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Background characteristics and perspectives on morality of socially active white anti-racists.

Joanne Jones

University of Massachusetts Amherst

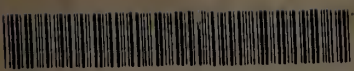
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BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND PERSPECTIVES ON MORALITY
OF SOCIALLY ACTIVE WHITE ANTI-RACISTS

A Dissertation Presented

By

JOANNE JONES

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1985

Education

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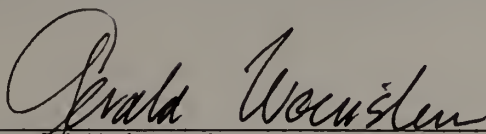
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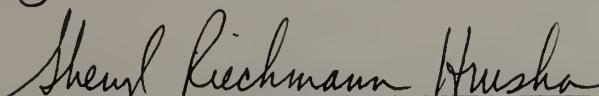
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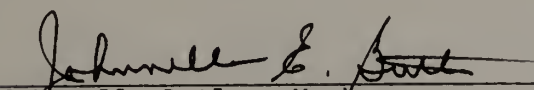
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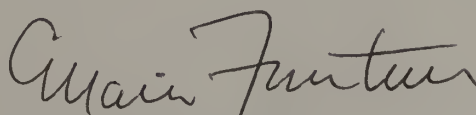
Gerald Weinstein
Chairperson of Committee



Sheryl Reichmann-Hruska, Member



Johnella Butler, Member



Mario Fantini, Dean
School of Education

To my mother, Evelyn Silver, and my father,
Benjamin Silver, whose foundation of love has
made everything else possible and to my
daughter, Rachel Jones, whose love sustains
me.

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This dissertation is incomplete without acknowledging the many people who have helped make this moment possible. I welcome the opportunity to express my deepest appreciations to them.

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Thank you insufficiently expresses my gratitude to my parents for their constant support and pride in me, and for being examples to me of caring and commitment to social justice.

My daughter Rachel has grown up knowing which form I was currently working on. I can come out and play now.

ABSTRACT

Background Characteristics and Perspectives on Morality of Socially Active White Anti-Racists

(May 1985)

JoAnne Jones, B.A., University of California, Santa Barbara

M.S.W., University of Calgary, Ed.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor Gerald Weinstein

The purpose of this exploratory study was to identify and describe certain characteristics of a selected group of whites who have been active and committed to anti-racist efforts for a period of time. Research addressing white responses to racism is scarce and attention to whites actively engaged in combatting racism, even scarcer. The questions of particular interest in this study included what in the backgrounds of those interviewed have influenced them? How do they view racial conflicts? What is their self-interest for engaging in anti-racist efforts and what perspective(s) on morality guide their choices and decisions around racial issues?

Findings were derived from in-depth interviews with five women and five men ranging in age from 30 to 60. Respondents were intentionally selected on the basis of their writings and teaching in the area of racism, the length of their involvement in addressing racial issues and their willingness to participate in a study of this nature. Interviews were guided by concepts noted in the extent literature on white

responses to racism; literature on pro-social and altruistic behavior and moral development theory.

Thematic throughout the interviews was an emphasis on the importance of close relationships with others in terms of engagement, commitment and nurturance of anti-racist efforts. The theme of relationships was evidenced as well in the description of a conflict situation and was reflected in definitions of morality. These responses indicate that for this population a perspective on morality oriented toward considerations of care, rather than considerations of justice, predominated.

A second theme noted in responses from each section of the interviews, concerned respondents' perception of their self-interest. The problem of racism was seen as a personal issue because they as whites were adversely affected and because racism hurt loved ones. Their involvement in combatting racism was seen as a means toward self-fulfillment and as an expression of self-love as well as love of others.

Findings from this study give indications of directions for education about racism within the white community. Also noted are directions for further research using the concept of care as an organizing framework.

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

The particular focus of this study was the identification of certain characteristics of active white anti-racists in this society. What motivates such persons? How do they view racial conflicts? How do they come to terms with racial conflicts? What has influenced them to respond over a period of time in anti-racist ways? Findings from this exploratory study suggest directions for further research and give guidance to educational efforts aimed at increasing racial tolerance within the white community.

One specific purpose of this study was to identify and describe the modes of moral reasoning regarding racial issues used by a group of socially active anti-racist whites. A second purpose was to identify the experiences reported by the respondents as most salient in the development of their current form of racial understanding.

The questions specifically addressed by this study were:

- (1) What constitutes a racial dilemma or conflict as experienced by anti-racist whites?
- (2) Are there patterns in the mode of moral reasoning used to identify and describe these dilemmas?
- (3) Are there any patterns to the kinds of life events, experiences, interpersonal relationships identified as significant in forming their present form of racial understanding?

Background

Research on racism reveals relatively limited attention to whites in general and whites who actively strive to combat racism in particular (Bowser and Hunt, 1981; Hardiman, 1976; Pettigrew, 1981). The dearth of research on anti-racist whites may be in part a consequence of the way in which the problems of racism have been defined, and who has done the defining (Kerner Report, 1968; Ryan, 1976; Bennett, 1965; Baldwin, 1965). Another contributing factor has been the tendency within the social sciences to concentrate on the problematic side of human interaction (Maslow, 1950; Allport, 1959; Martin, 1964) and on the victims of social problems (Ryan, 1976). The justification for an alternative approach to this issue is based on the following assertions:

- Racism is a white problem
- Socially healthy, anti-racist behavior is learnable
- Racism is a moral issue

Each assertion will be explained more fully.

The White Problem in the United States

The term "white racism" is redundant. Racism, in the North American context, is a white construction. Lerone Bennett Jr. (1965) expands:

The problem of race in America, insofar as that problem is related to packets of melanin in men's (sic) skin, is a white problem. And in order to solve that problem we must seek its source, not in the Negro but in the white American (in the process by which he was educated, in the needs and complexes he expresses through racism) and in the structure of the white community--in the power arrangement and the illicit uses of racism in the scramble for scarce values: power, prestige, income. (p. 1)

In spite of the centrality of white attitudes, institutional practices and normative assumptions on the proliferation of racism, most social scientific investigation on the topic of racism has focused on "minorities" (Bowser and Hunt, 1981; Chesler, 1981). In 1953, Saenger commented that "no objective research has been undertaken on the effects of social prejudice on those who harbor it" (in Bowser and Hunt, 1981, p. 16). In an even firmer tone, Bowser and Hunt comment in 1981:

Any agenda for research on social action which takes as its goal effective and permanent change in the character of race relations in the U.S. must focus explicitly on white citizens. (p. 246)

The need to focus "explicitly on white citizens" acknowledges that whites are both perpetrators of racism and are also negatively impacted by it. White mainstream social science may not have been investigating the impact of racism on white Americans. W.E.B. DuBois, however, eloquently described the effects:

Unfortunate? Unfortunate? But where is the misfortune? Am I, in my blackness, the sole sufferer? I suffer. And yet, somehow above the sufferings, above the shackled anger that beats the bars, above the hurt that crazes there surges in me a vast pity--pity for a people imprisoned and enthralled, hampered and made miserable for such a cause, for such a phantasy! (As quoted in Katz, 1978, p. 11)

To say that racism is a white problem and whites are negatively impacted by the racist nature of our society is not to overlook the fact that the impact on whites is qualitatively different than on Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans and Asian Americans. Referring to racism as a white problem also does not acknowledge the role of collusion on the part of the racially oppressed in the continuation of the system of racism. It is not within the scope of this study, however, to detail the negative consequences of racism on either whites or minorities.

This study is concerned with responses to racism which are intended to interrupt the syndrome of racism, rather than perpetuate it.

Responses to racism and subsequent action taken may be different depending on one's status in the racial power structure. For whites the response may entail a reconciliation of what Gunnar Myrdal coined "The American Dilemma" or the contradiction between the American Creed of justice and freedom, and the reality of historical and contemporary deeds. Myrdal (1944) goes on to describe this contradiction:

The "American Dilemma" is the deep cultural, social and psychological conflict among the American people; of American ideals of equality, freedom, and God-given dignity of the individual, inalienable rights on the one hand, over practices of discrimination, humiliation, insult, denial of opportunity to Negroes and others in a caste society on the other. (p. lxxi)

In confronting this contradiction, whites may face detrimental consequences, ranging from ostracism, alienation from their own community, to constricted social relationships (Clark, 1965).

What leads some whites to face the risks and take action to confront racism? A poetic response is suggested in James Weldon Johnson's comment, "The race question involves saving Black American's body and White American's soul" (as quoted in Bennett, 1966, p. 3). One intention of this study is to provide other responses to this question.

Toward the Identification of Anti-Racist Whites

Stating that the identification of such persons is possible recognizes the fact that the history of white America is an "appallingly oppressive and bloody history" (Baldwin, 1965, p. 173). Can people who

are products of this history develop a consciousness of themselves and others which transcends the racist "givens" of oppression?

In answering this question affirmatively, this study draws on Robert Terry's observation that "we are rooted in our past; we are not exhausted by it" (Terry, 1970, p. 23). Another source utilized in putting forward this assertion is the growing literature on pro-social behavior. This literature has emerged in response to queries about people who perform altruistic acts; help others; place themselves at risk on behalf of others; eschew aggression against others (Eisenberg Berg, 1982; Rosenhahn, 1970; Staub, 1978; Wispe, 1972). The literature on pro-social behavior covers a range of events, from helping someone to cross a street to saving Jews during World War II. The common element in the research is a curiosity about behavior which is socially positive along with systematic efforts to better understand that behavior.

The need and importance of studying persons who represent healthier modes of functioning within our society is underscored by the work and words of Abraham Maslow:

We have a very rich vocabulary for psychopathology but a very meager one for health or transcendence . . . and . . . while there is much written about anti-semitism, anti-Negroism, racism and xenophobia, there is very little recognition of the fact that there is also such a thing as philo-semitism, Negrophilia, sympathy for the underdog, etc. (Maslow, 1950, p. 290)

Thus, there is the suggestion from a range of social scientists that socially healthy behavior is learnable. A key assertion of this study is that anti-racist behavior in particular is learnable as well.

Racism is a Moral Issue

A third key assertion of this study is that racism is a moral issue. The use of the term "morality" poses some difficulties of clarity due to the vagueness and extensive usage of the term. Frankena (1980) offers a quote from R.B. Perry which seems to succinctly capture the difficulties inherent in discussing the concept of morality:

. . . there is something which goes on in the world to which it is appropriate to give the name of "morality." Nothing is more familiar; nothing is more obscure in its meaning. (Perry as quoted in Frankena, 1980, pp. 16-17)

In this study morality is defined as conceptually making a choice about what one ought or ought not to do; what is right and what is wrong conduct. Included in this judgement of rightness, wrongness, goodness, badness, etc. are considerations about the effects of these choices on self and others (Frankena, 1980). Issues of racism are embedded in the language of morality. Some have considered it morally correct to own slaves; to enact and adhere to Jim Crow laws; others have considered such actions morally reprehensible. This study was premised on the notion that moral choices are, in some respects, reflections of a process of reasoning which results in a behavioral choice. Frankena (1980) refers to morality as providing an "action-guide" (p. 19). This is not to say that the way one reasons about an issue is a determinant of action with respect to that issue. Reasoning was seen, however, as a crucial underpinning--a guide--for formulating choices and providing a range of actions perceived as available in terms of the right or wrong response to the choice. The choice faced by whites in both clear and subtle ways is whether to consciously or unconsciously accept/go along

with the benefits of white skin privilege or take action intrapersonally, interpersonally and socially, in a host of arenas to alter the conditions of racism. Choices involving a racial dimension are consistently being made, be it in terms of a private reaction to films, books, music, humor, etc.; a non-response to a racist comment or joke or tacit or explicit support of racist institutional practices from housing segregation to white dominated school curricula. Choices with a racial dimension carry a high valence of intensity. A moral choice in one aspect of life, e.g., whether to break a law, may not reflect how one makes a choice involving a racial dilemma. Explicit focus on conceptual choices dealing with racial issues was seen, in the context of this study, as important.

The key assertions of this study, then, are that racism is at its source a white problem; racism presents a moral dilemma; and individuals can be identified who have consciously made a choice of commitment to actively confront and address the problem.

Significance of the Study

This study is seen as significant in that it adds to the small but growing body of literature acknowledging the problem of racism as a white construction. There continues to be a great need to emphasize the centrality of the ways in which dominant white values perpetuate racism. Such emphasis may yield increased progress in altering racist practices in this country.

This study also adds to the limited literature focusing on positive models of socially active behavior. As well, it increases understanding of certain characteristics of anti-racist whites, in particular. In addressing models of positive social behavior, this study serves as an instance of pro-socially conscious research.

Additionally, this study contributes to the literature concerning modes of moral reasoning and provides some direction for looking at consciousness-raising education utilizing a moral reasoning perspective.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to the identification and description of some aspects of socially active anti-racist whites. No attempt was made to compare the group interviewed to other groups with similar characteristics or to interview a control group of whites matched demographically, but not described as socially active anti-racist whites. Generalizability beyond the parameters of the group studied is, therefore, limited.

The subject sample was intentionally confined to persons who are publicly known for their anti-racist work. There could be many more people acting in anti-racist ways in the white community. Such persons were not identified by this study.

A small group was selected for study. The small size allowed for a more in-depth analysis, yet limited generalizability.

Another limitation may be found in the age range of those interviewed. The sample reflects persons generally in the middle adult

years, approximately 30-60 years. It may be that some responses reflect age development as well as racial consciousness.

This study was also limited in focus in describing white anti-racist reasoning and salient background experience. This study did not address the reasoning of Blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans, or Native Americans with respect to engagement in anti-racist activities.

Definition of Terms

Racism

Racism is a complex and multi-dimensional concept encompassing individual attitudes and activities, group activities, and institutional and cultural practices that treats human beings unjustly because of color and rationalizes that treatment by attributing undesirable biological, psychological, social or cultural characteristics to those persons (Terry, 1970).

Racism can be intentional or unintentional (Jones, 1972) but has the identifying characteristic of unequal outcomes (e.g., educationally, economically, socially) for people of different races.

This definition reflects the complexity of the concept and its multiple dimensions. It emphasizes the combination of prejudicial attitudes, plus the social power to enforce those attitudes.

Prejudice

The most common usage of this term defines prejudice as "an unfavorable ethnic attitude" (Ehrlich, 1973, p. 3). This definition is expanded somewhat by Jones (1972) who adds:

Prejudice is a negative attitude toward a person or group based upon a social comparison process in which the individual's own group is taken as the positive point of reference. (Jones, 1972, p. 3)

A central point of contrast between the definition of prejudice and racism is that prejudice refers more to attitudes and beliefs, predominantly, whereas racism implies action on those beliefs (Jones, 1972). As well, the definition of racism moves beyond an individualistic view or particular act and views racism as an integral part of the worn fabric of our society. Race prejudice, then, is a significant component in the exercise of racism.

Anti-Racist

This term refers to an individual who opposes the exploitation and oppression of Black, Hispanic, Asian-American and Native American groups in the United States. The term also refers to a person who is willing to take personal risks necessary to interrupt racism on a private individual level and a public, societal level.

C H A P T E R I I

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review addresses the following questions:

- (1) How are white anti-racist responses to racial issues described in the literature?
- (2) What does the research on pro-social and altruistic behavior indicate as some key characteristics of persons who engage in forms of social activism?
- (3) What is meant by moral reasoning in the context of this study? How does the concept of moral reasoning illuminate an understanding of socially active, anti-racist whites?

Salient literature with respect to each question is reviewed and indications given regarding how this literature informs the research questions of this study.

Descriptions of White Responses to Racism

In the vastness of literature on racism in the North American context, surprisingly scant attention has been paid to describing and analyzing a primary source of racism--the white majority group. Some have argued (Blauner, 1973; Cedric X, 1973; Hardiman, 1982; Ladner, 1973; Wellman, 1970) that a key reason for this lack of attention is the domination of social science research by whites with the result that both the direction of what is to be studied and consequent theory generated for study reflect the consciousness of the white researcher. In

admonishing white scholars to focus on their own racial group, Blauner and Wellman (1973) declare, "Scholars for the dominant group have a special obligation to confront these (race) issues" (p. 329).

A confounding dimension in analyzing whiteness is the propensity of the white sociologists who do study white responses to view racist attitudes and beliefs as anomalies, or exceptions, rather than norms within a racist society (Wellman, 1970). Jones observed this clearly as he comments:

The focus on prejudice as a deviation from egalitarian norms has obscured the more general and more basic level of analysis--the racism inherent in the entire social structure and social mind of America. (1972, p. 113)

It is important to acknowledge that Black scholars have long articulated the fact that the race problem is at its source a white problem and that whites also suffer its detrimental effects (Bennett, 1965; Bowser and Hunt, 1981; DuBois, 1903; Pettigrew, 1981).

This reality was officially noted by the Commission on Civil Disorder, more popularly known as the Kerner Commission. This group was initially gathered by the U.S. government to determine if there were "subversive elements" instigating social unrest in America during the Civil Rights Movement. The commission "discovered":

What white Americans have never fully understood--but what the Negro can never forget . . . (is) that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions maintain it, and the white society condones it. (Swartz and Disch, 1970, p. 265)

While white social structure created and continues to perpetuate racism in this country, not all whites respond similarly to its existence. A review of literature describing white responses to racism

reveals three broad demarcations in a continuum of white responses. These demarcations roughly depict persons who: (a) actively, overtly manifest racist attitudes and behaviors; (b) individuals who demonstrate a more passive support for racist institutions or who may profess one set of beliefs, but act in a contrary way; and (c) persons who take proactive steps to combat racism. This study is concerned with this latter category which will be referred to as anti-racist in the context of this study. Following an explication of literature describing the anti-racist, brief mention will be made of the other categories as described in the literature.

Anti-Racist Descriptions

Caditz (1976), Terry (1970), Hardiman (1982), Hecht (1977), and Pettigrew (1981) offer theories suggesting differential white responses to racial issues. Each theorist posits a form of response which can be characterized as anti-racist.

Caditz. In an empirical study to assess the presence of the "American Dilemma" in liberal white Americans, Caditz interviewed 204 men and women in the late 1960s. She identified subjects as liberal by their membership in organizations supportive of civil rights and civil liberties. Questions asked included eliciting their views on busing, quota systems in higher education aimed at ensuring minority representation, and involvement of Blacks in the subjects' own vocational field and own neighborhood. Questions focused on the subjects' stated values on racial issues in general and on the subjects' reactions when their

own perceived self-interests might conflict with anti-discrimination measures.

Caditz's findings affirmed the presence of a sense, in all of the persons described as liberal, of competing claims--wanting to hold on to the values of equality and justice, and reacting in contradiction to those values when self-interest was seen to be in jeopardy. Caditz then identifies and labels various responses to the kinds of dilemmas and questions posed in her study. Her description of the "white liberal redefined" is most germane for this study and will be discussed more fully (Caditz, 1976).

The white liberal "redefined" perceives racial distinctions between people and supports the requirement for an equal sharing of economic, political and social power between various groups. She adds, "The traditional concept of integrating various racial, ethnic or religious groups is not essential to this newly defined liberal role" (Caditz, p. 167). Central to this person "is the process of actively re-defining ways of achieving social justice which includes ways of recognizing . . . differential cultural heritages" (Caditz, p. 172) and methods for the "egalitarian diffusion of power and privilege" (p. 172) within the recognition of these differences. The redefinition, then, entails a move away from stressing integration or blending as the means of reaching equality, toward acknowledging and respecting differences.

