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Developing a Racial Consciousness in the White Leader

By

Elizabeth A. Campbell

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of

Augsburg College

In partial fulfillment for the

Degree of

Master of Arts in Leadership

May, 1998

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Thesis

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Guides along the Way

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MASTER OF ARTS IN LEADERSHIP
AUGSBURG COLLEGE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This is to certify that the Master's thesis of:

Elizabeth Ann Campbell

has been approved by the Review Committee for the Thesis requirement for the Master of Arts in Leadership degree.

Date of Oral Defense: May 12, 1998

Committee: John E. Benson
Advisor

William O. Swenson
Reader

Reader

Lynette [illegible] Jones
Reader

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Abstract

This thesis addresses how racism affects the leadership practice of the white leader in the United States. The researcher did a self-analysis of her own spiritual and psychological development, as a white leader, from birth to age 35. The researcher used her own narrative as the primary source of data. Secondary resources were used to interpret this data. The researcher argues that the United States is a nation in which social life is still largely governed by the belief in the intellectual, cultural and moral superiority of whites, or the doctrine of white supremacy.

The researcher argues further that the white leader is prepared, through the processes of socialization, cultural dominance and isolation, to practice racism, unconsciously, in social life. The researcher suggests that a remedy for this situation is the development of a racial consciousness, wherein the white leader actively goes about the task of learning how she was socialized into the practice of racism.

The development of a racial consciousness is an aspect of the process of Individuation. The researcher moves her own narrative through Joseph Campbell's and Carol Pearson's model of Individuation, "The Hero's Adventure." The narrative is organized chronologically through the preparation, departure, fulfillment and return phases of the archetypal pattern of the Hero's Adventure.

The narrative and the interpretation of the data reveal that in the case of this white leader, the development of a racial consciousness resulted in a greater level of awareness in four areas: an awareness of one's socialization into racism, an awareness of the power

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differential between whites and people of color, a recognition of cultural difference, and finally, an understanding of how power and culture converge to reinforce and reproduce racism. Developing a racial consciousness also resulted in a capacity to recognize and acknowledge racist leadership choices. The researcher asserts that when the white leader recognizes and acknowledges racist leadership choices she is resisting racism.

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Developing a Racial Consciousness in the White Leader

Chapter One: Introduction

This Master of Arts in Leadership thesis will address how racism affects the leadership practice of white leaders in the United States. Leadership is the practice of making choices aimed at transforming the oppressive aspects of the social context in which the leader practices. (Foster, 1989, p. 48) Examples of a social context include: a community who shares a geography or world-view, a workplace, a place of worship, and the family.

Leader seeks to transform oppressive social processes into ones that facilitate emancipation. (Ibid. p.49) Emancipation is greater freedom from oppression. An objective measure of emancipation is an individual's or group's increased ability to participate in and direct the economic, political and social processes that influence the vitality of the individual and of their community. (Ibid., p. 53) This type of leadership requires that the leader be in active relationship with those she "leads." Here leadership is not a function of position, but rather it is a function of how the leader's choices enhance the transformation of oppressive aspects of the social context in which she serves. (Ibid. p. 52)

Using this interpretation of leadership the white leader is not viewed as a separate, autonomous individual, who is unrelated to others. (Ibid. pp.49-50) Her leadership practice occurs in the context of a specific community to which she is accountable. There is a reciprocal rather than positional or hierarchical relationship between the white leader

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and those affected by her choices. (Ibid.)

In addition, our interpretation of leadership assumes that contemporary leaders are affected by the leadership choices of past leaders. (Nuestadt & May, 1986, p. 116) For today's white leader this means she practices leadership in a social context *still* governed by a belief in the intellectual, moral and cultural superiority of whites, or the doctrine of white supremacy. (Barndt, 1991, p.12; Jones, 1988, p.117; Morrison, 1992, p. ix, p. xiii) She has inherited a social context in which race governs the distribution of power and resources in a manner that benefits whites and harms people of color.[1] This benefit is the privilege of being white in the United States. For the purpose of this thesis this benefit will be termed "white privilege." (Barndt, 1991, p. 57; McIntosh, 1989, p. 10; Terry, 1975, p. 60)

Racism is the convergence of the belief in the superiority of the white racial group with the collective power to impose this belief on all other racial or cultural ethnic groups. (Barndt, 1991, p. 29) This interpretation acknowledges that individuals of all racial and cultural ethnic groups possess and act on racial prejudice. However, it also assumes that in the context of the United States only the white racial group has the collective power to apply its group's racial prejudice in a manner that systematically restricts another group's access to power and resources. (Ibid., p. 49) Due to its functional reliance on power,

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The use of the term "white" identifies the dominant racial group in the United States. The term "people of color" includes: African-Americans, Native Americans, American Indians, Chicanos, Latinos, Hispanics and Asian-Americans. I am aware that these terms are not universally accepted by the individuals or groups they are meant to identify. The reader is expected to determine for herself which racial or cultural identification represents her, or add her own.

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racism as a practice in the United States is viewed here as the sole province of the white racial group. (Ibid.)

Through the processes of socialization, cultural domination, and cultural isolation the white leader is prepared for the unconscious practice of racism in social life. Indeed, to persist, racism relies heavily on the *unconscious participation* of the white leader.

In most societies children learn the norms and values of their group between the ages of birth to 5 years; the period of early socialization. (Elkin, 1960, p. 4; Nobles, 1985, pp 59-60) The primary systems of socialization are the family, the community and the school. (Asante, 1991, p. 338; Jones, 1972, p.124) In these early years future white leaders internalize norms and values, that when expressed in certain ways and settings reproduce racism. (Asante, 1991, p. 343; Friedman, 1990, p. 259; Gutierrez & Lewis, 1995, p. 95; Nobles, 1985, p. 42)

The process of socialization is an unconscious process. The white child does not question or critique the norms and values learned during this time. In fact, the white child quickly internalizes these values. (Knowles & Prewitt, 1969, p.57; Williams, et. al., 1975, p. 3; Friedman, 1990, p. 259; Powell-Hopson & Hopson; 1992, p. 183) By age 3, white children already indicate a preference for whiteness and by age five they often display unmistakable signs of racial prejudice. (Ibid.) Simply put, white children learn quickly that it is "better" to be white.

In addition to early socialization, the cultural dominance and cultural isolation of the white racial group in the, United States, limits the white child's opportunities to

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experience the practice of the norms and values of other racial or cultural ethnic groups.[2] (Banks, 1994, p. 22) White norms and values govern institutional life. (Buford & Richards, 1997, Anti-Racism Training Lecture) Examples of such influential institutions include the school and the workplace. This is a form of cultural dominance. Finally, racial segregation in housing creates racially segregated schools and communities. (Mahoney, 1995, p. 1) Cultural isolation is a secondary outcome of racially segregated housing markets.

For whites, cultural domination and isolation limit their opportunity to experience the norms and values of other groups and to develop competence in recognizing and applying the norms and values of other groups. This isolation makes it difficult to recognize and critique the cultural norms and values of one's own group. (Hall, 1981, pp. 12, 51, & 152) A related consequence is internalized white bias. (Banks: T&P, 1994, p. 47) This is a non-reflective -- or again unconscious -- belief in the primacy of white norms and values. (Ibid.)

The white leader's restricted social context increases the likelihood that she will enter organizational and community life *still* unaware of the how racism has affected her psychological and spiritual development. (Barndt, 1991, p. 44) As a white leader, this restricted social context is the departure point for my leadership practice. I entered

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The experience of the white child in the United States is significantly different from that of the African-American child. African-American children, and children of color in general, learn early to navigate between their home culture and the dominant white culture, two cultures that often express opposing values. In addition, the African-American child will likely have a conscious and traumatic encounter with the practice of racism before age five. (Clark & Clark, 1947, p. 169; Ferguson-Peters, 1985, p.165)

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organizational life still unaware of how racism affected me. The result was that I often unconsciously made leadership choices that reinforced and reproduced racism. It was not until I became aware of how my choices were racist that I understood the completeness of my own socialization into racist habits of thought and action. (Jung, 1964, p. 223; Hall; 1981, pp.12, & 51; Bly, 1988, p. 14)

In order to flourish, the practice of racism relies heavily on the unconscious participation, or enduring captivity, of the white leader's mind, body, and spirit. I offer the white leader the leadership practice of developing a racial consciousness as one way to respond to the situation of the white leader in a racist society. Developing a racial consciousness means becoming aware of how racism affects one's psychological and spiritual development and therefore one's leadership practice.

Two questions will guide this research. "How does the white leader develop an awareness of how racism affects her daily leadership choices?" and "Does developing a racial consciousness prepare the white leader to practice recognizing and acknowledging her racist leadership choices?" I am suggesting that, when the white leader recognizes and acknowledges her racist leadership choices, she is resisting racism.

The activity of developing a racial consciousness is an aspect of the process of "Individuation." Through this process the individual questions the norms, values, traditions, and practices of her society or group. (Jung, 1964, p. 223) This process is activated by the conflict between the values of the inner self and society's expressed values. This conflict creates an internal crises which in turn creates a desire for greater

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consciousness, or more knowledge and understanding. (Ibid.) Jung goes on to say, "unconditional devotion to one's own process of Individuation brings about the best possible adaption. . .to the collision of. . .conflicting obligations, or disagreement about the 'right' way. . .[to respond]." (Ibid.)

I propose that developing a racial consciousness requires a deep-reaching transformation of self of a psychological and spiritual nature. This radical inner change will prepare the white leader to participate in the transformation of the racist social context in which she practices leadership.(Foster, 1989, p. 53)

There are many ways to describe the process of Individuation. The model I will use is the "Hero's Adventure," as discussed by Joseph Campbell in <u>The hero with a thousand faces</u> and <u>The power of myth</u> , and by Carol S. Pearson in <u>Awakening the hero within</u>. According to Campbell, the basic pattern of the Hero's Adventure is "Departure-Fulfillment-Return." (Campbell, 1949, p. 49) Pearson adds a time of "Preparation." (Pearson, 1991, p. 1) The pattern I will work with is one that includes all four phases: Preparation-Departure-Fulfillment-Return.

In undertaking the Hero's Adventure the hero is responding creatively to the limits of her community's way of life. (Campbell, 1988, p. 152) She longs for a more vital way of life. Eventually, this longing brings her to a point of "Departure." It is not clear when she leaves, if she intends to return. But the pattern of the archetype tells us that after many trials and revelations she will return with what Campbell terms, "The Ultimate Boon," and what Pearson terms, "The Treasure." (Campbell, 1949, p. 181; Pearson,

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1991, p. 1)

This "treasure" is the new consciousness which, when shared with her community, will create a new transformed social reality. The Hero's Adventure is actually preparation for the task of transforming the social reality of her home community. When the Hero returns she is under special obligation to become part of the struggle to make a positive difference in her community. Pearson describes this purpose of the Hero's Adventure and the Hero's special responsibilities.

> The heroic quest is about saying yes to yourself and in so doing becoming more fully alive and more effective in the world. For the hero's quest is first about taking a journey to find the treasure of your true self, and then about returning home to give your gift to transform the kingdom. (Pearson, 1991, p.1)

Finally, Campbell tells us that the purpose of the journey is "that of saving a people, or saving a person, or supporting an idea." (Campbell, 1988, p. 156) For the white leader, I am suggesting that the idea worth supporting is the practice of honoring the humanity and Spirit[3] of all people. A practice the social reality of racism prohibits. (Foster, 1989, p. 49; Barndt, 1991, pp. 65-73)

The white leader who practices leadership within the context of racism must develop an alternative to the tradition of racism. This new way of life must move beyond

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3

The use of the word Spirit here refers primarily to the Divine aspect or Godly substance within each individual. Godliness or divinity is not limited here to the Christian framework. This cosmology assumes: 1) each individual is invested with both humanity and divinity, 2) all creation is invested with the Spirit of God, or the Divine, 4) Spirit is an active force and capable of participating in the transformation of the individual and of social life, and 5) that the Spiritual aspect of the individual lives beyond the limitations of the body and this temporal sphere and therefore Spirits of individuals and other beings can communicate and influence the temporal lives of individuals and communities. (Come, 1959, pp. 88-89; Edwards, 1991, pp. 77-78; Nelson, 1992, pp. 23,38, & 52; and Graff, 1995, pp.85, 131-132)

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the personal and social limitations of racism. In order to find this new way of life she must leave the old way. She must break through the cultural dominance and isolation of her own community and travel to places where other cultural norms and values are practiced. In the pattern of the Hero's Adventure this is the time of "Departure." During this time the white leader experiences many trials and revelations that will result in a shift in racial consciousness; a new level of awareness. When this occurs the white leader has crossed the threshold into Fulfillment.

The objective measure of Fulfillment is an ability to recognize and acknowledge one's racist leadership choices. When applied to one's leadership practice this is an act of resisting racism. The four dimensions of Fulfillment are: an awareness of one's socialization into racism, an awareness of the power differential between whites and people of color, a recognition of cultural difference, and finally, an understanding of how power and culture converge to reinforce and reproduce racism.

In the next chapter I will discuss the use of narrative data in research. The narrative will begin with chapter three. In the narrative I will identify how racism shaped my psychological and spiritual development and influenced my leadership practice. The narrative is organized according to the fourfold pattern of The Hero's Adventure. Chapters three through six cover the period of Preparation, or socialization. Chapters seven through nine cover the time of Departure, or the Individuation process. Chapters 10 through 12 cross the threshold into Fulfillment. The entire thesis is The Return. Writing this thesis is my attempt to share what I have learned in the process of developing

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a racial consciousness with a community of leaders.

Each section of the narrative will begin with a description of significant events in my life that are related to the development of my racial consciousness. This narrative will be followed by an interpretation. Each chapter will close with a summary. In Chapter 13, I will summarize what I have learned on my journey and develop some recommendations that might be useful to others in developing leadership practice of resisting racism.

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Chapter Two: Methodology

My experience as a white leader in the United States will be the departure point for this thesis. Using my own narrative I will identify for the reader how racism shaped my psychological and spiritual development. (Merriam, 1988, pp. 9-10) With the help of the literature on the process of Individuation, racism and cultural learning I will "tell the story" of how I actively participated in the transformational process of developing a racial consciousness. This "story" will provide the primary data of this research. Secondary sources will be used to interpret this data. (Ibid. p. 187)

Because the individual embodies the social context in which she lives, the use of individual narrative to gather data about how the social context influences the development of the individual is useful. (Johnson, 1987, pp. 171-172) The individual is always born into a social context organized around a set of "complex communal narratives." (Ibid.) Therefore, we expect that fundamental aspects of the communal narrative will be integrated into the personal narrative, or the individual's concept of Self. (Ibid.)

In this case, we expect that race will be found as an organizing theme in both the communal narrative and the personal narrative, or the individual's concept of Self. (Ibid., Barndt, 1991, p. 44) By using my personal narrative we will be able to identify how race as an aspect of the communal narrative was transmitted to and integrated into my concept of Self. (Johnson, 1987, p.117)

As a teaching tool, narrative or "story" has another interesting effect. The reader

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will relate to those events and revelations from my story that resonate with her existing knowledge and experience. (Ibid., p. 203) This means the reader will have the freedom and responsibility to identify the parts of "my story" that provide added understanding and meaning to her experiences of race and racism. (Ibid.) This approach then results in unique sets of learning for each reader.

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Preparation for a Transformation in Racial Consciousness: 1961-1981

> Preparation for the journey includes a time of innocence within which the hero learns optimism and trust. Then comes the "fall" where the hero feels betrayed by life circumstances. (Pearson, 1991, p. 9)

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Chapter Three: Birth -- 1961

My name is Elizabeth Ann Campbell. This name, Elizabeth, means promised or consecrated to God. I was born in 1961, on a Thursday, in the middle of January, in Minnesota, a place where some people speak of time as related to the number of icy, cold, winters survived. My mother woke my father up at 12:30 a.m. to tell him it was time to go to the hospital. He told her, "No, you cannot have a baby tonight. Its too cold. The car won't start."

A short while later she woke him up again and he consented to take us to the hospital. We arrived. My mother was taken to the maternity ward while my father parked the car. My father tells me that when he arrived at the maternity ward I was already crowning. He watched through a glass window.

My mother says she was ready to push and the African-American resident physician told her not to. We were told to wait for the staff physician. The staff-physician arrived just in time to catch me. He was a white male.

Interpretation

The influence of culture is apparent in how the activity of my birth was staged. Hall (1981) tells us that culture affects all aspects of human life.

> Culture is man's medium; there is not one aspect of human life that is not touched and altered by culture. This means personality, how people express themselves (including shows of emotion), the way they think, how they move, how problems are solved, how their cities are planned and laid out, how transportation systems function and are organized, as well as how economic and government systems are put together and function. (p. 16)

Cultural ethnic groups manage time and space demands of activities differently.

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(Hall, 1981, p. 17) Whites in the United States of Northern and Western European descent are the dominant cultural group in the United States. This cultural group organizes time and space demands of activities according Monochronic-time, or M-time. (Ibid.) Because M-time is used by the dominant cultural group in the United States it is also the primary method for ordering time and space within the nation's institutional settings, such as hospitals, schools and the workplace.

M-time "emphasizes schedules, segmentation, and promptness." (Hall, 1981, p. 17) Cultural ethnic groups who order time and space around M-time schedule and segregate activities into predetermined times and locations. The time and space needs of the activity are anticipated in advance. The activity is then scheduled into a private space. Participants are invited into this space to complete their transactions.

Because M-time limits the amount of time participants may devote to a certain activity, it also restricts their ability to respond to those unique aspects of the present moment which could not have been predicted at the time the activity was scheduled. This means the particular needs and strengths of the participants must emerge quickly. M-time tends to make subjects of individuals. People are subjected to the limited time and space assigned to the completion of a particular activity. They are no longer participants whose needs and strengths *transcend* time and space. (Ibid., p. 20)

Cultures that order time and space monochronically also exhibit what Hall terms low context communication. In this type of communication individuals rely heavily on the spoken word, rather than non-verbal action, to make meaning of most social activity.

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(Ibid., pp. 20, 91-92)

Polychronic or P-time is another way to organize time and space. P-time "stresses involvement with people and completion of transactions." (Ibid., p. 17) Most of the non-white and Southern European cultural ethnic groups in the United States order time and space around P-time. As a way of ordering social activities P-time fosters a participative approach to completing activities. P-time does not restrict the amount of time devoted to complete a transaction. This allows the needs and strengths of the individuals involved in an activity to continually interact and create solutions well suited to the unique aspects of a problem. (Ibid, p. 22)

Unlike monochronic cultures, polychronic cultures do not pre-schedule the completion of activities into private or segregated spaces. Instead, many activities often occur in a common space and in the presence of others. (Ibid., p. 91) This fosters the fluid exchange of information and a high level of participation. Because the transactions take place in common spaces individuals not directly involved in the primary transaction may enter into that transaction, share relevant information and withdraw, continuing their own primary activities.

Polychronic cultures also exhibit high context communication. In this type of communication the meaning of non-verbal actions are shared and known by the group's members. The meaning of a duration of silence, a tilt of the head, or the stance of the body in relation to another person is understood. These shared meanings are passed on through deep involvement with others during the period of early socialization. (Hall, 1981,

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p. 18)

What I notice about my birth, especially as a white woman, is how the science of medicine, which is an expression of M-time, converges with the practice of what Freire and Birke would call gender and racial "oppression" to make "subjects" of my mother, the African-American resident, and myself. (Birke, 1986, p. 165; Freire, 1993, p. 43) We are forced to comply with the time and space limits imposed on activities by M-time and as a result lose the opportunity to bring our own innate skills and knowledge to the activity of my birth.

