INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA

UMI®
800-521-0600
"FAIRY FICTIONS": WHITE WOMEN AS HELPING PROFESSIONALS

by

Kerstin Roger

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto

©Copyright by Kerstin Roger (1998)
The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L’auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L’auteur conserve la propriété du droit d’auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-41497-3
Abstract

"Fairy Fictions": White Women as Helping Professionals

The education and practice of the social service provider is shaped through an historical context that is deeply racialized. A number of pedagogical tools have attempted to provide the educator and learner of the social services with ways of addressing both personal identifications and professional practices. However, such pedagogical tools have not sufficiently addressed how deeply invested the identity of the white social service provider is in these historical and social constructions. This research employs both an historical stance as well as a psychoanalytic analysis in order to investigate the processes by which white female helping professionals are inscribed into a representation and discourse of respectability, into the nation Canada, and as social subjects within imperialism.

This research has been conducted through open-ended interviews with fifteen white women who were being educated, or were already practicing, as private psychotherapists subsequent to previous work in more community based social service agencies. This shift from a more public site of helping to a more private one illustrates a significant hierarchy that occurs between women in the helping professions. The fifteen women's narratives illustrate this shift through ongoing discursive conflicts between 1) their desire to be seen as innocent and kind helping professionals, and 2) their desire to disrupt their own experiences of marginality and subordination through the acquisition of these new psychotherapeutic skills, and 3) the access they gain to the more respectable setting of the private psychotherapy office in the context of other helping professions.

The method of analysis includes a discourse analysis that assumes language to be productive of social relations regarding race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ability and other marginal identifications. The identifications that emerge throughout the women's narratives depend on personal and professional negotiations in a way that marks the presence of whiteness. In this way, the management of whiteness as one component of their identification threads throughout the narratives and reflects a desire for respectability and status in the context of the helping professions.

The thesis raises crucial questions about the education of the public and the private social service professional. As the thesis illustrates, how these women can be seen as 'white women' and become professional 'helpers' depends on a historically regulated desire for resistance against dominant frames yet is also marked by a desire for innocence within their participation in relations of power. This thesis suggests that the education of the social service provider must include an historical analysis of race in order to provide a more solid resistance to deeply embedded imperial frames.
Acknowledgements

This six year process would have been impossible without the guidance and challenges offered by my committee. Dr. Sherene Razack sparked a rigorous examination not only of the thesis question, but of my subject position as a white academic, and she helped me to bring clarity to the thesis. Thank-you for the continuous energy and commitment you gave this thesis. To Dr. Kari Dehli goes my gratitude for support, inspiration and insight. Dr. Kathleen Rockhill offered crucial theoretical challenges that will allow me to continue to expand my work beyond this project. Thank-you.

I could not have done this degree without the discussions and support of Barbara Heron, Sheryl Nestel, Donna Jeffery, Mona Oikawa, Yvonne Smith, and from afar, Carol Schick. Thank you especially to Dr. E. Etoroma for your continuously unconditional warm words; to Dr. T. Mueller for your help in the last week of editing; to Dr. L. Davis (not only) for six years of late night phone calls; thank you to those who have heard my papers, challenged my thoughts, helped to clarify conflicts, influenced my direction and sustained my inspiration. Thank you also to my colleagues in clinical practice (especially Joyce, Pat and Ross), my training supervisors, and my clients, all of whom have made my life more meaningful, and without whom this thesis could not have happened.

To my family: Mutti, Vati, Margerit, Lloyd, Lucas and Madeleine for everything.
To Toronto friends: Carol, Joan, Jiro, Rennie, Susan for many essential evenings 'away'.
To Winnipeg friends: Bev, Karen, Roberta for your quality of life.
To Karim: who has inspired and challenged me throughout the last six years.
To Dr. D. Powers: who refused to give up.
Lastly and never in the least: to my two cats, my black piano, and the sun filled porch for sanity.
# Table of Contents

Abstract .................................................................................................................. ii

Acknowledgements .................................................................................................. iii

Chapter One ..............................................................................................................
  Central Thesis Focus ................................................................................................. 3
  How the Thesis Question Emerged ............................................................................. 3
  My Professional Affiliation to the Interviewees ......................................................... 9
  General Methodology ................................................................................................. 13
  Grounded Theory ....................................................................................................... 16
  Relevance to Education and Research ...................................................................... 20
  Demographics ............................................................................................................. 23
  The Researcher and Interviewer ............................................................................... 27
  Presenting the Theoretical Framework: Imperialism as a Frame .............................. 31
  Discourse and the Social Subject ............................................................................. 35
  A Definition of Race: An Interlocking Construction ............................................... 39
  Why Whiteness? ......................................................................................................... 45
  Developing Respectability as a Marker of Imperialism ........................................... 50

Chapter Two ............................................................................................................
  Introducing Childhood Race Relations ................................................................. 58
  The Historical Context of European Imperialism .................................................... 60
  Social and Moral Reform in Canada ........................................................................ 63
  The Interviews .......................................................................................................... 68
  The Canadian Family and the White Woman ......................................................... 76
  The Interviews .......................................................................................................... 81
  The Elite Woman as Reformer and Helper ............................................................. 81
  The Ethnic and Working Class White Woman ....................................................... 88
  A Core Sense of Self .................................................................................................. 97
  In Conclusion ............................................................................................................. 99

Chapter Three ...........................................................................................................
  Professionalizing, Helping and the Kind, White Woman ........................................ 100
  The Professionalized Site of Mission ....................................................................... 101
  Where Is the White Woman in Canada? ................................................................ 103
  The Influences of Feminism within Imperialism ..................................................... 109
  The Women in the Interviews Choose a Helping Profession ............................... 114
  A Core Sense of Self ................................................................................................ 126
  In Conclusion .......................................................................................................... 130
# Table of Contents

## Chapter Four
Definitions of/and Practices Within/Psychotherapy:
- Psychotherapy as a Contemporary Version of Mission Work ........................................ 131
- History of the Institute........................................................................................................ 132
- A Brief History of Feminist Psychotherapy ........................................................................ 135
- A Primarily White Clientele ............................................................................................... 138
- Empathy as a Tool that Shapes the Successful Psychotherapist .................................... 141
- The Women and the Interviews: Definitions of Psychotherapy ..................................... 150
- Spirituality as Contemporary Mission in Psychotherapy ................................................. 155
- In Summary: The Successful Psychotherapist .................................................................. 159
- Where is the Racial Other? ............................................................................................... 161
- Reproducing Images of Race ............................................................................................ 162
- The Porcelain Fairy: Back to Empathy ............................................................................ 163
- Conclusion ......................................................................................................................... 165

## Chapter Five
The 'Exceptional' Client - The Racial Other ........................................................................ 167
- Psychoanalytic Thought .................................................................................................... 169
- White Feminist Psychotherapists and Race ..................................................................... 172
- The Context of the Cross Cultural Counselling Literature ............................................ 179
- Three Primary Cross Cultural Counsellors ....................................................................... 181
- One History of Anti-Racist Training in Psychotherapy .................................................... 185
- The Women in the Interviews .......................................................................................... 186
- Romanticizing the Racial Other ....................................................................................... 187
- Does Romanticizing the Racial Other help the Professionalism of the White Woman?.................................................. 196
- Denial of the Impact of Whiteness .................................................................................. 197
- Discussing a Place of Innocence: Recognizing Whiteness ........................................... 203
- In Summary ....................................................................................................................... 216

## Chapter Six
Constructing a Fantasy of Innocence: Empathy as a Defense ........................................... 220
- Can Empathy Constitute White Women’s Social Subjectivity? ..................................... 222
- The Fetish ......................................................................................................................... 227
- The Discussion ................................................................................................................. 230
- The Grandiosity of Imperialism ....................................................................................... 232
- The White Woman’s Grandiosity as a Helper ................................................................... 233
- Mimicry as Subversion, Fetish as Fantasy ....................................................................... 234
# Table of Contents

## Chapter Seven
Implications for the Critical Practice and Education of White Psychotherapists: ......................................................... 237
  Counseling Theorists on Race ....................................................... 237
  What is Transformation Then? ..................................................... 244
  Reflection and Action ................................................................. 246
  In Conclusion ............................................................................. 250

## Epilogue I
A Future Field of Research .......................................................... 251

## Epilogue II
Insights Into My Own Practice .................................................. 254

## Appendix One
Interview Schedule ..................................................................... 255

## Bibliography ............................................................................ 256
Chapter One: 
Introducing the Thesis Question, Methodology and Researcher, 
Relevance to Education and Theoretical Frames

Central Thesis Focus

This thesis is a discussion of how deeply invested white women are in their personal and professional practices of helping and how these practices have been shaped by a history of imperialism. In particular, this thesis discusses how white women gain access to the professional work of psychotherapy through this history and how this work positions them as elite helping professionals in relation to other forms of helping. Understanding how race, class and gender work together to shape the identity of the white woman as a psychotherapist as well as a kind woman is central to this thesis. The thesis addresses this focus in the context of public and privatized professions related to health and the education of their professionals.

First, the thesis addresses where one privatized profession of health, in the example of alternative psychotherapy, is located within an historical hierarchy of the public and private helping professions. Psychotherapy is positioned as an elite helping profession that is primarily populated by white professionals, white women, and white clients. Psychotherapy is seen as an adjunct to psychoanalysis in its hope to disrupt forms of patriarchy within psychoanalytic practice, but it continues to be situated as an elite helping profession in relation to other more community based helping agencies and centers. For example, other women who work as professional helpers are seen as less elite when they are employed within community agencies, in the context of housekeepers, nannies and cleaning ladies. Psychotherapy will be shown to represent a form of
health (and social) education about normative identities and practices that is mediated through its whiteness, through the historical construction of white women, and within a history of colonial and racialized subjects.

Second, the thesis addresses how the profession of psychotherapy and its professional tools, seen in the example of empathy, are shaped by dominant histories of race, class and gender. Empathy will be shown to be an important professional tool that can help to regulate these historical practices and identities. Empathy, as performed in the context of psychotherapy, will be shown to help position white women as elite helping professionals while regulating the presence of the racial other in specific ways.

Third, the thesis addresses how the professionals of psychotherapy - primarily white women - are shaped by a North American history as good and kind and continue to be so shaped by personal and professional investments in respectability within imperial histories. I will suggest that white women are deeply invested in personal and professional practices of helping since these practices gain them not only increased economic power and respectability but consolidate an historically and psychically shaped sense of themselves as helpful and kind people. The thesis discusses how white women are shaped through their actions of helping and kindness.

Lastly, the thesis addresses how and where the person of colour is regulated, 'integrated', and 'racialized' within the helping professions. The person of color can become representative of who is not seen to belong to what is considered to be normative within North American society. This has further been influenced by an imperial history and occurs, in part, in relation to the professionalized white woman who is seen as kind, normative and helping the racial other belong. Such an imperial history has shaped the person of color as 'less fortunate' in relation to the benevolent white woman.
I refer to the person of color as a 'less fortunate' throughout the thesis as a symbolic construction of identification that has been shaped because of, and within, a North American and imperial history. This phrase is not to re-position people of color as less fortunate, rather, it is to make visible how an imperial history has shaped people of color as economically and personally less advantaged. The phrase surfaces an historical reality that reflects deeply embedded practices of racism without aiming to re-position people of color in this way. The representation of the person who is seen to be the 'less fortunate' other may re-inscribe them as such, yet, it is also an identification that refers to how a dominant discourse has shaped all social subjects in relation to a presumed norm. It is through a clarification and naming of how such dominant and marginal relationships have been shaped that we can free ourselves from them, and that we can attempt to disrupt and move beyond the social and historical structures that bind us within them.

While I speak primarily to the issue of race in this thesis, other persons seen to be 'less fortunate' are also those who are not heterosexual, middle class, Christian and able-bodied. The thesis has not been able to sufficiently address nor interrogate how other forms of marginality and subjectivity intersect with race or with each other. This is a valuable project that must be undertaken by future research. These historical constructions of who has been seen as 'less fortunate', 'normal', or 'other' have been created through an historically dominant discourse and can be understood to have regulated the identity of the white woman as a professional helper and a kind person.

**How the Thesis Question Emerged**

The thesis question emerged out of my professional and personal involvement with mental health agencies, shelters and crisis counselling,
alternative health movements and finally, psychotherapy. It has also evolved out of my personal experiences and observations of difference and marginalization. Since it was clear that the majority of professionals within the helping professions were women I very quickly focused on the differences and similarities that might emerge between women within the helping professions. It was my initial intention to examine how a white or non-white woman as a professional within the helping professions might experience herself as a raced person and how she might perceive her own or her client's racism in her clinical work.

This left the question of whether I should interview both white and non-white professional women and whether I should have a broad or narrow focus in terms of their helping contexts as social workers, counsellors in crisis intervention, or a myriad of other helping professions. While I had in the past been involved at the volunteer, staff, and Board level in social service agencies servicing women in crisis and whose staff were struggling with issues of racism and racial diversity, I decided to focus more specifically on the practice of psychotherapy. This decision was based primarily on what emerged in a psychotherapy training center in which I had been involved.

I had available to me a training center in which I had been trained as a psychotherapist and was now a resident / staff person. Through this center, I could interview any willing interns ensuring a similar training model and theoretical modality. Similarity in psychotherapeutic approach was an important factor to consider in a qualitative study such as this one, because varying modalities could produce significantly different definitions and psychotherapeutic practices than the ones I will describe. Regulating the parameters of the training modality was one limited way that aimed to reduce the many differences that can occur within the profession of psychotherapy and that could produce varying narratives around its application. As with any educational endeavor, my own
documentation of this training modality (as it occurs later in the thesis) describes primarily a subjective application and understanding. Variances in the interviewed women’s accounts of psychotherapy also emerged.

In this training center, the majority of interns were white women and all had previously been involved in public social service agencies or alternative therapies related to health. I am referring to such public agencies where services are not privately paid for by the client, such as crisis agencies, counselling services, immigrant and refugee services, social welfare agencies, health care clinics; and to alternative ‘therapies’, such as massage, acupuncture, midwifery, homeopathy and so on. Professional involvement in these other helping professions preceded each woman’s entry into this training for psychotherapy.

I also discovered that none of the women of colour in this training center, disproportionately underrepresented to begin with, would be available to be interviewed. Since there were only a minority of men in training, this further substantiated my focus on white women. It became clear that being a white woman, and being an academic researcher examining issues of race and gender in the context of the helping professions, was already conflicted and controversial. Women of colour might be unwilling to promote the gains a white academic could receive through this project, or feel that they do not have anything to contribute, and this further established my focus on white women as psychotherapists. This also shaped the thesis in specific ways that focussed on white women.

At the same time, I became intrigued that psychotherapy as one area of professional practice was so cleanly marked as primarily white, female, able bodied and middle class. This process of interviewee selection and development of the thesis question strengthened my decision to focus, from an integrated race, class and gender-based analysis, on white women as psychotherapists in
order to better understand broader issues facing professional helpers and the helping professions.

Through my own training and work as a psychotherapist, I initially had questioned how we might better 'invite' (as the 'other') the person of colour into a profession populated primarily by whites. It was my initial concern that an alternative helping profession such as psychotherapy (i.e., not psychiatry, psychology or formal family therapy) related to core issues of health and well-being, a profession that proposed to be a 'subversive' alternative to the formal health care system (i.e. psychoanalysis), did not disrupt all contemporary hierarchical social relations. While I knew that I, much like the profession itself, appeared to have 'good intentions', I could see that this had not resulted in 'racial inclusion' for the therapists in training, or even for the clients who called the center.

This issue of 'inclusion' and 'good intentions' continued to plague me and, as the thesis will illustrate, developed into a central component of the historical and social analysis and understanding of psychotherapy, and the role of white women within the helping professions. How were we, as psychotherapists, trained to define 'health' in ways that reinscribe traditional beliefs and practices? How did dominant definitions of health continue to depend on implicit norms, and how was pathology marked through these norms? Thus, my own desire to become a psychotherapist was framed within personal and professional contradictions around historical identity, definitions of health and current social location. As a result, there remains for me a continual struggle between resisting and reproducing the very norms and pathologies that are core to psychotherapy, core in my desire to continue its practice, and core to who I believe I am. While I could see that this was primarily a white profession, without an integrated analysis, it felt like a coincidence or 'innocently' white, and my own good
intentions of helping and the good intentions stated within the mandate of psychotherapy fueled my desire to problematize these contradictions.

During these emerging realizations, I first selected ten women from the psychotherapy center that I have described above. I phoned these women stating that it was my intention to discuss issues of race and culture in the context of their private practice for the purpose of a doctoral thesis. The psychotherapists I selected were currently in training, some had quit their training at some point after the interview and gone into private practice, and some had left the profession in the course of my writing this dissertation. In addition, there were others who had completed their training in the five years prior to the interview and were then in private practice. I attempted to select women who would represent a broad range of backgrounds in relation to differences in sexual orientation, class, education levels, age, religious affiliation and ethnicity (i.e., differences of culture not related to skin colour). Ultimately, what remained a constant was that the women were white, studied in the same training center and were taught a similar model of therapy.

After an analysis of the first ten interviews, several new themes had emerged that I had not anticipated. These included the importance of the Christian church to thirteen of these fifteen women in their childhood experiences of racial difference, and the theme of empathy in their adult professional work as social service providers.

As I began to collect their stories on the Christian church, I continued to read with more intentionality literature that described historical imperialist discourses and structures. I was able to understand both through what emerged in the women's stories, and what was framed as imperialism in the literature, how significant the Christian church might have been in shaping their identity as white women, their personal practices of helping, and their adult choices to become
professional helpers. While differences within their Christian contexts emerged, I also saw that certain themes could be selected from their stories that matched the historical continuities of imperialist discourses. This match between an historical discourse and their contemporary stories shaped the subject area. I suspect that future research focussing on Canadian white women's experiences within (and outside) the Christian church would perhaps highlight more complexities in this regard, but I also believe that further research would continue to reveal that imperialist histories shaped white women's contemporary practices in the social services in new and perhaps transformed ways.

It also become clear that the first ten interviews would not be sufficient in particular to support the text on the professional use of empathy. While I had not considered empathy as an initial area of focus, nor had I referred to it in the interview, the women themselves were bringing issues of empathy into the interviews as a significant area of interest, as a central tool to their practice in psychotherapy, and a concern for their work. In conjunction with my reading of the theory on imperialism, it became evident that empathy might be one tool through which racialized identities within psychotherapy were being regulated.

It therefore became a necessity to include five additional interviews to better describe how issues related to empathy might regulate the social relations that constituted race and gender within psychotherapy. Five new women were selected and five new interviews were conducted. These were incorporated in as similar a fashion as possible to the initial interviews. I accomplished this by not specifically asking about the themes that had emerged in the first ten interviews. Instead, I waited to ascertain if similar themes emerged in the final five. Interestingly, they did.

Finally, it was important to look at the historical evolution and social practices which had shaped professional access for the fifteen white women. I
became intrigued that the social services located different women hierarchically and how the fifteen interviewed women had shifted into the private practice of psychotherapy from more public helping work. I remained interested in the moment-to-moment presence of racism in counselling sessions, however, understanding how historical and professional practices shaped the identity and status of these fifteen white women in the helping professions, and how this had an impact on their personal investments in professionalized care giving, influenced the final research project.

As my analysis of the interviews came to an end, I recognized that being educated and educating others as to what it means to be 'healthy' in psychotherapeutic terms, how this looks, how it is performed and what is expected of a 'healthy' person, suggested that we, as psychotherapists and as white women, were participating in constructing specific historical and imperial norms, not only about 'health' but also about racialized subjectivities. The women provided stories about their contemporary lives that revealed the importance of understanding how an historical imperialism may be represented in new and transformed ways in contemporary society.

**My Professional Affiliation to the Interviewees**

Understanding how I have been (and continue to be) invested in the same practices performed by the women I have interviewed leads to questions about our ongoing professional and personal relationships. While I began the interviews with the objective of understanding race better in the context of psychotherapy, I was unaware of how deeply invested we all were in these practices, and how difficult this material would be to process, talk about and write about.
In reading the interviews after they were completed, I became aware that the interviewees at times had seen me as the academic expert on racism, the senior or junior psychotherapist, the white woman with whom it was safe to talk about racism, the white woman to whose research women of colour did not want to contribute. To some, I was the ethnic white immigrant woman and a kind of outsider who could understand difference, and to others I was the German woman around whom certain things could or could not be spoken. I was also the interviewer who, as a psychotherapist, was perceived by some as 'gentle' and 'understanding', and paradoxically, by others, as the academic who was 'critical and theoretically demanding'. These could all become discourses that themselves left un-examined how whiteness played a role in our practices and identifications.

I am aware that all of the above voices circulated around a central whiteness that then constructed the racial other in our discussions in a very specific way. It became clear that I needed to find out how gender and race were reproduced between us as two white women within the interviews, between the therapist and the client, and for the white women in their own personal and professional lives. This demanded the acknowledgement that in our conversations about gender and race, people of colour were either a) made invisible, b) made as other and culturalized, or d) described as economically or historically less fortunate. This awareness solidified the need to clarify how these women's (and my own) professional practices and personal identifications were dependent upon the physical presence, and the representation as 'less fortunate' of the racialized other.

Coming to this awareness was a process that occurred for me in small and often difficult stages, so that acknowledging my own identity of being white, being a rescuer and a white woman was at times overwhelming. At times, I
wanted to rescue myself, to rescue other whites and other non-whites from this reality, and I wanted to find strategic methods of disrupting what I could understand were such deeply ingrained identifications. Yet, as the writing process continued, I began to realize that escaping these feelings through proposed and helpful political or social action was not necessarily appropriate (by itself) in my early stages of awareness. I would still be left with how imperialism, as a fundamental historical construct, continues to shape us in this moment of history. Refusing to 'save myself' from the painful inquiries that emerged, and accepting how untenable imperial identifications are for all of us, became the most relevant pursuit for this research project.

Through such a process of self-acknowledgment, we can begin to understand how difficult change truly is, how fundamentally we as whites may not want to change, and how deeply ingrained these discourses are within us even when we see them and want to change them. I see this acknowledgement as the most difficult and most important step for anti-racist education and action of white women in the helping professions. It is a step that I argue must precede a rush towards rescuing ourselves or others through action in an attempt to alter historical relationships.

Due to these reflections, I continue to ask how the women's eventual reading of this text and our future collegial relations will be impacted? As Fine, Weiss, Powell and Wong (1997) have written:

... racism travels like a virus through institutional structures, policies, practices, relationships, fights, and identities. [Authors render] themselves and their colleagues vulnerable - to assault, to misinterpretation, to denial and to defensiveness. ...How can we move forward to transformation? (p. x).

While I recognize that my professional affiliation was meaningful for the interviews in the ways I have described, it may appear as if I am indicting my
colleagues as racist. I have combined what I expected to emerge in these women's stories, and that which I did not expect to emerge with my reading of imperialist literature. I hope to make clear how innocent all of us feel and how much we want to see ourselves as different from this imperial context. The thesis describes how such a desire is produced by a history that shapes whiteness and how this desire for innocence is also a central manifestation of denying one's participation in racism.

It is not my goal to discuss these women's stories as demonized, as finite, or as the complete truth about their lives. This would be false and a presumption about the intended nature of qualitative research. Rather, I have taken their stories to describe some of the historical contradictions and contemporary complications that arise in naming race and racisms in the context of a profession that is based in 'kindness' within in a history of imperialism. Theirs are stories that suggest how some women negotiated forms of imperialism in their daily lives -- stories that illustrate moments in time and in memory about these women's lives. I have taken their words to me as 'stories' that may have been different stories if a woman of color had been interviewing them, or a white man, or another white woman not herself embedded within the helping professions. Discussing these white women's stories reflects a moment in time given our particular relationship and in their lives. As such, the stories are limited.

This thesis remains a project that hopes to use their stories to better understand how race (as one component of marginalization) can be spoken about, deflected, defended against, not felt or named, taken in, and acknowledged, in a specific historical moment in time and geographically based context.
**General Methodology**

Developing a method of inquiry through which one attains new knowledge must go through a number of evolutions. In particular, researching the white woman and her investment in practices of helping requires a method that can name and make space for both an analysis of gender and race. Historically, a scientific method of study has attempted to attain a "...transhistorical, culture-free, disinterested, replicable, testable, empirical substantiation of theory" (Lather, 1992, p. 88). Such a method appears to produce practical and relatively concrete results that have been stated to mark a definitive terrain of knowledge and expertise. However, as many contemporary theorists writing about methodology have suggested (Daly, 1973; Harding, 1987; Lather, 1991; Reinharz, 1992), determining one stance (i.e., male centered and white as universal) on a particular subject of research, conflicts with what we have come to know as a diverse set of histories and social practices that actually shape that subject.