Terry. A typology of white response based on theoretical interpretations is offered by Robert Terry. He links together the concepts of white self-interest, belief structures, and moral reasoning. He

suggests that a more refined analysis of these three interlocking dimensions of thought is essential in order to both understand ourselves better and to set strategies in motion that are in keeping with the diversity of white mind sets (Terry, 1978). Terry defines structure of belief as "the culturally shared mind sets that orient people to understand their self interest" (Terry, 1978, p. 350) and stages of moral reasoning as "the structure and process of moral thinking that is used to justify their self-interest" (Terry, 1978, p. 350). Self-interest is defined by Terry very broadly to mean "a state of affairs in which the actor, be it a person or key actors in an organization, decides that short or long term benefits outweigh the liabilities when pursuing a given course of action" (p. 35). Self-interest is a key motivator in any response to racism, in Terry's analysis. That response is different depending on the structure of reasoning used to identify and justify one's self-interest.

In addressing the question of self-interest, Terry asserts that a major factor in what constitutes self-interest is the "perspective one brings to look at racial issues . . . depending upon perspective one gets a very different reading of self-interest" (Terry, 1978, p. 351). He then proceeds to identify six different perspectives--structures of belief--and to describe the type of self-interest manifested by each perspective. He suggests that the structures of belief correspond to the stage of moral development and that movement from one perspective to another may be governed by the principles of structural-development change. That is, stages are seen to be invariant, hierarchically

ordered with movement within and between stages resulting from some form of cognitive dis-equilibrium.

In the last section of this chapter a more detailed description of moral reasoning will be given, with attention to Kohlberg's particular formulation. At this point, Terry's portrayal of the "highest" levels of whites' structures of belief will be explained.

Of key interest in the context of this study is his identification and description of what he terms the "new cultural advocate" and the "active emergent pluralist advocate." Briefly, the new culture advocate is distinguished by being color conscious--rather than color blind. Terry explains what is central to such a conception of the world:

No one can be free unless he or she understands the intrinsic character of the meaning of color; no one can be free unless he or she builds a social personal identity that is positively color conscious, a consciousness that transcends past negative definitions of color and builds identity that is self-affirming. (Terry, 1978, p. 360)

The new culture advocate does not perceive racism as a problem within the "minority" communities, acknowledges the white base of racism, and appreciates the need for everyone to develop a positive, self-affirming sense of their racial identity(s). Self-interest from this perspective "is rooted in the personal desire for more complete fulfillment" (p. 360). At this stage, whites see the inadequacy of their present framework for understanding issues of race and often view minority persons as having a better grasp of themselves and their identity than do whites. The quest for a new white identity occurs within the larger context of searching for a new human identity--neither racist nor inhumane.

The "active emergent pluralist"--the framework Terry states he shares--is also color conscious and has a self-affirming racial identity. In addition, this individual perceives the necessity to act collaboratively with others in the common struggle against racism and other forms of oppression. To the active emergent pluralist racism is part of a total social malaise which results in unequal distribution of resources and power, and the imposition of an ethno-centric culture on another color/race group. Anti-racism efforts entail the transformation of society by a redistribution of resources and power, developing flexible institutions and building a pluralistic culture. Self-interest, for the active emergent pluralist is "complicated" (Terry, 1978, p. 363) and linked to the description of moral reasoning.

Both categories represent in Terry's scheme higher forms or more adequate forms of moral reasoning. In linking these concepts Terry sees the new culture advocate examining white identity in order to cope with changing racial times which require a new, humane, social contract. The active emergent pluralist "operates from a universal ethical principle--authenticity--and willingly acts on ideas of justice, equality and equity" (Terry, 1978, p. 370).

More discussion regarding moral reasoning as a framework for understanding white responses to racism follows in the latter section of this paper.

Hardiman. A third sequential model of white response is put forward by Rita Hardiman (1982). While Terry (1978) identifies the anti-racist as someone with a positive sense of racial identity, Hardiman's

research focuses on identifying the process whites go through in forming a white racial identity. Her theory is informed by the work of other racial identity theorists (Cross, 1973; Kim, 1981; Jackson, 1976) and utilizes autobiographies for illustrative purposes. Hardiman proposes that whites go through a series of invariant stages in coming to understand themselves as white persons. Her apex stages are termed redefinition and internalization. Persons representing these stages are redefined in that they express a positive sense of themselves as whites, without requiring racism as a referent. They have pride in their whiteness, a renewed interest in their heritage and culture, and appreciate the differences of other racial groups. At the internalization stage, individuals view the common links in various forms of oppression, including racism, and seek to work collaboratively with others to alter the system which gives rise to oppression. White racial identity is seen as but one aspect of many identifiers which comprise one's definition of self. There is both a joining with other groups in common struggle and a sense of empathy with those not yet engaged as fully in the struggle.

Hardiman's theory suggests the plausibility of redefined and internalized responses to racism. Her own autobiographically based research did not reveal thinking and acting at these levels. She posits some reasons for this finding. First, the authors studied wrote from a stage of resisting racist teachings and experience, rather than actively and pridefully acting to alter racist conditions. Secondly, the authors she studied had no role models themselves to follow. Thirdly, the

changes reflected in the lives of those studied were from a strongly racist to less racist response. Thus, in Hardiman's terms these people would not be considered anti-racist. In making the distinction between a less racist response and an anti-racist response, Hardiman cites the medical analogy that the absence of a problem, e.g., overtly racist behavior, does not imply the existence of healthy functioning, e.g., anti-racist functioning.

Hecht. In a study motivated by questions similar to those propelling this study, Hecht (1977) conducted in-depth interviews with active white anti-racists. His study was aimed at discerning stages of anti-racist responses and in describing significant background features of those he identified as "high" anti-racists.

His interview population was chosen following the administration of a survey questionnaire to friends, acquaintances, and persons working for civil rights or social action groups. The survey asked questions about racial attitudes, behaviors, values and feelings. Based on the results of the survey, Hecht identified three groups, which he labeled low, medium and high anti-racists. He then conducted in-depth interviews with the 13 people in the high anti-racist group. As a result of this research he suggested that anti-racist responses can be viewed on continua of cognitive, behavioral and affective understandings. He describes specific behavioral identifiers for each stage and each dimension. The later stages will be briefly described.

He terms continuum I the "Cognitive Aspects of Anti-Racist Development" and identifies five stages. The fourth stage is marked by an

understanding of cultural racism and the fifth stage includes knowledge of white skin privilege and "the role of white people in the struggle against racism" (Hecht, 1977, p. 65). Also understood at this stage are the white roots of racism and the need to struggle against political and economic forces within the white power structure in order to eradicate racism.

Continuum 2, termed "Behavioral Aspects of Anti-Racist Development," also has five stages. The final stage includes "being critical of Black people, and being willing to express that criticism" (p. 76). Relations with whites reflect more patience, though racist behavior is still challenged.

The affective continuum consists of six stages with the last stage characterized by freedom from guilt, appreciation of both Black and white cultures, and a lessening of feelings of threat from either militant Black people or racist whites (p. 84).

Hecht also asked those in his high anti-racist group to identify those experiences they regarded as influential on their racial attitudes and behaviors. Responses to these questions point toward the influence of parents; individuals (Black and white); series of events, usually of a personal and traumatic nature; the national events of the Civil Rights Movement and involvement in anti-racist organizations.

Hecht did not find any obvious link between particular influences named and progress through the various continua.

Pettigrew. In attempting to explain the effects of racism on the mental health patterns of white Americans, Pettigrew (1981) found the

usual dichotomous categories--sick and well, inadequate. Reviewing psychiatric literature, he concludes that the highly prejudiced are not necessarily "ill" in a psychiatric sense, nor can they be described as healthy. He goes on to suggest the use of an additional mental health label--not healthy--to explain a large proportion of white responses to racism.

Of primary interest in this study is his explication of the elements of a mentally healthy person. These elements include: (1) self awareness; (2) positive self-identity; (3) high degree of moral development and self-actualization; and (4) independence from conforming to social pressures. Pettigrew cites psychological studies of prejudiced people to indicate how they are in violation of these mental health standards. Pettigrew concentrates his remarks on research reflecting the highly prejudiced and how they can be differentiated from the "not healthy" category. What he offers in terms of background for this study is a way to identify those whose response to race would fall within the healthy category. It can be implied that the elements of health would be present in the person referred to in this study as anti-racist.

Additional notions to those cited above of anti-racist functioning comes from authors who describe the detrimental impact of racism on whites (Bowser and Hunt, 1981; Citron, 1969). They point to the conflict and confusion (Citron, 1969) and "sociological ambivalence--the moral and social confusion that distorts images of reality, causes uncertainty about one's feelings and beliefs about self, other and world, and forces one to act cautiously and indecisively" (Bowser and

Hunt, 1981, p. 252). One may infer from these remarks that the converse would be found in persons termed "actively anti-racist." There would be a sense of congruence, rather than conflict about one's racial identity; a sense of clarity, rather than confusion regarding behavior toward others, and a motivation to act not from guilt, but from a need to be internally congruent.

From the literature addressing anti-racist white responses, a composite picture emerges of the socially active anti-racist. This person appears to:

- o have a positive sense of her or his self as a white person
- o have a general sense of positive self-esteem
- o have an appreciation of the differences in others, and an appreciation of the different social identities within him/herself
- o see racial issues as interconnected with other social and political issues
- o stress the importance of collaboration with others in dealing with racial issues
- o derive motivation to act, in part, from a perception of his/her own needs and self-interest, rather than emerging from a desire for external rewards and recognition
- o have a "higher" level of moral development/self-actualization
- o have a sense of congruence between professed beliefs and actual behavior.

These features informed this study in terms of: (1) the selection of subjects who positively identified themselves as white; (2) the nature of the questions included in the interview guide asking subjects about their motivation to be involved in anti-racism work; and (3) the analysis of responses with reference to the mode(s) of moral reasoning

used to describe racial conflicts and to assess the extent to which the attributes referred to in the literature were present in those interviewed.

Additional Categorization of White Responses to Racism

The above presentation of anti-racist characteristics describes the little available information on this subject. The following section briefly describes the more abundant depictions of white racial responses.

The predominance of literature referring to white responses to racial issues dwells on those who are vehemently racist and those who are referred to in this study as passively tolerant. Brief mention will be made of these two broad categories as a way to illustrate some distinctions between these categories and descriptions of anti-racist whites.

The bulk of research on the highly prejudiced person has employed a psychological framework for describing and understanding such behavior. Frequently, patterns of socialization, e.g., strong authoritarian parenting, with concomitant strict moral codes, have been pointed to as a causal variable in highly prejudiced or racist behavior. Behaviorally, such persons are seen as being intolerant of ambiguity, externalizing blame, relying on a two-valued logic (things are clearly wrong or right) and expressing ambivalent feelings toward parents. The parental relationship is seen as setting a paradigm for all relationships (Adorno, 1950; Allport, 1954; Martin, 1964).

The broad category referred to here as passively tolerant includes persons who may define themselves as liberal and profess certain beliefs regarding equality and non-discrimination, yet whose private actions are often incongruent with these beliefs. Values expressed often are compatible with the American creed. Their deeds, however, represent support for the white power base (Caditz, 1976; Gaertner, 1976) and they view the locus of responsibility for change as within the "minority" population (Caditz, 1976; Terry, 1970). Expression of support and concern with respect to racial issues does not carry an imperative to act (Allport, 1954; Martin, 1964).

To summarize this section, descriptions of white responses to racism tend to describe a continua of responses ranging from strongly racist to anti-racist. Individuals representing the latter category are seen to possess a positive sense of self in general and a positive definition of themselves as whites. They view problems of race as emanating from white-based ideology and ameliorating actions as involving everyone in a collaborative, mutually affirming way, which maintains individual differences and appreciates mutual concerns.

The anti-racist is distinguished from other white responses to racial issues in terms of personality features, socialization history, and the level of congruence between beliefs and actions.

Altruism and Pro-Social Behavior

The study of pro-social behavior is a relatively new entry in the social science literature. The past two decades have witnessed a great

proliferation of research and writing about pro-social and altruistic behavior. There is also a great proliferation of definitions of these terms. The terms are used interchangeably by some (Eisenberg, 1982). Others differentiate these terms on the basis of presumed motivation, with altruistic acts seen as intentional, rather than accidental (Eisenberg, 1982, p. 6). A broad definition of altruism as a voluntary act, based on concern for others and done without requirement of external rewards (Rosenhahn in Wispe, 1972) is sufficient for this study. Since the literature utilizes both terms in describing the behaviors of interest in this study, both will be used.

The preponderance of research within the pro-social or altruistic domain addresses helping of good samaritan-type behavior, particularly in children. This research often relies on contrived situations, where a single instance of helping behavior is simulated and then analyzed (Gaertner, 1976). Research is more limited on adults who engage in some sustained form of pro-social behavior where the intent of that behavior is to bring about social change.

Two important studies do shed light on the personal characteristics and experience background of adults engaging in socially conscious acts of altruism. David Rosenhahn and Perry London, respectively, are primary researchers. Each study will be described in more detail.

Rosenhahn study. Rosenhahn (1970) distinguishes between normative and autonomous altruism with the former identified as relatively low in personal risk. Autonomous altruism involves heightened personal risk and does not seem to have a system of rewards to legitimize the act.

Indeed, an act of autonomous altruism may evoke harsh penalties. In an effort to examine the antecedents in acts of autonomous altruism, Rosenhahn studied individuals active in the Civil Rights Movement prior to 1961. On the basis of intensive interviews with 18 voluntary subjects, he identified two groups--the partially committed and the fully committed. The first group consisted of people who had participated in one or two freedom rides or who had provided financial support to the movement. Those who remained "physically active" in the south for a year or longer were labeled the fully committed.

Rosenhahn identified the following differences between the two groups:

TABLE 1
CHARACTERISTICS OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

Partially Committed	Fully Committed
- earned more	- earned less
- parents described in ambivalent terms	- maintained strong, cordial, tolerant relationship with parents
- parents demonstrated confusion over own moral stance	- one or both parents also committed to an altruistic course during subject's formative years
- longer interviews	- shorter interviews
- more subjects in long term psychotherapy	- a few subjects in short term psychotherapy

Rosenhahn views the most significant results of this study to be the differences found in the nature of relationships with early primary socializers (Rosenhahn, 1970).

In each group primary socializers, mainly parents, expressed "liberal" values. The espousal of these values may have predisposed individuals from both groups to support civil rights causes. The fully committed, however, seem to have been taught, by their parents, not only to believe, but to do. Their learnings "consisted not merely of moral precepts, but also of percepts" (Rosenhahn, 1970, p. 267).

The parents of the fully committed were themselves fully committed to an altruistic cause during some prolonged period of the subjects' formative years. The parents of the partially committed were described as evidencing "considerable ambivalence and confusion on the nature of particular moralities" (p. 267). Moral confrontation with parents within the partially committed group were termed crises of hypocrisy.

Another significant dimension of the relationship with primary socializers has to do with the nature of the affective relationship between the respondents and their parents. The fully committed identified having a positive relationship with parents. Rosenhahn (1970) suggests that this positive relationship enabled the fully committed respondent to "select, remember and model those aspects of parental behavior which were socially useful and which the parent was anxious to inculcate" (p. 266). Conversely, those experiencing a negative relationship may have chosen to remember mainly the distasteful and hypocritical aspects of their parents' behavior.

London study. A study conducted by Perry London (1970) also looks at an example of autonomous altruism. Though never fully completed it does offer some important insights. The study was started shortly after the end of World War II and was intended to see what could be learned from "good deeds" performed during that historical period, particularly rescuers who saved Jews during the war.

Based on interviews with both rescuers and Jews rescued, London found three personality traits to be common among those described as rescuers:

- (1) a spirit of adventure, noted in the nature of hobbies preferred, the way rescuing events were described
- (2) a strong identification with a moralizing parent. This did not refer necessarily to religious beliefs, but to firmly held opinions on moral issues.
- (3) a sense of social marginality. The social marginality was experienced in various ways, including being part of a different language group (from the majority); physical disability; exposure to family values different from prevailing norms; non-conformity in opinions or personal habits.

These studies point to particular characteristics and life experiences of persons who engage in acts of autonomous altruism. These include a self-identification as a person of social marginality and the presence of a positive relationship with a parent who presented a strong model of autonomous altruism. These characteristics were used as guidelines in preparing the interview guide and for the analysis of data.

Moral Reasoning

A core assertion of this study is that racism presents a moral dilemma in this society. How can a country premised on the notion of

equality, disenfranchise some of its citizens? How do people come to terms with the shame of the white supremacist policies which permeate every facet of American life? These are but a few of the dilemmas confronting white Americans. For those people whose resolution includes engaging in a sustained effort to combat racism, how do they make sense of these various contradictions? What form(s) of logic or moral reasoning do they use to understand these issues and determine actions in response to these issues? Central to this study is the explication of mode(s) of reasoning employed by selected anti-racist whites.

Modes of reasoning include the underlying, often philosophical assumptions employed by individuals. Moral choices are seen as, in part, the product of a cognitive process in which individuals select from a perceived range of options. The basis on which those options are selected and exercised is of primary interest in moral psychology.

The moral psychological theory supported in this study is one which suggests the presence of two different modes of reasoning about moral issues (Gilligan, 1982; Lyons, 1983). One mode views issues of morality in terms of general principles of justice. A moral problem is thus construed as one involving conflicting claims between self and others (including society). Resolution, from this perspective comes about by invoking impartial rules, principles or standards (Lyons, 1983). Another mode construes moral problems as involving relationship issues; that is, responding to others in their particular terms. Resolution from this perspective comes about through the activity of care which involves considering and acknowledging the interdependence of

individuals and acting to promote the welfare of others or prevent harm to others. The theory suggesting two ways to reason about morality was put forward by Carol Gilligan (1982). Her views are in contrast to the primary psychological theory of moral reasoning proposed by Lawrence Kohlberg. Due to the primacy of Kohlberg's theory in moral psychological thought, a brief summary will be given before exploring Gilligan's notions in more depth. The implications of Gilligan's theory for understanding anti-racist responses will then be explored.

Kohlberg. Drawing on a Piagetian methodology and philosophical orientation, Kohlberg proposed that as children and adults mature morally, there is a "progressive reconsideration of what is morally right and the perceived relationship between law and society" (Scharf, 1978, p. 215). This "progressive reconsideration" is manifest in a series of invariant, sequential stages seen by Kohlberg to be universal in form, though not in content. At each stage, a similar reality will be understood in a qualitatively different manner.

Briefly, the six stages of moral maturity are seen as follows:

- Stage 1: The notion of obedience for its own sake and following rules to avoid punishment.
- Stage 2: Following rules when in one's immediate self-interest. Right is also defined as what is fair--as in an equal exchange.
- Stage 3: Right is defined as living up to what is expected by significant others; keeping mutual relationships, such as trust, loyalty, respect. In terms of social perceptions, stage 3 reasoning considers shared feelings and agreements and these take primacy over individual interests. A concrete "Golden Rule" is applied, e.g., being in another's shoes.