I was born at a time when birth was viewed as a medical procedure governed by the science of medicine. Scientific method in the West is an expression of M-time. In Western science, whole processes are separated into parts. These parts or fragments of the whole are then managed by an expert. White "privilege" enters into our discussion here. From our interpretation of racism we understand that whites have favored access to resources needed to become experts.

Male privilege also enters into our discussion. The United States is also a nation in which social life is governed by "sexism." (Hekman, 1995, p. 3; Herr Van Nostrand, 1993, p xviii; Schaef, 1981, p. 4) Sexism functions in much the same manner as racism. Sexism is the belief that men are superior to women. Like racism, sexism depends on the process of socialization and the functional processes of institutions to deliver favored access to resources to males. When sexism and racism converge, favored access to resources translates into white male privilege. (Ibid.)

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To accomplish my birth in accordance with the M-time norm of segmentation, my mother had to wake up my father, who at first refused her. Eventually, he consented to her needs. She was dependent upon my father and a machine, the automobile, to take her to a location away from her home and community, where she was then told to wait for the external expert, a white male, before my birth was allowed to proceed. My mother fully accommodates a world view that relocates her innate bodily competence to an external expert. (Mitford, 1992, p. 47)

The socialization of white women to comply with racism is crucially linked to her socialization into sexism. A white woman's independent access to resources is restricted by sexism.(Frankenberg, 1993, pp.175-176; Luke, 1994, p. 51; Spelman, 1988, p.15) White women gain favored access to the resources enjoyed by white males through their dependence on white males as fathers, husbands, grandfathers and benefactors. (Ibid.) This dependence on white males fosters a white woman's unconscious participation in racism. (Ibid.)

The African-American male resident, who tells my mother "do not push" is an agent of institutional sexism. It is a practice of sexism to oppose the bodily competence of women.[4] (Spelman, 1988, pp. 126-128)

It is worth noticing too that even though he endorses the scientific method for this

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4

A full discussion of the origins and history of this aspect of the practice of sexism is beyond the scope of this work. See Elizabeth V. Spelman's (1988) Inessential woman: problems of exclusion in feminist thought., for more information on the fear of the body, or "somatophobia" and how it creates linkage in the practice of racism and sexism.

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activity he is not permitted to practice what he knows. Racism may explain this. It is possible here that the African-American male resident, in 1961, may not have been present and represented in the institution long enough to gain the privilege to practice what he knew. (Barndt; 1991, p. 57; McIntosh, 1989, p.10; Terry, 1975, p. 60)

As noted above, it is a practice of sexism to oppose the bodily competence of women. (Spelman, 1988, pp. 126-128) The socialization of women to comply with this practice constructs and reproduces a situation in which the dominance of science and the white male is affirmed.

It is significant that my first experience of gender and racial oppression came through my body. (Deikman, 1968, p. 321; Ornish, 1993, pp. 104-105; Zwacki, 1993, p. 154) Compliance with gender and racial oppression required that my mother and I participate in opposing our bodies' natural rhythms and patterns. The moment that my mother complied with Dr. Bryd's directive, "do not push," is the first moment of my socialization into sexism and into racism. This separation from my own competence occurs throughout my birth, but is most acute at the moment we are told not to push and to wait for the external expert: the white male.

The infant of course cannot critique this experience. She does not know there are other ways to be born. But, imagine the white girlchild at five, ten, twelve, even fifteen, who is told this story. First we wait for Daddy, a white male, then we wait for the doctor, a white male and in the midst of it all we do not allow the resident, an African-American male to practice what he knows.

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In the living and hearing of this story the white girlchild is prepared to rely upon and comply with the expert knowledge of white males and M-time as way of organizing social activity. (Hagberg, 1994, p. 49; Hall, 1981, p. 13; Mahoney, 1995, p. 1; Schaef, 1981, p. 8) She is not prepared to rely on her own innate bodily competence. In addition, if the white child does not experience other cultural ways of ordering time and space, she will internalize the belief that M-time and placing white males and their expert knowledge at the center of family, organizational and community life is the *only correct* way to organize the completion of activities. (Hall, 1981, pp.165-166; Banks: Intro, 1994, p.1& 7)

Let us re-imagine the activity of my birth. Imagine for a moment that I was born in traditional or indigenous culture.[5] In these cultures birth is viewed as a process of nature, not a medical procedure. (Thatcher-Ulrich, 1990, pp.183-185) The processes of nature exhibit repeated patterns. (Wheatley, 1992, p. 132) In the traditional world-view my mother's familiarity and innate or in-born knowledge of the natural patterns associated with giving birth are recognized.

In a traditional world-view women are not taken from their homes and delivered to the hands of an external expert. The women of the community come to the mother and the arriving infant. The infant's birth takes place in the presence of other women. (Thatcher-Ulrich, 1990, p. 49) The women are there to share knowledge and to witness

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Traditional describes pre-industrial cultures. This description includes indigenous cultures and the practices of white women in the United States prior to the mid-1700's, when the natural process of birth was not yet considered a medical procedure. (Thatcher-Ulrich, 1990, p. 28)

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the birth. (Gill: *Traditions*, 1983, p.12, p.89) This is a polychronic and participative world view; a way of ordering time and space that does not separate the individual from her community. In this view it is the role of the individual to enhance the life of the community as a whole and living organism. (Deikman, 1968, p. 326; Foster, 1989, p. 49; Nobles, 1985, p. 58; Versluis, 1993, pp. 38-39)

In the traditional practice a midwife is present as a guide. Her wisdom comes from her knowledge of the patterns of the birthing process. It is her role to notice these patterns and assist the mother and infant in moving through them without hazard. (Thatcher-Ulrich, 1990, p. 12) Again, in this practice the woman and infant are not separated from their innate bodily competence to participate in the innately known patterns of birth. (Mitford, 1992, p. 40) The traditional world-view, unlike the Western scientific view, does not attempt to control or interrupt, as much as it attempts to participate, in natural rhythms and patterns of birth. (Nobles, 1985, p. 58; Versluis, 1993, pp. 38-39)

In some indigenous cultures the view of the infant as participant extends to her naming. For instance, unlike my situation in which my name was chosen for me before I was born, the infant participates in her naming. As the infant emerges from the womb the women attending her birth call out many names. The name they call out as the infant emerges from the womb is her name. For instance, if she arrives as the name "Olivia" is spoken, and the community's shared meaning for the name Olivia is "peace," the infant is both claiming and revealing her role as a peacemaker in her community. In this practice

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the infant comes into the world having fully participated in making and revealing the meaning of her presence in the world. (Gill: *Religions*, 1983, p. 90; Estes, 1992, "In the House of the Riddle Mother," Audio Tape)

This experience is the beginning of a socialization process that is much different from my own. Here the infant is prepared to participate fully in the natural patterns and rhythms of nature and the body and to practice a world-view that sees the individual as inseparable from both her own innate bodily competence and her community. (Bailey, 1990, p. 53; Nobles, 1984, p. 58)

Summary

This section of the narrative reveals that whites, perhaps only white women, are socialized into racism through the practice of opposing their innate bodily competence. The narrative indicates that the white child in the United States experiences the dominant culture's practice of M-time and the dominance of white males at birth. The practice of M-time is pervasive in institutional life in the United States. This reduces the likelihood that white children of Northern and Western European descent will experience P-time and the participative and cooperative values this way of ordering time and space expresses. The dominance of M-time and white males, combined with the limited opportunities for white children to experience P-time and people of color in leadership role, may cause the white child to internalize M-time and white male authority as universally relevant. (Hagberg, 1994, p. 49; Mahoney, 1995, p. 1; Schaef, 1981, p. 8)

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Chapter Four: White Racial Terrorism --1971

In 1966, when I was five years old, my parents divorced and my father moved to California. I am essentially an only child of two educated, middle-class, white liberals and the Granddaughter of a Lutheran Minister. The latter is my maternal grandfather. My father is a professor of American cultural history and my mother is a nurse and politician. Because my father was not around, it was my grandfather, a remarkably loving and compassionate man, who became the greatest source of spiritual and psychological stability in my life. I often say that my grandfather loved me as Christ loves. This means he loved me unconditionally and well. He died in 1990, on Christmas Eve.

In 1969, when I was eight years old, my grandparents moved to Red Wing, Minnesota from Illinois, to be near my mother and me. We spent a lot of time with my grandparents in their home.

In 1971, when I was ten years old, my mother and I were in the second bedroom at my Grandfather's house. It was late. The room was dark. We were lying side-by-side watching a small black and white television. She was behind me. We were watching a documentary on the Civil Rights Movement.

From the television horrifying images came rushing in at me: white men in uniforms holding fire hoses; then forceful gushes of water pummeling the bodies of young Black teenagers, the force of the water pushing them up and pinning them against a brick building; dogs at the end of leashes held by more white men in uniforms. I was shaken by what I saw. Terrified and confused, I pleaded with my mother to explain, "Mommie, what are they doing, why are they doing that?" She said, "Because they are ignorant."

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In hearing her answer I remember feeling some reassurance that I was not like those white people. I was different. We were better because we were not so "ignorant." My mother, my grandfather, and the rest of my family were not evil like those white people.

Interpretation

What I notice first is the comfort of my white world. I was ten before I had a conscious encounter with racism. This late encounter with racism, as pointed out earlier, is a manifestation of white privilege. (Barndt, 1991, p. 53) Unlike a child of color, I did not have to encounter and understand racism to survive.

Secondly, I notice terrorism. Racism as terror is the most striking feature of this portion of the narrative. Terrorism is interpreted here as politically motivated violence. What may be less visible is how whites cope with an encounter with white terrorism. When the brutality overwhelmed me, my mother made a common mistake. She denied our connection to racism. She did this when she said *they* do those things because *they are "ignorant."* What I was told, here in this moment, that only bigoted, violent, stupid white people were white racists. We were not them. We were smart white people who did not actively embrace racist beliefs. We were not violent. We were not racists.

What we see at work in my mother's response is a complex psychological reaction to the difficulty of being white. Whites often deny their connection to the history and continuing practice of white racial terrorism in the United States. Denial usually leads to what Jung called "projection." (Keen, 1989, p. 19) Projection occurs when a person denies an unwanted aspect of Self and assigns it to others. In the narrative my mother

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denies our connection to racism. This happens when she makes it clear that we are not like those bigoted, violent and ignorant whites. Finally, she projects this unwanted aspect of self when she assigns racism solely to the white racial terrorist.

Projection is a psychological response that diminishes psychic disruption. The psyche, according to Jung, consists of seven interactive dimensions. (Jung, 1964, pp. 107, 161) These are the Self, the ego, an individual consciousness, an individual unconscious, a collective consciousness, a collective unconscious, and within the unconscious there is also the "The Shadow." (Ibid., p. 118)

The Self is the "totality" of the psyche and is in continual formation. The Individuation process assists the individual in integrating new information about the nature of the Self into her consciousness.(Ibid., p. 161) This new information emerges from the unconscious. As noted, earlier, the Individuation process is often triggered by some disruption in the psyche. Disruption occurs when the individual becomes aware of aspects of Self that conflict with her current self concept. This can happen when the individual becomes aware that her inner values are in conflict with her practiced values or those of society.

Initially, the individual responds to this conflict through dissociation.(Ibid., p. 222) This means she will deny her participation in, or association with acts that are not congruent with her values. This denial also occurs when individuals become aware of the bad acts of her group.

The outcome of denial is often the unintended and unconscious manifestation of

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the denied aspect of Self in the individual's subsequent behavior. (Jung, 1964, p. 223; Hall; 1981, pp.12, & 51; Bly, 1988, p. 14) The white leader who denies the influence of racism on her psyche will continue to unconsciously reinforce and reproduce racism in her leadership practice.(Ibid.)

Interestingly, because the ego seeks psychic stability, it initially presents a barrier to the white leader's efforts to develop a racial consciousness. (Jung, 1964, p. 162) The ego's task is to defend the Self against any psychic disruption.

One way to imagine ego function is to picture it as a guard. The ego stands guard at the threshold of consciousness. (Ibid.) Initially, it will attempt to push back information about the Self emerging from an individual and collective unconscious that threatens the individual's existing concept of Self. Ironically, however, Jung also tells us that if the ego does not see "it" this new information about aspects of the Self will never come into consciousness. (Ibid., p. 175) Over time, though, it is the flexibility of the ego that allows the Self to develop a greater level of consciousness. (Ibid.) The new information is then integrated into a new concept of Self that the ego will again protect.

The most threatening information retained in the individual and collective unconscious is that which is not congruent with the individual's understanding of what it means to be a "good" person or be a member of a "good" people. (Bly, 1988, p.17) According to Jung, this information is deeply retained in The Shadow. (Jung, 1964, p.168) The Shadow is a place within the unconscious that stores information that is most disruptive to the individual's current concept of Self. It is not the whole of the

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unconscious, but rather it is a dimension within the unconscious. The Shadow contains information about aspects of the Self that flow from that individual's personal life and information that originates from the collective, or sources outside the individual's personal life. (Ibid) In fact, Jung argues that The Shadow is the dimension of the psyche that is "exposed to the collective infections to a much greater extent than is the conscious personality." (Ibid., p. 169)

From this description of The Shadow's vulnerability to "the collective infections" I am suggesting that information that implicates whites in the practice of white racial terrorism is retained most deeply in The Shadow. Since this information emerging from The Shadow is most disruptive, the ego will more vigorously defend against an awareness of this new information. (Ibid, p. 175)

In matters of race in the United States it is important to notice that there is a dynamic relationship between the psyches of whites and African-Americans. Bell Hooks (1992) in her essay *Representations of whiteness*, argues that within The Shadow of the African-American collective unconscious there resides an psychic imprint of whiteness as terror. (p. 170) For Hooks and other African-Americans, white people are terrorists. I argue further that information about the white racial terrorist is retained within the white collective unconscious, specifically, in The Shadow of the psyche of all whites socialized in the United States. This dimension of the psyche contains information about aspects of the common inheritance of being white in the United States. (Jung, 1988, p. 168) For whites this common inheritance includes acts of white racial terrorism, such as the ones

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referred to in the narrative.

The narrative indicates just how fragile the white psyche is in an encounter with the white racial terrorist. The comfort and isolation of the white child's daily life in a segregated society fails to provide opportunities to develop the psychic stamina for sustained encounters with the white racial terrorist within. The narrative indicates that when whites encounter the horror of white terrorism, even vicariously, they are overwhelmed with feelings of shame. The ego reacts by guarding the consciousness against a potentially devastating encounter. Because this is a repugnant aspect of our collective unconscious it is rejected. This is done through the act of projecting racism onto bigoted and violent whites. Projection has the effect of diminishing psychic disruption.

Denial and projection also has the effect of mis-education. The white leader who practices denial and projection is not aware of how white racial terrorism shaped the current social context within which she practices leadership.

Developing an understanding of the contemporary social context requires awareness and knowledge of the past. (Neustadt and May, 1986, p. 116) It requires acknowledging the influence of the past on the present. Failure to address the history of white racial terrorism in the United States allows the white leader to avoid acknowledging the legacy of white racial terrorism. That legacy is white privilege.

Failure to address the history of the phenomenon of white racial terrorism in the United States leads to faulty interpretations of current events. These interpretations lead

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to leadership choices which reproduce racism. Denial of the legacy of white racial terrorism, for instance, leads many whites to interpret contemporary acts of white racial terrorism, such as the Rodney King beating and the Oklahoma City bombing as anomalies and unconnected to an enduring practice of white racial terrorism.[6] Without a full investigation of the history of white racial terrorism in the United States, the white leader's contemporary leadership choices regarding racism are likely to be poorly-conceived and therefore limited in their usefulness.

To develop an understanding of the context within which she practices leadership in the United States the white leader must investigate and develop an understanding of the history of the phenomenon of racism. For Neustadt and May (1986) the practice of developing a history of a problem involves three steps.(p. 116) The first is to ask, "What is the story?" behind the problem. The second step is the development of a time-line of the problem. The final step is to determine the "change points" in the history of the problem. Identifying these change points involves noticing when, how, and why the nature of the problem changed. An example of a change point in the problem of racism in the United States would be the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision, which invalidated the doctrine of "separate but equal."

A full practice of this third step is beyond the scope of this thesis. Two additional texts are, Bury my heart at wounded knee, by Dee Brown, and From slavery to freedom, by John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. These texts focus on European contact

6 The doctrine of white supremacy is one of the principles around which the militia groups are organized.

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with the indigenous people of North American and with Africans and African-Americans, respectively.

The narrative also indicates that the white leader who enters into the task of learning the history of the problem of racism in the United States will be overwhelmed with feelings of shame and guilt. She can expect to be confused and horrified. She will want to practice compassion toward herself.

But it is also important to consider just how difficult it will be to practice compassion with this denied aspect of Self. Toni Morrison (1992) suggests that the unwillingness of whites to acknowledge this aspect of Self has led to an inability to practice compassion toward ourselves. (p. 56) This unwillingness is apparent in the narrative. My mother, in her assessment of the behavior of the whites we watched on television, shows no apparent understanding of her relationship to these whites, nor does she show any compassion toward their condition of "ignorance." Instead, she judges, disowns and unwittingly teaches the practices of denial and projection to her child.

Rather than projecting racism on to only bigoted and violent whites, Jung (1964) suggests that a more beneficial use of this energy is to direct it to the act of paying attention to and understanding this aspect of the white collective unconscious. (p. 174) Jungian psychologist Clarissa Pinkola Estes agrees. She argues that the disowned and projected aspects of the Self are always in need of compassion. She suggests that we must be kind to the underdeveloped and apparently unwanted aspects the Self. (Estes, 1992, "In the House of the Riddle Mother," Audio Tape)

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Following the lead of Jung and Estes, I am suggesting that paying attention to this aspect of Self will disarm it. Once faced and understood, it will no longer have the power to terrify the white leader and push her into practices of denial and projection. The white leader can re-direct the energy, once used to deny and project, toward understanding her current circumstance in a society long governed by racism.

Finally, Morrison (1992) argues that whites, in their refusal to acknowledge the white racial terrorist, have placed African-Americans in the dual role of directly experiencing the horrors of the white racial terrorist *and* practicing compassion toward this unwanted aspect of the white Self. (p. 59) This interpretation suggests that the white leader may discover she has an underdeveloped capacity to practice compassion with this aspect of the white collective unconscious. The white leader will experience some initial difficulty with the practice of compassion. She will have to reclaim this capacity. The benefit to the white leader, of practicing compassion toward this aspect of the collective unconscious, may be greater self-acceptance and less defensiveness when she encounters racism in her leadership practice.

Summary

Relying on Jung, Hooks, Neustadt & May, Estes, and Morrison to interpret this section of the narrative, I have argued that whites deny and project their connection to racism by assigning the practice of racism solely onto bigoted and violent whites. The narrative indicates that this practice is possible because the white leader does not have to acknowledge racism to survive.

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I have further argued that denial and projection as leadership practices lead to mis-education, faulty interpretations and leadership choices that reproduce racism. The narrative indicates that the white leader who wants to understand the contemporary context from which she practices leadership must learn the history of racism and the practice of white racial terrorism in the United States.

I have warned that this will be difficult. The investigation of the history of white racial terrorism in the United States will bring the white leader into direct contact with a disowned and repugnant aspect of the white collective: the white racial terrorist. The white leader can expect to experience the difficult emotions of shame and guilt. As a remedy I have suggested that the white leader reclaim her capacity for compassion. The white leader will want to practice compassion with herself and her inherited circumstance as a benefactor of the practice of racism and its attending operational practices of terrorism against people of color.

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Chapter Five: Remedies and Heroes--1971

While watching the same television documentary in which I first encountered white racial terrorism, referred to in the last section of the narrative, I also met Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. for the first time. There he was on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial giving his "I Have a Dream" speech. Listening to the words of his dream I felt relief and excitement. It was like riding a roller coaster. Only minutes before I was penetrated by images of horror and in this moment his words came into me like a balm. He offered an image of children of all races holding hands and I embraced it. I was struck by the promise of playing together on a hillside. I felt some kind of kinship with him.