Specifically, inquiry by elites has historically involved a documentation of knowledge that does not represent those outside of elite positions except from a dominant standpoint. Simply bringing non-elite voices into a written and academic space has been perceived by some academic elites as controversial. Reinharz (1992) remarks that in her compilation of articles by feminist researchers, it gave her particular pleasure to cite unpublished papers that had been rejected by mainstream journal policies (p.9). Smith (1990) has also reflected on how particular elite practices of research express a knowledge base and a reproduction of affiliated discourses that do not represent women. This can be changed when the standpoint of women is clarified showing that "women's experience breaks away from the discourses mediated by texts that are integral to the relations of ruling in contemporary societies" (p. 11). Daly
(1973) has also suggested that re-naming women's experience as separate from men's shifts a traditional idealization of patriarchal methodological and knowledge claims. Her anatomical analogies between men and scientific methodology suggest how deeply invested Western culture has been in imperial ontologies.

These writers have clarified the need for new epistemologies which would highlight how many marginalized voices are produced as 'other' and 'different' against an implicit (or not so implicit) elite norm. This understanding of intersubjectivity between subjects and their variant experiences, shapes a plethora of new social inquiry, that which is recognized as an empirical method of knowledge production. As Britzman (1991) has suggested, "when such multiplicity is suppressed, so too is our power to imagine how things could be otherwise" (p.10). New methods of inquiry provide new ways of understanding when marginalized voices are analyzed in relationship to elite norms. Alternative ways of seeing, interpreting, and writing about society, can itself be seen as a project helping researchers to give voice to and document marginal subjectivities. As Lather (1992) states, "...the inescapable political content of theories and methodologies becomes increasingly apparent" (p.88). Thus, the method of inquiry employed by this thesis project emphasizes understanding and explaining how the white woman as a professional helper participates and is implicated in shaping certain social knowledge bases.

Through the lens of a North American feminist analysis that women's voices are less visible than men's and that women's experiences are shaped by other dominant relations of ruling, it has also become possible to highlight the invisibility of other marginal voices within a Western academic context. From this standpoint, we can begin to determine how the method of listening to marginalized voices and documenting their realities as shaped by and resistant
to dominant relations. This process can act as a disruption of what has historically been understood to be 'empirical' knowledge and also creates a new production of knowledge and possibly future economic and social relationships. It is not intended to be a method of inserting marginal voices into a dominant text, rather, making visible the process of how dominant and marginal social relations are shaped between and because of each other.

Marking an historical shift into a more technological and electronic form of communication, post-modernism also reflects "the uprising of the marginalized" (p.90). Not only the subjective voices of women, but also the voices of people of colour, re-constitute how researchers can envision a methodology that would make sense of a culture of whiteness and the culture of other marginalized people. Within such a diverse culture, subjectivity and language come to be seen as reflexive tools, rather than concrete and static markers, creating fluctuations and necessitating a constant redefinition of beliefs, values, and techniques depending upon who is utilizing them. I will later define the term 'discourse' as a tool for shaping society and its relations.

This project is a value constituted and constituting enterprise (Lather, 1992, p. 91). I am interested in how these subjects are shaped as white, how their social identity is created through negotiating conversations that reflect our participation with each other, and how as women such narrations shape an ongoing sense of rupture and cohesion of identification for myself as the researcher and with other social subjects. I am further interested in the ways in which society and history have framed their current narratives and how through their engagement in this project all our voices might change to reflect new knowledge bases.
Grounded Theory

The specific method of the thesis can be most accurately referred to as grounded theory (Kirby and McKenna, 1989; McIntyre, 1997; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990) this is research that can refer to "people's lives, stories, behaviour, but is also about organizational functioning, social movements, or interactional relationships" (p. 17). As Kirby and McKenna (1989) suggest, "the strength of this method is that subjective data from many previously unexplored areas can be incorporated into what we know about the social world" (p. 82). This also suggests that themes about the white women in this thesis are not generalizable across time and geography. Rather, the thesis offers a particular context through which parallels to other contexts may be qualified or disqualified. As McIntyre (1997) explains in her participatory approach to studying whiteness, "although the discourse ... was cocreated by the participants and me, the research question focused on how the participants' made meaning of whiteness" (p.28). This process both provides a richer data base of a particular group, and limits how these narratives can be applied to other social groups.

This thesis is based on a grounded theory approach since I did have a literature base in mind, however, new themes emerged in the interviews that had not occurred to me nor were they in the interview schedule. Thirteen of the women discussed the Christian church as a central influence and this had not been mentioned by myself in the interview. Another example is how the theme of empathy emerged as a professional tool that all women talked about as significant. Other themes discussed in the thesis emerged out of the stories told by the interviewees themselves that did not follow my questioning. This intersection between my intentionality and new themes that emerged in the interviews marks the methodology as that of grounded theory.
I have chosen to focus on five essential stages that mark my application of the grounded theory method in this thesis. These include: formulating the research question, doing the interview, developing relevant categories within the interviews, coding the interviews, and providing a theoretical analysis and framework.

The goal of qualitative research is to apply a theoretical and practical framework from which to critically analyze people's stories as told through written or verbal reports. This depends on an initial knowledge of a literature base through which one has determined a research question. While one must not have conclusively researched such literature, Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest that this base contributes towards a better understanding of what emerges from the interviews. However, at the same time, limiting this initial reading is beneficial, since as they argue, "we do not want to be too steeped in the literature as to be constrained and even stifled in terms of creative efforts" (p. 50). When we are 'too steeped' in the literature related to the research question, we may be caught by familiar reference points within that literature that will prevent a new disruption, a less mainstream ways of constructing knowledge.

I was able to begin by reviewing cross cultural counselling literature as a primary resource within the field of psychotherapy. I also reviewed feminist literature on psychotherapy. At the same time, I referred to literature offering a broader analysis of how race and anti-racism shaped social discourses and the social subject. As the interviews continued, I also engaged in a review of relevant psychoanalytic literature. Finally, as my understanding and analysis of the interviews continued, and I interpreted their historically constituted practices as central to their subjectivity, I began to refer to historians who have written specifically about white women throughout European and Canadian history. This literature review helped me to formulate the final thesis focus.
The process of reviewing the literature overlapped with my selection process. Kirby and McKenna (1989) suggest that the following criteria reflects a qualitative selection process. First, they state that the experience of the interviewees should represent a reasonably broad range of experiences that encompass the initial thesis question, while more depth or differences to the thesis question can emerge once the interviews begin. Second, they suggest that factors of geographic proximity, willingness to participate (i.e., in my case, available women of colour were not interested in participating), and contactability, also mark the selection process. Third, they suggest that the selected people should indicate an interest in, and an identification with the research topic. In this case, all the white women were easily identified as white psychotherapists and willing to speak about issues of culture, race and ethnicity. Finally, Kirby and McKenna (1989) suggest that one should establish a sense of a reasonable level of rapport with the interviewees so that the narratives reflect the best possible data (p.98).

Having selected my interviewees, and having completed the ethical review, I then conducted the interviews according to the following schedule. Each interview took approximately one and a half hours. In the interviews, I was looking for how the women talked about and 'saw' race as an issue, and how and when they mentioned the person of colour. Firstly, the interview process included general information on the psychotherapist as to her primary influences as children, her present private practice, the nature and quality of her training, including that of any anti-racism training. Secondly, I asked about specific accounts related to race and culture that shaped her growing up. I asked the interviewees how they remembered their first, or early contact with the raced other, or how they first began to perceive themselves as white. Thirdly, the participants were asked how they decided that they wanted to become a
psychotherapist. Fourthly, specific accounts of working with particular clients (both white and not white) were explored. This was concluded by giving each participant a pseudonym in order to further discuss their stories.

As one engages in the interview process, one then hopes to create relevant categories within these stories that might reflect a given theoretical or historical framework (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.49). In particular, the researcher is looking for relationships that emerge within and between the stories of the interviewee, stories that may or may not match what was discovered in the first literature review. Being familiar with the literature acts primarily to stimulate or redirect what has emerged in the interviews. I began by examining how a discourse was emerging on 'people of colour' and race (to be defined later) within the conversations. As Strauss and Corbin suggest, this stage is determined by how one perceives factors such as frequency, extent, intensity, and duration in the stories of the interviews (p.71). How the women were referring to their childhoods as well as to their clients of colour or their white clients, and their professional practices, highlighted initial themes.

The next step I engaged in as I read through the interviews was to allow decisive themes to emerge. Strauss and Corbin call this third stage coding (p.57). In my case, this required several readings of the interviews in conjunction with a continually new shift in my literature base (as described above), much contemplative writing, and many conversations with other academic and professional colleagues. It was from the reading of the first ten interviews that the theme of empathy emerged and substantiated interviewing five more women, altering my initial thesis question, and referring to increasingly new literature. Through my background in psychology and my reading of psychoanalytic literature, it was possible to refer to a psychoanalytic theory base in order to better understand how deeply invested these women were in these personal and
social practices, and how their desire to become professional helpers was constructed by the histories that had shaped them.

Finally, becoming clear about the interview themes and how they related to a theoretical and historical frame initiated the final project of writing. There were several stages in my understanding of this theoretical and historical framework and this was accompanied also by a personal need to process the contents of what had emerged throughout the interviews. Amalgamating my literature review, the interviews and their themes, and the expressed goal of researching race and gender became the final work of writing this thesis.

Relevance to Education and Research

While this thesis refers only to the practices of white women in psychotherapy and the helping professions, the implications for education go beyond the subject of the social services and include whites who are educated as individuals and as professionals in various disciplines and how they continue to educate others in the negotiation of dominant and marginal relations. While psychotherapy is not seen as a category within the education system, nor is it particularly recognized as a visible site through which to do anti-racist education, psychotherapy is a form of education and does educate other helping professionals and clients in very specific cultural and historical norms. How psychotherapy becomes a privatized and alternative form of education for the white middle class on issues of health and well-being, makes it an excellent site to study how people are constructed as social subjects. This also shapes how psychotherapy has the potential to become an educational site for anti-racist education.
About white educators, McIntyre (1997) says, we:

...have only responded to the issue of cultural difference, diversity, and multicultural antiracist education because of historical events that have challenged us to rethink education. As white educators, we have been advised by many to teach ourselves but oftentimes, we remain unwilling to do so (p.13).

This thesis, first and foremost, represents a text that highlights how white psychotherapists as educators about society and relationships, pass on definitions of health and well-being that are culturally and racially specific. Psychotherapy is but one example of how white helping professionals are shaped as elite educators in relation to the representation of the racial other. This study represents one discussion of how the helping profession shapes and reinscribes deeply entrenched hierarchies and relations of race, class and gender. Future research must examine to what extent the practices within psychotherapy mirror the deeply raced practices of similar professions such as social work, nursing, shelter work and other various forms of alternative and privatized emotion and body-oriented work. As well, other research must make clear how the experiences of the person of colour help to shape, reflect or contradict the experiences of other marginalized peoples.

Historically, research has denied the role of emotion (i.e., anger, grief, relief, empathy) as constitutive of social subjects and their practices within nations and empires. North American feminism has highlighted that 'emotion' continues to be associated with that which is considered less respectable and more degenerate whether expressed by women, and/or by people of colour. This thesis will illustrate that emotions mark another arena through which white women are shaped as social subjects and to understand how their emotions can be seen as a political and cultural tool given very specific subjects, a specific
context and time. As I will describe, how psychotherapy makes more respectable the privatized expression of white women’s emotions while generally keeping invisible the expression of other marginalized people can be defined as a political project and relevant area of research.

This dissertation contributes to existing fields of academic and educational research in a number of ways: The study is important in that psychotherapists have not paid much attention to the implications of race within the practice of psychotherapy. In fact, as my thesis will show, there are several important shortcomings in how writers on the practice of psychotherapy have paid attention to the presence of race and racism within psychotherapy. As well, the theory available to psychotherapists on race, gender and psychotherapy for the most part, does not examine these same intersections. While theories of the psychotherapeutic relationship exist, and while race theories exist, very few theorists have attempted a 'marriage' of the two. This dissertation can therefore provide a more thorough practical and theoretical training base for white psychotherapists marking how the relationship between themselves and their clients cannot be divorced from socio-political contexts and histories. It can also be used to illustrate the relationship between more broad categories of dominant and marginal discourses, serving as a springboard for the research of other marginalities in the helping field.

Finally, a significant portion of the literature is written by theorists from the United States and does not acknowledge the Canadian context. It is written primarily by men and therefore does not acknowledge feminist's attempts to give voice to different women’s experiences. This is particularly important in a field predominantly occupied by women. Much of the literature is written predominantly by white people and put into practice by white women, yet it does not attempt to understand the relationship between whiteness and
psychotherapy. The literature covers mostly quantitative data which cannot allow for a more qualitative analytic account of women's and other people's narratives.

As I have stated, the previously mentioned factors mark this thesis as relevant and unique in its field of study. As I later continue to define its context within an imperial frame, the study will present itself as an opportunity for anti-racist research, and to better understand the historical and contemporary relations of race and how these might be disrupted. In the final chapter, I refer to specific professional possibilities for such disruption.

**Demographics**

The following statement summarizes a variety of ways in which the participating women identified themselves for the interview. These demographics were gleaned from the interviews in response to a question about their backgrounds or emerged throughout the interviews. While I attempted to acquire as many details as possible, not all categories emerged for each interviewee. This is as complete a picture as was available through the interviews. This section is followed by a description of the interview process, my relationships to the women and my own part in the research process.

The age range of the women interviewed varied from 29 to 52 with a median of 39 years. Their range in age represents a sample of women who have been present to changes in Canadian society over the last 52 years. The changing role of women in politics, in the nation, workplace, and as mother and wife, are mirrored in these women's reflections on race, their whiteness and about their gendered and nurturing roles.

Five women openly identified themselves as lesbian, two as bisexual and seven as heterosexual. Their daily lived experiences suggests that a general analysis of marginality was more apparent to them, although a specific
awareness of how other marginalities, such as race, intersect may not have been readily available. In fact, sometimes translating an analysis of one oppression to another was not successful in producing a stronger awareness of race. In this way, their discussion about race provided another, and for some, a new forum through which the practice of intersections of identity took shape.

Eight women identified as working class, four as middle class and two as upper class. Again, it was the actual experience of exclusion of the working class women that allowed some to enter differently into a discussion of otherness. The collusions and contradictions of making visible their own whiteness is reflected in the quotes. While eight women stated that they had grown up in working class homes, all women felt that they had lived a middle class lifestyle. This will be shown to be relevant to the thesis question.

Since the criteria for the interview included being white, within this identification, these women named themselves as members of Northern, Eastern and Southern European communities. While the majority of women were born in Canada, their ethnic status appeared to play an important role in how they defined their communities as children and how each identified with experiences of inclusion and exclusion. The women identified as Finnish, British, Scottish, Ukranian, German, French-Canadian, Swiss and Italian. These ethnic identifications in some cases, led to experiences of exclusion that compare to the experiences voiced by the lesbian and bisexual women, and suggested an understanding of marginality that contrasted with the experiences of middle class or elite heterosexual white women who had been in Canada for many generations. However, the ways in which an ethnic or immigrant status can illuminate and obfuscate the privilege associated with whiteness will be further discussed in this thesis. Significant in these identifications is how the interviewees used ethnicity as a way to enter into discussions about race and
difference and to negotiate their understanding of issues around race and racism.

Alongside the identification of ethnic background, women also identified according to particular religious groups. For example, two women named themselves as Jewish, four identified as Roman Catholic, one as having an agnostic mother and atheist father, four as Protestant and one as having an evangelical Christian background. Those who did not speak about their religious affiliations appeared none-the-less to have a family history of one or another Christian denomination. Their religious affiliation will be shown to have meaning for the thesis question.

Thirteen women had grown up in Canada while two arrived from the United States in early adulthood. From the thirteen women that were Canadians, four women had grown up in the Prairies, four were from more rural towns in Ontario, and at least three had grown up in Toronto. The historical and social elements that constitute their sense of belonging to raced, classed and gendered identities appear to be similar, in particular for the purpose of this thesis. I assume that differences between Canada and the United States would be more marked if the American women had spent more childhood years in the United States or had otherwise been involved in American communities. Also, their varied experiences within Canada will have added to their experiences of difference as well.

Six women identified themselves as urban and six as rural. The urban/rural split further defines differences in how these women were exposed to the person of colour, or 'others'. Rural areas in Canada were not only predominantly white, but as some women in the interviews will describe, often deeply embedded within a chronology of missionary and church related activities and associated more openly with colonization than in urban areas. Linking the
impact of the rural/church connection with the practices of these women as psychotherapists, perhaps suggests another way in which the practice of white femininity can be understood.

The academic training of the women who were interviewed is divided as follows: Two have received a certificate in a social service related field; four have undergraduate degrees or a bachelor of arts, one in psychology; two women have Masters degrees in Counselling, one Masters of Business Administration, two Masters in Social Work and one Masters in Speech Pathology. One woman is in the process of obtaining a Doctorate in Adult Education, one is working on a Doctorate in Psychology, and one in Sociology. One was a General Physician prior to becoming a psychotherapist. It is important to keep in mind from this demographic sketch the generally high level of education that these women have obtained prior, or in connection with, obtaining their private counselling training. As well, it is important to note that most of their academic training revolves around social service related fields. These academic levels, as well as interest in a field of social service, will emerge through as relevant themes throughout the thesis that situate the white woman as psychotherapist. Their access to educational institutions, to private training for psychotherapy, and their location as 'helpers' - academically trained or not - is central to this thesis.

With respect to previous training in psychotherapy, three women were trained in pastoral related counselling, six had worked or been trained in crisis intervention or in women's shelters, one had participated in social work workshops prior to other training, one had received some training as a counsellor in a housing agency, three had prior training in creative arts therapies, one in Gestalt therapy, and one had attended a workshop in solution focused therapy¹.

¹Solution focused psychotherapy is a contemporary form of psychotherapy whose mandate is to have a short term and cognitive approach to current presenting issues of the client.
These differences suggest that there is some variability to the definition and practice of psychotherapy, but since these training days are short and limited in scope, they are not comparable to the three or four year private training received through the Institute. With respect to anti-racism training, four had received federal training related to the social services or to government work, six had attended academic workshops or training, and all fifteen had attended a one day workshop on anti-racism in psychotherapy. More description on the first two training forums is not available. The latter was a one day workshop that examined systemic components to racism in institutions, resources, and discourses; and ways in which personal accounts may reflect racism in the practice of psychotherapy. This workshop was led by a local anti-racist trainer well known for her ability to link theory with practice.

**The Researcher and Interviewer**

The thesis question was configured in part through my own growing awareness of how deeply invested I was in being a good researcher, helping professional and a kind person. While I did not initially express this as a function of performing my whiteness, I was aware that somehow my own subject position was contributing to the thesis question, to the methodological process, and would be elemental in the writing of the final text.

I am a doctoral student, a first generation East German immigrant and a middle class white woman who is now also a psychotherapist working out of a private office. These things were given as a personal frame to my research on race and gender. However, being aware of how my whiteness was constructed within and around these identities only emerged throughout the process of the thesis. In part, Walkerdine's (1990) reference to the fantasy of the good and
omnipotent fairy reflects best how I came to acknowledge these constructions. 

She writes:

It was somebody's dream, their fantasy, my fantasy, meeting in the mutuality of the returned look...charmed little fairies who have good and beautiful powers to transform, fueling the flames of omnipotence, to cast spells, work magic (p.164).

Walkerdine suggests that her own fantasy of being the 'good fairy' marks also the possible fantasies for goodness that she saw reproduced within the little girls watching the patient and powerful elementary school teacher. Walkerdine also refers to pictures of herself as a child -- dressed as such a blue-bell fairy -- and how this fairy fantasy was shaped by her family's hopes and desires for her goodness and perhaps even her imagined healing powers. It was coming to terms in her adult life that the omnipotence of this fairy was a fantasy, and that while she may have attempted to re-enact this in her adult life as a woman, her examination of its potency also allowed for a disruption of its power.

As with many of the women in these interviews, my own fantasy of doing good came from my childhood learning about what obedient daughters do and don't do. The fantasy was about being able to cast imaginary good spells onto my family based on some hope about my presence there. It came from the confusion of being from an immigrant home where I was constantly trying to make sense of another world out there, and performing 'goodness' was one way 'in' to that outside world. It came from finding out from other children in my neighborhood that being a German was not seen as a good thing in a post-World War II Canada and perhaps, by imagining the omnipotence of the 'good fairy', I hoped to repair some historical place of damage.

Finally, and most importantly, the fantasy of being a 'good fairy' was also about the little white girl who lived within a primarily white neighborhood that could not come to terms with ethnic whites much less anyone who was not white.
It was about seeing the racial other 'on the other side of the tracks' and feeling compassion towards the conditions that were, in my family, perceived to 'not be their fault'. There was a commitment and responsibility to 'do what we could'. Therefore, my fantasy of 'doing good' was about learning to be a little girl within a society that had not come to terms with how deeply racist it was and how much it depended on not only the fantasy of little girls, but also the representational presence of the 'less fortunates' (for example, people of colour), in order to sustain its imagined and real powers. I depended on these experiences and realities to help me construct the importance of writing about whiteness and to see whiteness not as a static entity, or a solitary discourse, but as an ongoing and flexible presence that twists and turns depending upon its context. As Britzman (1991) states:

The retelling of another's story is always a partial telling, bound not only by one's perspective but also by the exigencies of what can and cannot be told. The narratives of lived experience...are always selective, partial and in tension (p. 13).

At times, I felt that the contradictions of writing so close to home would make it impossible to do this research. Through what has been gained for white women out of a North American feminism, I, as a white woman, can ask questions within academia not only about gender but now also about race. While as a white I could give 'legitimacy' to this field of research, I continually asked myself (and was challenged to ask) how I was again coming to the rescue of marginalized or 'less fortunate' others, speaking them into this academic space, making myself whole and respectable through the complex naming of my own dominance in relation to their general invisibility and marginalization!

Did other whites feel attacked, and as I sometimes experienced, quiet and anxious? Did people of color feel I was speaking for them and doing it badly? Who was I speaking for? How could I negotiate this process in real (economic)
terms if the writing of this thesis resulted only (or primarily) in a testimony of guilt in relation to the real privilege I might accrue from its textual documentation? Roman (1997) refers to such a testimony of redemption and challenges us as white researchers, to question the extent of our need for redemption. I return to this later in my discussion about research on whiteness.

The process of mending we as white women hope to do in the rips and tears we have perceived through patriarchy is a blind process when we do not acknowledge our participatory role. Subject positions are complex and often conflicted when 'power' is inscribed onto a white body, 'vulnerability' onto a gendered body, and a multitude of other subjectivities exist as well. However, as white women writing about gender and race (i.e., whiteness), we continue to depend on the conditions of the racial other in order to successfully regulate our own respectability as academics and as people.

It has been my attempt as a researcher, to be conscious of these representations and therefore to document them 'well'. This performance of what 'well' looks like, of course, enters me into a negotiation with my own privilege. Ultimately, it is my own desire for respectability (a key word to be defined later) that demands a good performance of this research. It is a way that I, like the interviewees, come to negotiate what I can gain from writing the racial other into the textual and academic space that defines my own respectability.

While I cannot fully resolve these questions, it is my intention that perhaps through this very documentation, by holding fast on paper the juxtaposition between patriarchy and imperialism and how they have 'made' me a little white girl and now, a professional helper and researcher, that it will eventually be possible to participate in a disruption of racism that may have an impact both on the access I have to social and professional resources as well how I define and identify myself as a helper. This pertains to the practices of other white women
as well. Naming the constructions of race and gender makes them more visible and therefore demands overt examination and the possibility of change.

**Presenting the Theoretical Framework**

**Imperialism as a Frame**

An historical understanding of imperialism and the role of the social subject within it, framed the final analysis of the interviews. Since this thesis discusses the historical relations and processes that produce white subjects, I begin with the term imperialism.

