noakes and Johnston 2005" 11). Clarence Jordan utilized cultural artifacts and biblical narratives as a way to create empirical credibility so that his message to appear natural and familiar to his audience.

Lyndi Hewitt and Holly J. McCammon studied framing influences on a movement's capacity to mobilize and draw participants, using data from the United

States state woman suffrage movements to compare mobilizing capacities of different collective action frames (2005: 33). Their study focused on three frames: justice frame, societal reform, and home protection (Hewitt and McCammon 2005). They found that the justice frame "drew on language from the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, and other sources of democratic ideals" which in turn tapped into deeply resonant American values (Hewitt and McCammon 2005: 35). Clarence Jordan's biblical frame had a similar impact as the suffrage movement's justice frame because the biblical frame too tapped into deeply resonant values of the religious congregations he spoke to. The justice frame analyzed in Hewitt and McCammon's study also presented new ideas that women should be equal players in politics and beyond, just as Jordan's biblical narrative reframe provided his audience new ways of viewing Jesus as a leader of a mass demonstration movement. The authors also argue, however, that because the justice frame was so abstract, that it was not as successful in mobilizing participants to the suffrage movement (Hewitt and McCammon 2005). This to must be considered for Clarence Jordan's biblical narrative frame because this too may have been too abstract for his audience to either understand or embrace.

Belinda Robnett (2004) delves into the role that emotions play in mobilizing efforts of social movements. She writes that emotional resonance plays a key role in the success or failure of a social movement. Robnett writes, "emotional resonance is the degree of 'emotional harmony and/or disjuncture' between ideology, practices, or 'collection action frames and the emotional lives of potential recruits'" (2004: 195). To exhibit the importance of emotional resonance in framing processes, Robnett examines the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) between 1960 and 1965 to

answer what the role of emotional resonance is in the framing process (2004). Robnett

finds that social location influences emotional resonance and the subsequent

interpretation of the movement's message. She found that "what resonates is socially

located, or culturally, racially, class, and gender specific. Social locations determine

emotional resonance and thus the extent to which a proffered frame will be accepted or

rejected" (2004: 2010). This provides some insight into the emotional resonance of

Clarence Jordan's framing techniques, specifically through his use of biblical framing

and the use of his personal narrative. While we can surmise that there are emotionally

resonant pieces to Jordan's frames, more research needs to be done to examine just how

emotional resonance plays a role in his successful framing techniques of Koinonia Farm

based on his audience's social location at the time of his recruitment efforts.

This thesis also sought to show how does Jordan's framing relate to the white frame

analysis theory of Joe Feagin, given that Koinonia Farm was devalued primarily because of the

inclusion of African Americans. Joe Feagin (2010) states that "a particular frame structures the

thinking process and shapes what people see, or do not see, in important societal settings." He

writes that the

> "White racial frame encompasses not only the stereotyping, bigotry, and racist
> ideology accented in other theories of 'race,' but also the visual images, array of
> emotions, sounds of language, interlinking interpretations, and inclinations to
> discriminate that are central to the frame's everyday operation…the white racial
> frame has for centuries functioned as a broad worldview, one essential to the
> routine of legitimation" (Feagin 2010).

Jordan confronts this white racial frame through his framing methods of Koinonia Farm,

essentially asking the audience to open their eyes to the experiences and plight of African

Americans. I argue that Clarence Jordan operated from a counter-frame, despite facing

oppression from those who didn't believe in racial equality of African Americans. Jordan

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confronts the notion that racism is not only a problem to those who suffer from its

subjugation, but to the community as a whole.

This thesis also sought to give voice to Clarence Jordan's *own* testimony in order to

develop a story of Koinonia Farm and its founding tenets. The sermons sampled in this study

confirm that Jordan wished to establish a demonstration plot in order to live the life of early

Christians as depicted in the New Testament.   Previously conducted research on Koinonia Farm

proclaim that Clarence Jordan held devout beliefs in pacifism, and as such it is one of the

founding tenets of his movement. The sermons sampled in this study contest that claim, as

Jordan himself stated that he believed not in non-violence or pacifism, but *active good* (UGAA,

CLJP, Box 4, 1965). While Jordan claimed that he was not a pacifist, he *did* believe in some

form of non violence because he and Koinonia Farm spoke out against both World War II and

Vietnam. Therefore, one could make the claim that Jordan's beliefs aligned more with the

philosophies of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. and their belief in *active* or *militant*

non-violence (Gandhi 1927; King 1967). Marian Mollin (2006) wrote that from 1940 through the

1970s, American radical pacifist were on the front line of social change in America, particularly

in the movements against growing militarism. She writes that these radical pacifists refused to

comply with mandatory drafts, and protested against any United States involvement in any war

or conflict overseas (Mollin 2006). Clarence Jordan epitomized this vision of a radical pacifist

from the moment he began Koinonia Farm. In terms of answering the question if Jordan *wished*

to be a beacon for social change, there is not explicit answer to this question found amongst the

pages of his sermons.

An additional focus of this thesis was to challenge the methods of Clarence Jordan

and Koinonia Farm in the way they employed the agricultural and industrial means of education

and uplift as a means of liberation and uplift to African Americans. Of the 39 sermons coded for this study, agricultural education was only present in 5 percent of the sample, and none of the references to education tackled this subject even though it had been the impetus for the founding of Koinonia Farm (Barnette 1992; Coble 2002; K'Meyer 1997). Future studies would do well to critique this Booker T. Washington method of accommodation that Koinonia Farm and Clarence Jordan implemented.