In this moment, in the dark, where moments earlier I had been brought to despair and confusion by black, white and gray images of racial terror, Dr. King's words of power and the hope for racial justice calmed and reassured me. That night Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. became my second hero. My grandfather will always be my first.

Interpretation

What I notice is that I was, at ten years of age, developmentally ready to consider moral questions. (Erikson, 1988, p. 129) Dr. King's vision of what was possible encouraged me. He promised that there was a response to racial injustice.

I notice too that my Grandfather, who provided me with a measure of what it meant to be a just and compassionate person, opened the way for me to recognize Dr. King as a morally competent person. (Ibid., p. 122) There is an important connection between the two men at this moment in my life. According to Erikson it is the

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"satisfactory and trustworthy" nature of my interactions with my grandfather that explains this connection. (Ibid., p. 123) My grandfather's capacity to love me allowed me to identify strongly with him. I internalized his sense of justice and compassion as a guide for interpreting the actions of others.

My grandfather's moral reasoning can best be expressed in his own words. In 1964, a parishioner wrote my Grandfather in distress over his Marine son's choice to marry a woman who was a Japanese national. My grandfather wrote back and in closing the letter he wrote, "Remember there is enough love for everyone."

My grandfather's example allowed me to recognize Dr. King as a man worthy of my loyalty. Like my grandfather, Dr. King was a minister, a thinker, and a doer. My grandfather was not the speaker that Dr. King was. He was, after all, a Norwegian Lutheran Minister, but like Dr. King he possessed a dignified and quietly powerful presence that commanded the attention and respect of members of his community. And like Dr. King, he practiced unbounded love and compassion.

Finally, Gilligan's (1982), work on the moral development of females suggests that they value relationships and affiliation in their daily activities. (p. 12) This may foster a desire to reproduce the positive aspects of morally influential adults in one's future leadership practice. In my case, leadership choices with regard to racism may be positively influenced by my relationship with my grandfather.

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Summary

Children are interested in justice and seek remedies for injustice. Following the lead of the narrative there is a strong indication that age appropriate leadership development strategies for whites which address racism could begin as early as ten years of age.[7]

White children benefit from having relationships with white adults who are committed to a practice of love and compassion for others. White children who experience the love, devotion and attention of at least one loving and compassionate white adult, may commit to honoring that person by developing a positive leadership practice with regard to racism.

7

Pre-school children internalize some racial bias toward whiteness by 3 1/2 years of age. (Knowles & Prewitt, 1969, p.57; Williams, et. al., 1975, p. 3; Friedman, 1990, p. 259; and Powell-Hopson & Hopson; 1992, p. 183)

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Chapter Six: School Desegregation--1966-1979

My parents divorced in 1966, when I was five. I went to an unremarkable grade school until 1971, when I was ten and moving into the fifth grade. The white liberal parents of my community decided they wanted racially integrated schools, and my neighborhood grade school was integrated. I remember walking to school as I always had, but now upon arriving I noticed many yellow school buses. My new African-American classmates had travelled from across town to get to their new school.

With this change, I experienced some level of contact with African-Americans in fifth and sixth grade. But it was not until 1973, when I was 12 1/2 years old and I entered my junior-senior high school, that I had significant contact with African-Americans. My new school was a combined junior and senior high school. The school population was 40% African-American; I was in this setting for six years.

I socialized with both white and African-American students. Some white students came from middle-class families as I did, and others came from working class families. I also socialized with African-American students. Of the four African-American girls with whom I spent the most time, two came from middle-class, two parent, and more conservative families. The other two girls were more like me. Their mothers were divorced, single parents like my mother. We spent time together in the classroom, at the basketball games and over lunch at McDonald's. We also spent time together in each other's homes.

During this time I was also exposed to African-American music and styles of dress. I developed a preference for both. In fact, even when I was with other

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white girls, we often spent our time listening to African-American music and buying and wearing clothes like the ones we had seen our African-American friends wear.

When I was with my African-American girlfriends I was often the only white person in the group. More that once, another group of African-American girls challenged my girlfriends about being friends with me. They even pressured one of my friends to end her friendship with me. She did not succumb to this pressure.

Most of my interactions with African-American males were one-on-one and private. These conversations usually occurred in the library, in the hallway during class time when the hallways became private spaces, or on the phone. There was also some shared time in the classroom.

Once a year the African-American students led the formal festivities at school. This was in February, Black History Month. The African-American students put on a talent show. Each year we gathered in the auditorium. There were speeches. During these months I learned more about Dr. King and Rosa Parks. I did not learn about Malcolm X or Marcus Garvey. These shows also usually included African dance, and always included singing of gospel songs.

The social activity around which we all developed a common bond was the men's varsity basketball season. This basketball team at our high-school won the State Championship in 1976. I remember basketball games being a time of success and celebration. I remember too that the coaches were white and most of the players were African-American.

In the classroom I do remember some course content on African- Americans

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and Native Americans, but none on Chicanos or Asian-Americans. None of my instructors challenged me to question the political or cultural perspective of the course materials we studied.

Regarding how the classroom sessions were conducted, I remember sitting in desks, listening to the instructor, and working individually on our class assignments. My instructors did not give me many opportunities to work collaboratively with others.

The subjects I liked most were English and cognitive development. The instructors in these classes were white females in their late thirties and early forties. The course work in both subject areas required writing and reflection and offered the opportunity to form relationships. In the cognitive development class I learned about early childhood development. At the on-site, school-operated, day care I was able to practice what I learned. I really enjoyed being with the children and noticing how their development matched what I was learning in class.

This instructor also required that we keep class journals which were handed in every two weeks. She read our journals and responded by making her own written affirming and prompting remarks. I remember feeling connected to this teacher. It meant a lot to me that she was interested in what I was thinking and feeling.

In the English classes I developed an interest in writing and in African-American women authors. The first book I ever remember reading is, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, by Maya Angelou, an African-American woman writer.

When I think about the classroom, I do not remember my instructors

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challenging me to reflect on our individual racial prejudices. To the contrary, I remember *knowing* with great certainty that I was not prejudiced. I knew I was not supposed to be prejudiced and felt that I was not.

I remember knowing that during the initial integration of our school, which happened about five years before I arrived, there was a lot of fighting between the white and African-American students. I remember feeling that our time was less traumatic.

We were hopeful about race relations and we expected more continued positive change to come from racial integration. I remember learning about the Civil Rights Movement, learning that the war in Vietnam was over, and discovering that my mother was involved in the Women's Liberation Movement. Both my mother and my instructors were optimistic about our future in a racially integrated society. They told me I was going to live in a world of greater racial and gender equity and less violence.

Finally, my instructors never asked me to consider how racism affected my self-esteem as a white person or my relationships with my African-American classmates. I do not remember any of my instructors or either of my parents ever telling me that whites, as a group, had greater power than people of color. Finally, my instructors never asked me to question if how school activities were organized had a racist effect on our African-American friends and classmates.

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Interpretation

This section of the narrative reveals the power of whites to make social change. It also suggests that racial integration has a positive influence on the white student. In addition, a racially integrated environment provides the white student an unusual opportunity to experience varying degrees of acceptance and rejection within the African-American population. Finally, in this section of the narrative we see the influence of what Frankenberg (1995) terms the "color and power evasion" paradigm on race in the socialization of whites during the mid-seventies. (p. 15) This paradigm asserts that: all people share a common humanity, the varied cultural ethnic groups of the United States are becoming one people culturally, and finally, each individual has equal access to the resources needed to succeed in the United States. (Ibid.)

At the opening of the narrative, it is the white parents who decide to integrate my school. In this situation we also see that as a white student I was not inconvenienced by racial integration. This is a form of white privilege. (Barndt, 1991, p. 157; McIntosh, 1989, p. 10; Terry, 1975, p. 60) I continued to walk, while my African-American classmates rose early, left their homes and communities and rode a bus across town to school.

The narrative suggests that racial integration positively influences the racial attitudes of white students (Hawley & Smylie, 1988, pp. 282-283). I had generally positive experiences with my African-American friends, who, even in the face of much social pressure to abandon me, did not do so.

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The narrative also indicates that I experienced varying degrees of rejection and acceptance within the African-American student population. Whether I was accepted was dependent upon the gender and racial attitudes of the individual African-Americans with whom I was interacting. (Luke, 1994, p. 59-60) My friends let me "in," while another group of African-American girls designated me as "out," and African-American males, generally, held me "at the margin" of their social life.

In addition, in this racially integrated school the formal expression of African-American cultural norms and values was limited to Black History Month and sporting events. Only during Black History Month were African-American students allowed to determine whose values would be expressed and to lead others.

Brandling (1993) calls this restriction on the expression of African-American cultural norms and values "symbolic multiculturalism." (Crossroads ministries anti-racism training manual, 1993, p. 13) In symbolic multiculturalism the dominant white norms and values go unaffected by the presence of other cultural ethnic groups. The expression other cultural norms and values is limited to rituals such as celebrations and sporting events, which do not affect the distribution of power within the institution. (Ibid.)

The narrative supports the claims made by critics of integration that for whites integration meant that African-Americans would have the opportunity to become, culturally, like whites. (Nobles, 1985, pp. 42-44) Many studies of racially integrated schools illustrate the inappropriate use of white norms and values in the interpretation of the observed behavior of African-Americans. (Ibid.) For instance, Schofield & McGirven

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(1979) report in their longitudinal study of an integrated high school in the Midwest that both administration and other students perceived that African-American males "fought more" than other students. (p. 113)

Yet, when we look at the reported behavior, "speaking loudly and pushing and shoving each other in line," we see that this behavior is an expression of African-American cultural norms, where loud talking, laughter and jostling each other are signs of affection. (Ibid., p. 115; Simons, Vazquez, Harris, 1993, p. 56) This behavior has different meanings for whites of Western and Northern European descent. These whites are likely to interpret a loud speaking voice and physical contact as indications of conflict. (Simons, Vazquez, Harris, 1993, p. 58)

The narrative reveals further that even in a school population that was 40% African-American, the instructors failed to create learning environments that reflected the learning styles of African-American students. In their article, *Acknowledging the Learning Styles of Diverse Student Populations: Implications for Instructional Design.*, James A. Anderson and Maurianne Adams argue that cultural ethnic groups, regardless of socioeconomic status, display characteristic patterns of learning that are strikingly different from each another. (Border and Van Note Chism, 1992, p.19) (Differences in learning patterns between different cultural ethnic groups are not an indication of differences in intelligence between cultural ethnic groups.) Differences in learning patterns occur in information processing, memory, problem solving, and thinking. They report that sharing a common ethnic heritage is likely to result to some degree in a shared set of

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intellectual strengths, thinking styles, and interests. (Ibid., p. 21) Specifically, Anderson and Adams report:

> Generally, the pattern that emerges is that these students [students of color] demonstrate competence in social interactions and peer cooperation, performance, visual perception, symbolic expression, and narrative and are therefore less comfortable with tasks that emphasize individual expression and competition between individuals. For example, Native American students appear in many situations to be more skilled in performing tasks than in verbal expression, more visual than auditory linguistic, more oriented toward observation than toward verbal instruction, and more comfortable with spatial than sequential activities and with group, peer, or cross-age learning projects than with individual question and answer sessions. Chicano socialization endorses cooperative interactions oriented toward helping others rather than individualistic competition. African-American students often communicate through peer-relationships that support group learning or group (but not individual) competitions, simulations and role plays. (Ibid., pp. 21-22)

Anderson and Adams also observed differences in learning styles between females and males. Females value affiliation, relationships, and collaboration, where white and Asian males value separation, autonomy, and competitive achievement. In summary, these researchers found that women and students of color (except Asian males) value relational learning and white males and Asian males value analytical learning. (Ibid., p. 23)

The narrative shows that the learning environments in my school mirrored the learning style of white and Asian males, who value "separation, autonomy and competitive achievement." We sat at our desks, did our work, and were not given many opportunities to work in collaborative groups.

The narrative does suggest that the white female instructors, who taught the two subject areas for which I developed the highest level of interest, created learning

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environments that facilitated female learning styles. In both subject areas the instructors provided opportunities to experience affiliation and develop relationships. (Ibid., p. 23)

Beyond failing to consider the cultural differences in learning styles, the narrative also reveals a failure to address the power differential between white and African-American students. The instructors did not ask us to reflect on the political and cultural perspective from which the curriculum we used in class was developed.(Banks: *T&P*, 1995, p. 5) They did not ask us to consider our own racial prejudice *and* we were never asked to consider whether the way activities in and out of the classroom were organized had a racist effect on our African-American friends and classmates.(Ibid.)

This failure to address the power differential and cultural differences between whites and people of color is consistent with the race discourse of the 1970's. According to Frankenberg (1995) there are three identifiable paradigms governing the discourse on race in the United States. These are: "essentialist racism," "color and power evasion," and "race cognizant" discourse. (pp. 13-15)

The "essentialist racism" paradigm was dominant until the 1920's. This paradigm assumes that race is a biological fact, rather than a social construct, and that race accounts for differences in ability and character.

The "color and power evasion" paradigm is an attempt at a benevolent response to "essentialist racism."(Ibid., p. 15) This paradigm surfaced in the 1920's and to some extent still governs much of the discussion about race in the United States. This paradigm asserts that all people share a common humanity, that the varied cultural ethnic groups of

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the United States are becoming one people, culturally, and finally, that each individual has equal access to the resources needed to succeed. (Ibid.)

A significant feature of the "essentialist racism" and "color and power evasion" paradigms is the reliance on whites to interpret the meaning of race in social life in the United States. The "race cognizant" paradigm departs from this reliance on whites and assumes people of color have the authority to determine for themselves the meaning of race in their lives and the larger social context. This paradigm emerged in the late 1960's, and is not yet dominant in the national discourse on race. (Ibid.)

The "race cognizant" paradigm asserts that culture and power are significant features in the dynamics of racism. Culture and power must be addressed in any discourse on race. There are significant cultural differences between whites and all other cultural ethnic groups as well as between diverse cultural ethnic groups. Power is important as it intersects with culture. White social power results in the dominance of white norms and values in ways that reinforce and reproduce racism in social life. Finally, practitioners of this paradigm argue that to eliminate the power differential between whites and people of color, the relationship between power and culture must be analyzed, understood, and practical responses pursued. (Ibid.)

The failure to acknowledge and address cultural differences and the power differential between the white and African-American students is consistent with the dominant discourse on race during the 1970's. The "color and power" paradigm was the dominant paradigm for understanding race relations in the United States during the 1970's.

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The failure of my parents and instructors to acknowledge the meaning of power and culture in social life at my high school can be explained by Kuhn's (1970) work on the effect of operating paradigms on their practitioners. (pp. 7, 39) He argues the effect of any operating paradigm on its practitioners is that it tends to restrict the data they will allow themselves to perceive and acknowledge. These limits on perception are usually congruent with the assumptions of the applied paradigm.

Applying Kuhn's ideas about the effect of paradigm, I argue the influence of the "color and power evasion" paradigm limited the awareness of my instructors to those features of our school and classroom environment that supported its assumptions. Data in the classroom that supported the beliefs of universal humanity, cultural homogeneity, and equal access to resources were noticed and highlighted. Since this paradigm did not account for the role of power and culture in a racially integrated social setting, it is likely that this data was not noticed or selected by my instructors.

Summary

This section of the narrative indicates that whites have the power to create significant social change in the area of race relations in the United States. It also indicates that racially integrated social environments have the potential to positively influence the racial attitudes of whites. If the experience is positive the white leader may develop a preference for racial and cultural diversity. The narrative also indicates that racially integrated social environments present the white leader with the challenge of navigating through social environments which express varying degrees of social acceptance. In the

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narrative this range extends from "out," to "marginalized," to "in." Depending on the level of acceptance and rejection the white leader experiences in a racially integrated social setting, this experience may also enable her to be more self-accepting. In addition, this experience may result in the white leader developing some understanding of the complexity of multicultural and multi racial social environments.

Finally, this section of the narrative suggests that the dominance of the "color and power evasion" paradigm during the 1970's, prepared me and other whites to enter a world that expressed the assumptions of that paradigm: the belief in the humanity of all people across race and culture; the belief that the various cultural ethnic groups in the United States were becoming one people, culturally; and finally, the belief that we all have the same economic opportunity in the United States. The narrative reveals that I was not prepared to recognize cultural difference and the power differential between whites and people of color.

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Part II: Departure

The Hero moves from a time of Preparation to a moment of Departure. Departure involves moving from the known to the unknown; the Hero suddenly finds herself in a new and foreign landscape. (Campbell, 1949, p. 82) She is outside her known experience and yet [she is ready for the adventure. (Campbell, 1989, p.158) This is true even though she feels she has no idea what she is doing. She has been prepared for the transformation a particular adventure promises. (Ibid.)

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Chapter Seven: Racial Segregation & Institutional Racism--1979-1985

In 1979, when I was 18, I graduated from high school and went to the University of Minnesota -Duluth, where I felt alienated. The population was almost totally white. Many students were from the western suburbs of Minneapolis. Some students were from the rural areas of the State. I was more comfortable with the farm kids than the affluent suburban kids. I was not happy. After my first year, I rushed home to Minneapolis and the Minneapolis Campus of the University of Minnesota. I fully expected to re-enter the racial diversity I had known in my high-school years.

I had no idea that the University of Minnesota-Minneapolis campus would not continue to bring me the world as I knew it. This was the Fall of 1980. I was 19 years old. One sunny Fall day, I was sitting outside on a bench in front of Walter Library. I watched the students as they walked by. I searched the clouds of white faces and blond heads in vain for a familiar brown face. Something was wrong. Where were all my friends? Why didn't they make what seemed to be the short two and half block journey south from my high school, across University Avenue and onto the University of Minnesota Campus? What led to their sudden absence from my life? What led to the sudden differences in our circumstance? Why weren't my friends here?

The only place I found diversity at the University of Minnesota was in the remedial math classes I was required to enroll in after failing a microeconomic theory course. Here I felt at home. I felt good, like the world was right again. Then I noticed something else. At the beginning of the quarter, when the classes

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started, they were filled with many faces of different shades of brown. By the middle or end of the quarter the majority of African-American males were gone.

I noticed these things. And what I noticed combined with my past experience led me into a class on racism. This class was taught by an African-American psychology professor. One day in class this teacher stood at one of those portable black boards in a small class room, which was actually an office space, and drew a straight horizontal line on the board and put the word *white* above the line and the word *black* below the line. (Jones, 1972, p. 41) This was the model he used to discuss the power differential between whites and people of color.

White
Black

He explained that institutions in the United States generally functioned in ways that limited opportunities for African-Americans. This model helped me understand what I was experiencing. In response to this new information, I chose to major in Urban Studies, concentrating on economics. I chose this major with the intent of working in youth of color employment policy and programming. In fact, for this course I completed a paper on the practice of tracking youth of color into training that would lead them into lower paying jobs.

Energized by this new understanding of racism I began to lecture my friends and family about "how the world really worked." I believed that my experience of having gone to a racially integrated high-school combined with this "new" information qualified me as a "Special White Person." I was not like other

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white people. At that time I remember feeling a bit smug, as though somehow I had special knowledge and experience that separated me from other whites.

Finally, during another class session, this same professor stood in front of the same board and suggested that we overcome the American tendency to rely on our "intestinal fortitude" and consider working together on our final projects. He said something about the American tendency to believe that it was possible to "pull yourself up by your own bootstraps;" and then asked us if we had ever seen any one pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.

Interpretation

This moment in the narrative is the moment of departure in the Hero's Adventure. Suddenly, I find myself in a new landscape, one that is perceived as extremely hostile in its lack of racial diversity. (Campbell, 1989, p. 82) I was overwhelmed with a deep longing for the racial diversity I had come to expect from the world. I experienced severe cognitive dissonance as I began to encounter a world for which I as a white child, youth and young adult had not been prepared.