I refer to imperialism in this thesis not as the project of ruling a geographic territory but as a local and global project that influences all historical and contemporary forms of articulation. According to Said (1994), imperialism can be understood as "the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory" (p.9). This metropolitan center regulates not only issues of territorial expansion, but also the norms and values associated with its presence. Imperialism represents a general cultural sphere that incorporates the political, ideological, economic, and social practices of such a center. These practices suggest that the task of colonizing land and people necessitates also a kind of colonizing of their minds and their bodies so that those in positions of ruling can substantiate their geographic domination and the ideological foundation of their privilege.

While the historical mandate of imperialism was centrally one of geographic and economic expansion, its commitment was (and is) also to a circulation of specific raced, classed and gendered identifications. In particular, British rule demanded that "to speak of the British or English people is to speak of the white people" (Gilroy, 1990, p.268). This implicit presence of whiteness
was marked by how the practices performed by the British in the empire came to represent what was 'naturally' dominant promoting the view that:

...decent people could think of imperium as a protracted, almost metaphysical obligation to rule subordinate, inferior, or less advanced peoples ... the will, self-confidence, even arrogance necessary to maintain such a state of affairs can only be guessed at (Said, 1994, p.9 - 10).

This same sentiment is described by Goldberg (1993) when he states that within imperialism it was a "natural European drive to conquer and enslave the racial Other [assuming] the force of a moral imperative" (p. 25). Paradoxically, what was being described as representative of a 'moral' and 'decent' culture also signified the practices of a violent and implicit subjugation of marginalized people. Through this domination and the creation of imperial colonies, the British were able to solidify the representation of their 'decency' and to sustain their economic privilege as they conquered large territories and enslaved the people within them.

Within the colonies, continually redefining the social and political details of ruling, functioned to reproduce deeply entrenched representations of imperialism. This process of domination could further be communicated by the British and the European through a privileged access to "literacy ... and the technological developments in printing ... communication and learning" (Goldberg, 1993, p. 16). Being in a position of ruling allowed the British to regulate which images and representations of whites and the racial other were communicated locally and globally. These tools of literacy and communication thus helped to promote what, and who represented the 'ideal' subject of the empire. Thus, the idea of having an empire, the acts of colonization and the ability to communicate the accompanying ideologies, marked "who [counted] as in and who out" (p. 83). Imperialism shaped the norms and values associated with people who were raced, classed and gendered within all the colonies.
The imperial context of this thesis is the creation of a colony or nation called Canada - a "so-called white colony" (Said, 1994, p. 73). A British presence significantly shaped how Canada came to be a nation, how whites and their practices came to be seen as normative, and how Aboriginal peoples and people of colour were situated in relation to whites. Therefore, a British presence within Canada hoped to situate newcomers, such as racial, ethnic and working class whites, women and disabled people, and those considered sexual deviants (i.e., homosexuals and prostitutes), into society and into the labour force in order to provide workers for the less well-paid work that shaped a nation, and to sustain the privileged positions held by the British. Given these divisions of labour, the 'dominion' of Canada produced a nationalism not separate from British imperialism (Stanley, 1990).

As a colony, the idea of a 'citizen' in Canada was marked through a complex discourse that never strayed far from the whiteness and upper class status of the colonizing British. Personal and professional practices that were performed by whites in Canada represented British nationalist discourses that "marked out those whose claims to property rights, citizenship, and public relief were worthy of recognition and whose were not" (Stoler, 1995, p. 8). The status of the British was endorsed by how their domination positioned the racial and ethnic as subordinated. By placing people into lower and less well-paid work, different racial and ethnic groups were seen to have inherent attributes that suited them to this less popular and less privileged work (Calliste, 1991, p. 138). The subsequent portrayal of racial and ethnic groups as 'ideally' suited for certain segments in the labour market allowed those who were British to control the representations of normativity within the idea of nation. In this way, the British were able to enhance the image of their normativity within the colony of Canada while either overtly or implicitly marking the racial and ethnic other as
degenerate. As Schick (1998) states, "the essence of English ways [was] embodied in whiteness; the white body [read] as the semiotic of nationality" (p. 4).

For the purpose of this thesis, the hierarchy of helping activities put into practice by historical and contemporary white women marks how they participated as social subjects on such a continuum of national and imperial discourses. The thesis examines how their professional and personal practices signify deeply organized responses that must be performed again and again to sustain the idea of empire. This includes sustaining their economic status within it and their own sense of self even while this is being shaped by the notion and practices that constitute the idea of empire. This organization of a white personal and professional self as a member within empire, will be described in the body of the thesis as fundamentally dependent on the presence of the racial other.

In Canada prior to the 1900's, social relations marked hierarchies within activities of helping that defined who was a 'citizen' and who belonged to an imperial colony. Even after official colonial status had ended immigration, labour and social policies continued to bear the mark of imperialism. For example, in the early 1900's the female racial other entered into Canada as a less elite form of helper than white women (Calliste, 1991). Bakan and Stasiulis (1995) demonstrate how even later into the 1900's professional work for middle class white women continued to place a high demand on the need for cheap and accessible child care available primarily from immigrant domestic workers coming from non-Western countries, thus encouraging an ongoing hierarchy among women in the helping professions.

As they describe, current and contemporary work in the elite or middle class home, now more available for non-white nannies and housekeepers, makes it possible for white women to continue their professional work, thus
shaping their elevated status as citizens. Contemporary and professional acts of helping are then materially constituted within these imperial and national discourses and mark how the white woman is shaped as white and as woman - and primarily, as a social subject along a continuum of citizenship within an imperial colony. How she is seen to belong and who is seen to be subordinate to her are regulated through the historical relations discussed within this thesis.

In conclusion, imperialism is projected through a variety of 'discourses' and 'interlocking relations'. 'Race' and 'gender' are concepts situated within particular geographies that prescribe who is defined as imperial and who is not. In the following section I will define these terms.

**Discourse and the Social Subject**

As Said (1994) and others have suggested, imperialism is a discourse in itself. The term 'discourse' suggests not only an active dialogue, but a set of organized historical relations and processes. Discourses can be understood as any set of organized images, identities and practices that shape material or ideal worlds (Valverde, 1991, p.10). I refer here to the term 'discourse' as representational of how the historical and social constructions of race, class and gender through actual language and symbolic objects maintain ongoing practices of relations of power. These historical relations and practices help to shape, and are shaped by, how people are constituted given their specific temporal and geographic contexts.

Thus, a discourse can be seen in any organized set of words, actions, objects, symbols or systems of belief all working together to maintain specific race, class and gendered relations. Symbolic and representational discourses reflect the values and meaning attributed to people and objects set within a
material context and shaped through historic interactions. The forms of expression that symbolize ethical and moral belief systems do not need to be bound to text and dialogue but can also be seen as emblems, uniforms, instruments or household items that mark a 'language' generated by the specificities of a culture or a time.

Discourses can be an actual or symbolic set of organized professional practices and social languages, and therefore, the role of power and how relations of power are maintained through these discourses is a central theme of exploration and analysis. This follows a Foucauldian analysis which suggests that a discourse shapes relations of power not only by "the thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourse, but those discourses themselves....are practices obeying certain rules" (Foucault, 1972, p.138). Foucault describes discourse as a method of constituting social relations through a web of contexts, languages and institutions where power is central. For example, the practices performed by these white women within the helping professions will be studied as practices that shape the real privilege and power of these women in relation to the subordination and privilege of others.

These relations of power are exercised through particular practices and settings that maintain who is normalized, marginalized or pathologized within those relations. How these practices are reproduced within society is further marked by Foucault (1991) when he suggests that "subjects are gradually, progressively, really and materially constituted ... through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts" (p. 97). Therefore, relations of power create a system within which all social relations can be defined marking an ongoing production of who appears to have power, who is seen as respectable, and who is economically successful. The discourses that
circulate around these relations of power become a regulatory force through which all historical and contemporary social subjects are shaped.

The social subject is constituted through the conjunctions between, for example, how race, class and gender are discursively envisioned in the case of imperialism. Grewal (1996) explores the nineteenth-century European culture of travel between England and India defining how the rhetoric of European travel was based on a conflicted yet intimate desire for and about the racial other (and the self), in far away countries. Her exploration reveals that discourses of travel necessitated a racial division which was produced through the narratives of exploring the foreign, the science of travel, the discovery and anthropology of the 'native' other, and the desire to be seen simultaneously (and romantically), as close to the naturalized native yet privileged white (p. 1).

Grewal marks how the British social subject is marked as a 'colonizer' and this identity gains further meaning through their ability to travel. She marks 'travel' as a journey that constructs the British social subject as privileged over the less fortunate racial other, travels that marks her as white, free to journey and more civilized (p.54). Grewal's study makes clear that the respectable and elite subjectivity of the white person could only be constituted through their ongoing negotiation with the actual and representational relationship to the racial other. As Grewal explores through the example of travel, this practice necessitated the continual substantiation of colonial relationships.

Thus, when we understand what a discourse is and how it shapes identity, we can see that the person as a social subject becomes a determinant of these social discourses. In this way, the body of the person as a social subject is both relevant and irrelevant at the same time. Butler (1993) states that the 'body' has all but disappeared in the discussions about subjectivity and she suggests that the subject as a 'body' must be re-introduced so that it does not only describe an
historical text and interpretive meaning, but that it is seen to be constituted out of actual matter (p.28). She demands, "there is no reference to a pure body which is not at the same time a further formation of that body" (Butler, 1993, p. 10). Bodies are not 'pure', but become reference points for interpretation. In this thesis, her work suggests that the white bodies of the white women mark the identity of the helping professional who is seen to be kind and middle class. Through their white/feminine bodies, these women help to re-instate the historical meaning and practices engaged in that mark the 'white woman' as a particular social subject.

The fact that social and historical discourses 'mark' the body is central and constitutional to any identity. Butler suggests, for example, that feminism as a critical practice demands the acknowledgement of the female body with a sexed specificity (p.30). She reminds that the body's anatomical constitution as 'female', complete with a sexed specificity, depends on a discourse of gender that attempts to describe the place and meaning of this body at various points in history. By re-instating the body as matter that is meaningful when we see it in conjunction with an historical discourse, we re-instate that it is significantly "productive, constitutive, one might even argue performatve" (p. 30) for example, of the discursive significations that define imperialist subjects. The body as a performatve of social discourses is then the tangible site through which the social subject can participate in practices and identifications within society.

I suggest that the social subject is constituted not only out of the discourses on subjectivity that are described to define imperialist subjects but also emerges out of the body as a text itself. While the female body is sexed specifically, the white and non-white body is also raced specifically, and while it remains the same 'body' over time, it is subject to the shifting influences of other
social and political discourses. This introduces a confounding dynamic between the construction of race and gender as marking specific physiologies, and the social and interpretive meaning attributed to people's race and gender. It is how the body, a person's particular practices and the setting within which these occur that discourses of race, class, and gender take on meaning shaping the subject as social. I define this further in the next section when I define race.

In conclusion, a multitude of meanings are constructed out of a set of social and political discourses that have simultaneously responded to the specific text of the body. It is through this conjunction between the actual body and social discourses that the person becomes a social subject and can participate in relations that circulate around constitutions of power. Scott (1992) suggests that it is not discovering that such a social identity exists that has political possibility, but it is discovering the "sense of participation" in the practices related to a subjectivity that must be understood (p. 23). The white woman as a professional helper of the less fortunates is one such example of how we can understand how social identity, real bodies and actual practices come together to shape contemporary white women.

A Definition of Race: An Interlocking Construction

The concept of race is influenced by how historical and social discourses define the social subject within an imperial context. Theorists have had much difficulty in agreeing on a definition of race. For some, race as a category is described as "sufficiently broad, indeed, almost conceptually empty, [and] offers itself as a category capable of providing a semblance of social cohesion, of historical particularity, or given meanings and motivations to agents" (Goldberg, 1993, p. 4). Its presence depends on the ways in which social and political
discourses constitute difference against other historical norms. This suggests that race is itself socially constituted remaining an "unstable and 'decentered' complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle " (Omi and Winant, 1986, p.68).

This dichotomy presents a contradiction for the discussion of race. If it is based on an illusion then the fact of discrimination can be denied and the dominant group can assume a kind of blindness to the nature of oppression. Racism cannot exist if the category race cannot be defended as real. On the other hand, if race becomes an objective condition then it appears almost as a biological frame through which one cannot appreciate how social relations and discourses do interpret and make meaning of such a subjectivity. If the raced body alone is the marker for all interpretations of race, then this negates a history of meaning-making constructed in the above context of imperialism. Therefore, while race can be understood as a theoretical and historically empty concept in itself, the conjunctions of history and the particular practices to be discussed in this thesis illustrate how it is kept alive through a social, discursive and political regulation of real bodies.

The meaning of race has evolved throughout history. As Goldberg (1993) illustrates, during the period of Enlightenment there was an inevitable contradiction between on the one hand, the rational and liberal belief that all people were equal to each other and on the other, the basis of inequality that was required for an empire engaged in practices of domination. He suggests:

The deep disjunction between moral idealization and actual racial appeal... must imply either that morality is irrelevant...or that liberalism's relative silence concerning racial considerations masks a much more complex set of ideas and experiences than commonly acknowledged (p.6).
This silence about racial considerations reflects the dominant group’s investment in being seen as both moral (and constitutive of other’s morality) and dominant at the same time, justifying both through the governing arguments of reason and equality. Race was both an irrelevant category and a deeply fundamental one marking relations of dominance. As Goldberg has suggested, the discourses of reason and morality did not come together in order to substantiate the equality and enlightenment of all (p.6). Rather, they served the purpose of shaping the privilege and continuing domination of those who belonged to the empire so that they could continue to (rationally) argue for their privileged positions.

Currently, race is a concept produced within First World practices that are seen to be more advanced, technologically more proficient, and generally white; while the Third World is configured as less advanced, and generally not white. This is not a classification of biology but a description of ‘culture’, removing race from its biological origins and placing it in the context of social, geographic and historic discourses. Culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation or the state; this differentiates ‘us’ from ‘them’, almost always with a degree of xenophobia” (Said, 1994, p. xiii). It is how a Western culture and its practices are valued and required as a discourse of privilege that now marks the ongoing regulation of racialized people. While xenophobic responses can appear to be neutralized through the terms of culture (i.e., ‘we are not a racist culture’), Said is suggesting (as Goldberg stated for the Age of Enlightenment) that contemporary society remains at core, dependent on a racially distinguishable discourse.

The contemporary marginalization and subordination of the person of colour depends on a method of marking the racial body as degenerate based on cultural evidence that they do not belong to the dominant culture. Their marginalization is based on a naturalized inability to gain access to the practices
which are visibly part of the dominant culture. As Nestel (1994) has discussed in her thesis on the natural childbirth movement, the racial other appears to naturally belong 'elsewhere' (outside of civilization) marking their 'natural' terrain as that of the jungle, the forest and the field. This representation results in an apparently civilized and reasonable marking of their cultural degeneracy without evoking the West's role in regulating a continuing lack of access to privilege and resources. Such a contemporary marking of the racial other is a construction of race that uses culture to impose real social and political value onto skin colour resulting in concrete and often violent realities for the racial other.

Thus, a contemporary marking of people as racially 'different' (or racially invisible as with whites) is a process that occurs in daily discourses, in administrative procedures, in many professional transactions, in media and literature and in educational systems. As Goldberg (1993) suggests, "...racism cannot be realized in practice without the advancement of modern science, technology, and bureaucratic forms of state power (p. 108). He writes that North American society has come to categorize social subjects in racialized ways through these cultural forms of expression even if this is implicit or invisible (p. 1). Because of a Western climate that legitimizes the doctrine of the self as a cultural self, this marks how the racial other can also be technologically regulated as a culturally different and other self. As a white or a person of colour, racial identifications are reinvented again and again through these cultural forums, expressions and conditions. This legitimization has constituted a continued marginalization, but can also be seen to have potential for emancipatory effects.

So far, this ability to sustain the representation of Western superiority reflects how a myriad of discourses continue to shape the social subject as raced. This ongoing project can be better understood as an 'interlocking' process. The ability to maintain race as a category despite its culturally shifting
nature depends on a definition of how hierarchical systems are constituted through each other.

Razack and Fellows (1998) note that:

Systems of oppression (capitalism, imperialism, and patriarchy) rely on each other in complex ways. This 'interlocking' effect means that the systems of oppression come into existence in and through each other so that class exploitation could not be accomplished without gender and racial hierarchies, imperialism could not function without class exploitation, sexism, and heterosexism, and so on. Because the systems rely on each other in these complex ways, it is ultimately futile to attempt to disrupt one system without simultaneously disrupting others (p. 335).

As Razack and Fellows have suggested, interlocking then refers to how subordinated people are set up in relation to each other to support those in more dominant positions. This process substantiates the West as representative of normative practices and values against the racial other, still associated with a Third World, who comes to be seen as occupying culturally othered practices from this dominant norm (Razack, 1995, p. 46). An interlocking process examines how various hierarchies (gender, race, class) sustain and make possible how the West has participated in economically and culturally subjugating the East.

For example, Grewal (1996) refers to forms of 'feminized' beauty that are constructed within implicit interlocking discourses of race and gender. The reproduction of the image of a fair and delicate, gentle and amiable Victorian woman can be conceived of as a virtuous (and therefore beautiful) presence primarily in contrast to the presence of the Black woman. Imperial standards promoted this Victorian image as a normative femininity and this image depended on the privileged material conditions of the white woman. The Black woman was one who was not seen to be relaxing in a clean home doing
needlework, but was imagined to be either engaging in lustful passion or
alternately, performing factory work (p. 30).

The interlocking process is declared in Grewal’s work in that she attempts
to describe how a feminized form of beauty was constituted through the material
conditions of the Victorian woman, - her gentle practices of leisure and the upper
class clean space she occupied, and through the less fortunate conditions of the
Black woman -, her less clean working environment and her economic inability to
leisurely read novels and do needlework. While these appear as binary
conjunctions of class, gender and race, it is Grewal’s attempt to mark the illusion
that the perceived ideal beauty could only be the perceived life and body of the
white, middle or upper class woman. While not all white middle class women had
lives of leisure, nor did they all appear fragile and relaxed, Grewals’ work
explores how aspects of race, class and gender can create the illusion or
assumption that this was so in a way that regulates images of normativity and
women’s access to a dominant frame.

Similarly, Stoler (1995) describes how an interlocking process shapes
subjectivities through a cultivation of the white, middle class woman as one who
was a "custodian of morality, of their vulnerable men, and of national character.
Parenthood, and motherhood specifically, was a class obligation and a duty to
empire " (p. 135). Stoler’s white woman depended on her affiliation to the white,
middle class man and to her white children in order to construct her passive yet
privileged identity as an imperial subject. Through her heterosexual relationship
to the more aggressive imperial male, through her moral and kind educative
relationship to her (and his) white children in the middle class home, and through
the specific presence of the racial other as housekeeper and nanny, the middle
class white woman’s social subjectivity was constituted as raced.
Constructing her as moral, kind and yet privileged depended on a simultaneous interlocking affiliation with other elite whites and a kind of disavowal of raced subjects. Through the nature of interlocking relationships, "the dominant group makes itself by imagining itself as everything the Other is not" (Razack and Fellows, 1998, p. 343).

**Why Whiteness?**

Reflecting on race as an identification that is constituted through social discourses has typically meant the study of the racial and cultural other. However, as we are seeing, the study of whiteness is becoming a significantly important area of race research. How whiteness can be defined through the naming of white subjects, how they are constituted, and the practices they engage in, is being named increasingly and yet, this occurs because of and despite many contradictions. Gallagher (1997) states that "whites can be defined as naive because they attach little meaning to their race, humane in their desire to reach out to non-whites, defensive as self-defined victims, and reactionary in their calls for a return to white solidarity" (p. 6). His statement reflects a kind of emotional and situational frame that may propel white researchers to take on the study of their own whiteness. It can occur through a desire to reach out, defend or react against, or even implicitly to re-instate the practices related to racism.

As this thesis proposes to do, highlighting the practices of white women within a study of interlocking relations becomes both a risk and a necessity. It is a risk in that its study threatens to contribute to processes of recentering rather than decentering relations of dominance (Frankenberg, 1997). Marking whiteness as a field of study threatens to focus again, not only on the study of domination through a new confessional lens, but also first, on the practical ways in which the white researcher can once again gain mastery over the racial other
as a colonial subject one can write about, and second, how the white researcher can be blind to seeing how whiteness works in her own investment in it.

I refer here explicitly to the actual process of writing about whiteness, rather than whiteness as a concept, because it is the majority of white bodies within academia that make the study of whiteness possible and seemingly make whiteness reproducible. It is the actual process of being white and writing and thinking about whiteness that can be problematic in that this simultaneously reproduces whiteness as central once again.

As Fine, Weiss, Powell, and Wong (1997) write in their preface to Off White: Readings on Race, Power and Society,

We worry that there will follow a spate of books on whiteness when, in part, we (arrogantly? narcissistically? greedily? responsibly?) believe that maybe this should be the last book on whiteness (p. xii).

While limiting studies on whiteness may be an appropriate ideal, this appears impossible for now. Its continuing research-ability hinges on the majority presence of white academics who cannot and should not speak for the condition and presence of the racial other, yet in their hope to think about/dismantle racism, can only continue to write about their own whiteness and therefore, reproduce the function of writing the racial other in as an 'add on' or an 'other' presence. The academic setting, at this point, promotes a new form of domination in the example of whites researching whiteness and inserting the racial other into a theoretical definition of interlocking. white academics, no matter how they approach the racial subject, will promote a majority of writings that openly and overtly center around whiteness.

In this way, the study of whiteness exists as a contradictory process in that one reinscribes it simply by describing it (Ellsworth, 1997, p.264). Describing it within an academic context will continue when its ongoing documentation
occurs through the real white academic bodies interested in the interlocking relations between race and gender. Others who are considered marginally white also resort to its reference through this contradiction. For example, the writer, Chabram-Dernersesian (1997) on Chicana/o culture, rejects "that whiteness is or should ever be a category of social analysis in the way that race, class, and gender or other social categories are" (p. 111). Whiteness, even when it is contested, appears to re-invent itself given the body of the researcher and the nature of a dominant discourse. It threatens to be an "institutional choreography that renders whiteness meritocratic and other colours deficient" (Fine, 1997, p. 64).

As race can be understood to be a theoretically empty category, through whites’ research of whiteness, race is again constituted as a real presence that is marked by the white researcher. The study of race continues to be defined and marked primarily by whites who are in positions of power and regulation. This reflects an historically familiar process. For example, it has been said, that "many research programs harbor a dual model of persons: when the experimenter is white, the race of experimenter is held to be unrelated to his or her cognitions, whereas the race of the subject is held to possibly affect his or her cognitions" (Morawski, 1997, p. 15). The same logic of a neutral dominance emerges when we understand that the study of whiteness by (dominant) whites is imagined (by dominant whites) to be a relatively rational and insightful project (i.e., the experimenter’s race does not hinder exploring the subject matter).

This method of research denies the blindness of white researchers performing their own identity at the same time as they write about it, and it denies that researchers of colour would interject a very different positionality on whiteness therefore, breaking apart the practice of 'how whites see whites'. As Hurtado and Stewart suggest (1997), "people of colour are experts on whiteness,
which we have learned whites most emphatically are not" (p. 308). In this way, whites researching whiteness reproduces a kind of individualistic and supposedly rational narrative as if no other narratives on whiteness matter or exist.

At the same time, not researching whiteness (even by whites) threatens to entrench its invisible centrality and shifts practices within supposedly reified relations of race, class and gender so that the practices that keep whiteness invisible cannot be named or explored. As Roman (1997) states:

...paradoxically, to get off white, ... first requires that we get on it in critical and politically transformative ways. ...at the very least, it opens up the possibility for a third term and offers space for rewriting and speaking culture from its different interested locations (p. 278).

Since the study of dominant discourses has historically been constructed only through the dominant gaze onto the racial and colonial subject, reversing the gaze through a number of methods and sites demands a recognition of how a dominant gaze is constructed. Omi and Winant (1993) suggest that such a critical and process oriented analysis of race relies on political relationships, a global context and historical time in order to understand how race is performed as an ideology throughout social practices (p. 7).

Thus, the study of whiteness possibly becomes a study of how race happens as one example of constructing marginality. It can become one area of study about relations of dominance and how racial relations are shaped through a previously invisible presence of whiteness. As Frankenberg (1993) has stated:

... whiteness refers to a set of locations that are historically, socially, politically, and culturally produced and moreover are intrinsically linked to unfolding relations of domination. Naming 'whiteness' displaces it from the unmarked, unnamed status that is itself an effect of its dominance (p. 6).