- Stage 4: Right is seen as fulfilling agreed upon duties, laws and contributing to society, groups or institutions.
- Stage 5: At this stage, right is construed as relative to one's own reference group. As well, there is a recognition of non-relative values, which must be adhered to regardless of the majority opinion.
- Stage 6: Here, rightness is guided by universal, ethical principles of justice, e.g., equality of human rights.
(adapted from Reimer, Paolitto, Hersh, 1979, pp. 55-61)

Kohlberg sees the higher stages as reflecting greater moral maturity. Persons who reason from this vantage point draw on universal principles of justice to understand a moral dilemma. They are capable of seeing beyond the context of the immediate situation. They are able, then, to be increasingly more objective and abstract.

Kohlberg's framework of moral reasoning has served as the primary theoretical roadmap for educators promoting moral development (Arbuthnot and Faust, 1981; Cochrane, 1980; Locke and Hardaway, 1980; Mosher, 1980; Scharf, 1978). As well, the Kohlbergian formulation has been used as a tool to analyze pro-socially active activities to ascertain correlations--if any--between behavior and levels of moral reasoning (Haan, 1975; Krebs, 1982).

A clear implication of this theory is that reasoning from higher levels reflects greater moral maturity, i.e., socially healthy responses. Following from this, the aim of moral education and social action efforts becomes aiding and aiming the developmental process toward, ideally, principled justice oriented reasoning.

Gilligan. Gilligan affirms the importance of understanding the form of reasoning underlying moral decisions. She also recognizes one

form of moral reasoning as emanating from notions of fairness and adherence to universal principles of justice. Her contribution has been to articulate the presence of another form of reasoning. She states that this mode draws on a concept of care. Identification of what constitutes a moral problem and consequent reasoning about that problem differs depending on whether one is concerned with issues of rules and roles or in-situation connectedness and interdependence. Gilligan does not suggest that one mode is preferable or better than another, but they are different and legitimate in their difference.

Gilligan's hypotheses emerged from an observation that the responses of women to hypothetical moral dilemmas tended to cluster around stage 3 on Kohlberg's coding system. She also observed that both the conception of stages and the instrument for measuring stages were developed using an all male sample and a male researcher. The interpretation offered by Kohlberg with respect to the clustering of women's responses at stage 3 was that this finding indicated a slower, though similar development in relation to men. He hypothesized that as women entered the work force, changes in moral maturity would be evident. In contrast, Gilligan posited that women find their "moral voice" (Reimer et al., 1977) in an interpersonal orientation and suggested that this voice was not picked up and properly scored by the Kohlberg scoring system.

Evidence for Gilligan's position was derived from several studies conducted at the Center for Gender Studies, Harvard University. Each study relied on real-life dilemmas as content for analysis. The choice of real-life dilemmas was based on her observation that women do not

seem to respond most authentically when faced with a "decontextualized dilemma and a forced choice," e.g., should Heinz steal the drug (Reimer et al., 1977, p. 106).

Gilligan's studies were titled the College Study; the Abortion-Decision Study; and the Rights and Responsibilities Study. Each represents a progression in conceptualizing her theory. Because of the centrality of Gilligan's work to this study, each of the building blocks will be elaborated more fully.

The College Study. The impetus for this study emerged from Gilligan's observation that a great percentage of students who dropped out of a sophomore course on moral and political choice, were women (16 of 20). She contacted the women as sophomores and again as seniors. She found that many of these women dropped the course because the choice/abstract dilemma orientation was incompatible with their own definition of morality. A common theme appeared in the comments of those interviewed.

The common thread is the wish not to hurt others and the hope that in morality lies a way of solving conflicts so that no one will be hurt. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 65)

Gilligan views the essence of a moral decision as the exercise of choice--and, the willingness to assume responsibility for that choice. Women, in the context of our culture, frequently perceive themselves to have no choice and thus correspondingly exclude themselves from the responsibility entailed in certain kinds of moral decisions.

Abortion Study. The Abortion Study indicated a common theme in women's discourse on morality. In electing to interview women who were

considering the decision to abort, Gilligan sought an area of life in which women clearly had the power of choice.

The women involved in this study were interviewed twice: during their first trimester of a confirmed pregnancy and at the end of the following year. Those interviewed represented a cross section of ages, religions, and social classes.

She found that even in a situation where women clearly had the power to exercise a choice they primarily saw their decision as one of conflicting responsibilities rather than conflicting rights and rules. This finding contradicts the prior Kohlbergian theory suggesting that as women had more access to social/political power their mode of reasoning would concomitantly become more focused on issues of rights, rather than relationships. She found that women defined the decision to have an abortion as a moral decision in terms of a problem of conflicting responsibilities, more than a problem of rights and rules.

The Rights and Responsibilities Study. The two studies previously mentioned indicate a different way of construing moral problems from what has previously been described in psychological literature. The Rights and Responsibilities study was designed to involve both sexes and to test the hypothesis suggested by Kohlberg--that as women became professionally engaged outside the home, they would reach higher stages of moral development (Lyons, 1983). In interviewing 36 people, matched by age, education, social class, and intelligence, she found that individuals call upon both care and justice modes of moral reasoning, but use one mode predominantly. While gender does not determine that mode,

women tend to utilize a perspective based on considerations of care and men on considerations of justice.

Utilizing the data generated from the Rights and Responsibilities study, Nona Lyons (1983) observed that two distinct ways of seeing and being in relation to others could be identified. She hypothesized that relationship considerations were central to a conception of morality. Using a framework of relationships to identify the distinctions between a morality of justice and of care, she refers to a justice orientation as resting on the idea of relationships as reciprocity and a care orientation resting on the idea of relationships as response. Lyons elaborates:

. . . "reciprocity" is based on impartiality, objectivity, and the distancing of the self from others. It assumes an ideal relationship of equality. When this is impossible, given the various kinds of obligatory role relationships, the best recourse is to fairness as an approximation of equality. This requires the maintenance of distance between oneself and others to allow for the impartial mediation of relationships. To consider others in reciprocity implies considering their situations as if one were in them oneself. Thus, an assumption of this perspective is that others are the same as the self. (Lyons, 1983, p. 134)

In describing a response perspective she notes:

. . . "response" is based on interdependence and concern for another's well-being. It assumes an ideal relationship of care and responsiveness to others. Relationships can best be maintained and sustained by considering others in their specific contexts and not always invoking strict equality. To be responsive requires seeing others in their own terms, entering into the situations of others in order to know them as the others do, that is, to try to understand how they see their situations. Thus, an assumption of this perspective is that others are different from oneself. (Lyons, 1983, pp. 134-135)

Persons operating from a perspective of reciprocity tend to construe a moral problem as "issues, especially decisions of conflicting

claims between self and other (including society); resolved by invoking impartial rules, principles or standards" (Lyons, 1983, p. 136) whereas a moral problem from a response perspective is construed "as issues of relationships or of response, that is, how to respond to others in their particular terms; resolved through the activity of care" (p. 136). A moral issue from a justice point of view is evaluated in terms of how the decision was thought about or justified or whether impartial values, principles or standards were maintained, especially the value of fairness. Evaluation of a moral issue from a care perspective is based on considering "how things worked out or whether relationships were maintained or restored" (p. 136).

In this study, respondents' definitions of morality and their description of a conflictual situation are analyzed using the definitions of reciprocity (justice orientation) and response (care orientation) as cited above.

Recent writings by Kohlberg, Levine and Hower (1983) acknowledge that the moral domain which includes the "virtue(s) we call charity, love, caring, brotherhood (sic) or community . . . or pro-social behavior . . . or an ethic of care" (p. 19) has not been fully reflected to date in Kohlberg's work. They then add that there are two senses to the word moral and two types of dilemmas "each corresponding to these differing meanings of the word moral" (Kohlberg et al., p. 22). One notion of moral "stresses attributes of impartiality, universalizability and the effort and willingness to come to agreement or consensus with other human beings in general about what is right. It is this notion of a

"moral point of view" which is most clearly embodied psychologically in Kohlberg's stage model of justice reasoning" (p. 22). A second sense of the word moral is described as "the elements of caring and responsibility, most vividly evident in relations of special obligation to family and friends" (p. 22). Thus, there is some agreement that the realm of caring is an important element in moral considerations. Kohlberg, however, views considerations of care as within the sphere of personal moral dilemmas, e.g., kinship, love, friendship, sex, rather than the "sphere captured by our justice dilemmas" (p. 22). A "moral point of view" from a justice perspective is one which fits the criteria of universalizability and impartiality.

In sum, the findings from the work of Gilligan and Lyons indicate the presence of two distinct modes of reasoning about moral dilemmas. To date, one mode, reasoning based on considerations of care, has been seen as subsumed in a progression of moral reasoning or as representing a moral sphere confined to the realm of personal relationship and thus not representing the moral point of view.

Gilligan's work also raises questions about how social science has viewed social phenomena. Just as problems concerning race have been seen as minority issues, definitions of maturity and adequate reasoning have been defined from a male perspective. This suggests a new look at how racial issues are understood, made sense of and acted on. The theory presented by Gilligan provides a framework for seeing more components than the single justice oriented framework offered by Kohlberg. A number of questions follow. How are racial dilemmas construed by the

population interviewed in this study? Do the conflicts posed by these respondents represent the "moral point of view"? Do both modes of reasoning lead to sustained anti-racist behavior? Does one mode seem to predominate in those persons identified as anti-racist? Is it necessary to seek a balance between care and justice? Or should moral education be geared to whichever mode an individual reasons from? These questions are addressed in the presentation of data and conclusion chapters.

As Robert Terry notes, the level and form of moral reasoning predisposes whites to act in particular ways. By looking at whites who are acting in anti-racist ways, further clarification can be gained regarding the nature of reasoning underlying those acts. Such is one aim of this study.

C H A P T E R I I I

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter describes the design of the study and includes a review of literature relevant to the methodology selected.

The intent of this study was to identify selected characteristics of persons described as white, anti-racists. Necessary, then, to achieving this goal was a method which allowed for an in-depth analysis of an individual's experience and a systematic way of reflecting that experience. This general methodology seen as most congruent with the intention of the study was a qualitative design, utilizing an open-ended interview as the primary data gathering tool.

Qualitative methods have been variously described as "delineating form, kinds and types of social phenomena; of documenting in loving detail the things that exist" (Lofland, 1981, p. 13). Patton (1980) describes qualitative research methods as being holistic--striving to understand situations as a whole; inductive--"the researcher attempts to make sense of the situation without imposing preexisting expectations on the research setting" (p. 40); and naturalistic--the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the research setting. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) add:

. . . qualitative methodologies . . . allow us to know people personally and to see them as they are developing their own definition of the world. (p. 41)

Additional comments regarding the appropriateness of selecting a qualitative methodology come from the writings of Glaser and Strauss (1967). They assert that the elements frequently sought in sociological inquiry--that is "data on structural conditions, consequences, deviances, norms, processes, patterns, and systems" (Glaser and Strauss, p. 18) are often best found with a qualitative method.

Lastly, the selection of a qualitative approach stemmed from the acknowledgement that research is "inescapably a personal formation" (Mooney, 1957, p. 170). The researcher must select and develop methods which fit the intent and nature of her study.

The issue resolves largely into personal preferences of the (researcher), the intent of the investigation, the available resources, and the (researcher's) decision concerning what "type of interaction" he (sic) desires. (Denzin, 1970, p. 132)

A qualitative approach for data collection and analysis was deemed the most appropriate for this study since the aim was to better understand the perceptions and life circumstances of a selected group of people. The in-depth interview was used as the primary method of data gathering. Procedures for respondent selection and the content and style of the interviews will now be reviewed.

Selection of the Respondents

A purposive sample (Selltiz, 1959) was selected. That is, respondents were chosen on the basis of certain criteria and no attempt was made to randomize the population. Selltiz describes the utility of purposely selecting respondents with particular experience in the field

under investigation. He terms such a study "the experience survey" and remarks:

Such (specialists) acquire . . . a reservoir of experience that could be of tremendous value in helping the social scientist to become aware of the important influences operating in any situation he (sic) may be called upon to study. It is the purpose of an experience survey to gather and synthesize such experiences. (p. 55)

He adds:

Thus, the respondents must be chosen because of the likelihood that they will offer the contribution sought. In other words, a selected sample of people working in the area is called for. (p. 55)

The criteria for selection of respondents in this study included:

(1) that respondents were at least 25 years of age--thus, engagement in anti-racism activities was more than a transitory experience; (2) that respondents had been professionally engaged in educating or writing about white awareness or the impact of racism on whites for at least three years; (3) that respondents were self-identified as white; and (4) that respondents displayed an interest in being involved in this study.

Based on the above criteria, five men and five women were selected for involvement in this study. A summary of some demographic features for each respondent can be found in Table 2. Because most of those interviewed are highly visible and public individuals, only general demographic features are mentioned to protect their privacy and confidentiality.

Those interviewed in this study were identified by a number of means. An initial list of possible contacts was generated based on authorship of materials read in the conceptual phase of this research.

TABLE 2
 DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF RESPONDENTS

Respondent #	Gender	Age	Place of Birth	Ethnic Self-Description
1	F	45	Rural area/Northeast	WASP
2	M	50	Small town/Northeast	WASP
3	F	30	Urban center/Northeast	Irish Catholic
4	M	38	Urban center/Midwest	WASP
5	M	42	Rural area/Central	WASP
6	M	38	Urban center/Southeast	Jewish
7	F	32	Small town/Northeast	WASP
8	F	35	Rural/Northeast	WASP
9	F	30	Urban center/Mid-Atlantic	Jewish
10	M	62	Urban center/Midwest	Jewish

As well, this list included names of persons well known due to their anti-racist educational efforts. Those persons not living in the Northeastern United States were not initially contacted due to travel considerations.

At the same time, local educators familiar with the field of race relations were asked for possible contacts for this study. Names mentioned by several persons were then considered if they met the criteria listed above. Names were also gathered during the actual interviews. Often, respondents spontaneously offered names of colleagues working in

this area. Again, those names mentioned by at least two other persons were noted as possible respondents.

Once respondents were identified, they were contacted by phone to determine their interest and willingness to participate in this study. During this initial phone contact they were told how they were selected (including the specific criteria and the name(s) of personal referrals); the nature of the study was described; assurances of confidentiality of information were expressed and specific dates and times were set for the interview. Every person contacted expressed immediate interest in participating in this study, thus further contacts to clarify the nature and purpose of the study were not needed.

Content and Style of Interviews

An open-ended, clinical or depth interview approach (Selltiz, 1959) was used to elicit responses with respect to both the questions regarding moral reasoning and identification of salient background experience. This form of interview is designed:

. . . to permit an interaction between two people that makes it possible to present as fully as possible how one of them thinks about some important issues. (Lyons, 1983, p. 2)

Issues are raised by the interviewer and the respondent replies in his/her own terms and from her/his own frame of reference. The task of the interviewer is to listen intently, not to solve a problem, but to "understand how the person construes the issue under discussion" (Lyons, 1983, p. 2). Thus, the interviewer does not paraphrase or rephrase what has been said. Of primary importance is the respondent's language,

perceptions, understandings, not the interviewer's. Lyons adds:

The interviewer does not presume to know the exact construction a person will give to a situation; rather, the assumption is always that one needs to find that out. (p. 4)

Commenting further on the appropriate use of this form of interview, Selltiz remarks:

Not only does it (the less structured, depth interview) permit the subject's definition of the interviewing situation to receive full and detailed expression; it should also elicit the personal and social context of beliefs and feelings. This type of interview achieves its purpose to the extent that the subject's responses are spontaneous, rather than forced, are highly specific and concrete rather than diffuse and general, and self-revealing and personal, rather than superficial. (Selltiz, 1959, p. 263)

All of the interviews were scheduled both at the convenience of the respondent and at her/his home or work place. The importance of selecting time and location with care is frequently mentioned in the literature dealing with techniques of interviewing (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Patton, 1980). They emphasize the importance of selecting a time and place convenient for the subject, appropriate to the nature and purpose of the interview, comfortable and relatively free from distractions.

At the start of each interview, permission to tape record was obtained by verbal agreement. Respondents were also asked to sign an agreement, indicating that they understand the nature of the interview, assuring confidentiality, offering to share all materials generated at the completion of the study and offering to terminate the interview at any time requested by the respondent.

Persons selected for this study were chosen on the basis of their known work as well as their willingness and desire to participate in

this type of research. It was explained both during the initial phone conversation and during the first moments of arriving at the interview location, that the specific questions to be asked focused on personal aspects of their history and experience, rather than on their professional activities. Of the ten individuals in the interview population, seven were personally unknown to this researcher prior to the interview, and three known to varying degrees.

The importance of establishing a high degree of rapport in order to insure honesty and openness in another dimension of interviewing noted with some frequency in the literature (Glazer, 1972; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). Rapport was quickly established in each interview situation. This can be attributed in part to the motivation of respondents to participate in this study; their dedication to the subject under study and their shared perception (with the researcher) of the importance of such a study.

The interview itself consisted of two parts. Part one related to the questions on moral reasoning. Part two related to the life experience questions. Both parts utilized a "general interview guide approach" (Patton, 1981, p. 201). This approach ensured that basically similar information was received from each respondent. Particular questions and topics were formulated prior to the start of the interview phase and based on concepts noted in the research and literature relevant to the topic of this study. The interview, thus, had both a focus and allowed for a conversational exchange between two people.

Part one. The questions and structural sequence for the first portion of the interview were adapted from the work of Nona Lyons (1983). The questions were sequenced to direct respondents to reflect on their description of a conflict situation, including what within that situation posed a conflict for them personally; the resolution of that situation and their evaluation of that situation. The respondent was thus "walked through" the psychological logic employed in confronting her/his conflictual situation.

This section of the interview also asked respondents to offer their own definitions of morality. The question, "Was this a moral conflict for you?" was initially posed as the second question of the interview. Responses from the first two interviews indicated that presenting the concept of morality at this juncture of the interview, confounded the elaboration of the conflictual situation. The questions were then reordered in order to maintain a flow of thought. The difficulties of merging the notion of morality with a discussion of racial issues for this particular population are discussed in Chapter IV-- Presentation of the Data. Within the general framework of the interview guide, additional clarifying and probing questions were asked. The following is the reordered interview guide for the first section of the interview:

TABLE 3
INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS: PART ONE

-
1. Could you describe to me a situation occurring in your adult years involving a racial issue where you weren't sure what was the right thing to do?
 2. What was the conflict for you in that situation?
 3. What did you do?
 4. Do you think it was the right thing to do?
 5. How did you know it was the right thing to do?
 6. Was this a moral conflict for you?
 7. What does morality mean to you? How would you define morality?
-

Part two. This portion of the interview began with an introductory open-ended question intended to allow respondents to freely select those experiences deemed most significant to them. Following this, additional clarifying and probing questions were asked. The probe questions were derived from the findings as reported in the review of the literature. Certain categories emerged from the literature which initially directed the probing questions. These categories also serve as the one framework for data analysis.

These categories, corresponding interview questions, and an indication of the primary source of each category are offered schematically in Table 4.