From this place I would begin a journey in search of the diversity I had known at my high-school and for the answers to the questions this new landscape generated. Where were my friends? Why had they not made the 2 1/2 block trip from our high school and crossed University Avenue to the University of Minnesota Campus? What was happening here that caused people of color to disappear from the classrooms?

This portion of the journey took more than ten years and did not lead to the place promised by the "color and race evasion" paradigm: a place where our common humanity

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would overcome cultural differences and lead to equitable economic outcomes for whites and people of color. Interestingly, Campbell (1988) reports that our elders, parents, teachers never tell us how difficult the journey will really be and that it will take us to much different places than we expect. (p. 158)

The only place I found meaningful answers to my questions about this new landscape was from the African-American professor. In his class on racism I was given information that helped me understand and name the experiences of the new landscape. These names included: individual racism, institutional racism and cultural racism.[8] He stopped short, however, of identifying racism as white racism. He did not offer a lengthy or in-depth discussion of how whites are socialized into racism. He never raised the issue of white privilege. I would not hear the term "white privilege" for another 10 years.

This professor focused on how racism hurt people of color. His focus became my focus. My response to this new understanding was to begin the process of preparing myself to help people of color. Evidence of this was my choice to study youth of color employment policy and programming. My way of coping with this new world was to disassociate myself from other whites and certainly from any active or passive participation in racism. I was a "Special White Person," ready to help my friends. I was

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Individual racism differs from bigotry. Individual racism is the expression of the systems of racism in the actions of the individual. Because all white people are rewarded with power and privilege by racism, every white person is implicated in racism. Institutional racism occurs when one racial group possesses and uses the power to control access to a society's material resources and to exclude all other racial groups. Cultural racism occurs when one racial group's norms and values govern social life to the exclusion of all other racial or cultural ethnic groups.(Crossroads ministries anti-racism educator's manual, May 1995, pp. 3-5)

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certainly not like other white people and I had no understanding of my complicity in racism. In fact, I made a practice of lecturing and rebuking family members and white friends about racism.

This response to racism is the culmination of my socialization up to this point. In my initial conscious encounter with racism, when I was ten years old, my mother's reliance on denial and projection to cope with racism taught me to displace my own racism onto bigoted whites. The "color and power evasion" paradigm with its emphasis on universal humanity, cultural homogeneity and equal access to resources and opportunities fostered my naive understanding of racism. It also allowed me to avoid any meaningful encounter and discussion about how racism ordered social life to the benefit of whites. Finally, having gone to a racially integrated high-school, I viewed myself as different from other white people, as better than they in terms of my racial consciousness, not like them. I was a "Special White Person." I saw myself as a person who was now an expert and could "straighten out" other white people.

Distancing one's self from other whites as a way of coping with the spiritual confusion and psychological dissonance of being white in a racist society is apparently a common adaptive response. Helms (1990) reports that this response is typical of whites who like myself were raised in an environment where white liberal attitudes were expressed. Helms describes my response and its likely outcome in the following:

> Attempts to change others' attitudes probably occur initially amongst whites who were raised and/or socialized in an environment in which white 'liberal' attitudes (thought not necessarily behaviors) were expressed.

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> However, due to racial naivete with which this approach may be undertaken and the white person's ambivalent racial identification, the dissonance-reducing strategy is likely to be met with rejection by whites as well as blacks. (p. 59)

Also important to notice here is the institutional racism that resulted in the African-American males failing the remedial math classes. What was going on in this classroom, taught by a wonderful and deeply compassionate white male professor, that may have resulted in this drop rate? It is possible that it could be explained, in part, by the white male learning environment created by the white male professor. (Border and Van Chism, 1992, p. 23) The course was curriculum centered and the classroom was conducted in a straight lecture format. Although the class at roughly 30 students was small by University of Minnesota standards, we were not encouraged to work collaboratively in class.

Finally, it is interesting to notice that it is in a class designed and implemented by an African-American professor that I first hear about the value of collaboration in completing a learning task. This is the first classroom experience I had in which collaboration was encouraged and expected. Collaboration is valued and expressed, as we learned in chapter six, in the learning style of African-Americans.(Anderson & Adams, 1992, p. 21)

Summary

The practice of teaching me to project racism onto the bigoted and violent white person combined with the dominance of the "color and power evasion" discourse led to the development of a racial identity that was based on not being like other whites. I

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supported this identity through the choices to reject other whites and to "help" people of color. This indicates a need for leadership development strategies that address racism as a phenomenon in which all whites are implicated and affected. These efforts should attempt to understand how being white affects the white leader's relationships with other whites.

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Chapter Eight: New Questions of Leadership and Racism Emerge--1985- 1993

I graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1985. I was 24 years old. That summer I volunteered with the Minneapolis Civil Rights Department. I was happy again. The Department was racially diverse. My immediate supervisor and the Deputy Director were African-American men. It was my hope to be hired as an Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action Compliance Officer with the Department. A contract compliance officer monitors the hiring practices of city contractors for compliance with Equal Opportunity Law and the contractor's required Affirmative Action recruitment and hiring goals. This work involved conducting on-site inspections and audits of both construction and non-construction contractors.

Eventually, I was hired at a very low hourly wage as a temporary employee. I worked in the employment placement program as employment specialist. My work involved helping clients find work with city contractors who had Affirmative Action goals to meet. The contractors listed openings with the department's employment office. I shared this information with our clients, who would then submit applications for the positions that matched their knowledge, skills and abilities.

I remember liking this job. I was happy there. I was able to positively influence the employment life of persons of color. I was doing the kind of work I imagined doing when I selected my major in college.

I also remember that the Deputy Director, who was responsible for

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department operations, ran a "tight ship." We were closely supervised and well-trained. We were required to sign in and out each time we entered or left the Department. He required regular written progress reports detailing how many placements, complaints, and audits we had successfully completed during the reporting period.

He also trained a group of us for work as discrimination complaint investigators and contract compliance officers. Our training was conducted in a separate room for eight hours over a period of six weeks. Once the training was complete, he prepared us to take the civil service exam. He prepared us for both the written and oral exam by conducting his own version of the full exam. We were required to practice the interview portion of the exam with a mock panel.

In early 1986, the openings were posted I applied and failed the Civil Service exam. I remember feeling deeply disappointed. Failing the exam meant that I would have to leave the Department. I had worked there for nine months.

In the Spring of 1986, when I was twenty-five, I joined a racially integrated church, nationally known for its urban ministry. Whites and African-Americans were the two racial groups present in this church. Again I was happy. I felt at home in the racially diverse social setting.

By this time I knew that I had a preference for a racially diverse social environment. And the farther I travelled from high school, the more difficult it was to find racial diversity in social life. In this context, I remember longing for it. As a white person who was accustomed to racially diverse settings, I felt out of place in all-white social environments. So even though the church's theology was

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significantly more conservative than the liberal Lutheran theology I was reared in, I chose to join this church.

What I remember liking most about the church were the worship services. By the mid-eighties this church had been racially integrated for at least 15 years. Over this period they had woven together in the worship service the African, African-American, and Western and Northern European cultural influences represented in the congregation. This meant primarily that there was an effort to include expressions of African and gospel music as well as traditional white Protestant music in the service. I remember that some of the older whites still complained about the "loudness" of the gospel music and the drum, but for the most part the music portion of the service was confidently and seamlessly bi-cultural. Other than the music, however, I do recall that services were staged to take no longer than an hour and that the sermon portion of the service was pre-scripted and generally kept to roughly twenty-minutes in length.

Even though this was a Methodist church, it was far to the right of the mainline Methodist church in its conservatism. The sermons as a whole were aimed at making people aware of their deeply embedded sinful nature and the promise of redemption in Christ. There was a feeling of connection with others in our common and visible struggle to become better Christians.

There was also an interactive aspect, missing in the Lutheran service, that animated the worship experience for me. For instance, there was always an altar call at the end of each service. For me, going forward to the altar was a way to concretely express my love for Christ and experience my relationship with Christ.

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Outside of the worship service I noticed that the participation of African-Americans was restricted. Again, like the classroom experiences at the University of Minnesota, I remember noticing that African-American males were the most severely restricted group. They were given limited opportunities to participate on administrative committees. African-American males were expected to serve in other ways. For instance, one African-American man and his African-American wife told me that he was often asked to provide a security at neighborhood events.

I also developed an interest in leadership at this time. During the time that I was a member of this congregation we were presented with the challenge of making a transition in leadership.[9] This was never successfully accomplished

Because the Senior Pastor had been so successful in shepherding the congregation through the process of racial integration, the administrative arm of the Methodist Church chose to leave him in this church for 36 years. In 1989, when he turned 70 years of age, he was required to retire. Against the advice of the Senior Pastor, the Associate Pastor and many others chose to stay on in their employment with the church.

When he arrived the Senior Pastor's replacement faced congregational resistance. The new man was a white Southerner, in his late forties. After three years the full congregation still had not accepted him as their new pastor. Soon the church began to fragment into two opposing factions. One supported the new pastor and the other preferred the Associate Pastor. Eventually, the congregation

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9 Unlike the Lutheran Church where the congregation chooses its ministers, the regional bishop of the Methodist church determines where ministers will serve and congregations must receive whoever is assigned to their church.

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split. The Associate Pastor and a group of parishioners left to form their own church.

In 1991, toward the end of this three year conflict, I remember hearing many people refer to a "lack of leadership" as the primary barrier to resolving this conflict. I remember wondering what they meant when they used the word leadership. I also remember wanting to talk with my Grandfather, who had died in 1990. I knew he once had facilitated the merger of three congregations into one congregation. I wanted to ask him what he would do in this situation. What would he say about the meaning of leadership? Mostly, I imagined my grandfather taking the two men aside and "straightening them out." But, in reality, I had no idea what he would have done. At this time I began to wonder, "What kind of leadership is needed here?"

As I have noted earlier, my church was a very conservative one with regard to personal practice. For instance, its stance on homosexuality was that it was an "abomination." A practicing homosexual would not be admitted to heaven or this congregation. This position toward gays and lesbians became more difficult for me to ignore.

Finally, my attempts to meet the strict personal conduct demands of this church's theology left me feeling frustrated; I felt that I was never "good enough." Eventually, I left this church as my own liberal theological roots grounded in the Lutheran reliance on grace by faith re-established their primacy in my moral functioning and reasoning.

In the Fall of 1993, as a result of my developing interest in leadership, I

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started the Master's of Arts in leadership program at Augsburg. I remember too that I chose Augsburg because it was a Lutheran college. I did not want to travel too far from my Lutheran Minister Grandfather in my search for answers to my questions about leadership.

Interpretation

This section of the narrative reveals that I was happiest in social settings that offered some level of racial diversity. The narrative also indicates that although both the civil rights department and the church I attended were racially diverse, white norms and values governed both institutions. In addition, the narrative indicates that to participate in a racially diverse setting in such a highly segregated society, individuals might be forced to compromise some other important aspects of their identity. This is evidenced in my willingness to endure a harsh theological practice in order to be in a racially diverse environment.

The narrative reveals the continuing dominance of white norms and values in the context of racial integration. The presence of African-Americans in both the civil rights department and the church I attended did not interfere with the practice of white norms and values, particularly in the administration of either entity.

For instance, operating a department within the larger context of a municipal operation, the African-American male deputy director of the civil rights department rigorously applied the M-time value of promptness and segmentation. (Hall, 1981, p. 17) We were expected to arrive on time, sign in, and provide frequent written documentation

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of our work activities.

However, we also see that within the internal context of the department the African-American male deputy director valued deep involvement with people. This is evidenced by his investment of his own time in the training and development of his young staff. The level of direct involvement, eight hours a day for six weeks, on the part of a department administrator is remarkable, and not something I have experienced in any other work setting.

This level of involvement with his staff may be an expression of both a polychronic and Afrocentric world-view where involvement with people and developing and nurturing young people are valued. (Hall, 1983, 17, and Nobles, 1985, p. 83) In this world view,s investment in people is seen as essential to enhancing the daily and future life of the community. (Deikman, 1968, p. 326; Foster, 1989, p. 49; Nobles, 1985, p. 58; Versluis, 1993, pp. 38-39) Again, when we apply the traditional and indigenous world-view of reciprocal connection, we can see that a well-trained civil rights staff enhances the life of the community.

Turning now to life in my church, the narrative indicates that, the expression of African and African-American norms and values was limited to areas that did not affect the power relationships between whites and African-Americans. As stated in chapter six, Brandling (1993) identifies this as "symbolic multiculturalism." Under this form of multiculturalism the dominant white norms and values go unaffected by the presence of other cultural ethnic groups. Expressions of other cultural norms and values are limited to

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rituals and not permitted to affect the distribution of white power within the church. Brandling describes symbolic multiculturalism in a church setting as follows:

> An open church: The members see themselves as committed to inclusion of racial and ethnic peoples, affirming the denomination's pronouncements, but often unaware of habits of privilege and paternalism. Symbolic inclusion: recruits for 'someone of color' on committees and office staff, but "not those who will make waves." No contextual change in culture, policies and decision making. (Brandling, 1993, Crossroads ministries anti-racism training manual, p. 13)

The primary area of symbolic functioning in a church is the worship service. Participating in this sort of racial diversity allows whites the opportunity to participate with people of color in ritual, feel spiritually connected to them and still avoid a discussion of white privilege and the power differential between whites and African-Americans.

Finally, the narrative continues to reveal that the presence of a compassionate adult in the life a white child will influence her future leadership practice. I continue to refer back to my grandfather for guidance in making leadership choices. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 12)

Summary

Leadership development strategies for whites should include racially integrated learning, work, and possibly worship environments. Leadership development strategies must provide whites with the opportunity to experience the practice of other cultural

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norms and values. Again, efforts to include a discussion of the power of racism to assert white norms and values is needed. Finally, we see the continuing influence of a compassionate white adult's nurturing of the white leader during childhood. In this section of the narrative my grandfather, even after his death, emerges as a continuing and positive influence over my leadership practice. This indicates that white adults should seek to be a positive influence in the lives of white children.

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Chapter Nine: Toward a New Way Of Being White -- 1990 - 1993

My Grandfather died on Christmas Eve, 1990. Shortly after his death I began to feel uneasy with one aspect of the way I conducted myself with my friends of color. I felt most ill at ease when I would join in when they made negative and racially prejudiced remarks about white people.

In the past, making negative remarks about white people was an effective way for me to diminish my shame about being white. I also remember feeling that I was not like other whites, that I was better than they are, when I talked about "white people." This feeling of being a "Special White Person," was reinforced by my friends of color, who would often tell me, "You are not like most white people, Lisa."

But one day, not long after my grandfather died, I remember being in my kitchen "sharing time" with an African-American woman friend of mine. We were talking about people at church and some remark was made by her about how "white people are just petty, like that, you know." I agreed with her as I had a hundred times before, but this time I felt odd. The discomfort was felt in my body, I felt a little sick to my stomach and off-balance. I felt like I was watching myself from somewhere outside of my body.

After she left, I remember standing at the kitchen sink doing the dishes. I felt really tired. I remember knowing, as I had never known before, that there was something terribly wrong in my willingness to name white people as bad.

Over the next few weeks, as I dealt with these new feelings, I came to the realization that I was white, that my grandfather was white, and that to treat

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whites inhumanely was somehow failing to honor grandfather's humanity and his humane treatment of me. I decided I wasn't going to make this kind of statement about white people anymore. Who knows how gracefully I made this change in my behavior, but it did result in losing some of my friends of color.

At this time I was searching for a place where I could feel an authentic sense of belonging. I still desired diversity but I remember being very certain that I no longer wanted to deny my whiteness in order to be accepted.

In 1992, I briefly joined an ecumenical group of spiritual people who were responding to the 500 year anniversary of Columbus making his way to the Americas. This group had as its purpose acknowledging the horrors of the Conquest and the need for forgiveness and reconciliation across racial, ethnic, and religious groups. During my time with this group, I experienced in a meaningful way one Native American man's perspective on racism in the United States for the first time.

I was changed again -- in a moment.

I remember that I was at a meeting of this group. We were discussing what elements to include in a ceremony we were putting together to acknowledge the harm white people had inflicted on the indigenous peoples of the Americas. At one point during the meeting I responded to something someone said by protesting, "I have not done these things; other whites before me did them. Not me." In response, a Native American man said to me, "But, these things were done in your name, in the name of whiteness."

These words penetrated me.

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We always started our meetings by calling in the ancestors. I remember thinking of my grandfather when he said this to me. I felt conflicted. Part of me still wanted to say, "No, my grandfather would not have done this to you." But, another part of me knew that as wonderful as my grandfather was, he would not have entirely understood the importance of the work this group was doing.

Interpretation

In this section of the narrative the strategy of denying whiteness by over-identifying with African-Americans collapses. (Helms, 1990, p. 61-62) It collapses under the profound and unseen spiritual influence of the ancestor. (Arrien, 1993, pp 117-118; Nobles, 1985, p. 58; Versluis, 1993, p. 36) The narrative reveals the unseen and functioning spiritual connection between my grandfather and me.[10] He had recently died, but his Spirit continued to actively influence my leadership practice. (Ibid.)

There are two moments in this section of the narrative where the influence of the ancestor is crucial in moving the process of developing a racial consciousness to the next level. The first is in my kitchen where I feel that something is wrong and that I have dishonored my grandfather in my actions. I begin here to acknowledge my whiteness. The primary motivation to practice this shift in consciousness is to honor my grandfather. I am not at this moment in the narrative motivated by a desire to embrace the humanity of

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Recall that our working definition of Spirit allows that the Spiritual aspect of the individual lives beyond the limitations of the body and this temporal sphere. This means the Spirits of individuals and other beings influence the temporal lives of individuals and communities. (Come, 1959, pp. 88-89; Edwards, 1991, pp. 77-78; Nelson, 1992, pp. 23,38, & 52; and Graff, 1995, pp.85, 131-132)

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the white collective, but rather to stop dishonoring the humanity of my grandfather, who was white. (Palmer, 1993, p. 293) I move from a wholly negative white identity into one that acknowledges my connection to other whites and one that is more positive. (Helms, 1990, pp. 61-62)

The second moment is when I am directed by the Native American man to look toward the conduct of my ancestors for insight about my corporate responsibility in the present. In the indigenous and traditional world-view there is no separation between the Spirits, or the ancestors, and oneself. (Nobles, 1985, p. 56) This gentleman reinforces this connection in a way that is instructive. He leads me back to the ancestors. To the bad acts of the white collective; to white racial terrorism. I realize that as a white leader, I am both connected to and accountable for the acts of my ancestors. (Barndt, 1995, pp. 57-58; Nobles, 1985, p. 58; Versluis, 1993, p. 36)

Acknowledging one's connection with the white collective and the legacy of the bad acts of the white collective, as we have discussed earlier, is difficult. The narrative indicates that I am still ambivalent and attempting to defend myself against an awareness of my connection to the white ancestors. (Helms, 1990, p. 59) As I struggle with the felt Spirit of my grandfather, with the ugliness of the white collective's legacy, and my connection to both, the strategy of denying my whiteness and my responsibility begins lose its effectiveness.

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Summary

Denying whites and over-identifying with people of color provides some psychological relief for whites but will lead eventually to dissonance as the white leader struggles to retain her connections to family and white friends. Some of this dissonance comes through and is created by the active participation of the Spirit in the form of the ancestors. These ancestors include individuals in the white leader's life, the collective white ancestors to whom she is connected, and the individual and collective ancestors of the people of color who influence her racial consciousness. Through the influence of the ancestors the coping strategy of denying whiteness collapses and gives way to a more holistic understanding of the complexity of being white and of one's inherited responsibility.