Reflecting on the concept of 'interlocking' then becomes a central analytic tool for the study of whiteness through which one can both speak to the presence of
whiteness and inscribe it as only one sub-category of a multiplicity of class, gender and race relations that all configure systemic relations of dominance and oppression. It becomes possible as a site of study when one engages in the way that the social subject, in the example of the white woman as helper, is constructed in relation to other whites and the person of colour. "When exploring hegemonic experiences such as whiteness, the trick is to find ways to retain a critical, counterhegemonic presence in the research" (Hurtado and Stewart, 1997, p. 310). It is a less self-reflexive and more counter-hegemonic project when social positionings of whiteness are framed in the context of how people live and how they live through and with each other.

Ellsworth (1997) highlights how research on whiteness can so easily be reproduced. "It's hard to avoid the paternalistic connotations of white ally as helper, especially given the argument that at this moment in history, white allies could never be 'equal' to people of colour because we are always more privileged, therefore more powerful, and therefore make good helpers" (p. 267). It is the intention of this thesis (while its presence functions as a 'helper' in that it names race', racisms, and the invisibility of whiteness) to disrupt the possibility that only whites (and white women) as researchers or professionals and can assume such powerful and helpful positions. It also functions to understand how we continue to be able to do so.

Thus, the benefit of a study of whiteness is that it can become a useful project attempting to name how the subordinated presence of the colonial subject and the invisible dominant white constitute each other. Understanding how whiteness constructs all social subjects through other interlocking relationships makes more clear how white women, as one example, might be engaged in marking their own status through a dependency on the presence of the less fortunate racial other. Without naming whiteness, this cannot emerge.
As Wildman and Davis remark (1997), "the choice to act from privilege may be unconscious, the individual ... may see herself as a victim of gender discrimination. But she is unlikely to see herself as a participant in discrimination for exploiting her white privilege" (p. 318). Naming that specific practice of participation is one of the results of this research.

Finally, the study of whiteness can also be a project that mirrors how contemporary theoretical trends are sustained by the primarily white demographics of academia. This kind of reflection on whiteness can be most successful when white researchers on race do not out number non-white researchers on race. Herein lies the historic and economic risk of the research balance.

**Developing Respectability as a Marker of Imperialism**

...we can see a one way assimilation to an Anglo-British legal system, Anglo-Protestant religious values, an English language, and an Anglo-capitalist economic system (Feagin, 1997, p. 352).

The concept of who and what is seen to be 'respectable' is shaped through the above historic conjunctions between whiteness and non-whiteness. If race depends on new non-biological markers that continue to construct imperialist relations, then respectability can be argued to be one such marker that comes to signify who is in the cultural center - who 'belongs' to colony. While respectability does not appear to be a biological or a racialized term, I argue that it signifies a deeply racialized agenda based on the context defined above. While I have already defined race above, I want to focus here on a more specific discussion of 'respectability' as a contemporary marker for race relations.
The historical documentation of the 1600 to 1700's can be said to reflect a dominant discourse that was a demonstration of "reason over tradition, the outreach to humanitarianism and to dispossessed groups, and the general improvement in the condition of humanity" (Mandell, 1995, p. 5). Principally, all persons were supposed to be 'given' these rights, however, access to social resources and to the rights of governance were primarily extended to elite men and some elite women. While all individuals were seen to be equal within this emerging liberalism, the contradiction of clear social and class hierarchies marked some subjects 'more equal' than others. As Razack and Fellows (1998) state, "...the problem for the Enlightenment man,...is how to reconcile the exclusion of those who are not equal ...within a framework of the fundamental equality of all human beings" (p. 342). For example, "equality, in its liberal meaning, could not be attained by those who were physically or spatially marked as different" (p. 343).

The European middle class implied that all were equal, for example that race was an irrelevant category, yet through the middle class re-definition of rights, nation and society, it was able to regulate racial distinctions as significant and as a "cohesive identity" (Goldberg, 1993, p. 4). This new group of middle class elites were able to determine themselves as representatives of the 'rational' and the normative while marking "who may be excluded and [confining] the terms of social inclusion and cohesion" (p.4). Providing 'rights for all' was seen to be a liberal and rational activity that none-the-less did not include the racial other. How then could the racial other be excluded based on a system that supported equal rights for all?

The effect this conflict had was that a "racialized discourse [did] not consist simply in descriptive representations of others...it [included] a set of hypothetical premises and the differences between them" (p. 47). Social borders,
both geographically and physically raced, were procured through social practices that created the legitimacy of the European middle class. As Goldberg explains, "...the spirit of modernity is to be found most centrally in its commitment to continuous progress...for which the West took to be its own values universalized" (p. 4). Historically, being seen as 'respectable' then suggested a demarcation between a set of liberal and equality oriented practices that represented this elite European middle class and how these same values and practices marked marginalized groups as other. Race could be sustained as a category since the racial other was not seen to be practicing the same activities as the European liberal middle class.

In later times, Grewal (1996) explores how the Englishwoman of the late 1800's similarly entered into a conflicted set of desires when she attempted to gain her own respectability by approximating the Englishman's practices of travel. Her respectability was solidified when she could most closely approximate the activities of the elite European man. For example:

As travellers, ethnologists, missionaries, and reformers, Englishwomen could show their equality with Englishmen by participating in the colonial project that was defined in purely heterosexual, masculinist terms as a 'penetration' and 'mastery' of 'virgin' territory (p. 65).

By engaging in such practices the Englishwoman marked her complicity to the imperial project, her respectability within it, and simultaneously her superiority to the 'native' woman or man. As Grewal explicates, it was important to see herself as part of 'civilization' and her participation in the Englishman's practices was a hope to emasculate and claim for herself the respectability that these typically male practices constituted for the Englishman. Through her participation in the practices that signified men, the Englishwoman could appear to have resisted and disrupted the shackles of patriarchy that had historically been imposed upon her. However, travelling freely through foreign lands and proving
she could "live the life of the Other as much as men" (p. 65) also functioned to secure her own difference from other less superior racial women. Grewal suggests that the Indian woman was seen to embody the 'home' while the Western woman was seen to mingle freely amongst both men and women engaging in the material and sexual world (p. 54). Her travels emphasized the "mobile-immobile, free-unfree opposition that was part of the structure of colonial relations" (p. 66) and her respectability depended on practices that were not engaged in by the 'native' woman.

Even here, Grewal explores a dichotomy related to which discourse on gender 'counts'. On the one hand, she explores the Western distinction of privilege that the Englishwoman could express herself through a more global, public and professional space. In this case, the Indian woman in the home was seen to be bound by patriarchal claims on her domestic location. On the other hand, Grewal describes that when Indian women assume the imagined practices of Western women - reading novels, doing needlework or using luxurious jewelry - they are scoffed at within their culture since they desired a Western culture that was clearly signified as depraved (p.54). In this case, Grewal suggests that the imagined practices of the English woman represented for Indian culture (although not necessarily the individual Indian woman) all that was deficient about the West (p.54).

In more contemporary times, respectability continues to be identified through a concrete and complex set of practices all of which appear non-raced and equally accessible, but actually result in representing a core set of dominant discourses. For example, having good health, a professional life, wealth, an advanced education, a good residential location and the freedom to be a consumer within a privileged society marks a successful representation of practices that appear accessible to all, yet are distinctively racially marked as
Western and white. Who can travel and who stays in the home, who performs mission work and who receives it, who has access to becoming a knowledgeable expert in a professional world, and who continues to be relegated to the work within the home, all appear to be non-racialized practices that continue to determine who is a middle class white. This appears to leave the faith that (some) whites have in liberal equality, since they are no longer racist if they no longer mark the racial other as biologically different. In this way, regulating race relations can depend on how particular practices mark certain groups of people as respectable or others as more degenerate without referring to biology.

In this context, what has historically appeared as 'whiteness' is arguably still a desirable norm. Since whites in the West are in a dominant position to more 'naturally' perform respectable middle class practices, "those who are conceived as 'acting white' in these terms could be considered white" (Goldberg, 1993, p. 69). This continues to illustrate the power of whiteness, represented through classed activities, in a way that is xenophobic and it also marks how previously marginalized people can achieve 'respectability' based on a manifestation of what practices of 'whiteness' might look like. As my thesis will describe, and Grewal described above in her historical example, the contemporary white woman in Canada who is a professionalized helper is similarly shaping her respectability against the historical frame of empire by shifting her proximity towards a higher level of professionalism, production, knowledge and economic status. The North American feminist movement is one factor, amongst other historical changes, that has made it possible for white women to enter into a professional sphere allowing them a higher degree of social and political respectability. This is based on their participation in a very specific set of classed practices that make them look more respectable.
However, this 'upward-mobility' depends on marking their difference from people of colour, despite a middle class faith in a contemporary form of equality.

Razack and Fellows (1998), in "The Race to Innocence: Confronting Hierarchical Relations Among Women", discuss how respectability is a value expressed through the practice of negotiating interlocking relations of subordination and privilege. Their article is historically framed by Goldberg's (1993) discussion of the paradoxes of the age of enlightenment and also in a discussion of contemporary works on feminism, marginality and equality. Their discussion refers to how contemporary women participate in marking each other as more respectable and more degenerate given their own desires to achieve a degree of respectability.

Razack and Fellows (1998) reflect in this article on the reasons why a feminist political solidarity between women often fails due to "the problem of competing marginalities" (p. 335). How is it that women compete among each other for greater levels of subordination and yet sustain their places of dominance? How are their identities and their respectability dependent on these negotiations? I have selected to discuss this central theme of negotiation and how women both strive to sustain and disrupt their respectable place within a dominant set of relations.

Razack and Fellows (1998) argue that when a woman remains primarily interested in the forms of oppression that affect her the most, she hopes to assure her visibility within an otherwise invisible place within a dominant structure. In the case of a white woman, when she struggles only against patriarchal systems she is attempting to ensure her visibility within the domain of patriarchy while failing to recognize that her visibility there depends on marking other subordinated women as more degenerate and more invisible. When she attempts to gain visibility on the basis of one marginalization, she fails to see
how this visibility engages her in creating the invisibility of other subordinated women. Through the ability of elites to distinguish themselves as different from another group, they are able to mark who they are, simultaneously marking themselves as more respectable than those others.

This juxtaposition requires an ongoing paradox for women, since:

...feeling only the ways that she is positioned as subordinate, each woman strives to maintain her dominant positions. Paradoxically, each woman asserts her dominance in this way because she feels like it is the only way in which she can win respect for her claim of subordination (p. 4).

In the case of this thesis, through the white women's participation in their professional practices they are both contesting their marginal place within patriarchy and requiring the subordinated presence of the person of colour.

It is through this negotiated positioning of the woman's social subjectivity that she gains what Razack and Fellows have termed a "toehold on respectability" (p. 336). Achieving this respectability depends on the ways in which she does not name her participation or success within the system of domination. While "subordinate groups simply are the way they are...to be unmarked or unnamed is also simply to embody the norm and not to have actively produced and sustained it" (p. 341). When the white woman does not name or see her participation and benefit within dominant structures, she implicitly continues to mark the racial other as naturally degenerate and she remains less visible herself on the same continuum. This process continues to mark the subordinate person as 'naturally' different and thus responsible for their own subordination. As Razack and Fellows (1998) state, "physical and spatial markers of those who are not human, ...persons found in certain locations, persons unaccompanied by more respectable persons (for example women alone), all help to draw the firm and visible border between those who
are different and those who are unnamed" (p. 342). When white women sustain their 'toehold on respectability' by not naming their privileged subjectivity the subordinated other's "... condition is naturalized" (p. 341) and their degeneracy appears to be confirmed.

The women in my thesis will illustrate this best. Respectability, as it is achieved by these fifteen white women through their professional and privatized helping activities, mirrors their participation in marking the racial other as less fortunate, and achieving this in order to sustain a 'toehold on respectability'. Their resistance is apparent in their desire to overturn patriarchal structures, yet disrupting their place within imperialist structures may perhaps be more difficult. This is seen in that their professional practices as psychotherapists make them more respectable and provide them with more of the markers that illustrate their engagement with an imperialist frame.

This section has attempted to make clear that race continues to be a discourse when we see how a set of Western culturally middle class practices offer the possibility of respectability to more marginalized people. Through the argument that respectable people have access to modern forms of cultural expression, I argue that respectability can best be translated to who has access to contemporary practices that offer concrete and material results. As with the white women in this thesis, she who is seen to be situated in a more clean and Western professional setting has achieved a degree of respectability that depends on specific racial markers.
Chapter Two:
Introducing Childhood Race Relations

Introduction
In Chapter Two, I explore how the white woman is formed as a social subject within a family, a nation and in the context of imperialism. I refer to literature that discusses how the historical white woman was shaped through her relationships to white men and the racial other, in a way that served the imperial project. I describe how the conditions of imperialism shaped the imagined normative white woman as one who was married, happy to raise imperial children, happy to participate in mission work and act in otherwise moral and kind ways. Specifically, I will describe how these practices seen as normative for women within the historical European family continue to shape the contemporary women in these interviews as normative within a modern frame of imperialism.

I will also discuss the period of social and moral reform in Canada in the early to mid 1900's and how this movement, which emerged out of immigration trends and a hope to build the nation Canada as an imperial colony, positioned the Christian church as a central influence that shaped social relations. Given this social movement, the stories of the women in the interviews will reflect how the Christian Protestant church was important for them as children and how its religious, but also social hierarchies based in ethnic and class differences, shaped their experiences of privileged and subordinate relations. I will illustrate through the interviews how the contemporary practices of the elite (to be defined later), ethnic and working class white women refer to, confirm, and disrupt the practices that this literature presents as normative for historical white women in Canada. This discussion will include the relationships between white women, white men, the person of colour and Aboriginal peoples. In conclusion, I will
suggest that social and historical conditions that shape the practices of white women also shape their sense of themselves as fundamentally good and kind people. I will discuss this with reference to their relations to white men and persons of colour.

I will briefly state here that when I refer to the contemporary woman, I mean the women in the interviews. The historical woman reflects the women discussed in the literature. As well, when I refer to the 'white woman' I refer to the elite, the ethnic white, and the working class white woman. Elite women will be defined later more explicitly as middle class, white, heterosexual and usually Protestant. The ethnic white woman will later be defined as an Eastern, Northern, and Southern (not central) European white woman. I refer to the term 'practices', as in the practices related to mission work, childrearing or helping, as the tangible activities that shape the personal and professional realms of these women.

When I refer to 'immigrants', this suggests all immigrants who are ethnic and non-white, but does not refer to elite whites or all working class whites. For the sake of clarification, working class whites can be either immigrants or ethnic whites. I refer to immigrants who are not white as 'people of colour' who may or may not be middle or working class, and this will distinguish them from elite, ethnic or working class whites, and Aboriginal populations. In part, these constructions will be described as having emerged through immigration policies and the British desire to shape the nation Canada.
The Historical Context of European Imperialism

In this section I will discuss how an imperial history and its race, class and gender discourses shaped the practices of the historical white woman. Understanding the historical European white woman and family is important because the influences of European imperialism mirror how the Canadian white woman and family also became a symbol and beacon for the morals and values that defined imperialism.

McClintock’s (1995) primary theme in Imperial Leather helps us to understand how European men and women were located in relation to each other and in relation to the colonial other, in order to secure the imperial enterprise. McClintock suggests that the European white middle class woman occupied a valued place within imperialism through her work at home. Through her various practices as mother, wife and community worker, the European woman embodied all that was considered moral and clean, leisurely and respectable about a dominant culture. In her ‘natural’ place, the practices that shaped her presence in the family and the home came to mark how she was seen as white, female, and middle class. As I will later explore, her practices there supported the fantasy of the normative practices of a woman who was at her best when she was raising children, keeping house or evangelizing for the Christian church.

The creation and reproduction of this image along with the actual practices of the middle class white woman, made it appear as if the European middle class woman was in fact, the pinnacle of femininity. Whether the real European white middle class woman performed these practices in the home and church successfully or not, the fact that these were real practices in demand for imperialism, and that they were reproduced by a dominant society, shaped what McClintock suggests is the fantasy, or imagined ideal of the white woman. The
fantasy that this was the ideal normative woman was reproduced through a variety of social and public discourses while her practices were in service to the imperial project (p.355).

Stoler (1995) also helps us to understand the role of white women in raising imperial children by examining Dutch middle class white women in the 1800's. Stoler discusses the example of elite Dutch women whose practices of childrearing and managing the economy of the home were useful for the reproduction of imperialist relations. She suggests that:

...bourgeois women in colony and metropole were cast as the custodians of morality, of their vulnerable men, and of national character. Parenting, and specifically motherhood, was a class obligation and duty of empire (p.135).

For Stoler, the elite Dutch white mother played a significant part in marking racial divisions through her home-based practices and responsibilities. She was responsible for educating the children to adopt standards that represented European behaviour, discipline, and desire. Women were seen to be in a position to ensure that marriage, sexual morality, and family provided the foundations for what was considered a 'civil' life (p.132) and that children were taught how to conduct themselves according to these European models of civility. The elite Dutch white mother was an imperial subject and a national citizen and could therefore perform the duties seen to be part of proper mothering (p.132).

The white child was invited into a set of prescribed grammars that affirmed these virtues of a British empire. The mother and child alike could be acknowledged as imperial citizens not only by their daily practices, but also by distinguishing themselves from the "uncivilized, lower-class and non-European" (p. 151). This distinction occurred through the relations marked by the lower status nanny of colour or housekeeper. The labour market placements of people
of colour regulated the economic and social distance between whites and non-whites contributing towards shaping perceptions of the white woman and child as more respectable. Given the central British task of colonization, the racial other in this context could only be seen as one of the 'less fortunates' and the colonized, still situated physically and representationally within the more natural and less controllable setting of the jungle - whereas the white person who was seen within the clean and ordered home represented civility and superior morality. The practices in the home and family characterizing Stoler's elite Dutch white mother in Europe will be shown to parallel the practices of the white woman who was establishing Protestant norms in Canada well into the 1900's. The social and moral reform of Canada was aimed to fulfill (in Canada) the same values associated with these relations within British colonization.

Burton's (1994) work set in the context of British colonialism, also highlights how the practices of the historical British white woman were geared towards shaping imperial relations of race and gender. Burton's book is an exploration of how the feminist and imperial zeal of 1865-1915 encouraged white women to participate in creations of nation from a domestic and gendered location. Burton describes that emerging early British feminism provided the British white feminist with an avenue of imperial mission work in that these feminisms attempted to 'rescue' those women (i.e., Indian women) who were not from the West. Central to Burton's claim is that the white woman accomplished this practical and symbolic work in connection to the colonial Indian woman. She states, "...they made 'British womanhood' central to the continued moral regeneration of the national body politic ... like many other reformers in the Victorian period, they believed that women acted as moral agents in national life" (p. 40). This morality came to be attached to a new form of mission that included the outreach to and emancipation of the Indian woman. The act of becoming
feminists and rescuing the 'helpless victim' in the Indian woman (p. 128), according to Burton, can be linked to a previous history of missionizing - a new secular reform that contributed to the imperial nation state rather than to the church alone. In this way, the work of imperialism became the mission work of such feminists in their renewed zeal to purify those considered unpure.

As I have described in Chapter One, Grewal (1996) also explored how the white women of colonial times engaged in the practices of the more elite white man in order to establish her own respectability. Grewal's study has illustrated that the British white woman was in a continual negotiation of her privilege according to how best she could approximate the life and adventures of the elite white man. Alternately, "there was little consciousness of any solidarity on the part of the Englishwomen with the oppressed in the colonies" (p.74). This suggests that the period of British colonization had an impact upon white women's ability to gain respectability through an approximation of the white man's activities and a disavowal of what was seen to represent the racial other.

**Social and Moral Reform in Canada**

This climate of European imperialism was also shaping the practices and subjectivity of Canadian white women through the social and moral reform that characterized Canada in the early 1900's. My first goal in this section will be to define what I mean by a Canadian period of 'social and moral reform' as a movement that grew out of immigration trends and the desire to build a nation Canada. This will generate a picture that reflects the importance of the Christian church for the movement, and for the contemporary women in the interviews. I argue that the Christian church, as a primary vehicle through which to communicate the goals of the reform, became a place through which the historical Canadian women (not the contemporary interviewed women) could
mark their affiliation to privilege. The Christian and/or Protestant church will appear in the interviews of the contemporary women as a site that inscribed social hierarchies through its different denominations thus framing how gender, ethnic, and class differences had an impact on childhoods.

In the early and mid 1800's Canada had already consolidated itself as a white settler society (Bakan and Stasiulus, 1995, p.316). In order to continue building such a society, Canadians developed particular immigration procedures to obtain more labour for this national project. The need for immigrants to help build this nation cast immigration procedures within a strong racialized hierarchy (Calliste, 1991, p.153) and these policies on immigrant selection were primary forces that shaped Canadian social ethnic and class relations (Ng, 1991, p.18). The local 'others', the Aboriginal population, had already become organized by the state in marginalized ways and the desire for economic expansion demanded an increasing influx of external immigrant labour from outside of Canada.

First, I will describe the community that defined itself as normative and who developed these immigration policies. The British represented a community of Protestants who were white and English speaking, monogamous and heterosexual (at least publicly), middle class and not first generation British immigrants, who "[wanted] both immigrant and social deviants to embrace the culture and values of Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, middle class urban Canadians" (Valverde, 1991, p. 29). I will from here on in refer to this group of characteristics as the 'elites' in Canada to distinguish it from the ethnic and working class whites, from French Canadians, from people of colour and Aboriginal people. The elites will appear in the literature and in the interviews as presumed heralds of the goals of the reform, who designed and imagined the normative practices for families and the historical women. As I will discuss, while all Christian people and churches participated in expressing the goals of the reform, the Protestants
in particular were seen as moral guides and social helpers in fulfilling the duties that went along with the social reform movement (p.16) thereby producing a privileged position for them even among other Christians. This will be shown to mark other ethnic, racial, and class relations throughout this Chapter.

Anglo-Saxons could see themselves as a specific race only in contrast to others. There was an elaborate classification system, according to Valverde:

...northerners were to be preferred over southerners; lighter skinned people were to be preferred to darker-skinned people; Protestants were far preferrable over Catholics, with Christians generally preferrable over non-Christians. ...and finally, the most alien of all, the 'Orientals' and the 'Negro' and the 'East Indian' (p.110).

In this taxonomy, while Valverde discusses Aboriginal peoples in important ways throughout her research, it appears that she has left out Aboriginal people, reinscribing Anglo-Saxon norms and thus, rendering Aboriginal people completely invisible. This is despite the strenuous Christianizing of Aboriginals occurring during this period by those she marks as dominant - an example of how easily the presence of the dominant can be reproduced without naming those more subordinated by them. As Valverde's omission suggests, the Aboriginal person is marked through their subordination, Protestants were the preferred ideal, and all Christians were seen as suitable for the work of the reform. With regards to my interviews, the Aboriginal person is often referred to in the stories of the contemporary women as a way to mark the privilege of the white person.

As Calliste (1991) and Ng (1991) describe, immigration policies were designed to support the building of a British colony and therefore, subjugated those immigrants who were not seen to be British enough by placing them in lower level paid work and by discriminating against all immigrants within social and public discourses. These immigration selection procedures were intended to
help build a nation Canada. However, they were extremely powerful in setting hierarchical ethnic and racial relations within Canada. While all ethnic and non-white immigrants were desirable, these policies would prefer those who could assimilate more quickly, had a previous education, and possibly even spoke English (Ng, 1991, p.18). In the early and mid 1900's these 'more suitable' people can historically be traced to be primarily Northern European immigrants (p.18). Since some of the women in the interviews are ethnic whites, I define ethnic whites as people who are Eastern, Northern or Southern European, who may not be Christian, who may not come from English speaking homes, and may be middle or working class. This term, 'ethnic whites', distinguishes them from the predominant British and 'elite' community but also sets it apart from the Chinese, Caribbean and South-Asian immigrant populations that were imported to Canada throughout the 1900's also for the reason of cheap labour (Calliste, 1991, p.137). These immigration selection procedures shaped ethnic, racial, and class relations within Canada.