TABLE 4
 CATEGORIES FOR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS AND ANALYSIS:
 PART TWO

Category	Question Number	Source Reference
Key Role Models	2, 3, 7	London, Rosenhahn, Adorno
Parental Influence	4, 5, 6	London, Rosenhahn, Adorno, Allport, Hecht
Self/Interest Motivation	8	Terry, Citron, Hardiman, Hecht
Self-Description	9, 10	Pettigrew, Hardiman, Caditz, Citron
Sense of Social Marginality	11	London

The interview guide for part two included the questions shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5
INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS: PART TWO

-
1. What life experiences do you see as particularly significant in how you view and respond to racial issues today?
 2. Who have been models for you of anti-racist behavior and action?
 3. Were there role models for you of pro-socially active or altruistic behavior?
 4. Were your parents socially active?
 5. Would you describe your parents as anti-racists?
 6. How would you characterize your relationship with your parents?
 7. Who are your role models now of anti-racist behavior?
 8. What benefits do you get from being anti-racist? What motivates you to remain engaged in anti-racist efforts? What sustains you?
 9. Would you describe yourself as anti-racist?
 10. How would you characterize your own sense of racial identity? Do you have a sense of pride as a white person? Do you feel guilt as a white person?
 11. Are there areas in your life where you feel or have felt oppressed? Are there ways in which you have felt "different" from others around you?
-

These questions were asked of each respondent. Other questions were introduced to either clarify an idea or pursue a topic raised spontaneously by a respondent.

Data Analysis

A similar method was used to analyze both portions of the interview. While the questions generated for section I were derived from the work and analysis scheme of Nona Lyons, the joining of issues of race with notions of morality altered the pattern of response from that on which the Lyons' scheme is based. As will be reported in Chapter IV, many respondents did not see racial issues as constituting a moral dilemma for them. General comments can be made about their responses taken as a whole in terms of the moral orientations of care and justice as previously described. More specific analysis was not warranted on the basis of the data gathered in this study.

The interviews were analyzed using grounded methods (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This process of making sense of the information and perceptions accumulated during the course of the study is most simply described by Bogdan and Bilken (1982).

Data analysis is the process of systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials that you accumulate to increase your own understanding of them and to enable you to present what you have discovered to others. (p. 145)

The framework for this sense-making included the research questions posed at the onset of the study; the concepts generated during the conceptual phase to give direction and some standardization to the interview process and the "analytic insights and interpretations" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p. 297) which emerged during the course of data collection. The researcher maintained a log of comments, questions and personal reflections during the interview phase. This log, along

with the transcripts and sensitizing concepts, served to direct the researcher to themes, discontinuities and items of note within the data.

The actual steps followed during data analysis will be briefly described:

1. Tapes were transcribed by a professional typist and transcriber with careful attention given to being faithful to the words and inflections of respondents.
2. Once the transcription was complete, the researcher read through the entire transcript to get a general sense of the ideas and orientation presented and the language and phrasing used by the respondent. Adequate analysis can best be accomplished through acquaintanceship with the whole. At this point, the researcher was able to get a sense of how the individual respondent weighed and understood the significance of various factors.
3. The transcript was then read again and again, this time focusing on the particular concepts used to generate the research questions and interview guide. This was the first division of the transcript into constituent parts. At this point, the components were expressed in the exact language of the respondent.
4. Responses in the language of the respondent were then matched to the conceptual organizers of the study. One objective of the study was to report how each person in this interview population identified a racial issue and how each person defined morality. Remaining true to the language and intonation of the respondent was then a crucial element in reporting the data.
5. Next, central themes or "meaning units" (Giorgi, 1970) were designated. Each theme or unit was looked at in terms of the relevancy for understanding each research question. For example, the question would be asked, "What does this unit tell me about the key experiences in the determination to be actively anti-racist?" The language of the respondent was transposed here into general conceptual terms.

The process of analyzing data obtained from qualitative methods requires a constant moving back and forth between the phenomena under study and abstractions about those phenomena; between descriptions of

what has been gathered and an analysis of those descriptions; between the "complexity of reality and our simplifications of those complexities" (Patton, 1981, p.325). Generalizations beyond the specific context of this study must be made with some caution.

Patton suggests that there are two parts to the issue of trusting the data. He observes, "First, the person or persons analyzing the data must make a determination of how much confidence to place in their own analysis. Second, the data analysis must be presented to others in such a way that they can verify and validate the findings of the analysis for themselves" (Patton, 1981, p. 326).

In the following chapter, findings from this study will be presented. These findings are presented with sufficient confidence that they represent an honest and direct rendering of the data; that they are congruent with the words and sentiments of those interviewed, and that they are reported with adequate elaboration to allow the reader to personally assess the match between respondent expressions and abstract analysis.

C H A P T E R I V

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

In this chapter, data collected from the interviews are presented. The data were analyzed using the processes of qualitative analysis described in Chapter III. The material is organized with reference to the sensitizing concepts used to construct the interview guide and nomen-
tic themes revealed by the interviews. This chapter is divided into three sections, each corresponding to a research question. The research questions are described in Chapter I. Section one reports the conflict situations as described by each respondent. Section two contains respondents' views of morality and what modes of moral reasoning are indicated by these views are described. Section three focuses on salient background features in the lives of respondents.

Section I: Description of Conflict Situations

One purpose of this study was to identify the types of racial events or experiences that constituted a conflict for this population of white anti-racists. This information was obtained by asking each respondent: "Could you describe a situation occurring in your adult years involving a racial issue where you weren't sure what was the right thing to do?" Following the description of the situation, the question was asked: "What was the conflict for you in that situation?"

Following is a brief synopsis of each situation and respondents' analysis of how this particular situation posed a conflict for them.

Excerpts from the interviews are used to present the context of the situation as well as the description of the conflict within the situation. To ensure confidentiality, minimal identifying information is given. Respondent quotes are identified by number as indicated in Table 2: Demographic Features of Respondents. A discussion of patterns emerging from all of the responses concludes this section.

A female respondent explains the context and content of her situation:

. . . it happened two days ago. Would you like to hear that one? I wasn't sure what to do. Probably it's a reflection of the fact that I've thought so much about the issue that I usually feel pretty clear about how to act in situations involving race . . . o.k. here's one where I'm uncomfortable . . .

My children are Black, and I notice occasionally when I'm talking to my daughter I will say something about somebody that I met, "Oh, that was a black woman" or "she's a black psychologist" or something like that. Afterwards I felt a little uncomfortable. I'm not sure if that was appropriate identification and if that might be making her feel uncomfortable. . . . I talk about racism and language . . . sometimes we identify people as minority groups with racial categories, we don't with majority group people. That really is racist to do that unless there is a particular reason at the moment to do that. So, I think sometimes when I do that, that is something I'm not really sure about and I feel uncomfortable afterwards. (1)

(What is the conflict for you in this situation?)

. . . so, the conflict is my own racism and my understanding that it's not appropriate (1) (to use race as an identifier).

The conflict she presents in this situation involves a concern about not being self-consistent--not behaving in a way consistent with her understanding of how racism is reflected in language. The conflict also is her realization of how this situation reflects her own racism.

The initial response to this question by a 50-year old man was that the conflict freshest in his mind was "not a real big one." He

proceeded to explain a work related incident:

My difficulty is which one . . . I guess I'll respond with one that I'm in the midst of right now. . . . I serve on the board of directors of a church-related social agency. . . . I'm on a sub-committee of the board . . . establishing whole new directions in programming for the organization which would enable it to deal much more directly with social change and social justice, racism kinds of issues on an institutional kind of level . . . we're in the process of hiring a couple of community organizers . . . (the hiring committee consisted of) three white persons and a Hispanic woman, who was the chair. We interviewed two persons . . . a Black man and a white female. We were unanimous in our decision for the white female. . . . We now are confronted by a Black minister who was supporting the other candidate. . . . And that raises all kinds of questions for me you know. What are the ways, unconsciously enough, that I might be acting in making decisions that may in fact be racist . . . so I'm having to examine all of those questions right now . . . (2)

(Could you say a little more about the conflict for you in that situation?)

Well, it's wondering essentially if at some level I'm caught up in a thing which is basically a white-male way of doing it . . . so, that makes me wonder . . . there's a conflict between myself and myself . . . which can only, I hope sharpen my own ability to look very carefully at my own motivations and behaviors. (2)

The conflict for this respondent centers on the questions "Am I racist (and sexist)?" and "Can I count on my own perceptions?" The situation he describes did not become a conflict for him until he received negative comments from an external source, a man he greatly respects.

He questions whether his actions are inconsistent with his beliefs and understandings and wonders about the reliability of his own perceptions.

In questioning himself and the extent to which he may be unconsciously acting on "white male" ideas, he looks at both the intent of his actions (motivations) and the effects of his decision.

A reported situation which occurred several years prior to this interview was noted by a 30 year old woman. She described a work-related situation involving herself, as a program director of a service-providing agency, and a Black man, older than her and subordinate to her in the agency hierarchy. She elaborates further:

I was a young adult . . . twenty-two, something like that. And I had a staff that was roughly half Black, half white. One of the coordinators that worked under me was a young Black man. . . . I wouldn't say I was a friend with (him), but we had a friendly relationship . . . but in terms of our working relationship, he didn't fulfill his job requirements. He didn't perform up to the expectations--he would come in late or not come in at all. . . . And the dilemma I had was how to confront him on this. . . . And I had trouble with it because I needed him to do his job to run the program well. But I was fearful of confronting him on his performance because he was Black, and because I didn't know (how) he would take that from me as a white female. And I had all these fears that he would interpret my coming down on him as being racist. And I didn't want him to see me that way because I was very much invested in people not seeing me as racist. (3)

(Could you say more about the conflict for you in that situation?)

The conflict for me was, do I confront him or not? . . . on the one hand if I confronted him, the possible benefit would be that he would shape up and do a better job. . . . The possible cost was that our relationship would be negatively affected, that he would get angry at me, that he would see me as racist. . . . I think I considered his feelings and whether his feelings would be hurt. (3)

She identifies the conflict at the time as including a concern about the external perceptions of others; a concern about the possible negative consequences to their relationship and a pull between role responsibilities and considerations that neither his feelings nor her feelings be hurt. In reflecting on this event with hindsight she recognizes the elements of racism within herself. "I was being racist by default . . . because I expected less of him because he was Black."

A relatively recent event was described by a 35 year old man who responded initially by saying that there were probably thousands of little incidents he could speak about. What he described was a situation involving himself and a shuttle bus driver. While staying at a large urban hotel on a business trip, he had to rely on a shuttle bus for daily transportation.

I was reliant on the bellman with that shuttle bus taking me to the office . . . it was important that we have a relationship that would encourage him to be helpful to me. And about the second or third day, he made a comment about some Arabs who were staying at the hotel, he called them "sand niggers," a term I'd never heard before. (4)

He then reports the dialogue he had with himself:

The dilemma that started the instant he said it was, am I going to attend to this and risk not having my shuttle back and forth? It really was a clear kind of episode: do I act, how do I act, what do I risk? You know, in terms of human events, pretty small risks. . . . I wanted not to let that go unresponded to . . . and another piece of the dilemma I guess was to just let it go by . . . at some point, gimme a break? All this racism. Leave me alone for five seconds. . . . Part of being white is to be so well armed with all the risks, all the cost for me if I'm going to be an anti-racist white. . . . And it's a little teeny incident where it came back and said "don't forget, 'cause you teach it doesn't mean you got it licked! You're just as white as you ever were." (4)

(Why does that create a conflict for you?)

To me it's like . . . the preacher that goes out and says all the beautiful things and rapes and plunders. That contradiction, it's important to me. (4)

(Why is it important?)

I guess it's been such an important piece of my training, professional, student life in the last fifteen years. (I've) put so much energy into trying to help other white people be consistent with word and deed and helping understand that how unhealthy the cost of racism . . . how unhealthy it is to not be in touch with that reality, how crazy it is to be operating (in racist ways). (4)

At the center of his conflict is his felt-need to be consistent with word and deed and to demonstrate that consistency to himself. He commented that he felt good about how he responded in this instance (he told the driver that the remark was offensive, but did not withhold a tip) because his actions were congruent with his beliefs and because the shuttle-bus driver was not demeaned in the process of the interactions. A conflict with self is cited as the center of his concerns.

A 35 year old man with an adopted Black son described his son's school situation as the context of the conflict he faced. His son was experiencing difficulty in school and he saw the racial attitudes of the teachers as a key factor in the problem. The dilemma involved how to respond to the school:

And the question was, what you do about this, with a kid who's having some difficulty in school and a teacher who seems to be relating to him, you know, as a bad Black person . . . and you know, to do nothing is to let it continue, and see him get in more and more difficulty, too. To act . . . in a way that it seems to put the teacher in a tough spot, it's likely to make it harder for . . . our son, because the teacher may or may not respond directly to the parents, but you can't imagine they're going to do anything other than make it tough, you know, prove you're right so beat the kid up would be the expectation. (5)

The essential concern for this individual was not whether to act, or doubting his perceptions of the situation. His primary concern was strategic--i.e., what would be strategically most productive, and a way that would prove least harmful to his son. He comments, "I knew I wanted to do something but what could I do that wouldn't make it worse?" His own self-consistency needs were not at stake in this example. The focus was on how to respond to the white teacher, rather than the "minority" person involved.

A male respondent commented about a time not long before the interview when he was waiting at a subway stop. He explains:

. . . there was a somewhat elderly white woman standing next to me on the platform when these kids went by . . . and she made this comment, not to anyone in particular. She said something like "oh, those niggers, they're just all alike walking around with their boxes and making noise and causing trouble." And the next question is what do I do about it? It's not an unusual dilemma . . . as a result of the work that I do and my own consciousness I've become increasingly sensitive to racial statements, racial slurs, racial issues--the racial content of everything and anything. . . . I almost feel a personal responsibility to do something about the statement. (6)

He continues to explain the conflict for him in this instance.

I was cognizant of the conflict within me. On the one hand, thinking that this woman was a real asshole for making this racist statement. . . . And on the other hand, feeling somewhat compelled not to let the statement go unresponded to . . . (6)

(Would you say more about the conflict for you in that situation?)

I guess the conflict for me was probably on some different levels . . . one was the conflict, again, around that issue of response--personal and social responsibility. Based upon my own consciousness raising experience and my own commitment to anti-racism, that I have some responsibility to respond to racist comments and racist actions that occur around me. The conflict is on the one hand, believing that . . . on the other hand, when should I respond? When can I feel that I am able to . . . and on another level . . . in this particular situation . . . related to the bias that I have against the soundboxes anyway . . . I consider myself to be racist. But being racist, I also believe that I'm anti-racist. And that I work and struggle with my own prejudicial beliefs and attitudes. . . . In this particular case I think I do have some stereotypical beliefs about young Blacks with their soundboxes. (6)

The elements of his conflict include feeling a personal and social responsibility to respond to a racist comment and sorting out how his own racism may affect his ability to respond. He also struggles with the issue of attacking behavior (the soundboxes) without attacking the person or group (young Black men).

A situation set in a similar context was presented by a 35 year old woman. She identified an incident on a subway train involving clear and overt racist remarks made by two teenage white boys and directed primarily at an elderly Black man. This respondent then described her thoughts and feelings at the time and how this incident posed a conflict for her.

The conflict had to do with identifying with the kids because they're white and I'm white and these kids are being racist and I don't want to be connected with them. I don't want to be identified with them but I am . . . wanting the other people there to see me as different from those kids. Okay? And that's my racism in action . . . a batch of feeling bad and guilty that these kids are being disgusting and that there's such a history to it . . . the activist part of me saying "speak up!" just stop the racism . . . I can't stand to hear it. It makes me angry. I want to stop the racism for my own sake . . . there's the self-preservation part of me that's not the least bit interested in getting smacked . . . and the dilemma on one level is always: should I do something? If so, what shall I do? But it's surrounded by all these other things going on and what's at stake for me and what will happen . . . (7)

There are a number of dimensions to the conflict as she explicates it. She is concerned about how others will view her external image regarding endorsing racism and wants to disassociate herself from the young boys. She feels a personal and social obligation to respond. She acknowledges her own racism and how it may be affecting her perceptions of the situation and speaks about concern for her physical safety if she does respond and her emotional peace of mind if she doesn't respond.

A tenure decision involving an Hispanic male was the context of the conflict presented by a 35 year old woman. She describes the situation:

Racial issue? Well, a number of things come to mind . . . some of the more difficult ones are more recent in terms of being more subtle. I think particularly of a tenure and reappointment process

in which there were clearly commitments to affirmative action that I felt a strong commitment to on the one hand. And then on the other hand more traditional standards of academic criteria in promotion and reappointment. (8)

(What's the conflict for you in that situation?)

Well, there are several conflicts for me. One is values of affirmative action which I very much believe in versus some of the traditional values of institutions of higher education, some of which--certainly not all--I do believe in. And the second part is speaking up in such a way--being clearly in the minority--that is going to be effective in supporting affirmative action priorities. It's always difficult for me, and I do it quite a bit. But it doesn't make it less difficult. . . . (I) try to be clear and reasoned. (8)

(Were there other things you considered in deciding what to do?)

I took into consideration his relationship with students . . . the effect of not tenuring him on the institution . . . how that would affect Hispanic students. . . . I took into consideration my own credibility . . . to the extent that I continue to push for some principles around affirmative action. (8)

Her conflict was between competing values--the institutional standards which she endorsed to some degree and principles of affirmative action, more strongly endorsed by her. She does not question her perceptions of this situation or see racism on her part as an exacerbating feature. She does illustrate a complex set of issues to consider in reaching a decision, from struggling with personal values to assessing the long term impact on Hispanic students as a result of this decision.

A 30 year old woman tells of a work related context involving herself with supervisory responsibilities over three Black supervisees. She describes the situation in the following way:

Well, one of the things that comes to mind is supervising people in my job. We (have) a racially mixed staff . . . in fact all the people were as well qualified, but the three Blacks were clearly not doing as good a job, for different reason(s). And (I) needed to think about how I was going to handle that on an individual basis,

. . . being aware that anything that involved race had racial overtones to it. . . . I think I kept race out of it as an extra antagonistic feature. (9)

(Could you say what the conflict for you, personally, was in that situation?)

Well, I guess I felt bad that it turned out that the three strongest people that we had working happened to be white, and that these three people for a variety of reasons who were not as strong . . . happened to be Black . . . once again, you have a set up where whites are apparently doing a better job or are stronger at what they are doing. (9)

(Could you tell me why you felt bad?)

I . . . have a sense of what I think things should look like. I wanted things to work out closer to what I think they should, and not have a situation that is reinforcement for attitudes that people might have already. Whether they be Black or white or anybody else, whatever attitudes people might already be carrying, assumptions and stereotypes and whatever. I don't like to be part of a situation that somebody might use to reinforce those stereotypes or attitudes. So I was sorry it happened that way. As I say, I think that we handled it pretty well. (9)

This respondent does not doubt her own response in this situation or identify racism on her part as part of the conflict. Her concern focuses more on an awareness of the institutional nature of racism and a consequent concern that the outcome of this situation not serve to perpetuate racist institutional practice or reinforce racist attitudes of persons observing the situation.