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Part III: Fulfillment

As we move to the next section of the narrative we will be moving from a time of Departure to Fulfillment. Looking back for a moment at the last section of the narrative we can see that through the initiation of the ancestors in their many forms -- my Grandfather, the white collective, the Native American man in the Conquest group and all of his ancestors -- I was made ready to turn toward the moment of fulfillment.

Fulfillment is a moment or a period of time when the Hero having experienced many trials and revelations comes into a new level of consciousness.(Campbell, 1988, pp.154-55) She finds what is missing from her consciousness. (Ibid., p. 158) She is released from the confining practices of denial and projection. (Campbell, 1949, pp. 129, 168) The ego defenses dissolve and the Hero is now able to integrate new knowledge into her consciousness. (Campbell, 1988, p. 158) The result is a greater capacity for self-acceptance, compassion and wisdom in responding to the world around her. (Campbell, 1949, p. 166)

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Chapter Ten: Fulfillment Part One-Becoming An Anti Racist/A Recognition of Collective White Power 1993-to the Present

In 1993, I attended a three-day, intensive anti-racism training in Little Falls, Minnesota, sponsored by the Minnesota Council of Churches Anti-Racism Initiative. This Initiative was conceived in 1992, as a response to the April, 1992 Los Angeles Insurrection, in which citizens of that city violently protested the Rodney King Verdicts.

As I entered into the training I was struggling with the question, "Could people of color be racist?" This question came out of my personal experiences with my friends of color. I knew that my friends of color made statements about white people that expressed negative racial beliefs. I also had experienced people of color withholding social acceptance from me. This felt to me like what I imagined to be racism, because acceptance was withheld from me based on my race.

I also came into the training struggling with a collapsing concept of self as a "Special White Person." This was happening even though I had made decisions earlier to acknowledge my whiteness by not denying my grandfather. But, I was still defending against losing my "Special White Person" status. I did not want to be part of a group of people who had done such terrible things. But my experience with the Native American man taught me there was something false, something untruthful, in my unwillingness to identify with the white collective.

This particular training was church based. The trainers relied on Christian teachings to spiritually motivate the Christian participants to develop a deeper

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understanding of racism. Reverend Joseph Barndt of Crossroads Ministry and Barbara Major, Core Trainer with The People's Institute for Survival and Beyond, of New Orleans were the two lead trainers. Joseph Barndt is a white, German, Lutheran male and Barbara Major is an African-American female. This training took place two years after Joseph Barndt's Dismantling racism: the continuing challenge to white America had been published.

At the beginning of the training we were asked to enter into a faith covenant. This was a promise that through our faith in Jesus Christ we were to fully participate in all three days of the training.

We quickly moved to an analysis of the power differential between whites and people of color in the United States. In this module of the training, Barbara Major led us through a "Foot Analysis."[11] She asked us to help her draw a picture of "the Ghetto," or the place where poor Black people lived. What would we see if we drove through this part of town?

Participants responded by calling out a long list of items. These included; empty store fronts, sex businesses, church and foundation based service organizations, freeways that passed over or around the community, billboards for cigarettes and liquor, substandard housing, overpriced groceries stores, but very few banks.

As we called out these items she drew a picture on newsprint detailing each

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This narrative description of the "Foot Analysis" is not exhaustive. This description includes only what I remember. The "Foot Analysis" is a teaching tool. It belongs to the *People's Institute of New Orleans* and may not be used without the Institute's permission.

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new item that was called out. In no time at all, a very familiar picture was before the group. She asked the group, "Who created this situation?" Silence was the first response. And then some participants acknowledged, "White people did." She went on to explain that the people living in these areas did not create this landscape, but that white people and their collective power in the form of banks, police enforcement, government entities had. From the "Foot Analysis," I remember understanding that whites were the only group in the United States that had the power to shape the way the "ghetto" looked and functioned.

Next, they took us through the process of defining various terms. These were "race," " race prejudice" and "racism." This led us to a definition of racism as: Race prejudice plus power. I remember embracing this interpretation of racism. It flowed easily from the understanding of power provided by the "foot analysis."

Over and over again during this part of the training, the argument was made that only white people as a group possess the power to withhold resources from all other racial and cultural ethnic groups. Then someone asked the question I had been wondering about. A white participant wondered out loud, "Can't people of color be racist?" I listened intently to the answer. Barbara Major, the African-American trainer explained that yes, people of color do possess and even act on their racial prejudice, but that people of color, as a collective, do not possess enough power to withhold resources. In the United States only white people had this kind of power. In hearing this answer I started to think about the difference between racism and racial prejudice. It was helpful to have a name for the experiences I had with my friends of color and a way to distinguish from racism

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my experiences of their racial prejudice. I was still not ready, though, to acknowledge that I had a role in racism. But I remember that the acknowledgment that people of color possess and act on their racial prejudice sounded true and made me feel less defensive and more receptive to the trainer's argument.

What I remember next is that we were taken through an exercise on white privilege. We were put into groups of three: two white people and one person of color. The white people were told to share with each other what did or did not happen to them because they were white. The person of color was directed to just listen and not say anything.

I reported things like: being able to cash a check without being asked for identification at all and certainly never being asked for two forms of identification; buying a car with the assistance of my white girlfriend's husband, whose family had a inter-generational relationship with the car dealer; getting my job, which I got in part because my mother was well-known and liked by the people who were doing the hiring; and travelling freely from Minneapolis to this training which took place in rural Minnesota without a thought or concern about my race. As a white person, I did not have to worry, when I stopped to get something to eat, that white people would stare at, harass, or assault me.

When we returned to the larger group and shared about this exercise, I remember that the trainers asked the white people, "How did it feel to do this exercise?" I said, "I felt like I was telling secrets." Reverend Joseph Barndt asked me how does that feel. I remember saying that I felt ashamed. One of the woman of color said she was struck by how comfortable the whites seemed be with their

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privileges.

The trainers pointed out that all of the things we whites had mentioned as white privilege were systematically delivered to whites (and withheld from people of color) regardless of the racial attitudes and benevolent intent of individual whites. This last remark again had the effect of reducing my defensiveness. It diminished my feelings of shame, because implicitly the trainers left room for the fact that individual whites do not necessarily agree with the practice of racism, even though all whites benefit materially from its practice. I was able to continue being receptive and to participate.

Throughout the training, I remember being told in many ways that I was part of a group of people from which I had spent years distancing myself. During a check-in on the second day, Barbara Major, the African-American trainer, asked me how I was doing with this idea that I was part of a white racist collective. I responded by saying that I had a hard time seeing myself as part of a group. She said, "Okay," and moved on to the next person.

Over the course of this second day, however, we learned about how white people and people of color are socialized as groups into racism and internalize oppression.[12] During this part of the training we were shown a portion of the PBS

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Racism is the collective power of whites to impose a belief in the intellectual, moral, and cultural superiority of the white racial group. This belief in the superiority of white people is internalized by white children as white supremacy and by children of color as internalized oppression. White supremacy in white children manifests itself in many forms, but some examples include a preference for whiteness and actions that indicate they associate whiteness with goodness, and black or brown with bad or evil things. Internalized oppression in children of color manifests itself in many forms, but some examples include the same preference for whiteness and the same associations with whiteness as good and black and brown as less than white or bad and evil as white children.(Clark & Clark, 1947, p. 169; Friedman, 1990, p. 259; Powell-Hopson & Hopson; 1992, p. 183)

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Frontline video, A Class Divided. In this documentary the camera follows a classroom of white third graders from Riceville, Iowa, in 1970, as their teacher takes them through a two day exercise on racism. On the first day she gave the blue-eyed group the rights, privileges and status that whites in the United States possess. She told all of the students that brown-eyed people were inferior, lazy, and not to be trusted. She gave the brown-eyed students the same status as people of color in the United States. So they could be easily identified, she placed orange colored felt collars around the necks of each of the brown-eyed children.

I was amazed and deeply troubled as I watched the children internalize within minutes the assumptions about their group. The blue-eyed children quickly behaved as if they were better than the brown-eyed children. The blue-eyed children performed tasks more quickly and successfully. They were energetic and happy. The brown-eyed children quickly behaved as if they were less than the blue-eyed children. They became immediately depressed or hostile. One brown-eyed boy even got into a fight when he was called a name. On the second day of the exercise when the status of the two groups was reversed and the brown-eyed children were now the superior group, all of the children quickly internalized their *new* roles.

In watching this video I realized that something had been done to me. Somewhere along the way, like all those little white children in the video, I came to believe that being white was better than being Black. I realized that I did not think of myself as a better individual, but I did feel more comfortable with the way whites did things. The way we did things seemed more organized and smarter.

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This feeling and this impression, I now realized, caused me to believe that whites were smarter. It never occurred to me that I felt smarter because I had learned how to do things in ways that are immediately validated by teachers and supervisors in white institutions.

This thought process started with watching the blue-eyed students excel while the brown-eyed children floundered. At this time I was enrolled in the Augsburg Master of Arts in Leadership program. While I was sitting in the training, memories came to me of sitting in classrooms and being easily validated for my intelligence.

At this time I also worked as a recycling coordinator for a suburban municipality. I remember having memories of myself in the workplace too. Here I saw myself at ease with the three white men who interviewed me for my job. I saw myself interacting easily with my supervisor and others in an apparently all white work environment. I remember realizing that my self-concept as a good person was tied to white institutional validation.

For the first time in my life I questioned my merit. Did I accomplish these things because I was a good student and worker, or because I was white and had learned to do things the "white way?" I remember understanding the power of the white collective in the form of white institutions to validate me.

As the training progressed, the trainers logically and compassionately argued that all whites socialized in the United States are white racists. I remember thinking that this made sense, but also feeling powerless because I understood this thing had been done to me. I remember feeling scared about making a mistake. I

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remember feeling hopeless. "How am I ever gonna not be a racist?" I asked myself. Toward the end of the second day, the trainers offered us a way out of the inhumanity and confinement of a solely white racist identity. I could make the choice to become an "anti-racist." Reverend Joseph Barndt, the white male trainer, talked about what it meant to be a white anti-racist. He said,

> . . . it calls for developing a dual-consciousness, like that Dubois refers to. The white person begins to look at his behavior and the activities around him through two sets of glasses, the white racist within and the new anti-racist within. The white racist-anti racist identity has the effect of both making you aware of your own racism and new positive anti-racist ways to respond to your individual racism and eventually cultural and institutional racism. (Barndt, Undoing Racism Workshop, Lecture notes, November 1993, Little Falls, Minnesota)

I remember thinking of becoming an anti-racist as a remedy; an antidote to the white racist within. On the third day, during the check-in when Ms. Major got to me, I took the intentional step to become an Anti-Racist. She made this much easier for me than I could have imagined. When I said, "I am a white racist," she welcomed me and affirmed my humanity with these words, "And that's not all you are."

I felt hopeful and like somehow I had taken some of my power back. I was a socialized white racist and now I was taking a step to reclaim some part of me that could respond with intelligence and compassion to this thing that had happened to me.

As the training closed on the third day we all participated in a closing ritual. This ritual included a communion service in which we all affirmed our

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new anti-racist identity through our faith in Jesus Christ.

Interpretation

This is the moment of both complete and partial fulfillment. Within the context of the model of the Hero's Adventure there is complete fulfillment. (Campbell, 1988, p.158) There is a new level of white racial consciousness. It is partial fulfillment in the context of the five dimensions of racial consciousness we are seeking. We are looking for the development of a racial consciousness that integrates an awareness of socialization, the power differential and how power and culture interact to reinforce and reproduce racism. (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 15)

At this moment in the narrative I am newly conscious of my socialization into racism and of the power differential between whites and people of color. (Barndt, 1991, p. 44; Jones, 1988, p.117) I understand that my location in the race hierarchy gives me power based on my white skin. This power results in my receiving white privilege. No matter how many friends of color think I am "not like other whites," I can no longer deny that I am white and that like all other whites, I have power and privilege that is based on my white skin. (Barndt, 1991, p. 57; McIntosh, 1989, p. 10; and Terry, 1975, p. 60)

There is also a spiritual fulfillment here. (Campbell, 1949, p. 308) Earlier in the narrative, in 1971, when I watched Dr. King in the Civil Rights documentary, he promised a remedy. Over the course of a twenty-two year journey, through many trials and revelations I was prepared to receive this spiritual healing. In part one of the narrative

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I was prepared for the unconscious practice of racism and the adventure of undoing this socialization. During the part two I actively attempted to understand racism. This was the time of Departure, where I sought to move beyond the consciousness offered by the "race and power evasion" paradigm. I departed. The adventure brought many teachers and gave rise to many transforming revelations. And all along the compassionate presence of my grandfather was felt.

In this section of the narrative it is Joseph Barndt and Barbara Major who teach and who make the call, "Come be an anti-racist." Here, like the altar call in the Methodist church, I am given the opportunity to express my Christian faith through concrete action. Become an Anti-Racist. The remedy is to develop a dual identity. (Dubois, 1903, p. 17) This dual identity is to be white-racist - anti-racist. The understanding that the practices of racism made me into a white racist and therefore diminished my humanity is met with the understanding that becoming a practicing anti-racist is the way to reclaim my humanity. (Barndt, 1991, p. 162-64)

This remedy too moves beyond the naivete of the "color and power evasion" paradigm, mentioned earlier. (Frankenberg, 1995, p.14) This moment is the first in which racism is firmly tied to white power. This is the discussion that did not take place in high-school. In college, I was given an understanding of racism that linked its practice to institutional power. I was not, however, required to acknowledge that as a white person I had power and privilege that came to me at the expense of people of color. At this moment I become conscious of power and privilege.

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Because this moment fails to include a meaningful discussion of white cultural dominance and of how that culture and power interact to reinforce and reproduce racism it stops short of complete fulfillment.

Summary

When the white leader integrates an awareness of the white power and privilege that extends from her white skin and her membership in the white racial group, she reaches a new level of racial awareness. Her voluntary participation in a learning process that includes a power analysis of white power in the United States is crucial to the development of this new level of racial consciousness. This learning process should include an exploration of the many ways the white leader experiences white privilege. We saw that white privilege functions in two ways. First, due to her white skin, the white leader receives white privilege at the expense of people of color. Secondly, these privileges are delivered to her systematically through institutional functions, that are beyond the individual control of the white leader.

It is essential that the white leader be shown that she has been socialized into the practice of racism and that it be acknowledged that during this process of socialization she was unaware of what was happening to her. When this aspect of the socialization process is highlighted, it affirms her humanity and reduces her defensiveness. Finally, the white leader must be offered some way out of the socialized confinement of a solely white racist identity. Here the remedy is to embrace a dual identity of white racist - anti-racist. This identity acknowledges the socialization into racism in a racist society and simultaneously

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offers the expression of a new aspect of her identity that will assist her in developing positive responses to internalized and external practices of racism.

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Chapter Eleven: Fulfillment, Part Two: Racism--What's Culture Got To Do With It? -- 1996 to the Present

In July 1996, when I was 35 years old, I quit my job and devoted myself full-time to completing my course work for my Master of Arts in Leadership at Augsburg College. During the Fall term of 1996 I did a case study of an African-American male leader.

I chose to do the case study on Brother Joshua, a fellow anti-racist. He is African-American in his late thirties. He is a program director for BirdCity Center of Catholic Gifts, a church-based human services organization. The BirdCity area in which this leader served was an inner city, racially and culturally diverse, low-income neighborhood.

By the Fall of 1996, Brother Joshua and I had been friends and allied anti-racists for three years. I met him in my work with the same anti-racism initiative that sponsored the anti-racism training in which I became a practicing anti-racist. As noted earlier, during the Fall of 1996, I completed six weeks of fieldwork for a case study I was doing on Brother Joshua's leadership practice. He was program director of the BirdCity office of a church-based human service organization.

I chose this person because I knew he had a non-traditional approach to leadership. I also chose him because I knew that he was interested in transforming the BirdCity Center into a anti-racist organization.

During the course of the case study it became apparent that Brother Joshua responds to the world around him in a deeply polychronic mode. As we have

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learned from Hall, this means that he is always doing more than one thing at a time. For instance, I observed that if Brother Joshua was present in the lobby of the Catholic Gifts BirdCity office he was often involved with more than one activity or person at a time. There were always many people vying for his attention.

One day, I was in the lobby and observed Brother Joshua begin a transaction with one person, whom I will call "Person A," and then respond to second person, or "Person B," who came into the lobby, and before either of those transactions were completed, he answered a ringing telephone. He listened to the caller while making eye contact with the first person he spoke to in the lobby. While he was still on the phone, he suggested to a staff person that they make coffee for a group that had already arrived and were starting to meet in the first floor conference room. He finished with the person on the phone. As he hung the phone up he said to Person A, "This will take just a minute." He then completed his conversation with Person B. He then turned to Person A and completed their conversation. Finally, he returned to the staff person making the coffee. He suggested that she bring the coffee maker into the meeting room, and let the coffee brew in there so she could move on to other important work.

According to Hall this kind of activity from a polychronic leader is typical.

> [In a polychronic culture:] A cabinet officer, for instance, may have a large reception area outside his private office. There are almost always small groups waiting in this area, and these groups are visited by government officials, who move around the room conferring with each. Much of their business is transacted in public instead of having a series of private meetings in an inner office. (Hall, 1981, p. 18)

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Depending on who is represented in this one set of interactions, it is possible for Brother Joshua to make connections with persons from other community agencies, staff, clients, or even a graduate student conducting research on his leadership practice. I have attempted to depict Brother Joshua's polychronic mode of dealing with the time and space demands for activities in Figure One, below.

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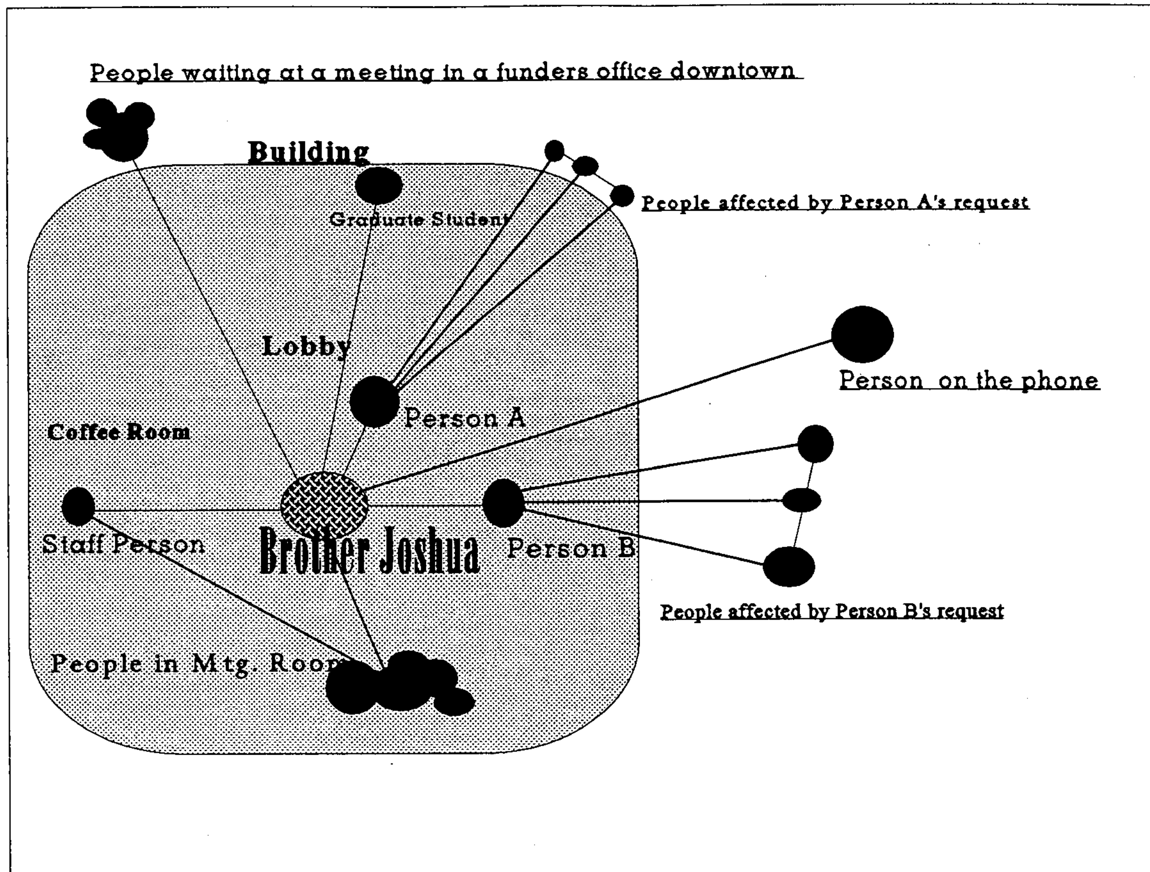

Figure 1: Brother Joshua's, polychronic mode of handling the time and space demands for the completion of activities. [13]

One outcome of this way of dealing with time and space is that Brother Joshua was often late for pre-scheduled meetings. I noticed that how meeting participants assessed this lateness was dependent upon whether they were from a monochronic or polychronic culture. If the meeting participants were primarily

13 In viewing this figure it is important to realize that there are walls that separate the lobby and the coffee room, and the area of the lobby and the coffee room from the meeting room. From this information we can also see how the polychronic mode transcends physical barriers.