The increasing presence of immigrants who did not reflect the values, morals and language of Britain and perhaps did not even participate in the Christian Protestant church produced a threat to the building of Canada as a British colony. They were a threat even while their presence literally made the nation. This threat solidified the need felt by the ruling class for what Valverde (1991) terms in her book, In the Age of Light, Soap and Water, as a social and moral reform or a 'social purity movement'. In this book, Valverde explores how the influence of all new white and non-white immigrants was imagined to undermine the more restrained and 'pure' qualities hoped for in a British colony and how, as a result, the need for a Canadian form of social and moral reform emerged. I will refer to the social and moral reform movement as a movement in Canada whose social and political hope was to maintain the religious, moral, and
social influences of a British community in the face of population changes due to immigration. This period of reform aimed to reproduce the discourses of British imperial histories. It took place in the home, church, and community and could be described to have had an impact on all public and social discourses. While the reform in Canada was driven by immigration trends that were economically initiated and appeared to be temporally located in the early to mid 1900's, the reform movement marked a continuation of imperial discourses in Canada.

The goal of the reform movement was that its Christian Protestant members would have an impact on all ethnic and non-white immigrants as well as the working class including an influence on how children should be raised in the home and school and defining attitudes for adults. For example, the moral value that emerged to 'keep clean minds and bodies' for the sake of the building of Canada as a nation became incorporated within what Valverde describes as part of the social purity movement (p. 17). This goal of purity reflected what were being prescribed as normative standards of sexuality, family life, religious and work related discipline, that characterized the elite.

Positioning these values about education, morality, work and family life of the British community in a superior light against those of the immigrant communities was a central process that defined the reform. It made the Protestants appear to be superior in a way that defined all other ethnic, class and racial relations. Valverde states:

... the social purity movement was a loose network of organizations and individuals, mostly church people, educators, doctors and those we would now describe as community or social workers, who engaged in a sporadic but vigorous campaign to 'raise the moral tone' of Canadian society and in particular of urban working-class communities (p. 17).
The Interviews

Protestant church members reflected who was historically seen to be privileged related to ethnic, class and race demographics. Thirteen of the fifteen contemporary women I interviewed named themselves as Christian and since this religious aspect was not a criteria for their selection by myself, nor was the theme Christianity or church initiated in any way by myself through the interview questions, it became apparent that the Christian church may be a relevant marker for how these women experienced early childhood racial relations. While there were two interviewed women who were Jewish (and these are referred to later), the emergence of the Christian church in thirteen of these fifteen samples, and the fact that all thirteen interviewees initiated conversations about the Christian church without my direction, suggested that a historical frame of the Christian church may have influenced their experiences around race and helping.

As I continue now to describe the quotes from the contemporary interviewed women, I will show that their contemporary Christian churches and communities reflect these historical imperial relations. One woman in the interviews remembers the importance of the Protestant church in her family:

Church was part of it. A big part of my family and how I was raised. My grandfather was a minister, in fact my grandfather and grandmother met as missionaries in China (Beth).

Another Christian woman recalls:

My father, through his position in the church, took on the gift of hospitality in the family. Everyone was having dinner at our place (Laura).

Laura's denomination was not clear, but the presence of the Christian church in her childhood was very strong throughout the interviews. One woman in the interviews remembers that:
We were very rural, very white, Anglo. I was raised United Church which was our Sunday thing to do. Everyone went to church (Serena).

As with Serena, the more elite (according to my earlier definition) women in the interviews told stories that suggested they did not feel a strong sense of 'difference from...' their communities on the whole. There was a stated sense of membership within their communities whether this was implicit or explicit.

Second, if they were ethnic whites, their difference within the community could be masked by a participation in the Protestant church. Finally, some women articulated stories that revealed an intrinsic sense of superiority even while they might not have defined it as such. The Christian church was central in these stories, helping to shape the subjectivity of these women as white and respectable.

Another woman in the interviews who had already described her family as elite according to my earlier definition states:

I was born on a farm in X, Alberta called the Bible belt and I grew up in a particularly rural neighborhood that was known for its dissent in that we were prairie socialists. So my immediate neighborhood was white, very white. Immediately south there were lots of farms owned by Slavic people and immigrants - to the north a Christian reform Dutch colony - I lived in a little pocket with the equivalent 'other' on either side (Brandy).

This story marks first, the important presence of the Christian church in Brandy's neighborhood, and second, hints at other ethnic and class divisions within Christian denominations that she continues to reflect on throughout the interview.

Here, Zelda refers to the presence of the Catholic church in her community:

I grew up in M. when it was just farm land. I wasn't Catholic but where I grew up was a lot of Catholic tradition, the school was right next to the mission and that dominated the area. The cliffs were huge and the dome of the church stood out across that whole street (Zelda).
The following woman reflects:

I was born near B, a small town, extremely white, an Anglo Saxon Protestant church. There were no minorities and no Catholics and my parents were Swedish. So I was obviously very influenced by this community and my home (Maureen).

In my interviews, Protestant churches were named in a way that represented privileged relations of class and ethnicity. As I have described, the Protestant church was mentioned to situate an experience of otherness by the teller, to mark a superior belief one held, or to mask a subordinate ethnic white status. While Maureen states here that there were no 'minorities' or Catholics in her community, she does describe herself as an ethnic white woman at other points during the interview. As I will later clarify, she is one of the ethnic white women who participated in the Protestant church as a child and this accorded her some privilege within her community. I suggest that this might have masked her subordinate ethnic white status.

This privilege accorded to the Protestant church concurs with what was characteristic of the historical period of social and moral reform. Their stories suggest that the contemporary influences of this historical period still exist. How the representation of normative morals and practices shaped their lives mirrors some of what history had prescribed. Valverde (1991) states that "...the Canadian Protestant culture [was] the inconspicuous vehicle in which truths about moral and social reform were conveyed to the public" (p.34). This sense reoccurs in the stories by these contemporary women. The women in my interviews who mention the Catholic church appear to do so by marking Catholics as minorities, or as having an outsider status. As Brandy, from an elite family states, the 'inferior' Catholic church appears to mark the superior set of values of the Protestant community:
There was a lot of anti-Catholic feeling. My grandmother - as much as she was a progressive United Church member - had to struggle to not think that Catholics committed terrible sins by idolizing Mary....and Catholic families didn't have the same values around education that my mother thought was really important (Brandy).

This story marks some of what was characteristic about the historical Protestant church as a beacon for the appropriate religious and social values set forth by the reform. Serena, a contemporary Protestant woman, states:

There was an Anglican church about a mile away. Anglicans were viewed as very different people and Catholics much more so (Serena).

While the Christian church as a whole was important for the historical goals of the reform, I suggest that Serena is referring to a similar contemporary manifestation of how class and ethnicity were marked through the Protestant church in her community.

Beth, a Protestant woman, suggests that she does not like the label that she would give herself - "white, middle class and Protestant". Her mother "had a huge snobbery around education, it was sort of a hierarchy of prejudice that related to race" and her father was "...putting down Blacks all the time and I have to listen to his 'jigs' and 'chinks' and stuff like that. I hate it". The contemporary Protestant church continued to represent not only particular values around education and religion, but as I will later discuss, who was seen to be a 'right' self and an authentic Canadian. These childhood values mirror the more historical norms of the social and moral period of reform.

Laura states:

I was raised in a small rural Ontario community, so my first sense of others was the old country Amish people. As a devout Christian family we were bred on the mission of the world and all people came to Christ whether they were white or not (Laura).

Laura supposes a kind of blindness to race, ethnicity and class brought on by her view of a universal Christianity that ignores the privileged social relations
embedded within. I argue that for all the women in the interviews, feeling a sense of membership within their communities was shaped by the demographics of the Christian church and its particular denominations. The contemporary Christian church, and in particular the Protestant church, in its religious, historical and social place of privilege, was able to reproduce values that appeared to substantiate the respectability and normativity of its members. The following woman reiterates Protestant and Catholic relations but from another perspective:

I was born in T, am white, and am Roman Catholic. I think I quit church when I was five because I thought it was garbage. There was a strong Catholic influence in my family, my father was always dragging priests and nuns around. We were a working class family in a very Italian neighborhood. They looked down on the Anglo-Saxons, but I had an Italian boyfriend and I was Catholic. I got by (Nora).

Nora described in the above quotation an implicit awareness of who belonged to Catholic denominations and who did not. Another woman originally from the United States, Aaron, refers to her childhood church as Catholic and designates it within a primarily Italian working class and primarily non-English speaking neighborhood. Nora and Aaron both suggest that Catholic churches had a closer proximity to immigrant and working class populations than Protestant churches which appeared to have a stronger white and middle class contingent.

Ophelia states her ethnic white Catholic working class background. She recalls, "...the sense of determining my identity for myself not from how others labelled me....and I think coming to a new country has its own kind of sense of 'I don't belong, how do I fit in'. So I grew up trying to adapt to a new set of rules and people and a new culture". Her Catholic church experience was that, "...we had a mission attached to the reserve. That is where I used to go with my youth group and that was good for me because it kind of normalized who we all were..." (Ophelia). The church had the power to produce for her a sense of
community that suggested specific sets of social relations and the Catholic church allowed her to 'normalize' what she experienced as ethnic and class differences against an implicit Protestant norm. Her own experiences of difference will later be referred to in that they strengthened her ability to understand and analyze her more privileged practices as a white woman.

Theresa, an ethnic white, remembers:

There were definite divisions in my neighborhood between families that were seen as immigrant and those seen as 'Canadian'. I remember my parents saying they would rather confide in other families who had experienced being an immigrant, because they might be more compassionate to our questions. There was this clear but invisible line drawn about who 'they' were and who we were and I never thought about it. But somehow I knew we were different (Theresa).

The contemporary Protestant church appears to have been experienced by the women in my interviews whether they belonged or not as central and elite, sometimes as superior, and often as dominant. All of the Catholic women in the interviews talked about themselves as either ethnic or working class or both. None of the Protestant women suggested they were working class and if they did remark on their ethnic white status, the Protestant church membership appeared to provide a privilege suggested by their comments about superiority, education and inscribing some as outsiders. I discuss this point in more detail in the next section. The Protestant women reveal the same experiences about ethnicity and class that are situated in the literature as characteristic of the historical Protestant church in the time of the reform. To be middle class, white, heterosexual, usually not ethnic and to hold a certain set of values suggests that one was a Protestant and therefore, accorded a degree of privilege and a sense of belonging in the community.

One of the Jewish women, Lize, did not refer in any way to the Christian church as relevant to her childhood since she grew up in a primarily Jewish
neighborhood in New York, United States with little Christian influences and moved to Canada at age 12. Lize talks about the impact of her Jewish, middle class and overweight status as a 12 year old child with regards to an invisible Canadian normative woman. Her knowledge of an invisible Canadian feminine normativity is implicit when she speaks: "...but people who have sort of grown up in Canada, a number of generations, I've had a lot of trouble with" (Lize).

Another Jewish Italian woman, Reta, says, "...I don't feel white, I guess that means Anglo-Saxon. Recently I was at a dinner and everyone was obviously Christian so I did not feel that I belonged, I felt outside the group." In particular being Jewish held its own stigma within Canadian society that did not match elite ideals. Discrimination against the Jewish community took many forms related to religious practices, ethnicity and class. For example, upon demanding their freedom to not practice the Sunday observance rules, the Jewish community was informed that they "should be happy to be in Canada at all" (Valverde, 1991, p. 56).

Another example that reflects only partially the deeply seated anti-semitic history in Canada is that Jewish people, among other immigrant groups, were placed in a catalogue in the late 1800's of 'dangerous places and people' (Valverde, 1991, p. 97) stating quite obviously that men and women (not clearly specified as white or Protestant) should be careful to run into them on the street or in an alley. These examples substantiate that the Jewish women in my interviews who were clearly not white middle class Protestants, experienced an implicit racialized standard of femininity that shaped their relations to others and their sense of belonging.

It has been my intention to suggest that the historical period of social and moral reform in Canada, shaped not only historical relations but also continued to have an impact on the childhood stories of these women. While other
influences continue to emerge as I continue to describe the interviews, these women speak about their communities and church experiences as reflective in a contemporary sense, of what the historical period of social and moral reform hoped to achieve.

The experiences of the women in the interviews from elite families have suggested that Protestant membership accorded them with a privileged set of relations and values in their childhood families. Or alternately, that having ethnic white or working class identities shaped women’s attendance to Catholic or other non-Protestant churches and signified their experiences in their own communities. I suggest the Protestant church represented that which was normative (both socially and religiously) and was never far when the women in the interviews described their various ethnic, class and church affiliations. These hierarchical ethnic and class relations embedded in the stories of the interviews can be related to the 'social and moral reform', to historical immigration trends, and as a Canadian example of imperial history. As my interviews will continue to illustrate, this context created different sets of relations and practices between the historical elite women, ethnic white and non-white immigrant women, and for Aboriginal populations.

I will briefly summarize where the women in the interviews have located themselves and in the next several sections will discuss, in more detail, how this had an impact on their experiences. The women who described Protestant membership in childhood were Brandy, Beth, Eliza and Serena. Later, Jennifer and Nadia will also refer to other Protestant experiences. The ethnic white woman who bridged her ethnic and Protestant activities was Maureen. The ethnic and working class Catholics were Aaron, Nora and Ophelia. The two Jewish middle class women are Lize and Reta. While Laura's affiliation to the Christian church is clear, it is unclear from the interviews whether Laura is a
middle or working class Christian, which denomination she belongs to, and whether she is an ethnic or elite white. Theresa is an ethnic middle class white who was not church attending. It is unclear whether Zelda attended a church, although her stories speak to being influenced by churches in her community.

**The Canadian Family and the White Woman**

The Christian Protestant family was significant in shaping the practices of the historical Canadian white woman. These practices were defined by the reform but also depended upon the discourses of imperialism. I discuss here how the discourses of the reform and of imperialism contribute towards shaping the white Canadian woman in the context of her family.

The period of reform in Canada promoted discriminatory discourses, as suggested by Valverde (1991), in that "...the racist fears of Anglo-Saxons being overrun by the more fertile 'races' pervaded Canadian politics. Lacking proper Christian and Anglo-Saxon training, they had not produced the right kind of self" (p.32). In the 1800's and into the 1900's ethnic whites, the working class, people of colour and Aboriginal peoples were seen to be deviants from what was considered the desirable Protestant norm (p.119) and due to immigration populations, pressure on the church to assimilate those considered deviants mounted. The 'right kind of Canadian self' was specified by the Christian Protestant church and was to be enforced through the Christian Protestant family. Therefore, being Canadian took on the image of also suitting the demographics of a Protestant church and family.

The historical elite family, as I have described 'elites', was therefore privileged within these conditions. This elite family was in a position to reproduce discursive and public images of its imagined superiority and real privilege. Places
or objects that represented the hoped for images of a pure and moral Canada, for example the white snow and clear spring water, were mirrored again in items of purity in the elite home. An advertisement for Canadian bread states, "kitchens flooded with pure air and sunshine, neat bakers...in clothes of immaculate white...prepare materials for the 'staff of Canadian life" (p.23). The clean white bread baked in clean kitchens by the clean bakers in this advertisement could be imagined to represent the moral purity of the Canadian household. The site of home, and the activities such as baking white bread that occurred in the Canadian home, formed their own discourse about Canadian purity, so that the home and the church, as it was also described in the European home by Stoler (1995), became centers through which the Canadian family could espouse elite relations and moral values. Stoler suggests in a way that also applies to the historical Canadian family:

What sustained racial membership was a middle class morality, nationalist sentiments, bourgeois sensibilities, normalized sexuality and a carefully circumscribed 'milieu' in school and home (p.105).

Iacovetta, in "Making 'New Canadians" (1993), delineates how particular organizations such as employment centers and crisis agencies, participated as late as the 1950's in shaping the normativity of the North American family in a way that matched what was required for the earlier period of reform. She refers to the general goal of these organizations, a goal which would enhance the assimilation of families that were considered deviant and other, as a "victory in the struggle against the Soviet Union and as proof of the moral superiority of Western democracies like Canada" (p. 270). As Iacovetta describes, the image of the normative family during this period of reform in Canada included a picture where wives were perceived to be cheerful homemakers happy to be raising the children, and their husbands creating financial stability (Iacovetta, 1993, p.172).
Shaping the imagined happy Canadian Protestant family rested in part on the privileged ability to reproduce images of elite norms and demographics. These reproductions occurred through a number of social and public discourses and forums. As McClintock (1995) has described, and as I argue for the Canadian example, the images of the Canadian or Protestant family or the elite woman could be reproduced through advertisements for household goods, through projects within community organizations that perpetuated norms and through other national or domestic emblems, tools and pictures that might represent who the normative family was intended to be. In this way, the images of the normative woman could be distributed widely and her work was seen as central to the shaping of the Canadian family. As Iacovetta (1993) states:

In positing a return to a 'normal' family life, ...experts were expounding a familiar, middle class ideal of womanhood that reaffirmed women's domestic orientation. Women, it was argued, possessed the moral capacity to provide their families with an emotional haven in an uncertain world, and it was precisely through their selfless contributions to home and family that they found true happiness and fulfillment (p.275).

I argue that this quote represents who the Canadian woman as an offshoot of the British ideal, was intended to be - reproducing an imagined normativity.

Two of the primary practices that helped to shape this normative image of the historical Canadian woman and family were first, the white woman's heterosexual marriage and ability to raise children in line with Protestant norms around sexuality, morality, education and restraint; and second, that she could exercise the same skills of nurturing through her moral work in the Canadian mission. While her privilege was ensured simply according to her elite (white) characteristics, I also suggest that these women would have wanted to subscribe to these practices because being successful at enacting what was considered to be normative would sustain her respectability within society.
For example, the historical elite woman could sustain a degree of elite status according to her heterosexual marriage to an elite husband. As Grewal (1996) has already described, status in British colonialism could be achieved when white women approximated the practices of, or came in close proximity to the presence of the elite white man. While other social markers might provide her with some respectability, it was in part, her marriage to the elite man that could solidify her respectability. The Canadian elite woman who was seen to sustain a moral and happy home, provided them both with an identity of moral reform and domestication (Valverde, 1991, p.30). In comparison to the struggling immigrant families, this made elite men look good, elite women appear successful in their performance of normativity, and altogether they were in a position to reproduce the images of the imagined ideal Canadian family. In this way, welcoming newcomers through immigration gave the elite family an opportunity to re-illustrate its Protestant respectability.

As I have mentioned, not only being married to a white elite man, but also the participation in mission activities shaped the historical elite woman's normativity and therefore, her assumed superior morality. Working for the mission gave elite women another opportunity to be seen as experts on the social welfare of others (p.29). For example, Burton (1994) reminds us that "women were not only inherently more moral than men; they were also the vessels through which moral improvement could be achieved. It was a role that, both historically and culturally, resonated with Christian evangelical principles ... [mission work became] women's mission" (p.42). The white woman could participate in an otherwise male defined project of imperialism through her mission work where she was perceived to be performing normative practices - a maternal selflessness that solidified her subordinated yet moral and nurturing image. The elite woman could substantiate her real respectability by participating
in such mission work through the Christian church. As Burton reminds us, "the work of missionary women, of concerned middle-class secular reformers, and of aristocratic women like Lady Dufferin [was] instrumental to the creation of an imperial reform culture" (p. 127).

Other practices shaped how elite women were prescribed to act which pertain to the elite Canadian women as well. McClintock (1995) describes the European Victorian woman:

Within the symbolic lexicon of Victorian sexuality, the lady is a picture of exaggerated femininity. Her profile is delicate and fine, her hair fashionably ...coiffured, her skirts elegant and clean. She delicately stretches out a bare, white imperious hand (p.105).

These were behaviours prescribed for European elite women. They would be polite and fine, elegant and fragile, active in their mission work but passive in their femininity. I suggest that the power of this image continued for all white women within the context of creating colonies both through social reproductions, imagination, and in the very least, as behaviours through which all white women could attempt to gain the respectability accorded to other elite women.

Despite these configurations, Valverde (1991) suggests that the practices of historical elite women were underpinned with a general contempt that working class and immigrant mothers could not be adequate nurturers (p. 144). This contempt supported the normativity of the elite family ensuring that elite women could act as representatives of such normativity. For example, the family that went to church played an important role in "[raising] their children as Christian Canadians" (p.47). In Canada, the hope was that elite women would participate in a similar practice welcoming newcomers and teaching them the values of a presumed united Canadian culture. Immigrant women and working class families (where mothers may also be working outside the home or husbands may be
unemployed due to their perceived difference to the ideals) were seen to have a harder time achieving this perfect family and female model. Juxtaposing the elite family against that of the troubled immigrant or working class one, I argue, was a function of classing and racializing marital, childrearing and family problems as if they were expressions of cultural differences rather than immigration difficulties and thereby sustaining the desire for a bourgeois fiction that the elite family was more normal and respectable.

The Interviews

The stories about elite mothers and fathers talked about by the contemporary women subscribed to historical Christian mission practices and Canadian images of normativity. For example, the stories reveal that the women's practices and relationships to elite men, their mission work, or their reflections on their already privileged status, were practices that continued to shape the privilege of all white women well after the period of the reform. These stories suggest that the Canadian history of reform continued to shape contemporary white women as subjects of imperialism.

The Elite Woman as Reformer and Helper

I will refer first to the stories presented by the women in the interviews who described their positions in what I would call, elite subject positions within their childhood communities. One woman remembers, "when we were young my mother was sure we went to church and part of that was the function of giving. She would make sure we gave to the kids in India for example" (Jennifer). Church affiliation and giving to those less well off, according to Marks, had
become one in a constellation of signs that defined middle class respectability for the family in the late nineteenth century English Canada (Marks, 1993, p.74). The Christian church characterized those who attended as right and respectable and since the Protestant church in Canada had been composed of white middle class people the women associated with these qualities came to symbolize who was seen as 'respectable' as well. Respectability was shaped by proximity to practices and settings that marked who the British were and what the fantasy for imperialism was. When Jennifer remembers both church attendance to an elite church (in previous section) and learning about the value of mission work through the church and through her mother, she is also remembering and describing how these relations and conditions were teaching her how the normative elite woman was intended to act.

The historical elite woman during this time participated in sustaining her place of privilege and respectability through her marriage, her childrearing and her mission work towards the immigrant other. In this regard, her place in the churches became a primary marker of respectability where she was hoped, according to Marks (1993), to play a role in helping the deviant families to assimilate better into a Protestant, "industrious, moral and family oriented" model (p.70). This ideal is described by Brandy:

From my mom, there is this whole value about education and being proper people, proper middle class, morally superior, community organizers, big in things like the United Church (Brandy).

Nadia, a Protestant third generation Canadian, states:

We always knew who was considered poor and how we were to help them. Our summer house in 'X' put us close to some very large and poor French Canadian families and so we often gave them our clothes. My mother would tell us this was important for us to do (Nadia).
Nadia's family hoped to help the poor and I argue marked their respectability and their privilege simultaneously. This story also reflects Nadia's memory that it was her mother who provided this care giving. The women's projects through home and church were manifold and it was said that, "... the special work of women among women immigrants was necessary, adding that girls and women moving within Canada could benefit from the proposed Department of the Stranger" (Valverde, 1991, p.121). Brandy describes:

Grandma also had Philippine nurses boarding in her basement sometimes. Grandma thought that was pretty important. Part of her role was kind of to be an Ambassador. They had this idea you may be comfortable in your community and they were generally interested. One of Grandma's daughters was a Missionary in Africa, so Grandma went to Tanzania and spent some time there. So she was generally interested in people who came from other parts of the world. And took it upon herself to be a haven for them in her little tiny town in 'X'. So I don't ever remember hearing any kind of overt racism. It was mostly interested (Brandy).

Mission work was a desirable practice for historical women representing an ideal maternal selflessness yet still supporting patriarchal and white structures of privilege (Valverde, 1991, p.120). The work of the mission, much as Burton (1994) revealed about the British woman, suggested that the historical women in Brandy, Nadia and Jennifer's stories became the Canadian version of the herald of moral reform, the keeper of nations, and the repealer of lost souls - whether religiously or culturally lost. Participating in the church and in mission work reflected the practices of the women during this period in Canada's history.

Interviews about the women's childhoods suggest that their mothers were seen and talked about as more moral than their fathers. The dichotomy was one of the good mother versus the corrupt father. Eliza, a woman from an elite family, discusses relations between elite men and women:
My father was so bigoted, he was Protestant Anglo-Saxon, even against British people not born in Canada. My mother was deeply religious and taught me what was right and wrong (Eliza).

Maureen reveals that:

It was hard for my mom because she was so much more liberal. My dad was extremely narrow focused. I just couldn't understand why he was so angry and very prejudiced (Maureen).