Clarence Jordan frames the social problems addressed by Koinonia Farm through a biblical context, and further utilizes a biblical narrative and other key framing techniques to frame his unique community in rural Georgia that fought against racial inequality. Whether he sought to be a beacon for change as his community began, his "demonstration plot" continues to serve as an example of the early Christian communities as described in the New Testament. Despite facing oppression in the 1950s and 1960s, Koinonia Farm stood tall and eventually became the birthplace for one of the most successful non-profits in history—Habitat for Humanity. While one cannot speculate as to *why* he chose certain framing methods, the fact that Koinonia Farm is still in existence nearly 75 years after its founding is a testament to Clarence Jordan and the pulpit from which he spoke.

Limitations and Recommendations

One limitation of this study is that the transcripts of Clarence Jordan's speeches and sermons that were analyzed are originally interpreted and transcribed by another unknown researcher. This poses problems, as the original transcription by another scholar makes it a secondary source instead of a primary. This allows the sermon transcript to be prone to incorrect statements or incorrect grammar and information based on the original transcribers own interpretations. It is also unknown if these original transcriptions were conducted by a trained

interviewer, researcher, or scholar. Additionally, it is unclear what biases the original transcriber, and transcriptions, may hold.

In addition to the above limitations, one must take into consideration the censorship of archives and the data they provide. Jacques Derrida (1995) illustrates this in his work *Archive Fever.* He writes, "the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and its relationship to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event" (Derrida 1995). So, while the archive may provide us a window of knowledge that was previously unknown or not acknowledged, one must take into account what is redacted or kept from the public archives. Such is the case with the use of the archives in this thesis—it must be noted that while this will give a larger voice to Clarence Jordan, there may be more information out there that the archives, the Jordan family, or the University of Georgia wished researchers never to see. In Frank Adam's (1975) book about the Highlander Folk School, he begins his book by stating that "this study is based on biased sources" such as the school's own records and tape recordings. The thesis presented here should also have that same confession, as my sources come from the very founder of Koinonia Farm. Although having access to such archival documents is vital to writing such work, one must always consider what material there is that the researcher is forbidden access to.

An additional limitation is that I do not have a very deep knowledge of the Bible. I attended a Lutheran church until I was 11 years old, and while I know very common passages of the Bible, I do not consider myself exceptionally knowledgeable on all the characters or narratives. This presents a limitation to the study in that, while coding and interpreting passages from the Bible, I may not have had a firm understanding of how Clarence Jordan wished one to

interpret them. Additionally, Clarence Jordan may have made a biblical reference in a sermon without my even knowing, especially if wasn't a common parable or passage.

A final limitation in this study is how I turned down the use of the Habitat for Humanity archives. I was offered the use of these newly-released archives as I was leaving the Hargrett Library. Since Koinonia Farm was the birthplace of Habitat for Humanity, so there is a possibility that I may have overlooked some critical documents that may have been in those archives.

Further implications of this study include a recommendation to delve further into the agricultural and educational backdrop at Koinonia Farm. The speeches and sermons examined in this thesis do not go far enough into examining why Clarence Jordan only tackled equality from a Washington perspective of teaching poor black and white farmers how to better farm their land instead of promoting traditional education. Additionally, more speeches and sermons may need to be sampled so as to better grasp the full scope of what Clarence Jordan hoped to do in founding Koinonia Farm. While many of the sermons and speeches sampled here touch on what his motives were on founding his community, a larger sample is needed to make a confident statement as to what his intentions truly were.

Contributions

This research presented here is the first to utilize the social movement theory of framing and discourse analysis in examining Clarence Jordan and Koinonia Farm. Prior studies about Jordan and the farm were strictly biographical and nature—never delving further into how he got his message out and how he was able to create a community that continues to exist today. Further, my research validates the social movement theory of framing. While exact enrollment numbers were not accessed, the fact that Koinonia Farm is still in existence today, *and* was the

birthplace for Habitat for Humanity, is a testament in itself to the fact that the way Jordan framed Koinonia Farm was successful. As such, this thesis exhibits the ways in which Clarence Jordan was a revolutionary who brought the fight for civil rights to Georgia before the apex of the Civil Rights Movement began. My hope is that the research presented here serves as a call to action to other researchers to delve even further into the life and movement of this groundbreaking activist.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF ARCHIVAL SOURCES

"Love Enemies #1," February 8, 1965. University of Georgia Archives, Clarence L. Jordon Papers, Box 4. Folder 1: Recording—1. Transcription of Clarence Jordan Speaking at Daily—Goshen College Chapel Service.

"Jesus the Rebel," February 10, 1965. University of Georgia Archives, Clarence L. Jordon Papers, Box 4. Folder 2: Recording—2. Transcription of Clarence Jordan Speaking at Daily—Goshen College Chapel Service.

"Jesus and Possessions," February 10, 1965. University of Georgia Archives, Clarence L. Jordon Papers, Box 4. Folder 3: Recording—3. Transcription of Clarence Jordan Speaking at Daily—Goshen College Chapel Service.

"Metamorphosis," February 11, 1965. University of Georgia Archives, Clarence L. Jordon Papers, Box 4. Folder 4: Recording—4. Transcription of Clarence Jordan Speaking at Daily—Goshen College Chapel Service.

"Man from Gadera," February 12, 1965. University of Georgia Archives, Clarence L. Jordon Papers, Box 4. Folder 5: Recording—5. Transcription of Clarence Jordan Speaking at Daily—Goshen College Chapel Service.

"Substance of Faith Part A," no date specified. University of Georgia Archives, Clarence L. Jordon Papers, Box 4. Folder 6: Recording—6. Transcription of Clarence Jordan Speaking to a Group at a Conference of the Church of the Brethren.

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