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from institutions where the monochronic time culture was dominant, his lateness was assessed as an indication of disrespect and possible incompetence. These institutions were the white institutions such as his employer and funders, who also had the power to punish Brother Joshua. Such punitive measures could include a poor performance review, or reduction in funding.

Brother Lawrence, Brother Joshua's supervisor, appreciated Brother Joshua's ability to connect deeply with the people in the community. However, as his supervisor he assessed Brother Joshua's late arrival to meetings as an indication of his limited potential for advancement in the Catholic Gifts organization.

Brother Lawrence: Yeah, but I think, but he has also a very different operating style. I mean, even though there is a lot of similarities that would link us together and would make it easy for him to kind of step off and do his own thing, um, and to build on a culture that was already there, um, he also brings , I think, a more inclusive style than myself. I think he's a little more/he'll take more time than I would to bring people together and to listen and to get all their input. Um, when I get on a mission to get something done, I still might convene everybody, but I'm still going to run the agenda and you know, we're going to finish about where I expected us to finish at the end of the hour. Ah, and

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so, I always try to appreciate that creative energy that he will allow to happen by bringing people together and trying to listen. And so I think that's a strength that he's brought.

Elizabeth Campbell: Um, personally, as I'm trailing him, if I know he's supposed to be somewhere at Noon, I have to really restrain myself, physically restrain myself from prompting him to leave, because we're socialized to be there, be there at Noon, and get the task done. But I also observe that the other way brings in a lot of new information.

Brother Lawrence: Um, that particular issue, and maybe you're going to get to this in later questions, is certainly one that Brother Joshua and I have talked about and will probably continue to talk about because on one hand, you know, I appreciate the beauty and the positive energy that all creates. On the other had, it does in fact frustrate people, it diminishes the respect that they have for him. I think it diminishes their/people's ability to look at Brother Joshua as a professional. Um,

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> and somehow I think he needs to recognize that and
> kind of meet somewhere half way.
> (Case Study Interview, recorded on October 28, 1996.
> Transcript available upon request)

If Brother Joshua was late for a meeting in the community where the polychronic culture was dominant or influenced how the meeting was conducted, his late arrival was unremarkable for some participants and a minor annoyance for others. The meaning of his actions was best understood by those who, like him, were African-American and highly polychronic.

For instance, in the following excerpt from an interview conducted with Brother Ronnie, Director of the Scott-Burns Block Club in the neighborhood just north of BirdCity, he answered the question "If you were expected at a meeting and you were working with a family in your office to solve a problem, which would be a priority for you?"

> There's no time limit on a crisis. There's no schedule for crisis; therefore, I got a meeting, but I also got this family, this individual in front of me. If you want to serve people. Wanting to serve people, they [the institutions] need to understand that there's crisis and emergencies and work around that. People, people come first. You know, it's actually, it's actually taught by some people, um, start the meeting at this time and end it at this time, and sometime it's possible; most of the time it's not. You know, you can just stay as

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> close to it as possible, because people have lives, but in crisis situations, you start it and you see it through. You know what I mean? If you brush someone off, even as you feed them or clothe them or give them furniture, and you brushed them off while you're doing it, they're never, they're never going to the next level. If they do, they go to the next level angry and then if they do go to the next level angry because while they needed furniture they also may have needed just to talk to somebody, they won't come back to you when they need to make it to the next level . . . Now, with these big organizations . . . it's organizations, big organizations are going have to, if they are to really make a big difference, they are going to have to relax. (Case Study Interview with Brother Ronnie, recorded on October 30, 1996. Transcript available upon request.)

When the researcher discussed this with Brother Joshua, he responded with laughter.

> I laugh cuz I think about how much better I am than I used to be, you know with [my assistant] and all. When Brother Lawrence tells me that people will respect me less because I am not on time to a meeting I want to say 'That's their problem.' I don't respect myself or anyone less because they're late to a meeting. I trust that they were doing their work. Like for instance when Brother Ronnie is late to a meeting, um ah , which he often is, I don't respect him less, cuz I

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> know he is committed and doin' service in the community. I don't respect him any less. I won't respect myself any less because someone else does. Do you understand? (Personal communication, October 28, 1996, Case Study Notes)

Interpretation

This moment in the narrative is the continual unfolding of the process of developing a racial consciousness that continues to incorporate an understanding of power and begins to add an understanding of culture. In the last section of the narrative, as a result of my active involvement in the anti-racist training, there was movement to a new level of racial consciousness. In that moment of the narrative I became aware that I was socialized into the implicit beliefs and actual practices of white racism and of the power differential between whites and people of color.

I argued that this was only partial Fulfillment of the Hero's Adventure. For complete Fulfillment we are looking for an understanding of how power and culture interact to reinforce and reproduce racism. In this section of the narrative I cross the threshold into an awareness of culture: how the power differential and cultural differences between whites and people of color interact to reinforce racism.

But this interpretation is going to focus on what the people of color have to say about power and culture. In the next and final chapter of the narrative we will take a close look at how this situation transformed my racial consciousness as a white leader.

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In this situation there is clearly a conflict between the dominant M-time culture of the white institutions and the P-time culture of the leader of color and his home community. The application of only white norms and values by whites to the performance of this leader has the strong potential to produce faulty interpretations and white racist outcomes. (Nobles, 1985, p. 42) The power to apply white norms and values in a punitive manner resides within the white institutions serving Brother Joshua's community. The power to punish Brother Joshua with employment and funding consequences for his cultural mode of operation resides with the white institutions, which in this case are his employers and program funders.

Brother Joshua has encountered the harshest assessment of his mode of operation from white people who possess the institutional power to reward or punish him. His employer has the power to remove him from employment. Institutional funders have the power to reduce or eliminate financial support. If either of these institutions or the individuals representing them conclude that Brother Joshua is not competent and this assessment is based on his polychronic mode rather than on the results of his work, they will be practicing a form of institutional racism that has its roots in cultural racism.

To guide us further in the interpretation of this section of the narrative there are a couple of question to consider. These are: What are the people of color saying about culture? and What are people of color saying about power? (Frankenberg, 1995, p. 15) Both Brother Joshua and Brother Ronnie clearly state that their priority is people and completing their human transactions in a respectful, caring manner. Both men state firmly

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that if faced with a choice between a demand to be at a pre-scheduled meeting or being present and staying present with people who need their help, they will be late for the meeting. This is a clear expression of the polychronic mode of handling the time and space demands of completing activities, "where involvement with people and completing transactions" is the highest ranked value. (Hall, 1981, p. 17) Both leaders, when faced with a choice between white institutional validation or honoring their own cultural norms and values, chose the latter.

The second question, What are people of color saying about power? Both Brother Joshua and Brother Ronnie say that white power validates white norms and values. The power of white institutions to evaluate Brother Joshua using white norms and values and to enforce their evaluation has the potential to produce cultural racism. This is because white norms and values are not those of the leaders, nor of the people they serve. When white norms and values are used to evaluate situations in which they have no relevance, their use results in faulty interpretations and racist outcomes.(Nobles, 1985, p. 42)

Another important question related to power is: How does one respond to the misuse of white norms and values? Here the white leader can learn much from Brother Joshua's response to white institutional power. When it is suggested that people in power, interpreted here as, "white people," will lose respect for him if he continues to arrive to a meeting late, he laughs. He says that if people respect him less because he arrives to meeting late, that it is "their problem." Brother Ronnie goes even further and says that if white people and white institutions want to serve communities of color, it is the white

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institutions, not people and communities of color, who will have to change.

Both men refuse to internalize the assessments of white people and white institutions. They proceed according to the norms and values of their home community. Both men seem to be aware of which norms and values they will honor. Even though there may be employment and funding consequences, Brother Joshua will not comply with norms and values that do not serve the community.

This is instructive to the white leader who is seeking to resist racism. This is especially instructive, if we notice that I, as a white researcher, focused on the power of white institutions to harm Brother Joshua by invalidating his leadership practice. This focus results from my own reliance on white institutional validation (noted in chapter ten) to reinforce my concept of myself as a "good worker." I enjoy the privilege of living in institutions in which white norms and values govern the institution's functional processes. This means that I practice white norms and values and experience white institutional validation. This leads me as a white person to view the loss of institutional validation as the most threatening aspect of this situation.

But when we listen to people of color in this particular situation it appears that institutional validation is the least of their concerns. This may be explained by the possibility that people of color and their norms and values are not validated by white institutions.

It is possible then that white individuals are more dependent upon institutional validation to maintain a positive concept of self than persons of color. For these two men

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of color, speaking from this case study, a positive self-concept comes from serving the people in their community in accordance with the home community's norms and values. Their self-concept does not appear to be dependent upon the validation of white institutions.

My focus as a white researcher on the potential for the loss of institutional validation and power indicates that the white leader is more troubled by and concerned with the loss of institutional validation and power than a leader of color. This may further indicate that the white leader fears a loss of power and this fear may present an initial barrier to act in accordance with her desire to resist racism.

This fear is reasonable. The white leader who opposes racist practices in the workplace, at school, or in her place of worship is likely to be marginalized and lose institutional power. But it is equally important to recall that the validation of the white leader for practicing white norms is an instance of white privilege, therefore it is not a legitimate source of validation. The dominance of white norms and values in institutional processes is a function of the race hierarchy that places whites above all other racial and cultural ethnic groups in the United States. The cultural dominance of white norms and values in institutional processes is systematic racism. When whites are validated by these institutions, they are experiencing the privilege of being white. In resisting racism the white leader has the opportunity to develop other sources of identification and validation. Like the leaders of color in this example, the white leader can develop an identity that is based on serving people rather than institutional validation.

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Summary

This section of the narrative marks the continued progress of the white leader toward a racial consciousness that integrates an understanding of how power, specifically white power, influences the social context in which the white leader practices. In addition, in this section of the narrative, culture begins to emerge in the consciousness of the white leader as a significant factor in the reinforcement of racism. This section of the narrative indicates that white cultural norms and values are often used to interpret other cultural circumstances in which they are not relevant. The leaders of color in this situation understand this and do not internalize assessments of their performance that are based on white norms and values. Instead, they apply those of their home community.

As a white researcher, in this situation, I am making choices, particularly in how I frame the problem out of my inherited social context. I am most concerned about employment consequences for the studied leader. I am most distressed by the possibility that he will lose his job. Loss of institutional validation is the most threatening aspect of this situation for me as a white leader. This indicates that the white leader is more psychologically vulnerable to the loss of institutional power than the leaders of color, speaking to us from this case study. The white leader faced with the opportunity to receive white institutional validation or resist racism will encounter some internal blocks to the choice to resist racism. To prepare herself for the practice of resisting racism, the white leader will want to follow the example of these leaders of color and develop an

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identity that is not so profoundly dependent on white institutional validation.

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In the last and final section of the narrative we are going to look at the same circumstances detailed in Chapter ten, but with a different focus. In the previous chapter we looked at how the participants responded to the interaction of power and culture in this situation. Next we are going to look at how I as a white woman graduate student in my mid-thirties responded to the pressures of power and culture in this situation.

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Chapter Twelve: Fulfillment, Part Three: What's Culture Got To Do With It? (Remix)

On Monday, October 28, 1996, I interviewed Brother Lawrence, Brother Joshua's supervisor about Brother Joshua's leadership practice. The interview took place at the downtown office of Catholic Gifts.

Brother Lawrence is a white male in his early forties. In 1990, he successfully re-established the BirdCity office of Catholic Gifts in the BirdCity community. In the 1980's, Catholic Gifts had come into the community and offered itself as a resource, and after some problems had pulled out of the community. In 1990, when Catholic Gifts re-opened its building in the BirdCity community, Brother Lawrence was hired as the first Program Director. He was faced with the challenge of regaining the community's trust and re-establishing the credibility of Catholic Gifts. By 1993, he had succeeded. Brother Joshua, as his successor, was only the second program director with the BirdCity office.

Brother Lawrence's success in BirdCity was built on a practice of listening. He went to all the neighborhood meetings he could and listened. He listened by his own account for 18 months before he began to participate more fully in these meetings. When I heard this, I remember thinking that *silence* and *listening* were two powerful leadership practices for a white male in a sexist and racist society.

Brother Lawrence and Brother Joshua were well-liked and respected by the BirdCity staff. There was also a high level of awareness among the staff about how differently the two men approached their daily work.

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Brother Lawrence was the quintessential linear manager. The first purpose of his work activities was to meet organizational goals. He went about his work in a highly regulated and linear manner. Progress was measure by the distance travelled toward a predetermined goal. He established a goal and a deadline for meeting that goal. He worked with staff to identify and assign the completion of necessary tasks. The staff openly teased Brother Lawrence about his management style. He was affectionately called "Boy Wonder" or "Mr Linear."

Brother Joshua's practice of leadership was entirely different. The purpose of his work was multifaceted. He was always pursuing many goals at the same time. The over-arching goal was to serve the BirdCity community. Brother Joshua told me that serving meant "assisting people in becoming free and responsible." (Personal communication, October 25, 1996)

While pursuing this goal, Brother Joshua was also interested in the BirdCity staff and community residents believing in their inherent value. He was fond of saying, "Believe the truth about yourself, no matter how beautiful it is."

The staff did not openly comment on Brother Joshua's leadership style. In one-on-one interviews a few individuals indicated that sometimes they were disappointed when he was not able to meet with them at an expected time. Positive comments generally focused on his vision, positive outlook and intelligence.

I interviewed Brother Lawrence on the fourth day of the six week case study. I spent the first three days of the case study at the BirdCity office. The BirdCity office environment was one in which there was a great deal of

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uncertainty about what might happen next. There was also a sense that people were valued.

On the day I interviewed Brother Lawrence I was feeling intensely ambivalent about the way Brother Joshua "managed his time." I was having difficulty not criticizing his lateness. I felt stressed in my body. For instance, when I knew he was expected somewhere at Noon and we only had ten minutes to get there, I had to work very hard to restrain my mental, emotional and physical impulse to prompt him.

At this time, I had just left a job in which my own supervisor failed to meet important deadlines. Because of this, I had lost respect for him. In fact, based on his failure to meet important deadlines, I began to question his competence. Did he really have the ability to perform well as our division manager? This doubt was based on the same failure to meet time lines I was observing in Brother Joshua.

The questions I was living with when I went into the interview with Brother Lawrence were: Can Brother Joshua be late for meetings and other pre-scheduled events and still be effective? Can Brother Joshua function this way and not lose the respect of his peers, staff, and supervisors?

I entered Brother Lawrence's downtown office building, which unlike the BirdCity offices, was fully remodeled. I told the female receptionist that I had an appointment with Brother Lawrence and that he was expecting me. I gave her my name. She phoned him. After she hung up, she directed me up a steep central staircase. At the landing half way up, the staircase broke off laterally to the left and to the right, into two additional staircases that continued to ascend to the

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second floor. I turned left and continued up the stairs and turned left again and walked around the balcony. I felt disoriented, "shell-shocked," and wobbly as I moved through the space created by this staircase.

Brother Lawrence was standing at the entrance of his office. His greeting was formal. He shook my hand. He was also dressed in traditional business clothing. He wore a long-sleeved business shirt and tie. His skin was fair and luminous. He had a disarmingly youthful and innocent appearance.

Brother Joshua, compared to this man, was a much different visual experience. Brother Joshua was brown skinned, had cornrow braids, and always wore an interesting cap. He often wore the color purple, which he associated with transformation and healing. He never wore a tie.

Brother Joshua also generally did not see people in his office. Instead, he went out into the main lobby or would sit with them in the large first floor meeting room at the BirdCity office. The door to this meeting room was seldom shut. To enter it I did not have to walk up a steep double terraced stair case. I simply walked from one area of the first floor to another.

I shook Brother Lawrence's hand. He invited me into his office. I sat down in a chair next to his desk. His desk was flush with the west wall of his office. There was a window behind him on the south side of the building. His chair was facing me at a right angle. He was not sitting behind a desk looking at me from the other side. But I remember experiencing the edge of the desk along with his more formal dress as creating and reinforcing a status distance between us. I was dressed casually. I was wearing a black sweatshirt and blue jeans. After walking

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up those steps and noticing how differently we were dressed, I felt self-conscious. I remember thinking that I should have dressed more "professionally."

Before we started the interview I told him it was important to me that the case study process not create secrets. Brother Joshua would receive a written transcript of each interview. I also told him that the primary purpose of the interview was the case study itself and within the case study he would not be identified. False names for people and places would be used to maintain anonymity. I turned on the tape recorder.

When we discussed the differences between Brother Joshua and Brother Lawrence's leadership practice, Brother Lawrence made very strongly worded statements about the need for Brother Joshua to change the way he managed his time. Already anxious, the urgency and harshness of his comments increased my anxiety. All of his remarks about Brother Joshua's way of managing time were tied to the prospect of Brother Joshua enduring in the organization. At one point he used the words, ". . . if he is going to last." I was overwhelmed.

When I turned the tape recorder off, he immediately asked me what I was finding in my research. I remember that at this moment I was physically alert. My adrenaline was high. I really wanted to get out of there. I was over stimulated and fatigued.

I told Brother Lawrence that I was finding some of the same things he was concerned about. I told him that it seemed there was a certain level of frustration among some of the BirdCity staff about Brother Joshua's way of managing time. I told him that some staff members in their interviews expressed disappointment

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that he was not always able to make it to his scheduled appointments with them. I told him that I was finding that his staff noticed he was often late.

Initially, I was able to appear neutral on the question of how Brother Joshua's lateness was related to his leadership practice. I said that I wasn't sure if it was an important dimension of his leadership practice. I was not sure whether being late was related to his competence as a leader.

In response, Brother Lawrence said, "Well he will be evaluated by *that* standard by the people in *this* office. You know that style is gonna wear people out." Based on my own experiences with my previous supervisor, this statement sounded true to me. I shared with Brother Lawrence my own experiences with my previous supervisor and as I related my own frustration, my initial appearance of neutrality began to collapse. I agreed that it was important to get to meetings on time. No longer ambivalent, I said, out loud, "He (Brother Joshua) should be held to this standard." Finally, I even offered to intervene and talk to him about this.