Jennifer also refers in her interview to the derogatory terms her father would use about Chinese people. These women refer to the men in their families as less moral. Serena mentions her father more ambiguously:

He would say, look at those Blacks moving in next door...and then he would help them move in. So he was never very committed to discrimination (Serena).

Serena is illustrating how her father expressed a form of solidarity within otherwise systemic realities of racism. Her story illustrates that small acts of solidarity can be found among whites as they struggle to also come to terms with their own privilege and negotiate their relationships to people of color. Beth, a Protestant Canadian, has also stated that she remembers her father referring to Chinese people in derogatory. Aaron remembers:

I still feel so angry today that some of the expressions coming out of my brother's mouth...very strongly prejudiced and I could just kill him. We've gotten into major arguments (Aaron).

The mothers in these stories were married to elite men in a way that could, to some degree, secure their respectable status. While other forms of marginality and difference likely occurred within some of these relationships (i.e., abuse, disability, income levels) marriage to a white man could offer some visible proximity to a more dominant and therefore, less marginalized existence. The fathers were often positioned as racist in these stories, marking their white
privilege and yet implying a moral inferiority in relation to the mother's moral purity. Not all men were depicted as racists by the women though this does not presume their innocence. As Nadia remembers:

My father was involved in the church but we lived in a very selective area, very white and protected. But he would make sure we got to church and he was involved in some kind of mission work. I don't exactly recall. (Nadia).

Nadia states that her father was involved in a form mission work. While mission work in the Christian church can be criticized for its colonial history, these narratives also suggest that white people were engaged in such activity in order to disrupt and shift certain aspects of systemic racism.

Telling the stories about families, mothers and fathers seems to echo what I, along with McClintock (1995), Burton (1994), and Valverde (1991), have argued is characteristic of the imagined normative woman. Being married to an elite man, attending a Christian and Protestant church, and participating in the mission supports the view of the morally superior elite woman and implies that all white women had access to such lives - even while this was not true.

Characterizing elite women and families in this way becomes one method of reproduction that marks the historical elite woman's respectability and privileged terrain.

While the above women in the interviews referred to the more racist voices of the men around them, these interviewed women referred to their own silence about racisms. Brandy alludes to the obvious presence of racism as something that historically elite women did not openly speak about. She states of her childhood, "I don't remember hearing any kind of overt racism ... I knew very quickly you would never say those things out loud in public. Never. In your family it was okay but you certainly kept it in mind" (Brandy). Apparently, the historic
white woman also did not speak openly about racism, as if this in itself would
invoke a loss of respectability. This echoes McClintock's (1995) earlier image of
the polite and demure 'lady' (p.105). Ford-Smith (1994) similarly states:

By keeping our mouths shut we allowed the images of the good woman to
remain intact and missed a chance to envision and formulate new images
of women's identity and interclass relations (p.103-104).

Jennifer relates a slightly different story suggesting that her lessons about
naming race or racisms out loud were also not seen as appropriate behaviour. At
one point, someone asked which tribe her father was from, assuming he was
Native because he did not look completely white. She talks about her internal
process:

I was very glad he didn't hear this because I think he would have been
very upset. It was complicated to figure out what to reveal and what to
hide, what to say and what not to (Jennifer).

Jennifer is describing that the practice of keeping silent about race and
conversations about racism was something she learned as appropriate, and that
perhaps this fit the script of the historically elite woman. I suggest that being
seen to approximate the script of normativity for the elite white woman may have
required a degree of passivity and silence about the oppression of others. Laura
speaks here about unspoken racial relations:

Nobody said Helen [a school friend] was Black until I did. There were very
few Black families there. To speak the unspeakable was more the issue.
Helen was a kind of epitome to that difference, but I did not ask her
questions about it (Laura).

These women (as children) appear to be learning that in order to sustain
their own privilege as white girls, they had to conform to certain practices that
included a degree of silence about other people's racial difference. To not speak
about her friend Helen as a person of colour, suggests that Laura may have
been protecting herself against acknowledging her own conflicted subject position within dominant relations. While Laura could gain from acknowledging her more subordinate place as a woman, recognizing her friend's skin colour and its meaning could provoke in Laura uncomfortable and difficult feelings about the meaning of her own whiteness.

Some other non-elite women in the interviews also helped to shape a picture of the historical elite women and their practices. For example, Theresa, an ethnic white who did not attend church:

I remember the mothers of the girls on my street would be running off to church with cookies for what I think was called a White Elephant Sale? They always appeared to me to be involved in something with the church and dragging their kids there. It always felt foreign to me, having the church be such a strong part of your family and almost like an occupation for some of the mothers. My mother wasn't like that (Theresa).

Other ethnic or working class women in the interviews did not refer specifically to the historical elite women. Serena and Beth, both women who identified as women from elite families, did not explore in detail their mother's presence in the church. Both Brandy, Nadia and Eliza did not refer in more detail to their families than I have quoted here and in the previous section. In tandem with their stories and about the presence of the church, I assume that the values pronounced by the Protestant church helped to shape their early childhood relations.

In conclusion, these interviews have revealed that the stories about elite girls and their mothers paralleled the literature on the European and Canadian elite and white women. This section has illustrated that the women in the interviews who came from more elite backgrounds articulated stories about the historically elite woman's relation to men, to the Protestant church, and for some, within mission work.
I will now argue that how elite women were shaped as social subjects had an impact on ethnic white and working class white women as well. I will suggest that the women in my interviews who were not from elite families struggled both to conform to, and to resist privileges associated with the normative elite white woman. While this extends beyond the period of the social and moral reform, their stories illustrate how this movement continued to shape white women within Canada as imperial subjects.

**The Ethnic and Working Class White Woman**

As I have stated, immigration policies to Canada in the early to mid 1900's reflected a number of changes. People were first recruited from Ireland and China (i.e., primarily as temporary workers) and later from Eastern and Southern Europe, and then, from the Caribbean and South East Asia (Calliste, 1991; Ng, 1991). These immigrant groups were treated differently depending upon immigration patterns. They entered into the above elite context of reform through unique and different sets of historical raced, classed and gendered relations. While eastern and southern Europeans were seen as 'dark in the moral sense', they were still seen to be more easily assimilated into Canadian culture than other non-white immigrant groups (Valverde, 1991, p.119). For example, Calliste describes that the acceptance of Caribbean women of colour as domestic workers, who were seen as suitable for low status and low paying jobs, was marked by being paid less than white workers and men doing the same work (Calliste, 1991, p.139). As well, the Aboriginal population existed, but only marginally, "as a sub-group ...destroyed, re-organized, fragmented and homogenized" (Ng, 1991, p.19). Conditions of immigration shaped how the historical elite, ethnic and working class whites in Canada articulated their privilege in relation to people of colour and Aboriginals.
While historical elite women had automatic places of privilege that could be solidified through other practices, ethnic or working class whites had to find new ways of establishing themselves as respectable. In particular, the interviews revealed the Aboriginal person as a primary source through which the historical ethnic and working class whites (or Protestants who were not definitively elite) re-established their privilege and their hoped for proximity to normativity. As Valverde states, "the work of church missionaries with Aboriginal peoples was thus firmly based on the belief that only European Christianity could provide the basis for character development" (Valverde, 1991, p.115).

To be European or to be Christian and to work with or name the Aboriginal person could mark the historical ethnic or working class white's respectability. The presence of "the Aboriginal" became a marker of race relations. All of the ethnic or working class white women in the interviews (except one), described themselves as immigrants who are 'European Christians'. One ethnic white woman stated that she had not attended a Christian church. Some of the stories from the interviews in this section also reveal that elite girls from Protestant families did not feel they fit the Protestant ideal. They too applied the same methods of church activity or naming "the Aboriginal" in order to establish themselves as respectable.

Maureen, an ethnic white who also attended a Protestant church, states:

My mom worked a lot with Native children, and especially Native girls, Native teenagers, so I think that I also like - I probably didn't define it this way - but I think it was curious as well when I met these girls. I worked in a training hall counselling and then she would bring these girls home occasionally for dinner and I was really curious about who they were and where they did live and - because it seemed to me that their life must be very different from my life (Maureen).
And later, she continues:

I felt like it (exposure to Aboriginal children) was a very positive thing because of the influence of my mom. She really wanted them to be there, she wanted them to be part of the family and I guess wanted to welcome them in (Maureen).

Maureen attended a Protestant church and revealed her ethnic white mother's acts of helping the Aboriginal person. Yet, Maureen has been ambiguous throughout the interview whether she sees herself as ethnic and non elite or as Protestant and elite despite having described her ethnic background. This ambiguity marks the privilege of being white and using the Protestant church and "the Aboriginal" as a method of establishing one's own respectability. These two markers work to "...[distinguish] oneself from that which was uncivilized, lower class and non-European" (Stoler, 1995, p.151). Maureen's story about the Aboriginal functioned as a boundary marker between herself as the more advanced ethnic white, versus "the Aboriginal" who appeared all the more needy in being invited to eat with her family.

Jennifer also named herself as elite since she came from a Protestant family. However, since her skin looked darker and therefore, she did not appear to represent the British elite, her way of marking her respectability is very important to this chapter. Jennifer remembers: "I had an experience when I was young where, in school, someone called me an Indian. We were standing in line and someone said, 'no Indians allowed here', and I was so frozen I could not speak. I'm aware that I hung out with a lot of kids that also did not look white. My mother started giving me dolls that were not white, but she wanted to make sure I knew I was not different, that I was white".
She continues:

My mother wanted to make sure I knew I was white. She really made a distinction about race differences all the time. People thought I looked Native. She made sure to tell me that I was not Native, that I was not different but the same. She was blond and had blue eyes and I often thought I was adopted (Jennifer).

In this example, even Protestant privilege could be overshadowed by skin colour. Jennifer reveals the importance of the Aboriginal person and of the Protestant mother as markers for race relations among whites. Respectability for Jennifer and her mother as described meant 'not being Native'. The white mother participated in the process of making her child respectable by ensuring that she knew she was white. According to Stoler (1995), the elite Dutch white mother engaged in a similar process. Through her work in the home and her childrearing, she participated in situating the white body as different from the raced other, marking whiteness and a privileged status.

While these ethnic white, non-white Protestants, or working class white women were not seen to be elites, they attempted to achieve respectability through other means. The practices of church mission work or naming the Aboriginal as 'less fortunate', symbolize one method through which these ethnic or working class white women could acquire a 'toehold on respectability' (Razack and Fellows, 1998). Helping the more destitute other began with the practices of the historical elite women as reformers in a way that sustained their place of privilege, yet, according to immigration trends that shifted immigrant demographics, the historical ethnic white could thus also be seen to be helping others, elevating herself from a previous affiliation with 'outsider status' and 'dark morality'.

While we do not know from Aaron's story who she was helping, I refer to the following quote because Aaron is an ethnic white working class woman in a
Catholic church who reveals that her mission work in the church became so important to her that she lost a sense of herself. I argue that Aaron is telling a story about how she participated in the mission - a practice of helping that would ultimately mark her whiteness despite her ethnic working class Catholic status. Aaron speaks about her involvement in the church:

I really fell into the way of constantly giving and doing for other people and had not been in touch with that sense myself (Aaron).

Aaron has spoken at other times of not feeling like she belonged to the mainstream due to her ethnic working class and Catholic status. "I grew up in an all Italian neighborhood, people did not always speak English, yet outside of this community there was generally a thrust to hold onto what was common, or American". I argue that Aaron begins to reveal not only her Christian practice of mission work, but also her involvement in an intricate set of social relations. While ethnic and class differences exist between the elite and the ethnic white woman, their ability to practice the mission 'together' in the Christian church as white women reveals a discourse that will continue to be shaped throughout the following stories, and to define the helping practices of white women in Canada.

Aaron also refers to what I have discussed as the elite woman's morality. Aaron is thus referring to her own presumed morality or innocence when she talks about her brother:

My brother is still so strongly prejudiced against Black people and he is shaping my niece and nephew that way. Like a crude joke or something (Aaron).

Positioning the racism of white men (by white women) appears to produce a place of innocence and to mark a woman's relative superior morality. How these women produce their own innocence will be further discussed in Chapter Four.
Producing one's innocence, in particular through the act of helping others, is a central theme for the later analysis.

Theresa, an ethnic white, describes the following:

My first experiences were in driving through a part of 'X' where the Native people hung out, on the streets usually drunk or high, and my mother would say, imagine if that was the shoe you had to wear, meaning we should have compassion for their situation. I don't remember my father saying much. However, it was clearly understood that we were not like them, that the association would be one of pity and distance. It wasn't hard to see when the only people you saw as a child were drunk Aboriginals on the street (Theresa).

Theresa's story suggests that she was physically positioned to keep a distance from the Aboriginal person gazing only at them through the window of her travelling car. The movement of the car out of the 'Aboriginal' part of town characterizes her limited access to the Aboriginal other who is primarily viewed as someone who is less fortunate than her. Stoler (1995) has suggested that the mother's role in the elite Dutch home, where families had non-white servants, the sentiment was that "association with Native servants could carry grave spiritual and physical dangers for our children" (p. 156) implying that the colonial person could be at danger of acquiring something transmittable (i.e., literally or figuratively) from the Aboriginal other.

The elite Dutch mother was required and expected to provide the imperial pedagogy that would serve the nation and the moral ideals of 'civilized' life. The "housekeeping manuals, childrearing guides, and pedagogic and medical texts from the nineteenth century....focus not only on masturbation, but on the more general lack of self control, civility, and restrained desire that children, in their 'savage-like' behaviour, displayed." (p. 145). Therefore, as in Theresa's story above, a relationship to the Aboriginal person, as well as the actual geographic
situation of the Aboriginal person, symbolized family's practices of shielding the white child from too close a proximity to the less civilized racialized others.

Ophelia, an ethnic white Catholic of working class background recalls, "...my dad wasn't working, my mother had to go out and find work. So, there were nine boys in the family and there was always trouble in the neighborhood ... " (Ophelia). Ophelia's family represents the working class family that was on the receiving end of the mission of the middle class reformers. However, she also refers to the Aboriginal person in a way that clarifies her white privilege:

Sure, poor whites were very different from Natives. Natives were the ones always getting into trouble. [They] would get put in jail right away, whereas the French Canadians, they would just get broken up and take each other home. I recognized how many hoops [the Natives] had to jump through, I mean, some of them were probably more poor than my family (Ophelia).

As Razack and Fellows (1998) suggest, " respectability became an assertion of membership in the middle class, the basis on which one had the right to dominate others, those classified as degenerate" (p.346). The Aboriginal person was important to the ethnic and working class white because by referring to him in the interview and remembering him in her childhood Ophelia could mark that she was not the less desirable which she had earlier referred to as part of her immigration experience.

Another woman, Nora, who states her Catholic working class roots, but who herself does not recall her mother participating in the mission, says, "...we were a working class family, my mother was from the farm and knew how to work hard, my father was illiterate and had a learning disability, so he was a labourer". While Nora does not reflect on childhood stories of mission work or the Aboriginal person, she does become a social worker and then a psychotherapist in her adult life. In later chapters, Nora will reveal how this work, in combination with her white status, may have been a device that regulated her Catholic
working class status. Nora and Ophelia's childhood stories illustrate that working within the church mission was not always possible in these working class families and that this produced alternate practices of regulating their privilege or simply of trying to survive.

These stories begin to reveal how ethnicity, religious affiliation, and class placed the ethnic or working class interviewees within interlocking relations of respectability, juxtaposed against a more elite normative set of practices. As Razack and Fellows (1998) describe:

Ladies...pursued respectability by distancing themselves from dirt and degradation. That distancing could not occur either in the lady's imagination or in her middle-class home without the economic and sexual exploitation of domestic workers and prostituted women. She achieved and maintained her toehold on respectability through the economic and sexual exploitation of other women, and that exploitation was itself the product of and produced by class, gender and racial hierarchies (p. 348).

The stories symbolize how actual white women could position their respectability within a system that also subordinated and marginalized them.

Laura's story suggests how her connection to a global Christian evangelism frames her respectability:

As a devout Christian family, we were bred on the mission of the world. (white) missionaries from all over the world who had been everywhere in the world came by. Here we were (in Canada) and we sat together (Laura).

While I do not know Laura's church affiliation, her ethnic status or her class, this story reflects how her privilege as a white Christian woman is sustained by her relation to elite men since, as she had mentioned earlier, her father was a missionary. Stoler (1995) suggests that the place of the white woman was one that was "encased in a model of passionless domesticity, mythologized as the desired objects of colonized men, categorically dissociated from the sexual
desires of European men and disallowed from being desiring subjects themselves" (p. 183). Laura's access to the non-Christian world was marked by her implicit subordination in relation to a white Christian man. This proximity in turn marks her distance from the more degenerate racial other.

Some childhood experiences described in the interviews reflect a counterpoint and contradiction to the established ideals of the elite. Theresa, an ethnic white who did not attend a Christian church remembers:

> While we did not go to church, I remember all the girls on my street going to a United Church down the road and I always felt outside of it or different from them because we didn't go to any church. You know, I remember one girl making a strange comment about my family when she found out I did not go...I wasn't sure at the time what to make of it (Theresa).

The ethnic and working class white women in my interviews achieved a new found place of privilege either by referring to a participation in Christian mission work, by referring to the Aboriginal person, or by stating the implicit married relations to white (albeit ethnic or working class) men. These are all significant social markers that I argue shifted their place of ethnic, class or gendered subordination, bringing closer to the normative and respectable images of whiteness produced for middle class women by the discourses of an imperial culture.

In conclusion, the practice revealed throughout the stories about helping others, naming them, or marking privilege in other ways, shaped a kind of respectable and moral immunity as an umbrella for all elite, ethnic and working class white women. Whether they participated in the mission or not, it was their white privilege to position themselves above those considered more degenerate. This marked their practices in part, as a resistance to patriarchal structures of
domination but simultaneously symbolized their participation in an imperial regulation of race relations.

A Core Sense of Self

I present here the hypothesis that the white women in the interviews were telling me stories not only about their mother's acts of helping, or about the social conditions that shaped these practices, but that these women were also suggesting how acts of helping came to be internalized as core to their own sense of self. Through the content of these stories and the women's re-telling of them, the interview process re-inscribed imagery of the normative elite woman, remarking on their ongoing reproduction through present and contemporary discourses. I cannot state that all young white girls in Canada learned to value themselves through acts of helping or through the specific task of helping the immigrant and racial other. However, I will hypothesize that the women in these interviews, who tell these particular stories of marking their respectability through the practices I have mentioned, may have internalized acts of helping as a way of valuing their core sense of self.

I argue that the young white girl, much as the interviews above have illustrated, looked to her mother, her family and to the historical material conditions around her, to signifying herself in relation to others. This signification begins a development of the core sense of self. While differences emerge with maturity, it is theorized that these early relationships offered the young child an experience of mirroring, of understanding and responsiveness between herself, her parents and others in her community, that would begin the geography of self-identification and self-worth (Jordan, 1991). It is through such a process of relating to those around her that she begins to 'know the other' and 'to know the
self' and in the continued development of the young white girl's identity this attending and responding process is reflected in other significant relationships (Miller, 1976). These relationships also begin to shape how she watches and learns who is helped, who is the helper and the meaning attributed to these acts.

Kohut (1995) suggests there is a necessary and "appropriate appeal to the idealized parent" (p.65) that with growth and maturity will be let go by the child and can be integrated within a sense of oneself and one's identity in relation to others. This developmental process suggests that the young child must idealize the parent as big and strong, and does so with whatever qualities the parent has, and through the process of growth and development, the child begins to internalize these features as part of her/himself. I argue that this process for the young white girls above, may have included how they were mirroring, watching, and responding to their mother's acts of helping as children. How did they see their mother? Did they observe her whiteness or the race of those she helped? I suggest that the practices of helping would have been important for the young white girls in these interviews because they were part of the influences through which she could internalize her core sense of self.

I hypothesize that what was being passed on to these young white girls was a practice of approximating normativity, idealizing their mother's acts of helping, and negotiating between the act of helping others (who are less fortunate because of a Western system of exploitation) and framing her own respectability within the same system. I hypothesize that in watching her mother's acts of helping, the young white girl could imagine that she herself might also one day grow up and be helpful (like her mother). This depended upon the discourse of imperialism which shaped as normative, acts of helping others. By the time the girls in the interviews reach adulthood (discussed next in chapter three), the act of helping others is possibly already entrenched within
their core sense of selves. The historical and material conditions that the women in the interviews describe as their mother's are the very conditions through which they may have also learned to constitute themselves as helpers, as respectable, kind and white, against the immigrant and racial other.

**In Conclusion**

This chapter has described first, an historical context of how white women's subjectivity was shaped through a European imperialism and through the Canadian period of social and moral reform. Second, this chapter has discussed how the contemporary women in the interviews referred to childhood stories about race, class and gender relations that reflected such imperial discourses.

I have suggested that the goals of the social and moral reform, which were based in part in Canadian immigration changes, and in part in historical imperial discourses, were expressed by these women through their relationships to the Protestant and various other Christian churches. This religious site was central in one way or another for most of the interviewed women. I also hypothesized that the women in these interviews will become helping professionals based on these childhood conditions through which they learned to see themselves as white and helpful, and to see those they helped as less fortunate and most frequently, as the racial other. The interviews have suggested that these white women appeared to have families, a childhood, and a community setting that was attempting to replicate a civilizing mission. Their stories about the racial other and about other whites suggests that perhaps these white women began early in life to learn to the discourses of imperialism that shaped their own subjectivities.
Chapter Three:
Professionalizing, Helping and the Kind, White Woman

Introduction

In chapter two, I explored how the practice of attending a Christian church and the practices related to helping within the social and moral reform of the 1900’s in Canada shaped the normative image of who the historical white woman should be. I showed how these practices emerged within the interviews of contemporary elite, ethnic and working class white women. Particular practices of “helping” functioned to solidify the historical white women’s respectability within imperialism as she depended on her relationships to the white men and the person of colour or the Aboriginal, in order to sustain her identification as respectable. I have hypothesized that the interviewees may have learned to internalize acts of helping as core to their sense of self by seeing these valued in the childhood social conditions and relationships around them.

Chapter three explores the next section of the interviewee’s lives and I will explore their becoming helping professionals. This development mirrors a historical context whereby the helping practices of the Christian mission became professionalized, and in tandem with the influences of the feminist movement, gave white Canadian women a new professional voice outside of the church and within the work force. Prior to talking about their training in psychotherapy in chapter four, I will first discuss how the women in the interviews came to select (arguably defined as a ‘real’ or ‘free’ choice) helping professions such as nursing, social work, teaching, working in housing co-operatives or working with underrepresented groups, such as disabled people. As the women in the interviews reveal, these helping professions were talked about as appropriate and meaningful work and the interviewees talk about how their own sense of self
worth is maintained through acts of helping. This chapter continues to historicize the ways in which white women were shaped to become helping professionals.

**The Professionalized Site of Mission**

In the period of the social and moral reform of the early nineteenth century as discussed in chapter two, social reformation that was based in community centers, agencies and institutions of formal education, was still seen to be valuable for a spiritual (and national) transformation. Moral reformers and clergymen recognized that the church could help the state in this reorganization of economic life (Valverde, 1991, p. 45). While such social reforms did not espouse Christianity specifically, they were seen to be valuable in that they would contribute towards the people's and the nation's general moral and physical health. As the Christian church expanded its mission work to social sites, it hoped to infiltrate into society a renewed kind of mission which would continue the Christian reform project. These renewed reform projects included the designation of public education efforts and government run agencies in reaching out to the poor, the ethnic or racial other and the "sexually misaligned" (Newton, 1992). As James (1996) documents, since these social projects were begun through the Christian mission, they were also bound in mandate and financially to the church, providing it with a continued ability to regulate their policies and mandates.

This leadership heightened the church's continued ability to be involved in a reform that was social as well as religious and it meant that elites, through these social organizations, could continue to participate in regulating the relations between themselves and those considered other. For example, "government sanctioned social work programs ...depended on the funding of dominant organizations and not surprisingly reflected the social perspectives of
middle- and upper class Canadians" (Christensen, 1996, p. 144). As I have described in chapter two, while elite white women played an important role in performing the practices of mission work during the era of social reform, these acts of helping by elites continued to provide all white women with an access to helping that shaped their respectability and privilege. The mission practice of helping was transformed into a social mission and continued to depend upon the process through which race, class, and gender were intertwined (Valverde, 1991, p.16).