Two examples were cited by a 62 year old man. Both examples were drawn from experiences occurring some years before this interview. The first situation took place while he was working in a factory during the World War II years. At this point in his life, he had known few Black people. One fellow worker was a Black man he describes as "obsequious and repulsive generally." Other whites used to patronize the man. He

continues:

And when I discussed that with them, they said, well, he is sort of a jerk, but on the other hand, he's doing valuable work in the union. I didn't think he really was so valuable. So I had to come to a conclusion about how should I orient, be oriented to this guy? I just never liked the guy. But I did have to think over, you know, what . . . is there something more important than my own feeling about this guy? (10)

In describing this situation he too raises the question of how to respond to a minority person. He also considers that there are aspects in this situation more important than his own feelings to take into account.

The second example had to do with the type of policy stance to be taken by an organization formed to support integrated education. At the point in history when this organization was founded, the very idea of integrated education was viewed as an anathema by many teachers. The particular policy decision described by this respondent was about busing as a means toward integration. He comments:

I was against busing at that time because it seemed to me a very artificial way of integrating schools. And I simple-mindedly said, well, let's integrate housing; that's much more sensible. And of course it is more sensible, but it's dumb because if you'll notice-- I came to notice--those people who were against busing were also against integrating housing. So we're talking about the same people you know, and it was stupid. But it was my view at the time. (10)

His second example illustrates a strategic conflict--which policy will be most effective in bringing about integrated education. He does not question the necessity to act. He views his own behavior as more uninformed than racist.

What has been presented in the preceding pages are the responses to the questions: "Could you describe a situation involving racial

issue where you weren't sure what the right thing to do was?" and "What was the conflict for you in that situation?" Excerpts from each interview have been used for both the description of the situation and the explanation of the conflict for the individual within the situation. Reference to the conflict situations will be made in section II of this chapter. Among the types of conflicts mentioned by respondents were concerns about: (1) self-consistency between word and deed; (2) seeing self as racist; (3) trusting self-perceptions of a situation; (4) how to respond to minority persons; (5) fulfilling personal and social obligations and responsibilities to respond to racist situations; (6) the perceptions of others; (7) the effect of a decision on institutional practices; (8) determining what strategy to employ in a given context; (9) how to decide between competing values; and (10) needing to interrupt a racist situation out for one's own peace of mind.

Emerging Themes

A review of all the responses reveals certain recurring themes. These themes help to provide a more complete picture of the characteristics and reasoning processes of this group of white anti-racists. They are: (1) the ordinariness of the situations; (2) the timing of the situations; (3) the elaboration of internal dialogue provided in identifying the conflict; (4) a conflict implicating self as part of the problem; and (5) the levels of complexity and subtlety noted in describing the situation and the conflict. Each will be discussed more fully.

Ordinariness of situations. The situations identified by each person can be seen as ordinary or not uncommon experiences. That is,

these were events which happen with some regularity in the course of a day or in the course of one's work experience. For example, the remarks overheard at a subway station or a comment made by a shuttle-bus driver is not unusual or uncommon in our social context. As well, instances of hiring or commenting on job performance are very commonplace.

One of the characteristics of persons in a subordinate group is heightened sensitivity to mannerisms, habits, expressions, ordinary behaviors and subtleties of the dominant group (Miller, 1976). What can be seen in the responses of this white population is an awareness and sensitivity of the omnipresence of racial issues in everyday occurrences expressed in a manner more characteristic of persons in a subordinant social group. The more overt racist events, e.g., housing discrimination, aggression toward Blacks, quota systems, do not seem to be ones which create confusion or struggle for this population.

One respondent commented during a second interview that she had thought a great deal about racial dilemmas since the first interview. She noted that she did not struggle over decisions such as whether to get involved in a boycott, whether to participate in a demonstration or whether to turn down a job when learning that someone else did not get the job because of race. She says, "I found that those were not things that I would necessarily struggle with" (3). She adds, ". . . then I started thinking, maybe that's not the way I should be thinking about it. Maybe there are a lot of other, more mundane, day to day, decisions and choices . . . that one makes . . ." What emerges from this is the sense that the more one is conscious about race, the more evident racism

becomes and that subtle, ordinary things take on more significance and become the places where these whites need to struggle, since the big things are foregone conclusions. This observation is made by one man who remarks, "I guess there's nothing about me that isn't connected to racial issues because of being tuned into whiteness."

Timing. Also of note is the observation that for seven of the ten respondents, the situation presented had occurred within a few months of the interview. In two instances, the individuals interviewed were in the process of sorting out the conflict they presented. Comments such as "I can give you something as recent as last week"; "it happened two days ago"; "I guess I'll respond with one I'm in the midst of right now" also reflect the extent to which racial awareness is an ever present element in the consciousness of this population. This consciousness is identified by one man when he comments:

. . . when you've done this work as long as I have . . . I have a sort of semi-conscious racial calibration scale in me, and so I can walk into a situation and if anything pertaining to race occurs, it's like . . . this needle goes "bonk." (5)

Even in instances when the event had not recently occurred, the person seemed to hold it forward presently, perhaps as a way of sorting their thinking out now or clarifying their image of themselves regarding racism. In identifying situations that are ordinary and are either recent or remembered with the clarity of a recent event, those interviewed reflect the pervasiveness of racism in everyday life.

Elaborate internal dialogue. In the narrative of the conflict situation, four respondents provide a detailed account of the internal dialogue happening at the time. They were able to report in detail the

various internal musings that took place as they faced the situation, grappled with many dimensions of how to respond, and reflected on their response and the meaning of it. Some of the incidents described happened within a span of only a few minutes. The internal dialogue and the sequence of questions set in motion by the incident in some instances took far longer than the response itself. The following is an example of the internal dialogue reported earlier by a 35 year old woman. The incident she is describing is a remark made by two white boys on a subway.

The conflict has to do with identifying with the kids because they're white and I'm white and these white kids are being racist and I don't want to be connected with them; . . . there's a whole level of conflict which is me wanting to separate from those kids . . . and then . . . into wanting the other people there to see me as different from those kids. Okay? And that's my racism in action . . . then there's another part of me that feels guilty and feels bad . . . that these kids are being disgusting and that there's such a history of it . . . then the feeling of the activist part of me . . . just simply wanting to stop the racism, my motives are a little clearer there. It's like it's untenable to me; I can't stand to hear it; it makes me angry. I want to stop the racism for my own sake . . . but I still can't think of what to do . . . and I want it to be successful because I don't want those kids to turn on me . . . there's a self-preservation part that's not the least bit interested in getting smacked. What else? It's sort of like all these different layers of things . . . (7)

The dialogue reported above is only an excerpt. She continues to elaborate the dialogue in the actual interview. This example provides some indication of the complexity of internal thought within this individual.

Implication of self. One aspect of the conflict for five of the ten interviewees involved the realization of acknowledgement of how their own racism was manifested in the situation. In the example of the respondent who questioned using the term "Black psychologist" in a

context where she would not distinguish a "white psychologist," there was an immediate awareness of how her choice of language was a reflection of elements of racism still within her. For the respondent citing a hiring decision as the context of his conflict, questioning how the situation reflected his own racism began after receiving comments from an external source. What is similar in each narrative is the candor and insight to implicate self as part of the problem. These examples also point to the tenacity of racism on a personal level.

Levels of complexity and subtlety. The definition of racism offered by Jones (1972) states that racism has personal, institutional and cultural dimensions. These dimensions were observed in some form by all respondents. Noted in the previous section are examples of personal dimension of racism. Also observed is how an event might serve to perpetuate racist institutional or cultural practices. An example of this was offered by the 30 year old woman who described her conflict situation as one in which the three Black persons she supervised did not fulfill job expectations, while three white counterparts were doing an adequate job. The conflict became how to respond without having race be a disruptive factor. This respondent did not see her own racial attitudes as an issue. Her conflict had to do with being part of a situation in which the dominant social paradigm and stereotypes were being played out. While she felt she handled the particulars of the situation well, she was concerned about being part of a situation which might have a racist effect. She demonstrates her understanding of how this event is both indicative of a complex history of racist practices and how its

outcome could serve to continue institutional racist practices around hiring.

Summary. What appear as common threads in the response to questions about conflict situations include: (1) the identification of rather ordinary appearing incidents as the precipitating event of a conflict; (2) the pervasiveness of race as a factor in everyday life as indicated by the types of situations described and the recentness of the conflict for the respondent; (3) the detailed internal dialogue occurring during the situation and recalled during the interview; (4) the implication of self as part of the problem; and (5) an awareness of the levels of complexity apparent in situations involving race, including individual, institutional and cultural dimensions.

This section of Chapter IV has presented the findings from the interviews with respect to two areas: (1) the types of conflicts with a racial dimension faced by this interview population and (2) what constituted the problem for them within the conflict situation. Actual responses from each person were given to provide the reader with a specific idea of the conflicts. These data serve as a foundation for the analysis of section two: perspectives on morality.

Section II: Perspectives on Morality

One central assumption of this study was that racism constitutes a moral problem in the sense that the language of right and wrong, should, and ought is often associated with choices where race is a factor. The determination of which choice to make in a situation involving race is

seen to be informed by one's conception of morality--what is the right choice; what should one do? Proceeding from this assumption, an objective of the study was to identify to what extent this white population defined and described their conflict situations in terms of the concept of morality and if so, which perspective on morality (justice or care) guided their choices.

Findings with respect to this objective are presented in terms of the following questions: (1) Was the problem identified considered a moral problem? (2) How did respondents define morality? and (3) Does the problem reflect an orientation of care or justice? The theoretical orientation of Gilligan (1982) and Lyons (1983) as outlined in Chapter II is used in the analysis of this third question. Since a key aspect of this theoretical orientation involves a connection between gender and views of morality, specific mention is made of the gender of respondents in the examples cited.

Is This a Moral Problem?

Each respondent was asked the question, "Was this dilemma a moral dilemma for you?" Responses to this question varied. Three respondents stated clearly and immediately that they could see their problem as a moral conflict. Three individuals commented on the difficulty of discussing the notion of morality separately from political and social considerations. Two men did not regard the concepts of morality or dilemma as at all useful for viewing racial issues. The remaining two respondents stated that they did not like to use the term morality in general.

Following are excerpts from the interviews which illustrate these various points of view.

(A woman whose dilemma involved confronting a Black man about his job performance)

I see it as moral in the sense that the consequences have moral implications for me . . . the bottom line is whether the outcome or the implications of the decision that someone makes or an action that someone takes, how it affects an individual that's involved in that decision--whether they are helped or hurt by that decision, I guess . . . it (the conflict) requires you to take a risk in the sense that maybe the person would get angry with you or they would get upset or your relationship might be affected. Sometimes you maybe have to care enough about them to put your own fears aside, take the risk and go with it. (3)

(A woman concerned about how her choice of language might be manifesting racism on her part)

Well, morality is about doing what's right. So, in this case to do what's right . . . both for the person I'm describing (and) for my audience so that they are not put in this uncomfortable spot . . . so I guess it's moral in that just the use of language not to hurt people. (1)

A man whose conflict situation involved how to respond to a racist remark by a stranger at a subway stop sees the concept of morality as insufficient for addressing racial question.

As a moral dilemma? I guess, in part. I would say in part, the issue of racism is one which for me it's very difficult to separate the moral issues, the political issues, the economic issues because they're so interwoven, so intertwined. So that to take out the moral component and say that, specifically, I think would be hard. But I have a sense it's part of the underpinning of the issue, the overall issue. (6)

The inseparability of political considerations from racial issues was noted by those respondents who did not consider the concept of morality a useful one in addressing race. In his opening comments during the interview, one man asserts:

Can I tell you something before you start? I don't know much about moral dilemmas. A dilemma means it's not simply an accentuated problem. But it means you're in a situation where the only ways out are contradictory and equally repugnant or difficult. That's what a dilemma means. I know of no moral dilemma in the field of race. None. Maybe when I was younger. . . . I don't deal much with moral . . . what you call morality . . . moral to me is something that maybe is largely political rather than individually positive. I don't think much of moralizing about morality. In fact, I'm a little skeptical about it, even cynical from time to time. (10)

For the majority of respondents, the joining of the issue of race with the concept of morality was not similarly viewed as a useful perspective.

How is Morality Defined?

How, then, does this sample population define morality? The responses indicate a discomfort with the concept of morality. The discomfort was described by one respondent as emerging from the way the term has been used to legitimize positions which are in fact racist in posture. For example, the position on affirmative action supported by the "moral majority." Respondents also expressed discomfort in focusing on an abstract concept, rather than on concrete political action. Those who did respond to the question, "How do you define morality?" frequently began their answer by indicating that morality had to do with right and wrong. When asked to clarify how they determined for themselves what was right, the replies were:

(a male) treating folks right . . . using one's power and influence and presence to nurture rather than demean . . . I think the results of one's behavior . . . (to) contribute rather than destroy. (4)

(Why shouldn't you demean people?)

. . . it's just . . . it hurts . . . it minimizes (people). (4)

* * *

(a female) the right thing to do in a situation (is) to move the situation forward . . . towards cooperation, towards ending injustice and oppression . . . that leads people feeling good about themselves for real reasons . . . towards people being able to work together to accomplish more good things . . . (9)

* * *

(a female) it has something to do with . . . what you believe about other people and therefore how you treat them . . . racism is totally destructive and treats no one with respect . . . dealing with racism is dealing with how people treat each other . . . (7)

* * *

(a male) basically what it means is right or wrong. (In this situation) wrong is the part that isn't implementing that which we have stated as an objective . . . we say that this is right, that we diversify by race and what we are doing is not doing that . . . in other cases I might define morality differently. I have to look at concrete situations and say what's right or wrong in that situation. That, for me, makes much more sense than some global definition. (2)

* * *

(a female) Well, morality (is) about doing what's right. So, in this case to do what's right and what's right both for the person I'm describing and for my audience . . . (1)

* * *

(a female) I think in the simplest terms, the bottom line is whether the outcome or the implications of the decision that someone makes or an action that someone takes, how it affects an individual that's involved in that decision. Whether they are hurt or helped by this decision, I guess. (3)

The four other respondents were those who did not find the concept of morality a useful one for exploring issues of race. For two of these individuals, the indication that a decision was a right one rested on a "gut feeling about what's morally right."

Orientations of Justice and Care

The analysis of what constitutes an orientation of justice or an orientation of care relied on the description of each outline by Lyons (1983). While the responses generated by this study do not yield a description of the predominant mode of moral reasoning used by each respondent, comments can be made about the perspectives on morality indicated by responses to questions about the conflict situation, definitions of morality and supported by the narratives of significant life experiences. The analysis of perspectives on morality rests on the criterion for identifying considerations of care and/or justice put forward by Lyons (1983) and outlined below.

What becomes a moral problem from a care perspective is one which is concerned with conflicts of relationships and is focused on the response to the conflict. Key from the orientation is how to respond to another within a particular situation. The considerations raised in what becomes a moral problem are:

- (1) Expressing concern/care for another, without specific details about the nature of the concerns or the form of the care
 - (2) Maintaining or restoring relationships or connections between people
 - (3) Promoting the well-being of another or relieving their hurt/suffering
 - (4) Dealing with the "situation-over-the-principle"
 - (5) Considering the care of self--viewing the relationship with self as an important consideration
- (Adapted from Lyons, 1983, pp. 139-140)

From a justice perspective a moral problem is one which concerns conflicting claims in relationships. The focus of the conflict for the individual is how to decide or how to justify one's actions or

decisions. The considerations raised in what becomes a moral perspective are:

- (1) Expressing concern for self, noted in terms of consequences to self
 - (2) Fulfilling one's duties, obligations, commitments
 - (3) Maintaining rules, standards, principles for self, other (including society), or upholding fairness (reciprocity) as an ideal principle
 - (4) Dealing with principle-over-situation
 - (5) Acknowledging that others may have their own contexts
- (Adapted from Lyons, 1983, pp. 139-140)

Using these considerations as criteria for viewing responses from the interviews, comments can be made about the orientation indicated by the members of this interview population. Assessments in relation to these criteria were drawn from respondent narratives of the conflict situation and definitions of morality.

As will be described in more detail below the interviews suggest that among those respondents who offered a definition of morality and a conflict situation, a care orientation was seen. This assessment will be substantiated also in the final section of this chapter--Identification of Salient Background Information.

In terms of a definition of morality, the six respondents which offered definitions of morality referred to not hurting others, focusing on the concrete situations, helping people to feel good about themselves, and nurturing others, as dimensions of a definition of morality. The interviews did not reveal references to principles of fairness, placing principle over situation, or the notion of reciprocity as a way of describing or defining morality.

The particular conflict situations presented also indicate a care orientation. Referring to the conflicts as presented in the previous section of this chapter, the concern about how to respond to the situation was named frequently. Examples of this include how to respond to the shuttle-bus driver in a way that didn't demean the driver; how to handle a job situation where three Black employees were not doing as well as three white employees in a way that considers the different needs and histories of the people of color, the whites, the agency, the schools and the respondent; how to use language in a particular situation which was sensitive to the person being spoken of and the audience, including self; how to confront a Black employee without hurting him or self; and how to respond to a comment on a subway which takes into account self's feelings, other passengers and one's sense of social responsibility. What is common in each of these situations is the struggle among various constituencies, including oneself, as parties to consider when deciding how to respond. Key concerns involved taking into account the feelings of others, the situational barriers, and responsibilities to self, other and society. These conflicts focus on how to respond within the context of a particular situation.

No one interviewed made reference to a concern about what external standards or principles to employ. The focus of the conflict was not on how to make the decision or how to justify an action taken. In the example of the tenure appointment, there was a problem of conflicting values. In describing her struggle with that situation, the respondent noted that she considered the relationships between herself and the

committee, the tenure applicant and his students, herself and herself, as well as considering the institutional context of the decision. When asked if she thought she had made the right decision she said "yes" because the decision was "supportive of minority students and issues on campus" and she added, "but there was more feeling than thought. It just felt right" (8). This respondent indicates that her decision was correct mainly because it "felt right" rather than because certain values or standards were upheld.

The picture that emerges is one indicating that for this white population the subject of racism or issues dealing with questions of race are not abstract, not separate from self issues. They are issues which are viewed as ultimately personal. The self is part of the population hurt by racism and actions are taken not just to help other, but to help self. The consideration of self as an important person to care for is viewed by Gilligan (1982) and Lyons (1983) as a possible developmental shift within an orientation of care. A strong self-interest component can be seen. The element of self-interest is supported by responses described in Section III.

Although it was not the objective of this study to address gender differences in terms of this population, the sample was specifically designed to include an equal number of men and women. Gilligan's work emerged from the observation of differences in the types of moral reasoning commonly employed by women and men. While she clearly states that gender does not determine modes of moral reasoning, she indicates

that women's lives tend to be more thematic of a care mode, and men's lives more thematic of a justice mode.

No significant differences based on gender were noted in this study. Both men and women referred to care considerations when describing their conflict situations and when offering their definition of morality. Also, comments by four of the ten respondents about the difficulty of using morality as a concept in relation to race were made by women and men.

This section of Chapter IV has reviewed the findings regarding respondents' definitions of morality and their general orientation to moral problems. The data indicate some general tendencies. These are:

- (1) The joining of the concept of morality with the issue of race was not viewed as a useful perspective by half of the respondents.
- (2) In those examples where the conflict situation was described as constituting a moral problem, an orientation of care was used.
- (3) No one in the sample population referred to broad, universal principles to explain her or his conflict situation.
- (4) No significant differences on the basis of gender were found.