As I walked out of the downtown office of Catholic Gifts into the warm sunlight, I remember feeling certain, right, even a bit righteous. It was correct and right to meet deadlines and get to meetings on time. I was certain that this was a valid measure against which to evaluate Brother Joshua's effectiveness as leader.

I got in my car, drove over to the BirdCity office, and prepared myself to "help" Brother Joshua see the errors of his ways. I found him and told him I needed to speak with him. Within moments of listening to his response to my concerns about his lateness, I was again confused, disoriented, and uncertain about the rightness of anything.

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At this time I did not share the full content of my conversation with Brother Lawrence. The fact that my conversation with Brother Lawrence occurred after the tape recorder had been turned off meant that we had made an unspoken agreement to start making secrets. At this time I was holding the secret that Brother Joshua's performance as the Program Director was already being questioned as a result of his arriving late for pre-scheduled meetings. I was also holding the secret that I had agreed with Brother Lawrence that Brother Joshua's lateness was an indication of his competence as a Program Director.

Brother Joshua's responded to the concerns that he get more organized and get to meetings on time with laughter:

> I laugh cause I think about how much better I am than I used to be, you know with [my assistant] and all. When Brother Lawrence tells me that people will respect me less because I am not on time to a meeting, I want to say, 'That's their problem.' I don't respect myself or anyone less because they're late to a meeting. I trust that they were doing their work. Like for instance when Brother Ronnie is late to a meeting, um ah, which he often is, I don't respect him less, cuz I know he is committed and doin' service in the community. I don't respect him any less. I won't respect myself any less because someone else does. Do you understand? (Personal communications, October 28, 1996, case study notes)

I was speechless. I agreed with this too. Now I agreed with both men. My

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confusion must have been apparent because Brother Joshua suggested that I needed to process this on my own for a little while. He said that if I wanted to talk about it again in a couple of days we could.

This was Monday. I spent much of the next four days reflecting on my actions. Again, there was a feeling of being off-balance. This was felt in the body as though my left foot was caught on something.

At the same time that I was conducting this case study I was also completing course work on a multi-cultural independent study. Professor Mary, a Native American woman, was monitoring this study. One of the first books she assigned for me to read was Edward T. Hall's (1981) Beyond Culture. In this book, Hall discusses at length the role of culture in social life, the difference between monochronic and polychronic time, and high and low context communication and many other aspects of culture and cultural difference -- ideas I have used earlier in this thesis. I remember that I went back and re-read some portions of this text.

According to Hall,

> ...Culture is man's medium; there is not one aspect of human life that is not touched and altered by culture. This means personality, how people express themselves (including shows of emotion), the way they think, how they move, how problems are solved, how their cities are planned and laid out, how transportation systems function and are organized, as well as how economic and government systems are put together and function. (Hall, 1981, p. 16)

I think that this is actually the first moment that I began to internalize the understanding that I was in the midst of a cultural conflict. I read further in Hall,

> Monochronic time (M-time) and polychronic time (P-time) represent two variant solutions to the use of both time and space as organizing frames for activities. Space is included because the two systems (time and space) are functionally interrelated. M-time emphasizes

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> schedules, segmentation, and promptness. P-time systems are characterized by several things happening at once. They stress involvement of people and completion of transactions rather than adherence to preset schedules. P-time is treated as much less tangible than M-time. P-time is apt to be considered a point rather than a ribbon or a road, and that point is sacred. (Hall, 1981, p. 17)

I kept a case study journal. In that journal I identified the presence of three cultures in this interaction between Brother Lawrence, Brother Joshua and myself. One was white male, dominant, and monochronic. Another, was African-American, marginalized and polychronic. The third was my own cultural home. I was white, and had internalized the monochronic and dominant cultural way of managing time.

I was also female and valued social interaction over the schedule, and regularly experienced the need to do more than one thing at a time. But as white female I was also marginalized and oppressed. This oppression expressed itself in my interactions with Brother Lawrence. When faced with expressing my own inner values and not receiving white male approval, or complying with white male norms and receiving white male approval, I chose the latter.

As I reflected on this in my journal I came to the distressing realization that I had responded to Brother Lawrence's authority as a white male. I had wanted his approval and for it I moved in ways that were not consistent with my own stated values. I had betrayed a friend and myself when I joined in with Brother Lawrence in making racist interpretations of Brother Joshua's action and in making secrets. Both choices had been made in order to relieve myself of the stress of standing on what I valued, and in order to gain white male approval. My socialization as oppressor and oppressed, white and female, caused me to respond to the pressures

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of this situation in ways that supported and reproduced racism. I was heartbroken as I realized what I had done.

I continued to struggle to understand what was actually happening in Brother Joshua's interactions with others. And I realized that he was always present in a spiritual sense to the people he was interacting with. Eventually, I began to see the Spirit in his open body stance, a stance which conveyed a receptiveness and an open heart.

He turned toward the person, shoulders straight, chest open and receptive, as if he was extending his heart to the other person. There was also brief, limited, and discrete eye-contact. Often there would be an affirming tilt of the head accompanied by some sound or low-intensity conversation; such as "uh, huh." All of these actions happened very quickly and seemed to non-verbally affirm the humanity and spirit of the other person. In noticing this, I began to understand and believe, just as Hall suggested, that Brother Joshua's involvement with others was a "sacred" practice. (1981, p. 17)

I began to wonder if for a polychronic individual leaving another person in the midst of an interaction in order to get to meeting on time would be interpreted as a loss of spiritual integrity. Here I was influenced by what Brother Ronnie had to say, which we quoted earlier.

> . . . People, people come first. You know, it's actually, it's actually taught by some people, um, start the meeting at this time and end it at this time, and sometime it's possible; most of the time it's not. You know, you can just stay as close to it as possible, because people have

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lives, but in crisis situations, you start it and you see it through. You know what I mean? If you brush someone off, even as you feed them or clothe them or give them furniture, and you brushed them off while you're doing it, they're never, they're never going to the next level. If they do, they go to the next level angry and then if they do go to the next level angry because while they needed furniture they also may have needed just to talk to somebody, they won't come back to you when they need to make it to the next level. .." (Case Study Interview with Brother Ronnie, recorded on October 30, 1996. Transcript available upon request.)

I began to realize what it would mean if Brother Joshua, in an interaction with another polychronic person, left that person before the transaction was complete. Such a choice would be experienced by the other polychronic person as a failure to honor them.

Then I read more about how people who live in a monochronic culture view time.

> For M-time people reared in the northern European tradition, time is linear and segmented like a road or a ribbon extending forward into the future and backward to the past. It is also tangible; they speak of it as being saved, spent, wasted, lost, made up, accelerated, slowed down, crawling, and running out. These metaphors should be taken very seriously, because they express the basic manner in which everything is built. M-time scheduling is used as a classification system that orders life . . . all important activities are scheduled. (Hall, 1981, p. 19)

This text described something closer to my own experience. This was how I

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felt when I had to wait for my supervisor at my last job and for Brother Joshua. I felt that they were "wasting my time" and that I was "running out of time." I also realized that I had absolutely internalized the monochronic time norm that a scheduled event was more important than anything else. This was felt in my body again. I would become mentally, emotionally and physically distressed when Brother Joshua was late.

Then I read what Hall had to say about the limitations of relying on scheduling to determine the importance of an event.

> By scheduling, we compartmentalize; this makes it possible to concentrate on one thing at a time, *but it also denies us context.* (Italics added) Since scheduling by its very nature selects what will and will not be perceived and attended and permits only a limited number of events within a period, what gets scheduled in or out constitutes a system for setting priorities for both people and functions. (Hall, 1981, p. 18)

I realized that, as white people, both Brother Lawrence and I had internalized the norm that the schedule determines the value between the scheduled and the unscheduled activity. Our reliance on monochronic time limited our ability, as white people, to accurately assess the value of the unscheduled event. This is an inherent weakness of monochronic time. The act of scheduling predetermines the event's priority and does so without allowing changing circumstances to influence the predetermined value of the scheduled activity. Stated a bit differently, monochronic time as a practice does not easily incorporate the realities of the present into the scheduled transaction.

I also began to reflect back upon the three years I had known Brother Joshua and the many times I had participated with him in unscheduled moments of

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serendipity. These moments were always animated, vital, life-changing and life-enhancing moments. In fact, in my own life I increasingly found myself going with the activities of the moment rather than adhering to a schedule. I reflected further on this in my case study journal. I acknowledged that when I chose to suspend my obligation to the schedule and continue to participate in the activities before me, I am almost always given some new and valuable insight.

I read further in Hall,

> A high context (HC) communication or message is one in which the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low context (LC) communication is just the opposite; the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code [language]. (Hall, 1981, p. 91)

I understood Hall to be saying that monochronic-low context individuals rely heavily on the explicit data that is conveyed in the actual words spoken to them by others to assist them in assigning meaning to events. Polychronic-high context individuals instead develop shared meanings through their participation with each other. These meanings are internalized and known to the participants without a lot of attending dialogue.

What I began to realize that, as white female, I could not accurately interpret many of the interactions I had observed between Brother Joshua and other African-Americans. This was because they had shared meanings for certain actions. As a low context person I relied on explicit data given in the spoken word

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to make accurate interpretations of the meaning of the events around me.[14]

I read still further in Hall,

> The particular blindness of monochronic organization is to the humanness of its members...as they grow larger, [they] turn rigid and are even apt to lose sight of their original purpose. (Hall, 1981, p. 21)

From this last excerpt I began to understand that both Brother Lawrence and I relied on monochronic time to interpret Brother Joshua's actions. I realized that monochronic time and monochronic institutions are limited in their capacity to appreciate, acknowledge, and address the humanity of the people working within those institutions and those served by them. Here I understood that Brother Joshua's polychronic mode was a manifestation of his culture and, as such, an expression of his humanity. Our use of the white norm of monochronic time to interpret Brother Joshua's actions resulted in faulty interpretations and erroneous conclusions, which reproduced cultural racism.[15]

I relied heavily on Hall's work to assist me in understanding the situation I found myself in. I also received support from Professor Mary, the Native American female professor, who was monitoring my independent study in multi-cultural education. On Wednesday of that week I spoke with her. When I shared with her

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Since this time, I have been told by four people of color: one African-American and three Native Americans, or these four people of color they would prefer that whites not ask a lot of questions. Instead, it is suggested that whites wait for the answers to emerge as a natural outcome of the social interaction.

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Cultural racism occurs when one racial group's norms and values govern social life to the exclusion of all other racial or cultural ethnic groups. The dominant racial group's norms and values are used to invalidate all other cultural practices. In the United States white institutional power is the mechanism through which, as the dominant racial group, white norms and values are reinforced and the norms and values of all other groups are invalidated. (Crossroads ministries anti-racism educator's manual, May 1995, pp. 3-5)

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what I had done, her response was, "It's okay." I said, "Okay? How can you say that?" She said, "It just shows how strongly we are socialized. Remember you are a person who is attempting to practice compassion with herself."

Beginning on Thursday of that same week I participated in my third three-day anti-racism training, my second as an apprentice trainer. On Friday morning the lead trainers were conducting the "Foot Analysis." (The analysis of the power differential between whites and people of color.) As the analysis proceeded, the feeling that my left foot was caught on something grew more intense. In my imagination I saw a vision of my foot caught on Brother Joshua's neck. I became increasingly restless.

As the morning session closed I went to the phone and called Brother Lawrence. I told him that I had made a mistake during our interview. It was not correct for me to have agreed with him that Brother Joshua's competence should be evaluated based on his ability to get to meetings on time. I acknowledged that as the researcher I should have maintained my own ambivalence about this question. I told him that it was my hope that I done nothing to cause him to evaluate Brother Joshua more harshly or urgently than he would have otherwise.

I also reminded him that we, as white people, have been socialized to function in a scheduled world and to believe that this is the only way to do things. He said he understood that. I said that I still thought it was an open question as to whether or not Brother Joshua should be evaluated using this standard. He said that Brother Joshua would have to make some changes. I went further and said that I thought it would also be important for the institution to change. He

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responded by saying, "That is my job." In closing, he said that he was hopeful that when I finished with my case study it would be something I was proud of. We said Goodbye.

Later that evening Brother Joshua came out to the training. After much socializing with training participants he and I were able to talk privately about the events of the week. I asked him, "Do you know I am a white racist?" He said, "Yes, I know that."

I confessed my mistake. I told Brother Joshua that I was ambivalent about his being late. I told him that I had actively agreed with Brother Lawrence that his lateness was an indication of his competence. I told him that I had even offered to speak with him about it. I told him that I had acted in a white racist manner.

I said, "I do not want to ask you to forgive me, because I know that I have to forgive myself. And I know you do not want me to apologize." He said, "No, please do not apologize." I did not apologize but said, "I regret that my actions may have made your life more difficult. I wish I had maintained my ambivalence." I also told him that I had spoken with Brother Lawrence about this and made it clear that I should not have said what I said and that the question of how to evaluate his way of moving in the world should remain open.

Quietly and with great compassion Brother Joshua said, "Its okay."

Interpretation

Just as we found in the birth narrative, we find here that the arrangement of time and space at the downtown office is based on M-time and supports the dominance of the

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white male. (Hall, 1981, p.17; Hekman, 1995, p.3; Herr Van Nostrand, 1993, p. xviii; Schaef, 1981, p. 4) In the opening of this section of the narrative I arrive at a scheduled time. I am screened for access to the white male. Like the birth narrative, in order to gain access to him I am forced to move my body through and into a space that is designed to affirm his dominance. (Deikman, 1968, p. 321; Ornish, 1993, pp. 104-105; Zwacki, 1993, p. 154) The arrangement of the downtown office is such that I am required to ascend twice before gaining visual access to Brother Lawrence, a white male supervisor.

I also move from a public space to a private office. (Hall, 1981, p. 14) Private space intensifies the relationship between Brother Lawrence and myself. (Ibid., p.19) It also tends to give the individual the temporary illusion that they are separated from the community that both supports them and to whom they are accountable. The effect of private space was to heighten Brother Lawrence's status as a white male, representing white institutional power and my sense of oppression and alienation as a white female and as an anti-racist. (Hall, 1981, p. 97; Spelman, 1988, p.15; Barndt, 1991, p. 73) In response to his perceived authority and the perceived lack of support and accountability created by the private space, my resistance collapsed. I complied with white male authority and white institutional norms. I betrayed myself and Brother Joshua. I failed to honor my inner values of resisting racism and of not creating secrets.

The effect of my socialization to comply with white male and white institutional power is acutely manifest in my compliance with Brother Lawrence's statements about the meaning of Brother Joshua's "lateness." The socialized dependence on white male

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approval and white institutional validation is activated in this situation. The white racist aspect of my identity is dependent on these sources of validation to maintain a concept of myself as a "good" person. (Barndt, 1991, pp. 59-60; Bly, 1988, pp. 17-18)

In agreeing with Brother Lawrence I secure white male approval and white institutional validation. Then my confusion disappears. (Hall, 1981, p. 46) I regain a sense of certainty about who I am and what the appropriate standard is to apply to the evaluation of Brother Joshua's actions. This is a regression into the white racist aspect of the Self. (Barndt, 1991, p. 71)

This regression deepens when I offer to "help" by talking with Brother Joshua about his "lateness." I fully regressed into the white, liberal, racist aspect of Self. My intention is to help Brother Joshua be white. (Helms, 1990, p. 59; Barndt, 1991, p. 71) I actively apply my own white norms and values to the evaluation of Brother Joshua's leadership practice. I believe that if Brother Joshua changes his leadership style he will receive more white male and white institutional validation. These are the values of the white racist aspect of the Self. (Ibid)

Stated a bit differently, to avoid being institutionally marginalized, fearing white male disapproval, and confused about the right standard to apply in this situation, I regress into the white liberal "helper," and racist aspect of the Self. (Helms, 1990, p. 59; Hall, 1981, p. 46) This restores my sense of competence, which is being challenged by the new cultural landscape.

Fortunately, as soon as I speak with Brother Joshua, the anti-racist aspect of my

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identity begins to struggle for influence over my conscious choices. (Barndt, 1991, p. 71)

His actions support the emergence of this aspect of my identity. He is insightful, patient, and compassionate. He takes time to explain how he views the situation. He resists. He says this white norm has nothing to do with who he is or his value to himself or the BirdCity community.

He also does not over-explain or attempt to relieve me pre-maturely of my confusion. He does not enable the white racist aspect of my identity. He suggests I continue to process these events and reassures me that he will be available to talk about it again soon.

In the next passages of the narrative we see the promise of the dual consciousness -- the white racist -anti-racist identity model -- fulfilled. The model of white racist-anti-racist predicts that the white leader will practice racism. It also predicts that through her new awareness of socialization and the power differential and with the support of her fellow anti-racists she will recognize her own white racist choices. (Barndt, 1991, pp. 64-68, 71)

After speaking with Brother Joshua I am aware that I have stumbled; I have practiced racism. The anti-racist consciousness has been activated. My awareness of my socialization into racism, of the power differential, and again the feeling of being off-balance in my body supports my efforts to better understand this new cultural landscape and develop positive responses. (Barndt, 1991, pp. 35-35; Deikman, 1968, p. 321; Frankenberg, 1995, p. 15; Jones, 1972, p. 124; Ornish, 1993, pp. 104-105; Zwacki, 1993,

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p. 154)

I reflect, I study, I seek support, and then I act. (Freire, 1996, p. 68) I listen to Brother Joshua, Brother Ronnie, and Professor Mary. I read from Hall. Through this process I recognize that I have practiced cultural racism. It is a practice of cultural racism to use white norms and values in the interpretation and evaluation of the behavior of individuals who come from cultural ethnic groups that practice different norms and values. (Nobles, 1985, p. 42)

Finally, I acknowledge to myself and others that I have practiced racism. I return to Brother Lawrence and tell him that I made a mistake. I clearly state that we as whites have been socialized toward the norm of "promptness" and that this may not be the appropriate norm in this setting. I resist racism. In this moment I practice the awareness of my socialization into racism, the power differential between whites and people of color, and how cultural difference and power interact to product cultural racism. (Frankenberg, 1995, p. 15; Freire, 1996, p. 68; Nobles, 1985, p. 42) The anti-racist consciousness that is aware of socialization and power differential is amended to include an awareness of cultural difference.

It is not until I have taken responsibility for my actions that I confess my practice of racism to Brother Joshua. When I do, I am received with great compassion.[16]

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The narrative stops at the point where I am received with compassion by Brother Joshua. However, as anti-racists Brother Joshua and I used this event as departure point for learning more about how racism affects whites in the BirdCity community.

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In this section of the narrative I cross the threshold into Fulfillment. The objective measure of fulfillment is an ability to recognize and acknowledge, or take responsibility for racist leadership choices. At the close of the narrative we see that the development of a racial consciousness has created a level of awareness that allows me to do this. (Barndt, 1991, pp. 64-68; Campbell, 1988, pp.154-155; Foster, 1989, pp. 52, 59)

This is a valuable set of skills for the white leader. The white leader's ability to recognize and acknowledge her racist leadership choices does not undo the harm caused by those choices. These skills do, however, give her the capacity to make positive and transformative responses to those moments when she will practice racism (Ibid.) Each time the white leader recognizes racism in her leadership practice, her understanding of racism deepens. Each time she acknowledges to herself and others that she has practiced racism she is resisting racism (Foster, 1989, p. 52)

This act of resistance is a spiritual practice[17] that has the unseen but transformational effect of reducing the grip or dominance of white norms and values in the inner life of the white leader. From this new departure point the white leader can begin to positively influence other white people to whom she relates. (Ibid.)