As this social mission work came to be more organized and formalized, it was seen as work that required expertise, certain skills and training. This organization depended on a specific classification of social problems that absolved the helping professional from addressing the broader social problems, and instead, focused them on the evident struggles of the individuals who were experiencing problems (Wharf, 1990, p. 25). The public work of helping began to appear in the form of a new 'science' where people's individual problems could be enumerated through a professionalized language of health and well-being. The activity of helping others was transformed into practices which included measurement, classification and organization on paper so that others could review, repeat and improve upon these practices.

This process shaped how the emerging 'helping professional' could perform - a person could become a successful professional when they performed well as a non-judgemental and objective 'scientist' promoting a better society through their practices of measurement and classification. The underlying belief was that "the wealthier classes should be charitable to the 'deserving poor' [and could] enter into assessments of personal problems that have systemic roots" (Christensen, 1996, p. 143). Christians and other whites who were already in a social position of privilege during this time had access to becoming such
professionals who could then transfer their knowledge about health management to other whites. In a sense, they could teach and reproduce again and again the mandate of the social and moral reform. Now, instead of providing the racial other with the enlightenment of Christianity, the professional nurse, social worker, shelter worker or teacher could improve upon their health, well-being and family relationships.

The social worker, for example, was (and is) in a position to make assessments about her clients. Through the access gained to this professional work by people already in elite positions, assessment could then become a measurement of who most or least approximated elite norms. While we can now argue that "...whether or not the behaviour that appears dysfunctional or pathological to the practitioner represents dysfunction within the client's culture," (Pinderhughes, 1989, p.151) the social and moral period of reform produced professionals who could reproduce its mandate. This historical chronology suggests how whites in Canada gained access to professional practices of health management, that these professional practices marked their personal respectability and altogether, that such a regulation solidified their proximity to imperial visions of who was seen to be healthy, knowledgeable and most representative of the 'normative'.

**Where Is the White Woman in Canada?**

The process of professionalizing helping and training white women as such professionals marks their entry into an imperial system of education. The historical white women who had been working in the Christian mission could be trained to use these tools of classification and measurement that were shaping helping professions as a science. Acquiring this utility of scientific tools marked
their success as professional helpers also solidifying their economic place of privilege as health professionals. By being able to participate in writing down, classifying and signifying on paper how the racial other was different from them they were seen to be working towards the hope of a 'better society'. This was a problematic and circular process, because while it gave the historical white women real privilege, it ensconced them within a system that was designed to pathologize all those (including themselves) who deviated from it. I will return to this important point later.

The following examples of institutions illustrate how the mandate of the social and moral reform moved from a Christian church base to a secular one; how the mandate of the reform was situated within educational and community settings; and how historical white women gained access as professionals to this work. These examples illustrate how white women could gain privilege and participate in the building of a nation by being professionals of health, education and well-being.

Dehli (1994) describes the emergence at the turn of the century of the Froebel Kindergarten. These were a European based system of early childhood education that supported a specific example of middle class and moral pedagogy. The governors of the Kindergartens hoped to rely on the naturalized qualities of middle class women so that they could help to regulate working class and immigrant mothering as well as by organizing middle class mothering activities. While Dehli’s article focuses on the shaping of the female Kindergarten teacher within that specific setting, I refer here to her contention that the Kindergarten represented a contemporary and secular extension of the state and church’s efforts to create a social and moral reform. Stoler (1995) also speaks to the role of the Dutch Kindergartens, envisioned as "microcosms of the liberal state, stressing not only independence, but self-discipline, citizen-ship, and
voluntary obedience to general laws" (p. 155). As Dehli’s research describes, the role of the Kindergarten in Canada during the period of reform hoped to educate children outside of the bounds of the church to be appropriate Canadian citizens, and this 'reform' shaped the white woman’s work as a teacher in marking the European child as different from the racial other.

Other examples of the social and moral reform can be found in how the British and elite Canadian community envisioned introducing and welcoming the immigrant and racial other into Canada. For example, the 'International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto' was a social service agency offering various forms of personal and professional aid to non-British immigrants (Iacovetta, 1992, p. 261). The intention of the agency and the staff was to take the professional role of educating those considered to be new to Canada in the necessary health and work related areas. This education was hoped to facilitate their entry into the daily norms of Canadian culture. Staff workers in such social services were trained in social work techniques and counselling skills and were "in contact with society’s most vulnerable people, both individual's and groups" (Christensen, 1996, p. 140). According to Iacovetta (1992), staff workers dealt, for example, with abusive situations in immigrant and working class homes hoping to re-shape 'foreign' families towards a "privacy and comparative calm of a 'normal' family life" (p. 263). In this way, the social service agency is an example of how elites in the social and moral reform sought to educate the immigrant and racial other in what was described as normative culture, but also how they participated in marking the differences between respectable elites and marginalized others.

In particular, the social service professional could successfully implement her professional tools when she could determine the specific level of the problem. The staff in such agencies "sought to reform the behaviour of their troubled clients by encouraging them to conform to the prevailing notions of
'normal' family life and 'healthy' gender relations" (p.275). For example, by listing the incidents of abuse within an immigrant or racial family, the staff could classify this family as different from the imagined normative of the Canadian family and could then make recommendations for the treatment and improvement of the situation. The woman who was a health professional could use the scientific tools of classification to compare and contrast the racial other as different from a Canadian normative family model. Applying these tools successfully as a professional depended on recognizing and naming the level of difference associated with the problems of 'othered' families, and this process shaped how she could be seen as an expert on health who was helping to transform what was considered more degenerate and unhealthy about Canadian society.

The contemporary presence of such social and professionalized performances of helping can still be found in Toronto. For example, Ng's study (1988) on immigrant employment services describes how the staff counsels its immigrant women applicants on how their professional skills would be appropriate for particular listed employment. In combination with an extensive bureaucratic system of application, the staff then positions immigrant women in particularly low paid places of work. Ng describes how the documentation by the staff of the immigrant women's skills, in accordance to the work made available for them by the agency, continued to position these immigrant women in work that did not match their needs but did match the employment needs of Canadian society. Such employment services propose to support the immigrant's search for work and provide them with access to community resources. However, such services mark immigrant and racial difference by structuring economic realities.

Martinez (1994) refers to a similar process in the education of teachers. Her study reflects that the professionalization of social service providers I've described (in an historical Canada) was a process that could be seen globally,
across other professions and well into the late 1900's. In her discussion about a new white male teacher, Brian, who was being trained in Australia to teach Australian Aboriginal children in the late 1900's, Martinez declares that a system of educating professionals in contemporary British colonies can only occur as an education of British values. This educational system has the impact of regulating which students will more easily associate with the material and therefore be seen later as successful students. It is a system that reproduces a dominant practice of education, a normative discourse about learning, and a biased curriculum for teacher education. The conclusions Martinez draws about the education of white school teachers compares to what I have referred to above in the development of white helping professionals.

Martinez discusses Brian's first professional experiences and how he was trained to deal with homework habits, absenteeism, curriculum development and other in class routines in a way that marked the dominant culture (p.165). As he stepped into a non-white culture in order to teach children, a culture different from the one he had been trained in, his results with the students were conflicted and he was struggling with his performance as a new teacher. Martinez suggests that educational factors beginning with the entrance criteria for applying to teacher training, to the values that mark teacher education, to Brian's initial integration into the new community (i.e., his social group quickly became the minority of whites in the community) all contributed towards marking his experience of teaching as a problematic production of dominant culture. Martinez makes clear that even in a contemporary setting, unless the conditions of teacher training are changed, the educational system will continue to reproduce successful white teachers for white children regulating the marginality of students who do not fit into this frame. Martinez' study reflects a contemporary colonial context through which dominant values are produced in the example of training
professionals. Referring here to her study demonstrates how the training of professionals across the globe and even into contemporary times continues to regulate how historical imperial discourses shape elites, values seen as normative, and those considered less civilized and less educated.

Another contemporary example of how women have gained privilege within the helping professions can be found in the analysis of the gendered nature of nursing within the Canadian health care system by Armstrong and Armstrong (1996). In their work, Wasting Away: The Undermining of Canadian Health Care, Armstrong and Armstrong have compiled statistics that reveal 79% of the labour force in the health care industry is comprised of women (p.101). They state that while "women have made significant gains in terms of power and recognition, much of their work remains invisible and undervalued" (p.103). They suggest that while women 'learn' about nursing through their skills in the home, men's activities are seen as more elevated within the medical profession because these require a higher degree of knowledge and expert training. While Armstrong and Armstrong make clear that women gain both status and are marginalized within the helping professions, they do not mention how race enters into this statistic. Nestel (1996) has uncovered via her compilation of statistics available through Statistics Canada that within the profession of nursing in Ontario, racial minorities compose only 7.8% of all head nurses. Moreover, only 14.3% of all nurses in Ontario are visible minorities. Clearly, racial divisions between white women and women of colour within the helping professions are prominent (i.e., Armstrong and Armstrong, 1996) and continue to reproduce a hierarchy in Nestel's example of nursing work. More research is required in this area.

In summary, I have reviewed how the practices of helping by historical white women had "brought to light the true value of women... Femaleness was a
role, both historically and culturally, [that] resonated with Christian evangelical principles and that could often embed womanist claims in a separate sphere of ideology" (Burton, 1994, p. 42). This gave rise to white women's access to the professional and scientific work of helping, and as this section has described, 'helping' the immigrant and racial other became an activity that marked the historical white woman's respectability, professional status and privilege.

The Influences of Feminism within Imperialism

The North American feminist movement during the 1900's also contributed towards how white women began to theorize about women's participation and subjectivity in society. As white women were developing the professional work described above and were achieving a more prominent presence in public and social spheres, they were doing so in part due to the benefits gained from the North American feminist movement. This movement supplied both practical and theoretical tools with which to substantiate their shift from private to more public spaces. Three different eras as well as three particular factions describe the evolution of the feminist movement. The following eras of the feminist movement helped to shape how white women became professional helpers.

First wave North American feminist activists in the late 1800's and early 1900's argued that the unique and special talents of women could aid in the well-being of the country (Prentice et al, 1988, p.169). Their mission was to introduce the skills of women into an increasingly public sphere and they struggled for the right to be educated (Reinharz, 1992, p.11). As Eisenstein (1983) describes, they made more public the fact that men "had become associated with the public sphere: the workplace, politics, religion, intellectual and cultural life, and the
exercise of power and authority; [and] women [were associated with what was] private: the home, children, domestic life, sexuality" (p.20). This first wave of feminist activity produced a greater public and social conscience about women's legal, educational, economic, and social conditions.

The second wave of feminism in the 1970's can be referred to as a movement that focused on coalition building, sisterhood and solidarity. Their focus was on issues of child care, health care and reproduction (Prentice et al, 1988) as well as renewed issues around education - the right to criticize, the right to create knowledge, and the right to be educators (Reinharz, 1992, p.11). North American white women in general gained from this wave of feminism through a greater access to educational and social forums whether they claimed to be feminists or not. This era was also marked by the emergence of the white feminist in academia and "by the end of the 1960's, the women's movement was issue oriented, politically diverse, and overwhelmingly white and middle class...[and] took a broader view of women's oppression, directing their efforts towards economic, legal, and social issues" (Jeffrey, 1994, p. 19). Their organized critique of patriarchy and the advanced methods of travel and communication in the West made it appear that they were most knowledgeable about the details of all women's oppression. While their work gave international focus to the realities of women, their presumed application of sisterhood was later critiqued.

As the early second wave of feminism referred to the similarities and solidarity between women, feminists began to emerge with a diverse set of analyses of women's conditions. On the one hand, socialist feminists were interested in a class analysis that would highlight women's labour and workplace activism (Mandell, 1995, p. 12). The impact of industrialization had created new work conditions for contemporary women and socialist feminists argued that a
class analysis was the fundamental form of analysis towards understanding the oppression of women within such conditions. Where women worked, what they were paid, how their work was valued and what their working conditions were was central for the socialist feminist.

On the other hand, radical feminists were most interested in gender and violence against women as a central form of analysis. Radical feminists believed that the central and most important form of oppression is that against women. In particular, "male control of female sexuality and male domination of social institutions lead to women's devaluation and continued subordination" (Mandell, 1995, p. 14). These feminists were interested in how gender oppression as the primary theoretical frame could make better sense of gendered personal links to the political. They "concentrated on creating social and political alternatives to existing society" (Jeffrey, 1994, p. 20) intending for women to work outside the system in order to contest it.

A third group of feminist activists emerged in the late 1970's and 1980's forming a Third Wave of feminism. Liberal feminists believe that women can work from within the system in order to provoke change. Issues can be taken up, for example, by lobbying the government or working within it. These feminists hope to extend to women the same political and public rights and privileges that are extended to men. They "advocate social and legal reform through policies designed to create equal opportunity...such as citizens' rights... and ensuring educational opportunities" (Mandell, 1995, p. 6). The liberal feminist is perhaps best described as the feminist whose goals are to help women live and work within the existing social system with the same rights and privileges as men.

More recently, a critique of North American feminism has made it clear that while white feminists from the West can still speak from a Western place of privilege about their own resistance to patriarchy here, they are unable to speak
about the impact of imperialist structures on women in the South and East - imperialist structures within which they themselves are relatively privileged. Mohanty (1991) has suggested that Western feminism can be characterized by "assumptions of privilege and ethnocentric universality" (p. 53). The universality hoped for by the North American feminist sisterhood does not address how women of colour who are experiencing forms of violence outside the West first, have already experienced the violence of imperialism perpetuated by Western economic relations, and second, how these non-Western women must position themselves as situated within 'barbaric' cultures in order to gain visibility within the West and even, within the North American feminist movement.

While North American feminisms have given all queer, lesbian, bisexual and straight, middle and working class white women a public voice against patriarchy and allowed them to gain a social and professional status in their own right, it has also positioned them as providers and ultimately, protectors of people of colour and Aboriginals. As Burton (1994) has historicized in a British context, the non-Western racial other was seen to be in need of the benevolence of white feminists who became their rescuers in the 'universal' fight against patriarchy. However, this 'fight' depended on marking the conditions of the women outside the West as culturally different from the West and thereby regulating how civilized the culture of North American white feminists could look. This racialized representation ignored how Western economic transactions had created the economic vulnerability of the South and East and influenced the lives of women of colour there.

Razack (1995) refers to the contradictions of the contemporary North American feminist movement in her article, "Domestic Violence as Gender Persecution: Policing the Borders of Nation, Race, and Gender". She exposes how the concept of 'gender persecution' and the implementation of refugee laws
in response to gender persecution depends on marking the women who make claims for asylum not only as generic women experiencing violence within patriarchy, but as racialized "victims of dysfunctional and exceptionally patriarchal cultures and states" (p. 46). Razack states:

The analytical move in Western feminism that ultimately produces the concept of gender persecution requires a transcendental signified, a universal woman, and a similar erasure of histories has sometimes ensued. For the most part, this erasure has been accomplished by the narrative of violence against women. When Western feminists speak about prostitution, pornography, mass rapes, domestic violence, dowry burnings, and genital mutilation, they have often done so by using the transcendental 'we' (p. 52).

Her critique suggests that understanding all women's oppression based on an analysis of patriarchy does not suffice because it lacks an analysis of the impact of imperialism. As this thesis explores, contradictions continue to emerge between a North American white feminist's resistance to patriarchy and the ongoing negotiation of respectability through her whiteness and her Western location. Analyzing how society and social discourses create relations of power suggests that we can determine how the white subject and the subject of colour are produced within these relations of power.

The work of North American white women with the racial other as 'less fortunate' is still generally seen to be respectable work in the eyes of the West. This work is alternately confirmed as a moral and useful mission when practiced outside the West and it is valued when it approximates a science of helping and a real field of health expertise when practiced within the West. Since white women can work either outside the West in development work or ongoing Christian mission work, or within the West with immigrant and racial others there, these opportunities further entrench their benevolence and privilege by the accompanying interlocking and historic representations of race. As I will later
illustrate, the contemporary women in the interviews recount how their entry into the helping professions is based in similar representations of status and race.

What had historically been evangelical work towards the immigrant and racial other within Christianity can now be seen in the example of North American white women's faith in feminism as a tool for disrupting global oppression, or in faith in the professional work of helping others. Their work in these contemporary settings continues to be somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, North American white women gain status and a degree of economic privilege, on the other, their relative privilege allows them to analyze their own marginality in more visibly into dominant spaces. Their own respectability shifts between their success in this activity and how their success will disrupt or alter their own respectability as privileged. In either case, such women are seen to be fervently fighting for a variety of social causes that involves vulnerable others who are seen to be in need of their help.

**The Women in the Interviews Choose a Helping Profession**

The women in the interviews talked about their desire to become a helping professional and how this felt right to them; some talked about their desire to become feminist activists and to disrupt patriarchy as a central force in their lives. Their narrations show how the women sought to find voices as white women through an emerging professionalization of helping and through the emancipatory influences of feminism. The impact of this search, however, was different for each woman. It appears that when the women in the interviews recognized their oppression on the basis of gender, this urged them to seek new options for themselves as professional women. Their stories describe this move
as a resistance against patriarchy in that it would enable them to find paid work and to gain both a voice and status outside the home.

Prior to being trained as psychotherapists, all the women had been involved in community activism or alternately, other helping professions. Fourteen of the fifteen women talked about working in professions of helping before they entered into a training for psychotherapy. For example, Aaron had been working in a community with disabled people; Serena had been a physician; Theresa had been in crisis intervention; Nora had been a social worker; Brandy and Nora had been feminist activists; Beth and Zelda had both been practicing as massage therapists (but do not reflect on this work in the interviews); Zelda (again) and Ophelia had also been nurses; Nadia had been involved in providing housing for women in poverty; Jennifer had been a speech pathologist; and Laura had continued to be involved in the church prior to becoming a psychotherapist. In contrast, Maureen had been in business prior to training in psychotherapy; while Lize and Eliza had in one way or another always been involved in psychotherapy. They did not talk about working in other helping professions.

The following examples illustrate how the helping professions emerged as an apparently personal and 'natural' choice for these women. For example, Aaron states:

My first major [in university] was in management, I was in business for three years. But I was attracted to therapy. I applied to go into the counselling program. I switched [back] to management because everyone was saying as a woman you should do business because that's where the jobs are and what are you going to do with counselling. But I knew I wanted to help people. ... I was always looking for activities that would pull meaning out for me or give me a purpose (Aaron).

Beth recalls her sense of powerlessness within her family and how she chose a profession in helping as a result:
I was an unhappy child and my needs were not being met by my parents... I hated my existence because my life was so shitty and I had so little power... I went into business because my father wanted that and I didn't know what I wanted to do. I went into competitive squash and still didn't know what I wanted. Then I realized things about my body and that got me into my feelings and that led me to massage. Then I got married and I was so unhappy ... which led me to therapy, therapy, therapy. Finally, we divorced and I understood that I had always wanted to achieve something, which didn't work in that marriage. I was a wife, so, that's when I became a (massage) therapist (Beth).

I suggest that Beth and Aaron began to name their own experiences of oppression on the basis of gender in the context of their families, and in Beth's case, from within her marriage. They began to see that a profession of any kind would disrupt some of their dependence or sense of powerlessness as women. It is unclear whether Beth's practice as a massage therapist involved people of colour or Aboriginals, however, what is clear, is that she discussed her 'discovery' of the helping profession as a place that she could find meaning as well as being a professional. Theresa states:

My family was always in one crisis or another and I think it just made me very attentive to what was not being said. I became very good at crisis management. I learned how to negotiate around things and to see nonverbal communications, I think because we always had to look out for ourselves and this made me want to help other people. I felt I had something to offer because of my own experiences. ... I loved doing crisis intervention work because I was on the front lines helping other women who were living in difficult situations. I felt that I could help them to see that they did not need to put up with bullshit, and I felt kind of whole, like I really belonged there, working with women towards finding their own strength. It helped me to become stronger as well (Theresa).

Theresa is reflecting that the skills she learned in her home became the very skills that would be professionally valued in the helping field. Her story reflects that she felt personally fulfilled by exercising these skills within a professional site. Again, it is unclear whether in her work as a crisis counsellor she engaged with white and non-white women, but what can be substantiated, is that with the
helping professions Theresa felt 'she really belonged' and that this work matched her core sense of self.

Eliza reflects on her life, and the conditions that led her to going into therapy herself, prior to being trained as a psychotherapist:

Here I was, at 28, three children, adopted and my husband leaving me. I didn't have a sense of self except as an appendage to him, and if he was gone, who was I? I was nothing and I was so overwhelmed by that prospect and I couldn't cope with the weight of it all...I was looking forward to becoming a therapist and being able to use what I had learned (Eliza).

In Eliza's case, once she was no longer able to define herself within a heterosexual and married relationship, being a client in psychotherapy was one way to 'find' herself and later being trained as a helping professional became another further form of self-definition. Her story demonstrates how her experiences as a divorced woman shaped her eventual desire to become somebody outside the marriage and that 'finding' herself was solidified in her professional work as a helper.

The above stories begin to illustrate that the professional choices of these women reflect first, a feeling that helping work is meaningful or valuable; and secondly, an emerging awareness of patriarchy and that becoming a professional provides them with some economic autonomy and security. For example, Ophelia discusses both a personal and a professional history. To begin, she reflects on her place as a woman:

The whole global discourse is based on the white male heterosexual's ideas. I have a lot of anger myself about that, that has been very hard to work through (Ophelia).
Later she refers to her first profession of nursing:

I don't fit into the medical model really. I wanted to be with people in a more holistic way, looking at social conditions, working against all of those lines that were really very elite. This was part of my own healing process... it opened up a whole area of freedom and health and possibility. Potential for life, really, that I hadn't had before (Ophelia).

Ophelia seems to be commenting on her discovery that becoming a helping professional marked her own sense of liberation and wholeness. While the work feels meaningful to her personally, becoming a helping professional also provided these women with an opportunity "to test their independence from the constraints of patriarchal society" (Chauduri and Stroebel, 1993, p.9).

Becoming a helping professional provided white women with a form of resistance to dominant systems of patriarchy. This resistance could occur either through their helping activities towards other women who were like them, towards other white women who were more marginalized for example, due to disability, or towards people of colour who were additionally more marginalized. The ways in which white women could become helping professionals depended on others who were in need of their help. While the women I interviewed do not refer to whom they were helping, their professions originated in part, on the basis of the needy immigrant other. By entering into these helping professions, the women in the interviews were entering into an historical process that regulated dominant and marginalized relations. They became more powerful themselves, although this depended on others who were equally or even less powerless. Becoming a helping professional meant that "acts of resistance against patriarchy were often, simultaneously, acts of supporting imperialism" (Jeffrey, 1997, p.11).

Becoming a helping professional, as I have suggested, included applying successfully the tools of the profession. For example, Aaron (who had first
explored business) finally found community work as a staff person assisting
disabled people. Her hope to help other marginalized people remains. As Aaron
described, this community had a professionalized language that suggested staff
had expertise in both the care and the knowledge base related to these
practices. While she proclaims that this professional language provides less
distance, I argue that it also becomes a specified and expert form of
communication which formalizes her practices of helping.

So our word for people at 'X' is 'core people'. It is a language to try and
keep barriers down. Language can hold barriers between people, so we
try to find a common dimension and not create difference. It also wouldn't
be defined as therapy what we do here, what it is called 'accompaniment',
we say we 'walk' people, for example (Aaron).

Aaron defines how the discourse of professional practices and relationships
within this site encourage a method of social education. It is a kind of social
education that resists marginalizing disabled people in her community even
further, creating community and affirming alternate methods of lifestyle. As well,
her work exists as a form of resistance to the notion that caring and
communication are less valuable than more scientific or cognitive forms of
knowing and professional valuation. By sanctioning the realm of care as
'professional', it becomes more valued in relation to other professional and
home-based work. Aaron continues:

We don't have a concentrated approach like a therapist. It is more one of
becoming friends and living together and sharing life and that's how
healing can happen (Aaron).

'Being friends' and 'living together and sharing life' can be seen to reflect the
mandate of the Christian reform that hoped to educate others as to on the value
of Christianity. On the other hand, these practices can be seen as a form of
resistance and disruption that create communities within which marginalization is
not severely stigmatized. Thus, these professions formed how white women continued to constitute their own value as helpers and this was shaped simultaneously as complicity and resistance within an historical continuation of imperialism. Serena (who had been a physician) says:

   I wasn't totally satisfied in medicine. Most people would come in and talk about their arm or their leg and we would end up talking about their relationships. I kind of decided that was where I really wanted to go...and I decided, 'wow', this is really it (Serena).

and later she adds:

   I think I have a quality of healing about me that has nothing to do with pills. It's my little piece of what I can do in the world. It is about change and healing and the expansion of people's lives. Some kind of personal development (Serena).