Section III: Salient Background Experiences

The purpose of this section is to see if the interviews reveal patterns in the development of racial understanding. Analysis will be performed by (1) research findings related to the characteristics of individuals engaged in autonomous altruism and by (2) the limited writings on the development of racial consciousness of whites. From these sources, categories for questioning emerged. These categories served as

a foundation for probe questions during the interviews and are now used to report on the findings from this study. A brief summary of each category follows:

- (1) Parental Influence--to what extent do respondents describe their parents or primary socializers as modelling socially active and committed behaviors and what was the nature of the affective bond between parents and respondents?
- (2) Key Role Models--who and what kinds of people served as key role models of anti-racist behavior from the perspective of respondents?
- (3) Self-Interest Motivation--why do respondents work as anti-racists and what do they report as sustaining them in this work?
- (4) Self-Description--how do respondents describe their own racial identity?
- (5) Sense of Social Marginality--to what extent do respondents connect a personal sense of being different or oppressed with their understanding of racism and their commitment to anti-racism work?
- (6) Self-Identified Significant Life Experiences--what other events and life experiences are named as salient in forming their racial understanding?

In the sections below conclusions regarding each of these areas are given. Samples of interview quotes are provided to help clarify these conclusions.

Parental Influence

Psychological literature examining personality characteristics of individuals described as prejudiced or tolerant have pointed toward the role of parental influence and modelling as a key variable in an individual's attitudes and behaviors (Adorno, 1950; Allport, 1954; Martin, 1964). The more limited studies of individuals who sustain some form of

involvement in pro-social activities also suggests that parental modelling is a key feature (Rosenhahn, 1970; London, 1970).

Drawing on these research findings, each respondent was asked about their formative years. They were asked whether their parents were, in their judgement, socially active individuals; what kinds of racial messages they received at home and the nature of their emotional relationship with their parents. This study did not reveal any consistent patterns of parental modelling in terms of anti-racist behavior or specific anti-racist messages. Also, there was no pattern to the kinds of pro-social involvement modelled by parents. The most predominant pattern noted in all interviews was the modelling of caring and kind behaviors toward others by at least one parent. Examples of this are described and presented at the end of this section.

Respondents described a range of parental models and a range of the kinds of affective bonds experienced between themselves and parents. Some respondents came from households where both parents were very active and committed; some respondents came from households where one or both parents were more openly antagonistic toward "out groups" and some individuals came from households where messages of tolerance and acceptance of others were part of the interaction. There were examples cited in the interviews of parents who spoke of the need to be tolerant and whose behavior contradicted those words.

Findings from this study do not indicate that persons in this sample became engaged and committed to anti-racism work because of parental influence or because of a strong affective bond between themselves and a

strongly moralistic parent. What is evidenced in the interviews is that each respondent spoke of a parent(s) who provided an example of caring, thoughtful, non-hostile behavior toward others. Excerpts from the interviews reflect these findings.

A woman whose family appeared to be the most "radical" of any described in this study recalls a comment made by a friend which seems to characterize her family: "Oh, your family's a family of rule breakers!" She goes on to describe her family and discuss the impact they have had on her own social activism and radical consciousness.

I've thought a lot about this, what were the significant events, and I think that one of the most significant is that I come from a family where a radical history for many generations and that is very wonderful and I feel that is probably the biggest reason that I can do the work that I'm doing now. (1)

Among the examples of the types of activities her parents have been involved in are:

They go demonstrating against the Klan. On these scary little back roads . . . every year . . . they have been doing that for 10-15 years. They're just always out there in lots and lots of ways . . . my mother was recently arrested for civil disobedience at Groton last summer and has been going to demonstrate at the Pentagon for 20 years. (1)

She makes reference to other family members who have been socially committed. Her grandfather was a conscientious objector during World War I; a grandmother was a suffragette and an uncle is an organizer for the Movement for a New Society. She comments, "Many people in my family just have done what are now called alternative things." Her family took action against social injustice, worked with continuity toward social change and supported behaviors not necessarily prized by the mainstream of society.

A very different family experience is noted by another respondent.

She comments:

I was brought up with all those stereotypes about Protestants, about Jews . . . about Italians, about Polish, about Irish, about everybody . . . (3)

She then remarks that her own experiences with friends from backgrounds different from hers contradicted the messages given to her by her family. She adds:

And so I think fairly young I realized that to rely on my own data that I collected myself. . . . And I think as a result of that I generalized that learning to other situations, so that when I learned racial stereotypes and racist stuff, not just ethnic or religious stuff, I followed that same pattern of collecting my own data and then going back and sort of in my mind saying to the people who were teaching me these lies, you were wrong. (3)

(Who were some of these teachers?)

I think probably the most influential one was my father. He was very ethno-centric. He was more than that. He didn't really trust anyone and didn't really like Irish people. Although he insisted that we only date or marry Irish Catholics. He had something to say about everybody. Italians are this way, and Jews are like this, and French Canadians are like this, and Puerto Ricans are like this, you know, and so on and so forth. (3)

Other respondents talk about their parents as "planting seeds" of tolerance rather than being directly active or using anti-racist language.

It was noted that alongside the seeds of tolerance, seeds of prejudice were also planted. The following reflection is representative of the type of double level parental message.

My mother would say "never, ever use that word nigger." Some of the rationale for that may not be what I would call anti-racist white today but it planted seeds . . . (but) . . . Our block and the blocks right around us were fairly white, but one of those parts we walked to was predominantly Black. And I remember some stories, perhaps not intending to be racist but saying don't talk your bikes over there or they'll get stolen. Well, nobody ever said that Black people were thieves, but boy that seed was planted. (4)

Another example of a double-level message is explained by a male respondent. He recalls a family story about a time when his father was in college.

And he told me that . . . he was part of a group in his fraternity that took a stand to get an Italian Catholic guy into the fraternity. There was a bunch of them who agreed they'd resign if the brothers didn't vote this guy in. And that left me with a very positive message, although it wasn't race. . . . That message was in one direction. The message in the other direction was that the deed to the house that I grew up in . . . was written to preclude selling the house to anybody who was not Caucasian. (5)

The most common response from those interviewed described at least one parent who spoke generically about the need to treat others fairly and demonstrated in their everyday behaviors a sense of concern for others. These were not necessarily parents who were overtly active in a political sense. Examples include:

I cannot recall any racial slurs on the part of my parents . . . they were very supportive of civil rights, participated in some demonstrations locally, the Civil Rights March in 1964 and those kind of things. And so they were somewhat active. I remember they're being active in support of the integration of my Jr. high and high school, even though there was a very small population of minorities. . . . So there were a lot of messages, positive messages in my upbringing . . . there were often times my parents would speak negatively about the way people of color are being treated . . . and so forth. . . . I think that kind of established a very strong foundation and a very stable foundation in terms of my feelings and thoughts about racial issues. (6)

* * *

My family wasn't particularly political or concerned with race. But it was quote unquote moral family in the sense that, you know, there is a right and there is a wrong . . . my mother would talk about how we have to be tolerant and understanding. (8)

* * *

He (my father) was (a) very open-minded guy. But he never carried on long political discussions with me. And certainly not racial

discussion. But I never heard from either of them any anti-Black stuff. Whereas from certain of my relatives I heard it constantly. (10)

Most respondents report a basically warm relationship with at least one parent, although not necessarily the same parent described as most principled. This is in contrast to Rosenhahn's findings (1970) indicating a strong affective bond with a moralizing parent. Illustrative of this point is a comment by a woman who remarks:

Even though my family was very conservative, my dad was a person who really had very strong principles and he was somebody who was very fair. I didn't get along with him growing up and didn't know him terribly well . . . but I definitely got some sense from him and he was somebody who absolutely treated everybody and anybody as a real human being. And so I do attribute some of my sense of justice and injustice and sort of treating people as good human beings and being very curious about who they are . . . to my dad. (7)

She describes her mother as more politically conservative than her father, and adds,

I always had a closer relationship with my mother all my life. I actively didn't get along with my father for quite a while. (7)

The predominant theme found in response to questions about parental models is that at least one parent served as a model of "kind" and "caring" behavior and provided a basic foundation of how one ought to respond to other people. Parents may have spoken harshly about people from different racial, ethnic, religious or class background, but their behavior toward others was decent. The strongest parental influence was a demonstration of caring behaviors, rather than overt anti-racist action or strong anti-racist messages.

No one interviewed in this study commented on learning anything in their family of origin about themselves as whites, their responsibilities

as whites or any explicit meaning about whiteness in the context of North American society.

Key Role Models

The importance of role models was a premise of this study. Hardiman (1982) notes in her presentation of white identity development that she did not find examples of people in autobiographical material who fit her "higher stages." She suggests that one reason for this finding is the lack of role models of whites demonstrating the behaviors and attitudes of her redefinition and internalization stages.

The respondents' for this study are people who serve as contemporary models of anti-racist white behavior. They were asked to discuss the people in their lives who may have served as models of social activism, anti-racist activism and inspirations for their present work. Most people interviewed did name specific individuals who were seen as significant and influential. These role models seem to fall into several categories. They are: (1) persons who were perceived as unconventional relative to the respondent's own life context--this was noted by the women in this study; (2) peers who shared similar values; and (3) teachers at a university level who provided an intellectual understanding and analysis of racism, behaved congruently with their articulated beliefs and took an active interest in the respondent. Each category will be elaborated more fully with examples from the interviews.

Four of the five women interviewed named other women as key models. What seemed significant about these models was that each

represented a way of conducting herself that was unconventional for women in the particular historic context of the respondent. For example, a 30 year old woman refers to the influence of her high school basketball coach and a high school history teacher. They were women who made the choice not to get married and not to have children. In making these choices and being publicly evident about these choices, they provided this respondent with the legitimacy to be unconventional in other ways. She comments:

I can't think of anyone when I was younger. No, I can't think of anyone. When I was older, I had role models who were unconventional. They were not role models in the sense of being social activists, but they were people that I looked up to that were definitely not in the mainstream. I had a funny kind of role model . . . a basketball coach who was a woman in her forties or fifties, I guess . . . who was not married and who was a very assertive woman. And was very happy despite the fact that she was not married. She was one of the few women I knew who was single and happy . . . (3)

Another respondent remarks:

In high school, the woman who was my Girl Scout leader was the woman who got me involved in all these projects. (8)

One additional example of a woman who provided a model of behavior counter to prevailing norms:

There is another woman . . . who is still a really close friend of mine. She was a role model in a couple of different ways. She had been very involved in the Civil Rights Movement in the South and continued to be during the first few years I knew her. She was also a really important role model as a woman. She had been a union organizer, she had made a decision not to get married, not to have kids . . . (1)

One half of those interviewed named either specific peers from college years or generally the contact with peers as an important factor in the development of their consciousness around racial issues. Respondents specifically cited meeting people with shared values and who

helped expand their conceptual understanding of racial matters as contributing factors to the importance of peer connections. Not specifically identified was the nature of the affective bond that develops between peers, particularly in a college environment. The importance of the affective bond can be inferred from the comments of several respondents as they speak of the love that was felt for peers and the ongoing link that exists today. A male respondent discusses a graduate school peer.

_____ and I worked very closely . . . when we were doing this stuff (racism workshops at the university). I have just so much respect and love for that man. He is brilliant, politically sharp, and would help give conceptual framework to some of what my guts were saying. (4)

A female respondent comments that she had been active in anti-racist work prior to beginning doctoral studies, but adds:

. . . it wasn't until I came to _____ to see so many people who I respected--peers primarily . . . some faculty members involved in anti-racist work (were) very important . . . that kind of connection in a supportive community . . . was very important to me in helping me to decide how I wanted to focus some of my professional energy. (8)

Teachers at the high school and university level were mentioned as role models. When talking about these people during the interview, continued admiration and respect were still evident. One woman speaks of Dr. C. and says she still has trouble calling him by his first name to this day. He provided her with a solid theoretical understanding. He also believed in her and treated her very respectfully. She comments:

. . . he was a very important person on helping me to get to study the economics of racism, you know, and really look at it in a broader perspective, in a Marxist perspective, basically he really helped create more of a mind set. Before that it was a moral imperative, yes, segregation is wrong; but he really put it in a much

bigger perspective. He was a key person, and he just took a big interest in me. (1)

Another comment is about a university professor from a male respondent:

I remember one sociology professor in college . . . who was this wonderful man, Black man, he was very important in terms of the development of my thinking at that point in time. I remember his being involved in introducing me to some of the Black leaders in Newark . . . he was a very influential man . . . (6)

Other college connected individuals were described as important models. It should be noted here that college connected does not necessarily mean a particular chronological age. For some of those interviewed the key college experience was right after high school. For others the more energizing and significant experiences in terms of this topic occurred during their graduate years.

Four respondents noted a family member as influential. The importance of these family members is seen in the following quotes:

My wife's influence . . . (she) came from a family with very strong, long standing social justice, peace activities, . . . she certainly brought a lot of that emphasis into my life. (2)

* * *

I think my brother was a really strong influence in my life . . . (he) could be identified as being very politically savvy . . . he being five years older than I am blazed the path . . . (6)

Very few respondents named early, primary socializers as significant role models. In the two instances where a primary socializer was cited (mother and grandmother) each respondent added comments to indicate that they were significant more because of the kind of people they were than because of any specifically socially active stance. For example, "I had a grandmother who was a wonderful woman and I loved her very much, but she wasn't socially active."

Self-Description

Respondents were asked to what extent they viewed their "whiteness" with pride and in what ways they had reservations about their "whiteness." The responses varied widely. Some felt pride in their own racial identification and some felt that white skin is more a situation of privilege in this society than a characteristic which one ought to regard with pride.

The posing of such a question does raise the larger question, what does white mean? Can the term white be used as a racial designation or is it more accurately a political designation? The theory of white identity development (Hardiman, 1982) suggests that at the apex stage, one does develop a sense of pride in one's own racial background. This theory was derived from other social identity theories (Kim, 1981; Jackson, 1976) and theories of sex-role development. By extrapolation she suggested that a similar phenomenon could be true for whites, though the data cited by Hardiman did not show whites who fit the apex category. While the individuals interviewed for this study can certainly be seen as whites knowledgeable, responsive and dedicated to the elimination of racism, they had varied responses to how they view their own racial identity. The following paragraphs provide a sample of the varied replies.

There were some persons who reported moving through stages of understanding with respect to themselves as whites, and arriving at a point of pride and acceptance.

Well, I feel really fine about it now. I certainly have a history that I've gone through. In the early 60s I would have given

anything to be Black. . . . I probably felt that way for quite a long time, until maybe 4 or 5 years ago . . . probably through the woman's movement first I got an identity as a woman, and a white woman, . . . I had my own oppression . . . then I went to some workshops that were really wonderful. . . . I was a participant in activities where we were instructed to tell with pride about our backgrounds--what there was to be really proud of . . . so, I have no desire now to be anything other than what I am, not a shred of it. I've made peace . . . that I'm a white woman in the United States. (1)

Another respondent speaks of his whiteness in terms of needing to learn how to use the power and privilege which comes to him because of his skin color to empower others. In referring to the question of pride he says:

I have found some pride and identify myself as an Anglo-Saxon bulldog . . . you know, the image of the bulldog that just gets a bite and hangs on and won't be shaken loose . . . so that begins to point to some positive sense of what it is to be white. (2)

He goes on to add that anger, more than any sense of guilt motivates him to action. He notes that he is angry at the injustices that have been done to others and at what has been done to him.

I'm very angry about the fact that I have had to spend so much energy and time and money in unlearning all this stuff that was crammed into me, head and heart, for years . . . I'm angry about that. It's cost me a lot. (2)

For others, being white is not something about which they feel pride or shame and guilt. It is a characteristic, like other personal identifiers. They report a philosophy that one must be whatever one is--white, Black, grey haired, etc., and that must be acceptable. As they learned to appreciate themselves, the question of racial identity became less paramount.

While the responses to the questions regarding racial identity, white pride, white guilt, white privilege, received some differing

answers, they were topics about which each subject had thought, struggled, and formulated personal opinions and observations. The presence of these reflections is an important characteristic of the population interviewed. The need to come to grips in a personal way with what it did or didn't mean to be white in the context of this country was a shared attribute.

Several respondents referred to the historical legacy of whites in this country as something they need to understand and address in their own lives. The importance of history is underscored by responses such as the following:

It's a mixed bag . . . in the sense of some real appreciations for my history and especially when I look at some of the positive things that white people have done to create change in society. Also a lot of sadness and pain . . . that's the legacy of our connection. (8)

How one makes sense of this legacy is an important question. Social identity theory suggests the importance of developing pride and positive acceptance of one's various social group memberships. Yet the reality of whiteness in this culture is, as one respondent state, "My group did it! You know, we brought the slaves over, in the larger sense . . . we wrote the early institutions of the country such that Blacks were not treated as people . . ." (5). How does one reconcile that reality with a personal sense of pride? This question is answered in several ways. One response offered goes as follows:

I didn't do those things. I can distinguish between what I participate in collectively and what I participate in individually. (5)

The idea of distinguishing between individual acts, collective responsibility and the historical truth of an oppressive white ideology is

reflected in these words:

I was not alive when slavery existed. . . . I never supported it, the institution of slavery. I didn't lynch anyone nor did I ever support a lyncher nor would I ever support a lyncher. So I'm clear on that. Does that mean, therefore, that the consequences of slavery and of lynching, etc., are of no consequence to me? NO! Far from it. Then the question is, how do I express my relationship to the consequences of those phenomena? What I do is fight--I have a positive responsibility to oppose all the consequences of those national experiences . . . which means that I have to oppose school segregation . . . we have responsibility as white people--a responsibility for struggling against the kind of enslavement that is here, now before your eyes. (10)

There is an important distinction contained in these comments between personal responsibility for past racist practices and a social responsibility as a white person to address the present day legacy of racism. This idea is further elaborated in comments made by respondents regarding the extent to which they feel guilty about being white. None reports presently acting from a stance of guilt. This point is made forcefully in the following remarks.

White guilt! Oh, I think that's a horrible thing. One should only feel guilty if one has committed some kind of crime or some immoral act . . . I don't feel guilty at all. What I am much more interested in is what are you doing today to deal with the badge of slavery? (10)

There was no consistent pattern in respondent comments regarding either a sequence of realizations about whiteness or regarding a present sense of white pride. Although the study was not designed to check for stages of white identity development, five respondents spontaneously described life events and responses corresponding to the stages as outlined by Hardiman. They comment on having moved through stages of having no consciousness about being white, to resenting and rejecting their

whiteness and wishing to be another race, to accepting who they are and finding reasons to be proud of that identity.

One respondent saw the notion of white identity only existing in relation to a condition of oppression and not representing a true identity or culture. His position is reported in the following statement.

Racial identity?! I have no racial identity because I'm white. And to be white in our society simply means to be privileged. And secondly, it means not to be Black . . . the only way in which whiteness unites a group is anti-Black . . . there is no white culture as such. There is no white social psychology, except insofar as it's anti-Black. So, I hope I have no white consciousness. (10)

Everyone interviewed has grappled with what it means to be white in this society, though the consequences vary from proclaiming positive affirmation of whiteness to eschewing the very notion of white identity. What is apparent from these remarks is the necessity of struggling with the meaning of whiteness in this society. It is an aspect of one's identity and as such important to understand and appreciate. How whiteness is understood seems to differ within this interview population.