For instance, through dialogue with other whites, she can work toward the

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Recall that our interpretation of Spirit includes the following assumptions: 1) each individual is invested with both humanity and divinity, 2) all creation is invested with the Spirit of God, or the Divine, 4) Spirit is an active force capable of participating in the transformation of the individual and of social life, and 5) that the Spiritual aspect of the individual lives beyond the limitations of the body and this temporal sphere and therefore Spirits of individuals and other beings influence the temporal lives individuals and communities. (Come, 1959, pp. 88-89; Edwards, 1991, pp. 77-78; Nelson, 1992, pp. 23,38, & 52; and Graff, 1995, pp.85, 131-132)

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transformation of the racist social context. (Freire, 1996, pp. 71-72) In my final communication with Brother Lawrence I exemplified a white leader who questions the relevance of white norms and values. (Ibid.) It is possible my own practice of questioning could influence Brother Lawrence, a white male with a high degree of institutional power in the Catholic Gifts organization, to questioning his use of white norms and values in this situation. (Ibid.)

Returning now to the model of Individuation of the Hero's Adventure, we see that when the white leader Returns, her ability to recognize and acknowledge racist leadership choices has the potential of transforming the Kingdom, specifically, the racist social context in which she practices. (Campbell, 1988, p.156; Pearson, 1991, p. 1) It is this transformation of the Kingdom for which the white leader is preparing herself in developing a racial consciousness. (Ibid.)

Here, in the last moments of the narrative, it is essential to recognize that, while development of a racial consciousness of this complexity is an aspect of the process of Individuation, it is not accomplished through the solitary efforts of the individual white leader. The white leader is guided through this process by others. As she makes this journey toward fulfillment it is her active involvement and participation in relationships with other white people and people of color that provide her with the assistance, guidance and insight needed to reach and cross the threshold of fulfillment. We also see that this process is spiritual as well as psychological. The Spirit manifest in self, others and the ancestors has a profound role to play in the development of a racial consciousness in the

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white leader.[18]

Summary

When the white leader develops a racial consciousness that addresses her own socialization, the power differential between whites and people of color, and cultural difference, she will develop a level of awareness that supports the leadership practice of recognizing and acknowledging leadership choices that reproduce and reinforce racism. This activity is a practice of resisting racism. In all of this, the white leader will be guided by other white people, people of color, and the Spirit.

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Recall that our interpretation of Spirit includes the following assumptions: 1) each individual is invested with both humanity and divinity, 2) all creation is invested with the Spirit of God, or the Divine, 4) Spirit is an active force capable of participating in the transformation of the individual and of social life, and 5) that the Spiritual aspect of the individual lives beyond the limitations of the body and this temporal sphere and therefore Spirits of individuals and other beings influence the temporal lives individuals and communities.

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Chapter Thirteen: Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

The use of narrative to collect data about how race influences the development of the individual white leader has been useful. The narrative supports Johnson's assertion that the individual does embody her social context. (Johnson, 1987, pp. 171-172) Relying on Johnson, we expected that the individual would personify important aspects of her social context. In a racist social context this means we expected that the individual would manifest racism through her thoughts, beliefs and actions. The data in the narrative supports Johnson's view that central organizing themes of the "communal narrative" inescapably become organizing themes of the personal narrative. Stated a bit differently, when racism, specifically the belief in the superiority of the white race, is an organizing principle in social life, the narrative strongly supports the expectation that it will become an organizing principle in the individual's concept of Self.

Indeed, the narrative has provided us with a rich set of data on how racism, an organizing principle of social life in the United States, affects the psychological and spiritual development of the individual white leader's concept of Self. Using the existing literature we were able to make useful interpretations of this data. We learned how the white leader in the context of the United States is affected by racism. (Johnson, 1987, p.117) We may conclude from the narrative and our interpretation of the data that the individual born into a social context of racism will unconsciously organize a concept of Self around fundamental principles of racism. (Ibid.)

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Two questions guided our path of inquiry. "How does the white leader develop an awareness of how racism affects her daily leadership choices?" and "Does developing a racial consciousness prepare the white leader to practice recognizing and acknowledging her racist leadership choices?" We suggested that when the white leader recognizes and acknowledges her racist leadership choices she is resisting racism.

The narrative reveals that one white leader developed the awareness of how race influenced her leadership choices through the process of developing a racial consciousness. The narrative also suggests that developing a racial consciousness will prepare the white leader to resist racism. Recall that the objective measure of a functioning racial consciousness in the white leader is the ability to recognize and acknowledge one's racist leadership choices. This ability, when applied to one's leadership practice, is an act of resisting racism. We also stated that the four important dimensions of a racial consciousness were: an awareness of one's socialization into racism, an awareness of the power differential between whites and people of color, a recognition of cultural difference, and finally, an understanding of how power and culture converge to reinforce and reproduce racism. For the white leader in this study, developing a racial consciousness resulted in an awareness of all four of these dimensions of a racial consciousness, an increased competence in recognizing and acknowledging racist leadership choices, and therefore an increased capacity to resist racism.

This consciousness was developed through the activation of what Jung and Campbell would call the process of Individuation. Through this process she questioned

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the norms, values and traditions of racism, sought to determine how she had been socialized into racism, and became aware of the power differential and of how the power of the white collective and cultural difference interact to produce racism.

The model we used to discuss the process of Individuation was Joseph Campbell's the Hero's Adventure. We added to Campbell's three stage model of Departure, Fulfillment and Return, a fourth stage, a time of Preparation. Pearson gave us this fourth stage and we understand it to be a necessary aspect of entire process of Individuation. Our model then included four stages: Preparation, Departure, Fulfillment and Return.

What has the narrative told us about each phase of the adventure? We see from the narrative that the time of Preparation begins with the practice of opposing my innate bodily competence in order to affirm the dominance of white males. This fostered a dependence on white males and their way of ordering social life. In order to cope with the moral confusion of being white and the association with white racial terrorism, my mother gave me the practices of denial and projection.

During this time my grandfather teaches me that it is possible to live in compassionate and humane connection with others. Dr. King offers me a vision that would extend this experience of compassion and justice beyond my relationship with my grandfather, out into the nation and across racial and cultural boundaries.

I attended a racially integrated high-school in the mid-seventies, a time when dominance of the "color and power evasion" paradigm fostered the expectation that I would enter a world that reflects its assumptions of universal humanity, cultural

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homogeneity and equal access to resources. Because white norms and values governed the learning environments and the administration of the school, the assumption of cultural homogeneity was reinforced. Finally, because this paradigm does not acknowledge the power differential or cultural difference, neither aspect of social life in my high school was critiqued.

The time of Departure begins when I entered college. Here I noticed for the first time some evidence of the power differential between whites and people of color. My departure begins with questions about the absence of my friends of color from a university campus that is located less than two blocks from my high school.

My first stop was a class on racism. Here I learned about institutional racism. I followed the lead of the African-American Professor who taught this class and focused on how racism affects people of color and began to prepare myself to "help" them. A strategy of distancing myself from the white collective deepened as I fully embraced an identity of being a "Special White Person." This was manifest by my willingness to name white people as "bad" and to "help" my friends of color.

During this time there was no awareness of white privilege or the significance of cultural differences. I lived out of this identity as a "Special White Person" for many years. This identity was reinforced by the absence of a discussion of white power and cultural difference and the continuing dominance of white norms and values in social life. Recall that even in my racially diverse work and worship settings, white norms and values still governed how administrative policies and practices were implemented.

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The turning point came at the hands of the unseen Spirit.[19] It is in the name of my ancestors that I am called out of my identity as a "Special White Person." First, my grandfather's spirit comes to me, quietly asking me to remember him. In honoring his memory I discontinued the practice of actively naming white people as "bad." Next, the Native American man called me out even further of my "Special White Person" identity. He points to my white ancestors and I interpreted his comments as saying, *you are connected to the acts of your ancestors; you are benefiting from the acts of racial terrorism of your ancestors.*

This call by the ancestors prepared me to turn toward Fulfillment. I attended the Christian anti-racism training. During this training I became aware of my socialization into racism and of the power differential between whites and people of color. The trainers were firmly loving in delivering the message, "you are a white racist." They offered a spiritual remedy. Through your faith in Jesus Christ become an anti-racist. The dual identity of white racist-anti-racist offered a way out of the unconscious practice of racism.

However, this anti-racism model failed to adequately acknowledge the significance of culture. It was not until I found myself in a setting where other cultural norms and values are practiced that I became aware of the significance of culture. In this new landscape, the impact of culture difference was confusion. In order to reduce this

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Recall that our interpretation of spirit does not limit its influence and power to breathing humans or even to only humans. (All creation is invested with spirit.) This means that the spirits of those who have died, of the ancestors, are expected to influence the choices of the living. (Gill, 1982, pp. 34-35, 109-110; Edwards, 1991, p. 77)

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confusion I accessed my power as a white person and misused it when I applied white norms and values to the evaluation of Brother Joshua's actions. This choice reproduced racism, specifically cultural racism.

We also see the promise of the development of a racial consciousness. The development of a racial consciousness in the white leader will lead to an increased ability to recognize and acknowledge how racism affects her leadership choices.

The narrative indicates, however, that the process of developing a racial consciousness is not a linear process, with the clear ending that the archetypal pattern of the Hero's Adventure suggests. Rather, we see that reaching Fulfillment does not mean that the task of developing a racial consciousness is complete. The white leader will practice racism again. She will harm herself and people of color. She will stumble.

What we do see from the narrative is that the development of a racial consciousness prepares the white leader for the opportunity to "stumble forward," as she continues to practice and resist racism. This phrase, "stumble forward," is a phrase coined by Brother Joshua, the African-American leader the reader met during the course of reading this thesis.

The implication of this phrase is that in the stumbling the white leader has the opportunity to continue to transform herself and the social context of racism. As she moves forward the white leader continues to release her mind, body, and spirit from the captivity of racism into a more vital way of life. The outcome of "stumbling forward" is a greater capacity to resist racism. This on-going process promises to continually refine the

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white leader's racial consciousness and transform the white racist social context in which she practices. (Campbell, 1988, p. 156)

Recommendations

Now, I will offer some recommendations on possible leadership development strategies for use with white infants, children, and adults. I will also offer some recommendations for the use and design of physical space.

The birth narrative indicates that the manner in which my birth was staged reinforces white male dominance. This dominance was reinforced through the practice of relocating internal and innate bodily competence to the external white male expert. As an alternative I offer the traditional birth described in the narrative. This approach expresses the values of "involvement with people," collaboration and empowerment. (Hall, 1981, p. 17) This participative approach may foster, in the white infant, child and future leader, an awareness of her innate bodily competence, her spiritual connection to others, and accountability to a community.

White children are positively influenced by the active presence of loving and compassionate white adults in their lives. I recommend that white adults seek to be a compassionate and loving presence in the lives of white children. This practice may have the far-reaching positive influence in the life of the white child. The narrative indicates that we can expect the love and compassion we extend to white children in the present to continue to influence them as they mature into young adults and take their places of leadership in society.

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White children are concerned about justice and want to make meaningful and positive responses to injustice. Educators, parents and caregivers should have access to age appropriate learning tools and curriculum to assist them in responding to questions white children have about racism. This curriculum should include a discussion of the power differential between people of color and whites and of the significance of cultural difference.

In addition, white children and youth need to be taught the history of white racial terrorism *and* the history of white resistance to racism in the United States. It is important to deal honestly with white children and youth about the white collective's history of white racial terrorism in the United States. This discussion should include an acknowledgment that we continue to benefit from these practices. A direct and honest discussion about white racial terrorism and resistance may avoid the need to cope with the moral confusion of being white by developing the practices of denial and projection. By adding a discussion about the history of white resistance to racism it is hoped that white children and youth will have some positive historical role models after which they may model their own practice of resisting racism.

We have seen from the narrative that white cultural dominance and isolation limits opportunities for white children and youth to develop an awareness of their own cultural norms and values and those of other cultural ethnic groups. This vulnerability is unique to the white child and limits the ability to function cross culturally or in multicultural social environments. The narrative indicates that the development of this capacity may reduce

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the frequency with which the white leader makes racist leadership choices.

Heartened by this possibility, I recommend expanding the practice of multi-cultural education. This pedagogy provides students with the opportunity to identify, question, and challenge the cultural assumptions, values and perspective of the dominant white culture. This process of identifying and questioning white norms and values will increase the students awareness and ability to make conscious, rather than unconscious, choices with regard to racism. It will prepare them to participate more fully in the transformation of the United States towards the greater realization of its stated democratic values of equality, mutuality and freedom. (Banks: *Intro.*, 1994, pp. 1-7; Foster, 1989, p. 49)

The five dimensions of the Banks model are: content integration, the knowledge construction process, an equity pedagogy, prejudice reduction and an empowering school culture and social structure. (Banks: T&P, 1994, p. 5) I am most interested in the equity pedagogy dimension of the Banks model, which is described in the following way:

> [Equity pedagogy occurs] when educators modify their teaching practices in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, and social class groups. This includes using a variety of teaching styles that are consistent with a wide range of learning styles within various cultural and ethnic groups. (Banks: *T&P*, 1994, p. 248)

The practice of this dimension of multicultural education allows white children and youth to experience the expressed values of other cultures. This provides them with an expanded knowledge base from which to evaluate the cultural assumptions and values of the dominant white racial group. A reflective stance toward one's own culture that is

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based on knowledge developed through the actual experience may allow the white leader greater opportunity to make conscious leadership choices with regard to racism. These choices constitute a leadership practice.

To this point my recommendations have focused on leadership development strategies for infants, children and young people. Now I will offer focus on strategies for white adults. The anti-racism training model I described in the narrative has many of the essential elements needed to effectively penetrate the heart and mind of the white leader. First and foremost it is a *voluntary* training. This indicates that the participants have some level of interest and motivation prior to the training. Within the training itself the discussion of socialization and of the power differential between whites and people of color effectively leads the white leader toward the recognition of her association with the white collective and the white privilege that flows from this association.

In addition, there is a spiritual dimension to this training that recognizes the humanity of the white leader and gives her a way to affirm this humanity by claiming an anti-racist identity. I recommend that any training aimed at raising the racial consciousness of the white leader have some spiritual foundation. Acknowledging that there is a spiritual dimension to the practice of resisting racism is essential in preparing the white leader for those times when good intentions and sound analysis are not enough to prevent her from stumbling. At these moments the white leader can ask for the assistance of the Spirit. The strategy of acknowledging and including Spirit in the practice of resisting racism will give the white leader a more powerful source than her good intentions

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and intellect to rely upon as she continues to develop an enduring practice of resisting racism.

Related to this, I recommend finding ways to develop within the white leader a recognition and awareness of her connection, relationship and responsibility to the ancestors. The narrative indicates that this was a turning point in my development.

To pursue this strategy we may want to look to the work of anthropologist Angeles Arrien. In her 1993, book, The four fold-way: walking the paths of the warrior, teacher, healer, visionary she offers practices for "calling on the ancestors." According to Arrien, meditation is helpful in developing one's relationship with and awareness of the ancestors. Because meditation alters the s state of consciousness it increases receptivity to the voices of the ancestors.

It is interesting to notice here that one form of meditation is standing meditation and "doing the dishes" is recognized as a meditative practice. (Arrien, pp.117-118; Sanderson, Lecture, April 26, 1998) Recall, that I was doing the dishes when I was visited by my grandfather's spirit.

The narrative clearly indicates a need to increase the white leader's awareness of cultural difference. Leadership development opportunities aimed at increasing this awareness are needed. The possibilities are endless. Methods that rely on experiential learning would be most useful. (Anderson & Adams, 1992, p. 25) Here the white leader could be required, as I was during the case study on Brother Joshua, to participate in a multi-cultural community, as part of fieldwork to complete a course.

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Related to this is the need for the white leader to take an intentional stance toward experiencing and learning from the experiences of the new cultural landscape. The narrative indicates that when the adult white leader is placed in a social landscape where cultural norms and values differ from her own she will become confused, ambivalent and even judgmental. Her sense of Self as competent and able to control her surroundings will be challenged. She will experience high levels of uncertainty as to how to proceed. She will experience a dis-equilibrium in the body. In order to regain some sense of certainty she may want to make judgements and come to conclusions about the validity of the other culture's norms and values. (Hall, 1981, p. 6, & 43)

I am recommending that the white leader develop a practice of suspending judgement, living with the questions the confusion creates, acknowledging to those around her that she is confused, and waiting for clarity. (Chopra, 1994, p. 24; Hall, 1981, p. 58; Arrien, 1993, p. 121) I am warning against asking too many questions and instead advocating a practice of allowing the confusion to continue, while noticing and listening for answers. I also recommend that the white adult leader seek out sources of support both in the form of peers and written information about the cultural norms and values of other cultural ethnic groups. These can assist her understanding the new cultural landscape she is are attempting to navigate.

After some time of stillness, study and reflection the questions that remain may be asked, but only after the appropriate context has been established. These questions may be asked in a non-judgmental manner with the intention of creating greater understanding

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about the differing cultures. (Arrien, 1993, p. 8) Establishing the appropriate context also means the white leader makes some effort to address cultural norms about how questions are asked, to whom, and when. (Freire, 1996, p.68-69: Arrien, 1991, *Change, conflict and resolution: from a cross-cultural perspective*, Audio Tape)

Moving forward, I recommend that the white leader establish a practice of "recognition and acknowledgment." This means she attempts to recognize and acknowledge those moments with she has reproduced individual, institutional, and cultural racism. This is a practice of resisting individual racism. It involves reflection and dialogue with others. It results in greater racial awareness.

The white leader may apply this greater awareness in her subsequent actions. One example of taking action in the outer world could include such things as changing policies and practices that reinforce and reproduce racism. The adult white leader may begin to manage the time and space demands for the completion of activities in ways that are more consistent with the cultural patterns of the people she serves. For instance, she may look for ways to "run" meetings that more closely mirror the cultural patterns of the people attending the meetings. Here it is suggested that the white leader develop the skills of operating within the cultural continuums of monochronic time to polychronic time and of low context and high context communication. Cultural competence is interpreted here as ability to navigate across these continuums in a manner that does not reinforce or reproduce racism.

Related to this is the need to develop performance measures. Cultural competence

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then becomes an essential aspect of an employee's required range of skills. It becomes important than for the white leader who manages others, to identify or develop training activities that allow her staff and volunteers to experience, discuss and reflect on a wide range of cultural practices.

The narrative clearly indicates that one very important aspect of the leader's environment is space design and use. We saw in both the birth narrative and the closing narrative that when space is designed and used in a manner that expresses M-time values it often reinforces the dominance of white males and reproduces racism.

Regarding the use of space and time I have two areas of recommendation. The first area is in the use of existing space. I am suggesting that the white leader attempt to use space that has been designed to affirm white male hierarchy in new ways. For example, Brother Lawrence could begin coming down to greet people. He could also meet them in a common meeting room rather that in his private office.

In meetings the white adult leader in a position of power could choose to not sit at the perceived head of the table. She could also avoid reinforcing her power by leaving all the status reinforcing props leaders often bring into meetings at her desk. These props include: the laptop, the fancy pens, and briefcases.

The white leader could also behave differently in these spaces. Here I am suggesting that the white leader has the opportunity to avoid the power dynamics that M-time arrangement of time and space usually reinforces. The white adult leader in a power position could sit at the head of the table but not dominate the meeting. She may even

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choose to leave at times when it is clear her presence will restrict the free expression of ideas.

When designing new spaces it is strongly recommended that the white leader participate in creating spaces that promote the values of involvement with people, collaboration and acknowledging a connection to the Spirit. Here environmental psychology and architectural theory and practice can be linked to design and create new spaces that reinforce these values.

Finally, I recommend that the white adult leader practice acceptance and compassion with herself. This means that she accepts that she has been socialized into the practice of racism. This means that it is a certainty that she will make racist leadership choices. When she does this it is important that she remember that along with being racist she is also a human and spiritual being. She is spirit and as such she is connected to the power of Spirit. In those moments the white leader can be gentle with herself and call upon the Spirit to sustain her as she continues the process of developing a racial consciousness and an enduring practice of resisting racism.

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