Self-Interest/Motivation

Each respondent was asked a series of questions regarding their own motivation for engaging in anti-racist activities. Why do these people work in an area for which there is little public praise, often public ridicule and even personal danger and where as whites they are not the targets of discriminatory practices by virtue of their own racial designation? Issues raised by race are being met with public resistance, and engagement in the struggles posed by racism is not fashionable. It has never been fashionable to confront the white population

or address the white population about their own racial understanding, misconceptions, beliefs and behaviors. So what do these people get out of their ongoing efforts and what kinds of things have sustained them through the years?

What did not emerge were responses indicating that this population acts primarily out of a sense of altruism. That is, they are not engaged and committed to anti-racist activities primarily just to help others. They construe the problem of racism as one which also affects them and thus their actions arise out of a sense of personal need as well as concern for others. Their analysis of the condition of racism posits that they too as whites are afflicted by racist institutions and cultural dictums. The impact of racism on whites is described by one respondent. She comments

I don't think racism doesn't affect me; it affects me tremendously everywhere I turn . . . the people who come to my workshops, people come tied up in knots. Just, you know, feeling terrible about some situation that they didn't understand . . . when I started doing this sort of work it was always from the perspective it will help other groups and we do need to do something about that. And it is our responsibility. But it will work much better if we realize that we need to do it for ourselves. You know, we're in worse shape with it than people of color are! In certain areas, certain aspects of it. (9)

The responses given regarding self-interest included a desire to make the world a safer, better place for their children; a desire to be congruent with professed beliefs and action; and feeling psychologically and spiritually fulfilled. Also named in response to the questions about self-interest was a conviction about the connection between racism and other social ills, e.g., sexism, nuclear proliferation, environmental destruction, anti-semitism, heterosexism, classism. These issues

were seen as an interconnected whole. Representative comments from respondents include:

I think I have a huge amount of self-interest. I mean I have a moral commitment to my own survival as well as the survival of other people, and I think that a huge part of the motivation that I have is because I'm intellectually convinced that it's absolutely necessary to be breaking down divisions among people in order for us all to have a safe world. (1)

* * *

. . . if I talk about benefits that have occurred, I certainly have come to a kind of . . . sense of fulfillment that I've never had before . . . a feeling that I'm doing what I really want to do, and what's really important to me and in small ways important to society. I've come to a whole new group of friends . . . who have just opened all kinds of new possibilities to me as to what life is about. . . . I would say a deepened sense of religious conviction and faith that even those words don't say what I mean, because I would need a whole new vocabulary . . . certainly a whole new sense of the relationship between various kinds of oppression, racism, sexism, classism, and how those, in turn, have victimized me in certain ways. A whole new sense of my own liberation from a lot of that along with the sense that it's always going to be a struggle. There's very little that really intimidates me any more. (2)

Whatever the precipitating forces for their anti-racism work, all respondents report deriving an important sense of personal fulfillment from their work.

In response to queries about how they are able to sustain themselves in their work, three significant themes emerged. One involved the engagement, collegueship and support of others. The close personal contact with others with similar values and who have faced similar struggles was seen as a significant source of support in the face of adversity or fatigue.

My friendships sustain me. . . . It sounds so trite, but just loving and trusting each other and learning how to do it (dealing with differences) better and deeper all the time. (7)

* * *

I think it's largely people that are sustaining . . . the people I know, who I relate with, who share the political beliefs. (6)

A second theme had to do with receiving feedback from a variety of sources indicating that in some way their efforts had been important. They knew they had made a difference to some people and the knowledge of this, coupled with a conviction about the necessity for social change, served as an important source of nourishment in lean times.

A third theme noted by four of the ten respondents referred to a knowledge of history as significant in sustaining their commitment. Their understanding of the slow process of change and their recognition of signs that social change has indeed been taking place gave them encouragement to continue with their work. Being able to understand change in a long range way, while still being able to act in the present even if in seemingly minor ways seemed to be an important source of sustenance. This idea is discussed by a female respondent:

I remember many years ago talking with a . . . friend (and) asking him the same question (what sustains him?). He replied that it used to be much harder on him until he started doing a more thorough reading of history. It was very helpful for me to hear him say it was much harder until he got much more of an overview--that in actuality things have changed tremendously, that we have made a difference and that things change slowly. (9)

What was clearly indicated by all is that anti-racism efforts are not just work. It does not solely represent a way to earn a living or a way to engage in professionally satisfying work. For each respondent the response to racism is an integral part of their daily lives,

personally, professionally, spiritually and emotionally. Their friendships, their political activities, their leisure activities, their familial relationships are all influenced by their stance on racism.

Sense of Social Marginality

Rosenhahn (1970) and London (1970) found social marginality to be a significant variable in the study of fully committed civil rights activists and World War II rescuers, respectively. Proceeding from these research findings, respondents were asked whether they perceived themselves to be oppressed in any way and, if so, to what extent they saw their own experience as an oppressed person as contributing to their anti-racist stance. Social marginality in this context is taken to mean situations which by virtue of language, religion, race, gender, sexual orientation, social class, physical or mental abilities, place an individual outside of the dominant, normative category.

What is most striking and reflective of the dynamics of oppression about the responses to the questions about social marginality, are the differences by gender found in these interviews. Four of the five women interviewed immediately referred to a category of social group membership as significant in their developing racial consciousness. Reference was made to being Jewish, a lesbian, female and working-class. Four of the five male respondents pointed toward various personal characteristics as contributing to their sensitivity to others. Examples given included wearing glasses, being "over-weight," and interests and intellectual capabilities as marking them as somehow different from age peers. They did not identify social group memberships as giving them a

feeling of being different. Further elaboration of these points will be presented by gender groupings.

Men. The types of personal differences mentioned by men included being teased because of wearing glasses, feeling maligned by others because of weight; feeling different due to values and intellectual interests which were not perceived by peers as normative. One man spoke of having polio as a young child and attending a school for crippled children. While he does not himself name this experience as necessarily contributing to his views regarding race, he does say that this experience introduced him for the first time to a wide range of people different from himself. A key feature in each story seems to be an experience with being different by virtue of a personal characteristic, something intrinsic to the self which set them apart from others and formed a seed for ridicule which was often planted by others.

These thoughts are expressed by the following comments.

I would say I probably felt more oppressed as a person wearing glasses, which I wore very young: I think when I was six or seven years old; and being called "four eyes" and that kind of thing. That was really the first time that I felt different. And you know, that went on for a number of years . . . (6)

Another male respondent commented that he wouldn't use the term oppression to describe early experiences, but did experience times when he felt alone because of his ideas.

You know, I've often been in positions of being alone in my point of view or my attitude or my inclinations or my values . . . and you know, I was interested in intellectual things in school, but I did athletics because I like it but also because that was part of being accepted. And then I did intellectual work 'cause I wanted to. I was kind of "out" for that . . . so I had this sort of inclination toward being different or that . . . when I'm different, gets evoked by virtually any situation I'm in. But that's not oppression by a

long shot. . . . But I'm constantly at odds with the value system . . . how things are done . . . (5)

Among the men interviewed were individuals from different class backgrounds, that is, who identified themselves as middle class or working class and men who identified themselves as Jewish or WASP. The two Jewish men interviewed commented explicitly that they found dimensions other than their Jewishness as more experientially impactful in promoting understanding and sensitivity toward differences.

Women. Within the population of women interviewed, social group membership categories were named as contributing forces to their anti-racism work. Three of the five women explicitly cited gender as significant in forming their social consciousness. Another woman spoke of her Jewishness as an early mold. The one woman who did not specifically cite her own social group background as crucial in helping her form an understanding of oppression, was the one respondent whose family was most socially active and who was trained from an early age to see and accept difference. In many respects her early years reflected a great deal of difference from her age peers and thus some of her efforts were spent in trying to fit in.

I was trying to be in many ways the all American popular type. . . . I did well in school, I didn't really think of myself as oppressed, but it was just like sort of embarrassment. (1)

She adds that another part of her wanted to identify even more strongly with non-mainstream groups.

I bought a Jewish star when I was 15 and wore it to school and told people that I was Jewish. That was like from reading stuff about oppression of Jews and really wanting to connect with that, and then the next year I told people my grandmother was Black and it was very much out of, you know, like I am popular, if people know that I'm

either Jewish or Black or something like that, then they'll like Jews and Blacks. (1)

The other women interviewed referred to being Jewish, a lesbian, working class, or female as important precursors to the development of their racial consciousness.

The two predominant responses to this category of questioning are that respondents did feel different from age peers in some way and saw this difference as an important factor in the development of their subsequent racial understandings and that women, more than men, feel this difference more acutely in terms of social group memberships.

Self-Identified Significant Life Experiences

In addition to posing questions to respondents based on literature-derived categories, each person interviewed was asked more open-ended questions. These questions enabled respondents to cite those events, experiences, relationships, that they perceived to be instrumental in the development of their consciousness around racial issues. What will be discussed in this section are those themes which were noted by at least seven of ten respondents. Other reflections which might prove useful in educational anti-racism efforts will be noted in the concluding chapter. The themes are: (1) the importance of close personal relationships with Blacks; (2) the significance of the historic moment; (3) the impact of reading as a young person; and (4) the role of a religious/ideological background. Each will be discussed separately.

Close personal relationships. A close or intimate personal relationship with a Black person was frequently cited as crucial in

engagement and commitment to anti-racist activities. While having casual friends of different racial backgrounds as children was also mentioned, these relationships tended not to be framed as central in their commitment to anti-racism actions. Three persons in this interview population are parents of Black children. Three respondents noted that they are now or have been involved in an intimate love relationship with a Black person.

One woman spoke of her nephew's birth as pivotal in her connection to anti-racist efforts. Other relationships seen as pivotal were viewed as family-type relationships involving the kind of caring and enmeshment experienced in family units. Some of these relationships are described in these interview excerpts:

. . . my nephew was born in '69. I think that was really pretty pivotal. . . . And I remember deciding that when _____ was born, that (he) was going to be one of the people who made things work out for him. I was gonna keep track and be around, have a relationship, and if for whatever reason my sister could not raise him, I would take him. That's never been an issue. But in my mind I was making that commitment to him. It was very clear to me that that was going to have to include something about racism. He's Black. . . . It was very clear that that was part of who I was, you know . . . that was where the closest and most important personal relationship was. (9)

Another example comes from a man who describes the adoption of his son as a significant event. He notes that prior to adopting a Black child he had a "semi-conscious" agenda to learn about race.

. . . then came along the question of adopting a Black child. We could not have our own children, so we adopted _____, who is white, and then (we) were given a chance to adopt a Black baby. And that sort of escalated the whole thing . . . we took roughly speaking, nine months to decide to do that. And along the way, I had this growing desire to learn more about race. And then would take more opportunities (to learn) . . . put myself in the position where I would have to learn . . . then it began to creep into my professional work . . . (5)

Other comments spoke to a feeling of being "like family" with a Black friend and the impact of this type friendship.

When I was in college, the most important thing that happened to me was that I became friends with _____. She was a Black woman . . . we became very, very close . . . she was a couple of years older than me and really got me involved in politics . . . just spent an enormous amount of time together and she got me involved in CORE in the late 50s . . . she took me to her family's home in Washington D.C. I spent weeks there, and it was my first experience of living with a black family. That's probably one of the most important things that's happened to me. (1)

* * *

. . . definitely one of my strongest role models has been _____ who is a Black lesbian feminist and she and I became lovers, and became family to each other and continue to be family to each other even though we broke up . . . she has a sister and I'm very close to her . . . sister. She has been totally important to my life in terms of being a role model. And, of course, I learned tremendously from her about my racism and about dealing with racism and all that kind of thing. (7)

The examples already cited depict intimate relationships which emerged in an individual context. That is, they are relationships with persons who are family according to our kinship system or family by choice.

Other contexts of close relationships with Black people were also seen as pivotal experiences. Some of these relationships resulted from involvement in educational groups or work related groups. What is common to each experience is that it resulted in close interpersonal bonding with persons of a different racial background, caused respondents to examine their own attitudes and behaviors about race and lead toward a commitment to actively address their own versions of racism as well as institutional forms of racism.

One woman describes the experience of joining a group which had been formed by primarily Black feminists. She recalls choosing to be in a situation where "I would be in the minority and where I would not be in any kind of powerful position in regard to people of color in the group." She did join and states that the group "completely changed my life." In elaborating on that experience she comments:

What I had hoped for happened . . . I became close friends with a number of different women in the collective, and in particular a number of the women of color . . . (7)

During the time of her involvement with this group, a number of serious racial problems erupted in the city where she was living. While this respondent had been politically active and aware prior to connecting with this group of women, she remarks, in reference to the problems in the city:

. . . it also affected me personally incredibly because I had become friends with a number of Black women and I was scared for their lives . . . just having it be that immediate in my life . . . it wasn't ideological at all. (7)

She concludes discussing her participation with this group by adding:

. . . it was out of that year and the group that I was doing in the . . . collective, that was the first time I ever stood up in front of a group of people to talk about racism and to talk about my personal experience and put myself on the line in that kind of way, in a public way . . . and so from there I just got more and more active and just kept going and have continued to do whatever I could do . . . (7)

Comments from other interviews also noted the impact of developing close relationships with people of color in a context where, as a white person, there was a sufficient level of trust developed so that the reality of their own racism could be talked about. In such a context, they felt more able to explore their own attitudes, examine their own

behaviors and were able to listen to comments from people that they loved and respected which were not always flattering.

Significance of the Historic Moment

The importance of the historic moment was a point specifically underscored by the stories of seven of the ten respondents in this study. In particular, they point to their own involvement in social movements as crucial influences on their thinking and acting about racial issues. The majority of those who made direct reference to the role of a social movement were involved in some fashion with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. For some individuals this involvement marked their introduction to the reality of racial strife and once being aware, they could not dismiss what they saw and what they learned. For others, the Civil Rights Movement was an extension of values and ideas already held. In all instances, it was an movement which changed these individuals' lives.

Also mentioned as a social movement which has had a significant impact is the Women's Movement. Four of the five women interviewed note the importance of the Women's Movement on their thinking about the nature of oppression, including racism and sexism, in this country and as a movement which engaged them politically and personally with women of different racial backgrounds. None of the men interviewed mentioned the Women's Movement.

There were different reasons given for why the Civil Rights Movement had the impact on people that it did. The common feature mentioned was that it held a strong valence of both emotional and intellectual

meaning. What follows is an indication of the types of meaning acknowledged.

One man eloquently capsulizes the movement and its impact on him in the following way:

Well, I've been able, I guess, to identify with groups of people who have sustained the country. That is, the Civil Rights Movement was the first black-led national movement in our history, in favor of freedom. I'm leaving out abolition because so many of the Blacks were slaves at the time; they weren't free to develop an independent movement . . . so the Civil Rights Movement is distinguished by the fact that Black people are dealing with political problems of Black people, they are leading that movement . . . and so it gave me the opportunity to know the people, Black people, and to get to understand the significance of larger political and historic significance of Black people's struggles. The way I understand that movement, it is a movement for the country at large. When black people are struggling for their own freedom, it influences the whole society. And those periods where Blacks have been in a position of struggle--politically--for their freedom, other great movements have drawn sustenance from that. So I think it's mostly that understanding that has brought me, kept me, there. (10)

A woman now in her mid 30s speaks of the formative influence that the Civil Rights Movement had on her. She describes her latter high school years as a time when she had some experiences working with Blacks. While her role in some of these instances she now views as problematic, it gave her both exposure to people whose lives were different from hers and led her to ask, "Why people lived differently and why it was that people's race had something to do with their choices in life." She then adds:

So I think some of that (awareness of racial issues) began at that point in time. The historic moment, I think is very important. I went to college in the 60s . . . there was activity on campus that I was connected with, civil rights movement. There were student exchanges where people would go down South. . . . I did some voter registration and I went to Howard on an exchange program. And there was a context (emphasis added) in which we were exploring issues of

race and racial injustice. So I think that was certainly influential. (8)

In speaking of her developing consciousness, a female respondent says that during the Vietnam War she was "semipolitical--but I couldn't sustain anything." She then speaks of the influence on her of the Women's Movement:

And then I started to hear more about the Women's Movement that was happening, and to this day I feel like the Women's Movement saved my life literally. That gave me some hope and I started to change. (7)

These social movements and the orientation that each represented seem to have provided a context for becoming engaged in social activism. The liberation movements also enabled individuals to understand their personal troubles as public issues (Mills, 1959).

Importance of Reading

Books were cited by many respondents as particularly influential. The books fall into two groups. One group of books tell the stories of oppression and a second group includes books which provide an overview for conceptually understanding oppression. Books read in childhood such as Tom Sawyer, The Last of the Just were noted as providing an emotional link to the struggles of others. The writings of W.E.B. DuBois, James Baldwin, Eldridge Cleaver were mentioned by three individuals as important contributions to their understanding of feeling for racial problems.

Books which offered a generic conceptual framework for understanding oppression included the class analysis of Karl Marx and an

ecological analysis from The Life of a Cell. Reading seems to have provided access and an emotional connection to the lives of others.

Religious/Ideological Background

A family background in which a strong religious or ideological message was given was noted in eight interviews. What seems to be consistent in the stories of religious histories is receiving a sense that there is right and wrong and that one has an obligation to "do right." While for many respondents the actual institutional practice of religion was viewed as hypocritical, they subscribed to the messages of justice, connectedness to others, and love contained in the words of different religious practices. Also, the historical tradition of, for example, the Jews, Mennonites, Quakers, to be concerned with the collective good was seen as an important source of future engagement in a form of social activism.

In some families, the ideology presented was derived from a set of political beliefs more than religious beliefs. In each family, the ground for connecting to social issues and feeling the imperative to personally address social issues and feeling the imperative to personally address social issues was laid. Future experiences then had a context to draw from.

Summary of Chapter IV

In this chapter, findings from the interviews have been presented. The chapter was divided into sections, each corresponding to a research question. Excerpts from the interviews were used for illustration and

to provide the reader with an overview of the responses. The directing research questions and findings relative to that question will be given in summary form.

Section I: Conflict Situation

Section one reported on responses to the question: "What constitutes a racial dilemma or conflict as experienced by anti-racist whites?" In presenting this section, the description of the context of the conflict situation was given as described in the interview along with respondent statements about the conflict for them within the situation. A variety of contexts were mentioned including subway stops; a conversation with a shuttle-bus driver; interaction at work; a discussion with a family member and dealing with a school.

The conflicts within these situations ranged from a concern about self consistency--having one's actions be consistent with personally held values; a concern about how one's own racism was manifest in the conflict situation; wondering if one's own perceptions of the conflict situation could be trusted; concern about one's external image; feeling a personal need to respond to a racist situation; not wanting the effect of one's actions to contribute to institutional or cultural racist practices; concern about how to respond to a "minority" person; and determining what strategy to employ in a given situation.

Additional themes emerged in a review of these responses. They are:

- (1) The ordinariness of the situation--the contexts described were ones commonly experienced in everyday life.

- (2) The recentness of the conflict. In seven of ten interviews, the conflict occurred between two days to two months of the interview. Both of these themes point toward the pervasiveness of racism in everyday life and the pervasiveness of an awareness of racism in the lives of the respondents.
- (3) Elaboration of internal dialogue. The narrative of the conflict situation in four specific interviews contained an extensive and detailed rendering of the internal dialogue occurring during the conflict situation.
- (4) Implication of self. For half of the interview population, the conflict concerned how their own racism was manifest in some form by the situation. They acknowledged an awareness of personal levels of racism and demonstrated through their concern the tenacity of personal racism.
- (5) Complexity and subtlety.

Also identified were levels of institutional and cultural racism seen in the conflict. Respondents referred to how the situation could serve to perpetuate institutional and cultural racist practices.

Section II: Perspectives on Morality

The findings reported in this section related to questions about definitions of morality; whether respondents viewed the conflict situation as constituting a moral problem and what perspective(s) on morality were illustrated by their responses. Replies were analyzed using the distinction between a perspective of care and one of justice as explicated by Gilligan and Lyons.

In terms of the question, "Is this a moral problem?" responses were mixed. Three respondents replied that they did see the conflict as a moral issue. Others noted that in the issue of race moral, political, economic and social concerns were interwoven. In general replies indicate that for this population the joining of the concept of morality with the issue of race was not seen as useful.

Definitions of morality were used as one source for examining perspectives of care or justice. Findings from these questions indicate an orientation of care predominated in this sample population. No significant difference with respect to gender was noted.

The descriptions of salient background experiences provide further indication of a "care" perspective. Common themes seen in the portion of the interviews dealing with background features include:

- o Parents who demonstrated care and kindness to others, even though their rhetoric may have been racist.
- o Peers and teachers with whom respondents had a personal relationship described as role models.
- o Self-interest described in terms of feelings of connectedness to others and anti-racist efforts as a way to care for self and others.
- o Involvement in their work sustained through connection to others and a feeling of helping others.
- o The importance of intimate relationships with Black people in terms of engaging in anti-racist efforts and sustaining those efforts.

Section III: Background Experiences

Respondents were directed to speak about parental influences, significant role models, self-interest or motivation for anti-racist

work, how they viewed themselves in terms of their own racial identity and their own sense of social marginality. Findings with respect to these categories were:

- o Parental influence. The strongest pattern was that all respondents reported at least one parent who demonstrated kind, caring behaviors to others. Parents' orientation to racial issues varied. The parent seen as most principled in terms of the treatment of others was not necessarily the parent with whom the affective bond was strongest.
- o Role models. Four of the five women in the sample noted other women as models. The characteristic seen as significant by the women respondents was the non-conforming behavior demonstrated by those seen as role models, e.g., not married and still leading productive lives. Also named by both men and women were peers from university days and teachers at the high school and college level.
- o Self-interest. Self-interest was described in terms of how anti-racist efforts provided a sense of personal fulfillment. Engagement was sustained by the support and collegueship of others and through the response from others that their efforts were indeed having an impact.
- o Social marginality. The clearest pattern emerging from this question related to gender differences in the responses. Four of the five women interviewed referred to a social group membership (Jewish, lesbian, working class, female) as important in setting a foundation for their racial awareness. Male respondents referred to personal characteristics (weight, wearing glasses, intellectual abilities), rather than social group membership.

Also noted in this section were four additional themes. These were identified in at least seven of the ten interviews: (1) an intimate relationship with a Black person; (2) the significance of the historic moment; (3) the impact of reading; and (4) the role of religious/ideological background.

C H A P T E R V

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

This chapter begins with a discussion of two major ideas which emerge from a review of the findings. These ideas are presented in the context of other writers' works on the same subject. Educational implications and suggestions for further research are also discussed.

What can be learned from an in-depth look at the lives of a selected group of whites who express and demonstrate a commitment to anti-racist efforts? What in their backgrounds have influenced them? How do they view racial conflicts and what is their self-interest in engaging in anti-racist efforts? It was the purpose of this exploratory study to address these questions.

Findings were derived from in-depth interviews conducted over a period of six months. Five women and five men participated in this study. The individuals were identified as anti-racists on the basis of their writings and teaching in the area of racism, the length of their involvement in addressing racial issues, and their willingness to participate in a study of this nature. The interviews were analyzed using qualitative methods and concepts identified from salient literature.

Concluding Discussion

Chapter IV described the findings in terms of the research questions which guided the study and the particular categories used to guide the interviews. These findings are discussed and summarized in detail

in that chapter. In this chapter observations gleaned from viewing the findings as a whole are presented.

In reviewing the findings from each portion of the interview (descriptions of the conflict situation; definitions of morality; salient background experiences) two recurring ideas become evident. These ideas relate to: (1) relationships and a caring orientation; and (2) self-interest. In describing these ideas, the various sections of the interview begin to present a more coherent picture.

Relationships and a Caring Orientation

Central to this study is the theory of moral development which locates one's orientation to moral choices in terms of a perspective of care or a perspective of justice. A caring orientation was defined as one which takes as its primary focus concern about relationships in terms of maintaining, restoring or enhancing connections between people. A justice orientation was defined as one concerned with conflicting claims in a relationship, with the focus on how to resolve these claims in a way that is fair, or consistent with duties and obligations by employing rules, standards or principles. A characteristic of a care orientation is its embeddedness in a given situation. A justice orientation can be characterized as emphasizing rights or general principles in a given situation.

To help illustrate this point, recent writings by Pratt, Beardslee and Noddings are reviewed along with references to the findings from this study. The connection between how one views relationships and anti-racist involvement has been recently described in an

autobiographical essay by Minnie Bruce Pratt (1984). She describes the development of her understanding of racial issues as a white woman growing up in the Southern United States. In her book, Pratt rhetorically asks her self many of the same questions posed to respondents in this study as she recounts her journey from the "unknowing majority" (Maya Angelou's term) into consciousness. She now regards racism as an everyday issue and as a moral issue. In recalling a conversation with a friend about viewing racism as a question of morality, she comments:

Here my friend Dorothy protested . . . she hates the word, it having been used against her often. It's true: her Baptists, and my Presbyterians, not to mention others we could name, have turned the word on us too much. (Pratt, 1984, p. 14)

Pratt then defines morality in her own terms as:

Issues of how to live, the right and wrong of it, about how to respect others and myself. (p. 14)

Further in her essay she points to her relationship with another person as a pivotal factor in her engagement and commitment to anti-racism. She comments:

But I began (to change) when I jumped from my edge and outside of myself, into radical change, for love: simply love: for myself and other women . . . and this love led me directly, but by a complicated way, to work against racism and anti-semitism. (p. 19)

A sense of connectedness to others in struggle emerged from this love relationship and her desire to join that struggle. Similarly to some women in this study, Pratt acknowledges that it was following her awareness of her oppression as a woman and after experiencing negative social consequences due to her sexual orientation, that she was able to understand the consequences to her of racism.

Adding further to the sense that it is how we connect and join to one another that provides the impetus to change and the strength to endure the process of change, Beardslee (1983) reports on interviews he conducted with Blacks and whites actively involved in the Civil Rights Movement. Beardslee's investigation was prompted by his own interest as a psychiatrist in healthy behavior--in people's strengths as well as their difficulties. He regarded those who remained invested in civil rights work as individuals who demonstrated "unusual strength and commitment" (p. xxii). He interviewed 13 people in 1974 and the same people again in 1980 to find out how they coped with the "profound disillusionment" (p. xxii) that had gripped others, and how they had handled the years following the height of the movement.

He asked questions during the interviews about what had kept these individuals going over time; what they saw as their source of strength; and how they saw the role of ideology in their lives.

The title of his book The Way Out Must Lead In reflects a major finding of his study. Based on both sets of interviews he comments:

The way out must lead in. . . . What I hear in the words, and in reading the histories, is that the way out led people in, not just into jail, but into self-examination, into fundamental changes in the ways they viewed themselves and others, and into major, new relationships. For those people with whom I spoke, the way out led into lasting personal growth. (p. 147)

In comparing the responses from the 1980 interviews with those from 1974 he notes:

. . . (that) the fundamental concerns they voiced before--the overwhelming importance of closeness to others, both initially and throughout the Movement . . . all remain true. (p. 163)

Relationships, in Beardslee's analysis, were seen as the sustaining

force; a context; a source of stability and provided the foundation for personal change.

The importance of relationships is underscored in the philosophical writing of Murdoch (as noted in Lyons, 1983), Blum (1980), and Noddings (1984). They each present philosophical arguments which place being-toward others, relatedness to others as fundamental human concerns. Noddings comments that she takes relatedness to be "ontologically basic and the caring relation as ethically basic" (Noddings, 1984, p. 3). She associates an ethic of caring with the feminine spirit (rooted in receptivity, relatedness and responsiveness) and sees the feminine spirit as a basic part of human existence, for men and for women. She contends that the ethic of caring ought to be the aim of education.

A caring orientation as reflected in the description of relationships with others, is evidenced throughout this study, as well. In the responses to questions about parental influences, role models, definitions of morality, conflict situations and what has sustained them over time, the theme of closeness to others was repeated. Examples of the findings include:

- All of those interviewed made reference to what is being called here and in other recent articles--the paradigm of caring--as being demonstrated by at least one parent. Some of the same parents also voiced antagonistic attitudes toward outgroups, including Blacks. What seems to have been most significant for these respondents was the parental examples of caring observed during their formative years regardless of parental ideology. Literature suggests that socially active and committed individuals have at least one parent who has modelled similar behavior and who provides a strong moralistic (ideological) message. This examination did not support that observation. However, when the concept of caring is employed, the nature of parental influence in terms of

specific behaviors modelled and messages dispensed becomes clearer.

- Key role models mentioned were persons with whom respondents felt a close bond. In some instances relatives were named as key role models. Other respondents mentioned individuals with whom the respondent felt a familial-type closeness.
- Situations were seen as conflicts which involved questions of how to respond to another; how to reduce hurt to self and other.
- All respondents mentioned that a key element in what sustained them were their relationships with other people.
- Seven of the ten respondents specifically identified an intimate relationship as a central factor in their engagement and commitment to anti-racist efforts.

A caring orientation as indicated by one's perspective on relationships to others can be seen as an important concept for understanding the findings from this study and gives direction to identifying salient characteristics of anti-racist whites.

Self-interest

Self-interest as an important dimension for understanding white responses to racism has been discussed at length by Terry (1978) and noted by Hardiman (1982) and Hecht (1977). Respondents in this study were specifically asked to comment on their motivation or self-interest for engaging in anti-racist efforts. Findings strongly indicate that their motivation primarily emanates from feeling and understanding how racism affects them personally. The problem of racism was not viewed as someone else's problem and their response to racism was not viewed as solely acting altruistically or just on behalf of others. Racism was seen as very personal because they as whites were adversely affected and because racism hurt loved ones.

Also frequently noted in response to questions about self-interest was the sense of personal fulfillment they derived from their efforts. Self-fulfillment was described in terms of giving meaning to one's life; enhancing self-esteem; increasing personal power; providing a sense of inner strength by reducing fears. Anti-racist efforts are seen, then, as an important component of personal growth.

Pratt (1984) and Beardslee (1983) identify self-interest in ways similar to those noted in this study. In reflecting on what she gained from breaking from the racist orientation she was born into, Pratt states that she has gained a "more accurate, complex, multi-layered and truthful" (Pratt, p. 16) way to see the world; and that she has been able to "loosen the constrictions of fear and expand my circle of self" (p. 18). As her consciousness about racism has expanded, so too has her sense of self-worth. When anti-racist white self-interest is viewed in terms of self-fulfillment, personal liberation, and as an act of self-love, further illumination is given to the caring orientation as a connecting thread in this sample. The definition of an orientation of care presented earlier identifies care of self as an important consideration within that perspective. More specifically, care of self refers to seeing oneself as an important person to consider when making a moral decision; seeing one's own needs as legitimate and worthwhile.

Terry (1978) affirms the importance of understanding white self-interest and identifies the dearth of literature addressing this topic. Based on his work with whites over a period of years, he offers a description of different forms of white self-interest and links his

description of self-interest to Kohlberg's stages of moral development. Thus, he contends that each stage of moral development reflects a different understanding and conceptualization of white self-interest. In keeping with the principles of moral development as outlined by Kohlberg, each stage represents a progressively more adequate form of reasoning.

Chapter II reports in more detail Terry's description of self-interest at the highest stages of reasoning. He refers to people at the highest stage as "Active Emergent Pluralists" and states that their self-interest is "rooted in the personal desire for more complete fulfillment" (Terry, 1978, p. 360). This observation is similar to the findings in this study and is echoed by the comments of Pratt (1984) and Beardslee (1983).

Significantly different, however, is his explanation of why whites at this stage feel fulfilled from responding in anti-racist ways. In response to the question, "Why be anti-racist?" Terry answers (for the Active Emergent Pluralist), "To gain integrity by acting on a transcendent principle" (p. 372). Terry's construction of white self-interest as connected to principles which transcend a given situation is compatible with the criteria of an orientation of justice as defined earlier in Chapter IV.

In this study, no mention was made of universal principles. Fulfillment was seen in terms of providing a sense of connectedness to others and as a means of self-love. What might account for the difference in the observations? One explanation may be that when Terry proposed his hypothesis about the convergence between levels of white self-

interest and moral reasoning, Kohlberg's schema offered the most coherent theoretical explanation, in fact the only established model.

Another explanation may have to do with the underlying perspectives of each observer. Terry writes that he sees himself as representative of the "Active Emergent Pluralist" position. Kohlberg's theory may have appealed to him on an intuitive and logical level. Gilligan, Lyons, Nodding, and Pratt all make reference to caring as a construct which is reflective of the feminine spirit. Perhaps this author's gender coupled with the availability of a theoretical framework which presents a way to observe and identify both a perspective of care and of justice, contributes to a different observation.

This preliminary examination does indicate that an orientation of care and white self-interest may provide a useful framework for understanding salient characteristics of white anti-racists.

Educational Implications

There are a number of implications for education about racism which result from findings from this study. Each will be briefly noted.

1. The concept of care as an organizing framework for educational aims needs to be considered. In terms of education about racism, curriculum needs to involve some focus on relationships and white self-interest. Noddings identifies four essential components for moral education grounded in the ethic of care. These components are the teacher as a paradigm of a caring relationship; the importance of dialogue about topics germane to the life space of the learner; opportunities to

practice caring behaviors and the confirmation (or affirmation) of the student as a caring person as evidenced through practice and dialogue.

In addition, opportunities to form close relationships between people of different racial groups need to be provided. These opportunities could include structuring interaction within the classroom setting; exchanges with people outside of the educational setting; readings and films about the lives of Black, Hispanic, Asian-American and Indian people. As well, intentional efforts need to be made within the classroom context to encourage sharing of experiences; legitimizing emotional responses and encouraging students to form connections with one another.

2. Education needs to explicitly focus on the nature of whiteness. Racism is expressed in countless ways in our culture by assuming white values, culture, beliefs, to be the standard in all situations. By viewing whiteness as one of many racial designations, it may become descriptive of a group of people rather than proscriptive for all people. Educational experiences for whites about being white need to include an understanding of how whites are hurt by racism and specific attention to how it is in the self-interest of white people to oppose all forms of racism.

3. Everyday situations should be used as an important context for understanding racial issues. Cultural, institutional and personal forms of racism are manifested everywhere. The closer to the actual life experience of the learners, the more likely it is that they may feel a personal connection and see how it is in their own self-interest to act in anti-racist ways.

4. Education should present specific examples of whites, now and historically, who have been committed to anti-racist efforts. Examples should include both women and men. Literature can be one important source for identifying role models. Respondents commented on the importance of reading about the personal experiences of others.

5. Education should provide a conceptual framework for understanding the social, political, economic, spiritual context of racism. There are various conceptual models available. The selection of a framework is in part a personal choice of the educator. What is important is to place the existence and persistence of racism in a perspective wide enough to illustrate the connections of racism to other aspects of the social system, e.g., economics, law, medicine, education, and to demonstrate that racism is not a personally constructed issue, but rather a social dilemma.

6. As part of a conceptual understanding of racism, education should incorporate reading and interpretations of history which expand the students' knowledge base of, for example, the history of slavery; the history of Black resistance; the experiences historically as well as currently of various racial groups in this country. The history of social change movements--and the heroes and heroines of these movements should also be presented. Such background information presents contradictions to certain white supremacist interpretations of history. Awareness of the history of change movements provides a way to understand the process of social change.

7. Education should encourage students to join together in addressing racial issues and questions and if possible, to become part of some larger social movement. The connection to others engaged in a similar struggle at a similar stage and the sense of being part of something greater than oneself was seen in this study as an important element in both engaging in anti-racist work and sustaining that involvement. Another reason for intentionally structuring ways for people to connect with one another is that whites who begin to question the dominant racial paradigms, may find themselves isolated and alienated from other whites. The immediate impact of changing consciousness about racial issues can be increased discomfort and increased uncertainty about how to respond. Support from a group can be helpful.

Research Implications

Patton notes in his discussion on qualitative analysis that the "complete analysis isn't" and even more wryly, "The moment you turn off the tape recorder, say goodbye and leave the interview, it will become immediately clear to you what perfect question you should have asked to tie the whole thing together . . . but didn't" (Patton, 1980, p. 295). With the closing of a discussion on this study, directions for further research are indicated as well as comments about what elements of the study might be revamped if undertaken again.

Research directions suggested by this study include:

1. Using the concept of care as described by Gilligan and Lyons in the further studies of white responses to racism, as well

as responses to other social issues is recommended. Future studies using perspectives of morality to describe a socially active group of people, should ask questions about moral perspectives separately from questions about racial or other social issues.

2. Exploring the motivation for sustained anti-racist actions on the part of Black, Hispanic, Asian-American and Indian people would provide interesting comparison. Findings from this study indicate tendencies from a group of selected white activists and educators. Assumptions cannot be made about the motivations of persons from other racial groups without further exploration.
3. Examining people who have worked for a sustained period of time addressing other social issues such as nuclear proliferation, environmental abuse, effects of poverty, etc. might raise interesting questions. Do similar motivations encourage all social change efforts? Are there differences among groups of people depending on the issue they focus on? In a research proposal submitted by Watkins (1984) to Clark University, she proposed a study of people who have sustained involvement in nuclear disarmament work. She notes the dearth of research on the characteristics and influences of persons who remain committed to social activism in general and nuclear disarmament in particular.

4. While significant differences based on gender were not found in this study, there were indications of gender differences in terms of salient background factors. Gender as a factor in the interview population and as a factor in the research should be considered in future research.
5. Suggestions for design changes in any similar research effort include providing respondents with a general outline of questions before the interview so that they can begin mulling over ideas and thoughts prior to the interview; conducting more than one interview to allow for follow-up questions, and clarifying thoughts that emerge as a result of the interview. The interviews focused on the life-span of respondents. The interview process stimulates thoughts and recollections which cannot all be captured in a single interview. A follow-up interview provides the interviewer an opportunity to clarify points or ask additional questions.

Increasing racial tolerance within the white community continues to be a critical social need. The direction taken by this study was to explore some background features and ways of understanding racial issues of whites who have demonstrated over the years a commitment to anti-racist efforts. This study helps point toward directions for future research and educational programs within the white community. It is also hoped that the persons described in this study will serve as a source of inspiration and encouragement for others.

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