Serena suggests that her professional work mirrors how she gives meaning to her personal practices of helping and healing. Lize describes her move into the helping professions:

   People kept saying I should be a lawyer. If I wasn't going to be a lawyer, I would be a psychologist. I was having a very troubled adolescence and was really [messed] up. Then someone said I should become a therapist, and I was always the kind of person people would talk to. ... So, yeah, it feels really easy and natural and I just do it. I really enjoy it because it feels like magic to me. I never could work in a big organization or a business anyways. It felt kind of like a 'calling' (Lize).

Lize refers to this 'calling' again:

   I like most to watch people change. I am shocked about hate, about closed fists. I really believe that therapy is about love, I know it sounds corny and trite, but the opposite of hate is love, and that's what I want to teach (Lize).
Theresa also talks about crisis intervention work:

I guess it felt a bit like this was my work to do, what I was meant to do. I don't know, it just felt right (Theresa).

Again, Serena, Lize and Theresa describe how their professional work as helpers was connected to a personal definition of what was valued and meaningful. Lize's sense that psychotherapy was 'a calling' marks how deeply she identifies with the position of helper as core to her sense of self. I will return to this later.

Only two women spoke explicitly of their expression of feminist principles in their work and of their participation in feminist activism. In Nora's adult life prior to being trained as a psychotherapist, she had been a feminist activist as well as a trained social worker both of which are arguably 'helping' activities that aim to disrupt or bring about social change in some form. Nora speaks first about becoming a social worker:

Because I had social worked my family since I was a little kid, no kidding. It is certainly acting out a way I grew up - a personal impulse in my family (Nora).

For example, as in Nora's case, she began early to regulate relations in her family in that she 'social worked' her family. Maureen also refers to this quality of goodness:

Well, you know, my mother was always helping people and I always felt that this was a good thing to do. I began by going into business, but I didn't really feel fulfilled. So, people kept telling me I was a good listener, and that I should become a psychotherapist.... I feel I am making a difference, I guess that's what I get out of it. I feel like I am doing work that is meaningful instead of doing work in business which isn't very meaningful....I feel good about myself because I am contributing in a positive way (Maureen).
This suggests that the choice of these women to become helping professionals was in part a result of skills some of the women had learned within their families. The skill of being a good helper, being kind and facilitative produced a core method of valuing themselves - it constituted who they could be very early on. Both of the following sets of stories reflect Nora's struggle to acknowledge her experience as a feminist and as a social worker. I refer to her activist experiences:

It's a powerful seduction to be part of the mainstream, since I have certainly seen in grass roots and the women's community that there is no one as oppressive as the workers of a feminist organization. You are supposed to work 12 hours for 'the cause'. Coming from a union background where people died for worker's rights, that's bullshit (Nora).

This story marks how the fervor of Nora's feminist activity might resemble the historical fervor of Christian evangelism. Chapter two explored how women could participate as helpers through their mission work, and Nora, one generation later, describes her participation in helping work (disrupting patriarchal oppression) within the feminist movement. Both movements provided white women with an opportunity to make more public their helping activities and through this, to gain a stronger social status and presence.

Nora is struggling to accept that as an exhausted feminist working for 'the cause', she marks both the privilege of her public voice and her hope to disrupt patriarchy. Feminists claimed to be disrupting patriarchy while gaining privilege through these activities as well. Burton (1994) reflects upon this sense of superior status in British feminists, in that "there was little disagreement among feminists, that the work of emancipated British women would double "the mental and moral forces of the world" (p. 48). These 'emancipated' feminists became agents of change while depending on the racial other (and other marginalized people) in order to be thus signified.
Nora continues to reflect on her work as a social worker in Canada and illustrates how this professional work marks her racial and classed status. In her work as a social worker, she describes that she was:

...sent out to an immigrant women's group. They were all upper middle class Iranian Muslim women and I remember being surprised because I was expecting women not from moneyed families at all. I thought they would be working class women with no English at entry level jobs trying to learn English. But this was not the case at all. The women in the group were worried that their children would integrate into mainstream Canadian society because it wouldn't be their class standard (Nora).

Nora's identity is marked by her professional practices related to integrating non-white immigrant women into Canada. This story suggests that white women's practices of helping could appear to be a form of moral expression in response to how the immigrant and racial other was seen to be in need of help.

At the same time, Nora's next story reflects that feminists were aware of hierarchical divisions within their community:

The real problem is that we got into a ranking of oppressions. You know, you are graded as a Black disabled lesbian or as a single white mother. When people say to me as a lesbian, a sexual abuse survivor, that my oppression is not as important as yours, then my immediate reaction is 'no... no... it's not'. I get very disjointed (Nora).

It is unclear how Nora analyzes her own location of difference due to her use of pronouns, but what is clear is her experience that her women's community struggled with the distinctions between oppressions. While North American feminism appeared to be united, of course, its loudest voices were represented by a privileged group of North American white women who often do not feel their privilege and refer to their own victimized or subordinate status. Razack and Fellows (1998) suggest that "one reason [women] feel compelled to secure [a] place on the margin ... is that not to do so is to risk erasure" (p. 339). By becoming a feminist, as some North American white women did, they
participated in creating an apparently united and organized place of resistance, keeping white women more visible in relation to Western patriarchal discourses. While these women organized as feminists to disrupt patriarchy, this also began to highlight how their places there were not only about their subordination as women but also about their privilege as whites. This is not to suggest that other marginalizations did not produce contradictory places of privilege for white women, but it is to suggest that whiteness in itself symbolized a kind of proximity to dominant relations.

Brandy describes her career as a professional feminist activist prior to being trained as a psychotherapist:

In my career in the social movement, I've gone back and forth. I was a director in a shelter for years. The answer was, we were going to do more, to be professionals, we were going to have the highest quality of care. I got all caught up in that ... at other times I have been very critical of professionalization. I think at the heart of it has always been that the world is crappy, it's crappy in ways that are adverse to me and it doesn't have to be that way (Brandy).

Brandy describes how feminism and the professionalization of shelter work united in a hope to 'improve' the shelter movement and the situation for abused women. At another point in the interview, she critiques the services she was involved in:

I got very disillusioned about shelters and how it wasn't about liberation. In many ways, shelters accommodated male violence and disempowered women in the process. He got a break and she got to live with 30 other women in crisis. And then, how profoundly limited we were in terms of resources and how she could come to a realization of who she was in the world. You know, how to live with yourself in the face of male violence in the world. It just felt like band-aids and stickers and it drove me nuts. I went through this shelter movement and through university and kept wondering how I could be an organizer of that. I had entered shelter work to be an organizer, but it was as much a piece of the cloth as doing feminist work outside the shelter (Brandy).
While the discourse of the feminist and shelter movement is not one of Christianity, the assertion of their feminist activist or professional status within these organized shelters gave white women a sense of mission. Brandy refers to her desire to be an 'organizer' as a replication of the mission practices of the historical elite women. Community centers, organizations and agencies were for Brandy and other contemporary women the re-newed place of a social and professionalized mission. These more public and community based sites of helping eventually lead them to the more elevated and privatized practice of psychotherapy.

Becoming a feminist or a helping professional gave these white women a renewed sense of the worth of their helping activities. Historically, white women's work was transformed from a place in the home and family into that of the public domain, "providing gender with a national moral function linked explicitly to the public sphere" (Burton, 1994, p.43). Through the acquisition of the scientific tools of measurement, through a solidarity with other women in similar positions, or by fighting against the oppression of others, it appeared that these white women could gain through their helping activities in terms of personal and professional status. This status was regulated through their whiteness and helped to confirm their proximity to historical images of normativity for the white woman. Contradictions between gaining status and disrupting it continued to circulate through their professional and personal practices of helping.
A Core Sense of Self

I was going to be a loving, caring being who accepted everyone (Serena).

For the white women in these interviews, marking their own privilege through feminist activism or through professionalized helping activities must also be understood in how they learned early in life to value themselves as helpers. As a number of women in the interviews have stated, they became professionals based on skills they felt they had learned at a young age from their families. They have also suggested that becoming a helping professional felt personally meaningful to them. As I will now discuss, becoming 'helpful' and 'kind' as professionals is based on an early process that shapes and requires these qualities as a way of constituting a sense of self. I will draw from Walkerdine's (1990) discussion of the development of kindness in young girls through the setting of school and watching female teachers. It should be noted, however, that Walkerdine does not discuss how race and racialization operate to shape different notions of kindness and femininity.

According to Walkerdine, the professional structure shapes kindness for women is the school classroom. She describes how young girls watch the female teacher as one who observes and gently educates and thereby learns about herself as gendered. The female teacher models what can be described as female power through the activity of her pedagogic gentleness in a way that suggests her to be not 'bad', 'angry', 'envious', or ragefully powerful. This prescribes for the young girl a schema of gendered qualities to which she either conforms or rebels and through which her difference is pathologized. Through this process of formal and unconscious education the practices of teacher and girl student reveal the significature of kindness as naturally feminine. The young girl discovers that the acts through which she can identify herself as powerful are
acts that are kind, helpful and somewhat passive (p.77). However, Walkerdine does not point out if young girls who are marked as racial minorities, or as 'different' in other ways, have access to the same roles.

While Walkerdine does not refer to the girls as white, these conditions mark for the white woman in the helping professions, her need to constitute a sense of self as kind, in part through the economic neediness of others. As the historical genealogy of the helping professions has been illustrated, the presence of the immigrant and racial other has often shaped how the historical white woman in Canada has acted in kind and helpful ways that have also reflected her proximity to a gendered normative image. This professional practice of helping is another way through which Walkerdine's analysis of a gendered kindness is applicable. As Walkerdine has stated, "women can be educated enough to join the caring professions - to reproduce the knowers - yet not enough to know" (p.79). However, I suggest that the helping professions can provide some women with the professional power and the personal satisfaction of becoming 'the knowers' of the helping field and not just reproducing the 'knowers'.

As I have stated, the women in these interviews chose helping professions because it felt 'natural', as if they were 'a calling' and 'right'. In Nora and Theresa's case, they were trained early in life to facilitate and negotiate their family dynamics and these skills shaped their desire to enter into a profession of helping. Maureen and Ophelia also speak about childhood experiences that shaped how they could become helping professionals. As Ophelia suggests, becoming a helping professional appeared to give her a 'new lease on life' she had not previously known or experienced. This imagined and felt suitability to be a helper is based on a real split between being seen as powerful or being seen as kind. If white women cannot be powerful according to their marginalized place
within patriarchy, then they can at least be powerful by being kind or alternately find meaning through this work.

Walkerdine describes the process of exhibiting one behaviour while sublimating the rest, as 'splitting' (p.47). She explores the process of 'splitting' in one of her own childhood fantasies where she imagines being a good and powerful little fairy. She talks about the desire to be fragile yet omnipotent, one of those "charming little fairies who have good and beautiful powers to transform" (p. 164). At the same time, Walkerdine recognizes that in growing up and out of this fantasy, the young girl as an adult must acknowledge what was sublimated within this imagined good fairy.

I suggest that as these young white girls learned to have a sense of self, as they learned that being kind provided them with a sense of power and meaning in their families, they may have entered into what Walkerdine has termed the 'fairy fantasy'. As the girls learn these lessons they are lessons not of the "...insane, but the basis of sanity" given these systemic realities (p.47). This 'sanity' requires both a participation in acting like a 'good fairy' as well as in the suppression of all that does not appear to belong to the behaviour of a good fairy. As Serena mentions above, being loving and kind forms the core of her sense of self. Choosing a 'kind and good' profession can be seen as a desire to access a form of social respectability, and economic autonomy, on what was already essentialized as normative behaviour for young girls.

I have already suggested that much of the white woman's core sense of self, renewed professionalism, and respectability as a helper, depends upon the presence of other marginalized and more vulnerable people. For example, according to Canadian employment trends of immigrants from non-Western countries (Calliste, 1991), the racial other has often historically been placed in less privileged work so that they continue to be economically constituted as more
helpless and needy. I suggest that when the racial other is not needy (which can only occur through a change in their access to economic autonomy), then the white woman's kindness towards the racial other can no longer constitute her core self as a helper and her sense of respectability in the same way. More research is required as to how other forms of marginalization, for example disability, converge and dissect with the construction of racialized people and the identity of the white woman as a professional helper.

When the racial other is no longer a representative of a less advanced or more natural culturalization, the white women's sense of self, her access to the privilege of helping the immigrant and racial other, and how these are positioned to mark her respectability within an imperialist frame are all altered. The white woman's anger towards patriarchy has been split into a form of professional kindness towards the helpless and needy racial other. I hypothesize that when the racial other is less needy, the anger which was split off for the white woman, the sublimation of the 'good fairy', can re-emerge projected onto the more contemporary and independent racial other who no longer provides her with these representations. As Walkerdine states, "new identifications are created, so too the potential for loss, annihilation and disavowal" (p. 46).

I suggest that hypothetically, while such anger appears to be about a loss of privilege due to the more strong racial other, it is directly linked towards the sense of self and can be an indication of the fear of fragmentation of a self that is deeply invested in being a helper. Perhaps the anger is split off from the good fairy and from the white woman who is supposed to represent that which is kind, helpful, and somewhat passive. The strong and autonomous racial other disrupts the possibility of enacting the good fairy fantasy, disrupting a central practice that white women engage in to negotiate their respectability both within patriarchy and imperialism. This aspect of constructing a sense of self through the practices
of being a helper can also be applied to other marginalizations beyond race. However, such a discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis and is better left to future scholars. Clearly, professional social service providers offer a multitude of helping activities that are constructed around marginalizations in similar and contradictory ways. The focus of this research is on race in a way that can intersect with other marginalizations.

**In Conclusion**

In conclusion, interviewees have described how they perceived the value of their helping skills as core to themselves, how they felt 'called' to work for the 'cause' of helping people or to participate in feminist activism. These stories confirmed that what these women valued about themselves was their own nurturing and helping activities. This then became professionalized and could only become so through the ongoing reproduction of the racial other as economically more helpless and therefore in need of the kindness of white women. The historical context within which the women in the interviews chose these professions of helping, prior to being trained as psychotherapists, reveals both their resistance to oppression on a gendered basis as well as processes of choosing a profession that have historically regulated their own racial relations within Canada. I have suggested that these professions and the identities of these women are constituted out of a problematic history that is both disruptive and supportive of systemic frames of oppression.
Chapter Four:
Definitions of and Practices Within Psychotherapy

Introduction: Psychotherapy as a Contemporary Version of Mission Work

In chapter four, I will discuss how the contemporary women in the interviews refer to their new professions in psychotherapy after working in the more social and public sector helping professions of chapter three. The transition from the public sector to the more private can be framed within a history (and hierarchy) of the helping professions. The conditions of Christian mission work and the normative elite white woman as a helper will be explored as will the professionalization of helping as an ongoing expression also of a core sense of self; I will discuss the North American feminist movement as it shaped white women's privilege and finally, the development of psychotherapy as a more privatized form of helping.

This historical chronology frames how the contemporary white women in the interviews gained access to the privatized helping profession of psychotherapy. It will be described to be an elevated helping profession that offers white women a form of resistance to patriarchy, a professional place that values their personal kindness, an ongoing practice of educating others on issues related to health and, for some, psychotherapy represents a professional practice related to spiritual health.

I will now describe how the Institute in which these women were trained evolved historically from a training Institute for pastoral counsellors to that of a training Institute for the secular psychotherapist. This mirrors the historical chronology of social institutions involved in the helping professions that have been presented in chapter three. I will then discuss how the North American feminist movement influenced the development of a psychotherapy that was
practiced by white women as a resistance against patriarchy and psychoanalysis and yet, how psychotherapy is but another form of making the ‘white woman’ an elevated, kind, and professional keeper of health and well-being.

Since psychotherapy is constituted through a primarily Western and white (even feminist) history, the women’s stories will also illustrate that it has become a profession that works primarily with white clients. I will discuss how the tool of empathy contributes towards shaping this as a white profession and how the low visibility of the racial other contributes towards particular racialized representations as well.

**History of the Institute**

The interviewees, as already stated, were selected among participants in an internship of one training Institute of psychotherapy in order to maintain some consistency in their training modality. The Institute came into being in the 1960’s as a result of the merger of two church related counselling agencies. There was, in that period, a strong desire to relate the ministry of the Christian church to the realities of the secular world. Several community organizations began to work towards this objective of integration after securing financial support from church and non-profit organizations and thus, a training Institute for both pastoral and secular counselling was formed. With time, a new focus on training secular psychotherapists accompanied the original pastoral oriented training and the Institute came to be known as both a service centre and an educational institution relevant to church and non-church related communities.

Eventually, the pastoral component of training was called into question due in part, to the differences arising between the internal church and non-

---

2The Institute will remain unnamed to maintain anonymity.
church communities. The mandate of each was becoming significantly different such that the pastoral training component was finally deleted. The primary training available at the Institute was psychotherapy from a self-psychology, feminist, and otherwise eclectic nature including reflection from a spiritual but not specifically church related perspective. While this has not been documented, I suggest that the Institute's increasing desire to teach psychotherapy with an understanding of sexism and racism, in contrast to its historically pastoral direction, may have contributed towards its divide from the church. While this has not been articulated, what can be stated is that the divide from the church between the pastoral and the secular counselling training program happened at the same time some of the Institute's staff and interns requested a stronger feminist component and integration of anti-racist policies within the mandate of the Institute and in their daily training.

A "Strategic Plan" was written by a Board committee in the 1990's. It specified a vision statement that included education and outreach towards non-white and immigrant communities and outlined the steps to be taken to fulfill this mandate. The mandate was shaped while the Institute was also deciding on its relationship to the Christian church. These two processes reflect an institutional configuration between two opposing mandates (church and secular) that had a significant impact on the future of the Institute.

The Institute continued to require core funding that was not forthcoming from other funding bodies. This financial crisis resulted in the Institute's doors closing and the new mandate above was never tried nor tested. It has been speculated that the loss of financial and reputable support from the church when the Institute separated from its core may have significantly contributed towards the demise of the Institute. At the time, the Institute continued to have a majority of students who were white, middle class, women, openly heterosexual and over
30 years of age (10 of 20). A smaller ratio of white, openly heterosexual men also over 30 years of age (4 of 20) and the other trainees who were also white, openly lesbian or gay and also over 30 years of age (6 of 20) were also served. There were no people of colour served at this time.

In previous years, there had been one or two women of colour who had entered into the program as interns. They were the 'exceptions' within a predominantly white training program. While they may have successfully completed several years of internship, they had not applied for the residency, a senior position. As they suggested to me in casual conversation, this was either due to the fact that their family lives did not permit the time commitment or they simply did not feel the residency was important for their training as psychotherapists.

It is the history of the Institute that frames the organizational context of the women in the interviewees. The Institute is an example of an organization that was central to the mandate of the social and moral reform before it was transformed into a training program for pastoral and then secular counsellors. As helping became professionalized and feminism had an impact on women's ability to professionalize their skills, increasing numbers of white women benefited from its training. Finally, I have also speculated that the aforementioned historical/theoretical/institutional tensions and conflicts became irreconcilable and led to its eventual demise.
A Brief History of Feminist Psychotherapy

In the following section, I will present the history that preceded and shaped the psychotherapy that the women in the interviews later speak about.

The North American feminist movement helped to shape helping professions that would be accessible for 'all' women and that represented a resistance to patriarchy. Psychotherapy had its roots in the desire to give 'all' women a place to talk about the impact of patriarchal oppression in their daily lives and also focused on a resistance to psychoanalysis. At the same time, becoming a private practitioner of psychotherapy depended upon a history of access to the helping professions. White women became psychotherapists, as I will describe, in the name of re-inscribing the importance of continuity and relationship for the health and well-being of 'all' women in juxtaposition to the bureaucratized and impersonal science that the helping professions had become.

As Freudian theories on the psyche were developed in the privileged context of a European and patriarchal culture, a growing number of feminists began to critique its pathologizing of gender. One of the most important influences the North American feminism has had on psychotherapy is its exposé of the patriarchal lineage of psychiatry and psychoanalytic theory. Several feminist theorists suggested that behaviour and personality were also linked to social contexts rather than to biological drives (Belenky, 1969; Jordan, 1991; Miller, 1976; Spelman, 1988). Such feminists suggested that issues of self and other do not originate through penis envy, sexual drives or fantasies and fears about castration, as stated by earlier psychoanalytic processes, but through and within larger structures of power.

---

3 'all' represents the imagined universality of women's issues related to an early form of North American Feminism.
The symbol of the phallus in traditional psychoanalytic theory is seen as central, universal and translatable onto many situations. For example, before feminists critiqued penis envy and paradoxically suggested that there might be such a thing as womb envy, the phallus was referred to as central in psychoanalytic theory. Its central presence in Freudian theories marked his intentional denial of women's experiences. In particular, its universality made invisible the experience of being incested by the women that had been the subjects around which Freud shaped his theories. The thought that female experience may be situated within different symbols would fundamentally disrupt accepted theories of self and fantasy in development. With reference to this assertion of symbolic difference McClintock (1995) states:

The phobia of the 'nothing to be seen' of women is actually the male fear that women might not possess the phallic envy that men presume us to possess - that we have, in other words, different desires of our own (p.191).

Brennan (1989) concurs with McClintock's critique that a woman becomes the signifier in the theory of the phallus, symbolic or real. She suggests:

Woman in patriarchy is condemned to occupy the place of signifier for the male other, who can give free reign to his fantasies and obsessions, and what is more, can implicate her in them (p. 64).

North American feminists have demanded that 'all' women need to theorize about their own life experiences, altering the revolution around these phallically based theories of the unconscious (see Chodorow, 1989; Klein, 1988; Miller, 1976). They suggest that pathologizing the woman within theories about the phallus and autonomy, as Freud or Erikson (1950) have done, renders invisible the power of patriarchal systems. Feminist critiques have also included
thinking which informed the anti-psychiatry movement and psychiatry's pathologizing of women (see Miller, 1976). This thinking altered theories of the body and body image as it pertained to women (see Brown, 1993; Bordo, 1993), and finally, highlighted the significant presence of violence against women and the implications of this for working with adult survivors of incest and other violations (see Greenspan, 1983).

As North American feminists critiqued psychoanalysis on the basis of gender, they ultimately began to shape a new kind of helping profession similar to psychoanalysis yet in resistance to its mandate. Thus, feminist therapy "evolved from the feminist consciousness of those of us in the mental health field who experienced a discrepancy between our own experiences as women and those described by the psychological theories we were required to learn and apply" (Laidlaw and Malmo, 1990, p.1). During the early feminist movement, it was hoped that women would come together and meet to break the silence about their experiences of harassment, rape, incest, and other forms of victimization. This led to an acknowledgement that not all problems could be solved by political activism, but that the psychological dimension of these experiences needed also to be addressed (Malmo, 1985). For this reason, alternate routes to the formalized and impersonal mental health system were sought out and through these combined conditions hoped to shape a private and individual place for women to break their silence, begin to heal, and continue with their activism.

Psychotherapy was intended to be a place where 'all' women could come together in an equal relationship, valuing and respecting the woman as client and as a partner, who could use the therapy session to fully experience her feelings, beliefs, intentions, and behaviour supporting her movement towards a healthy growth and change (Chaplin, 1988, p.3). Laidlaw and Malmo specify three other
main components to this feminist psychotherapy. First, feminist psychotherapists valued anger as a particularly difficult emotion for 'all' women to express since they had been taught this was not 'feminine'. Secondly, they suggest that feminist psychotherapy hoped to teach women to nurture themselves, gain more friendships and continue talking about their relationship experiences in other contexts. Thirdly, feminist therapists encouraged their clients to continue to see that internal and external change was necessary so that the healthy client was also imagined to continue being an activist outside the psychotherapy session (Laidlaw and Malmo, 1990, p.5).

The historical mandates of a feminist psychotherapy that grew within the North American feminist movement suggested a kind of universality between 'all' women that denied the way in which it was constituted as a white profession. While psychotherapy is a forum through which white women can deal with expressions of feelings and issues of health and well-being, the original hoped for universality of a feminist psychotherapy is limited.

A Primarily White Clientele

As the women in the interviews now describe, their private practices are primarily white - a majority of white, middle class women as clients. Aaron says about psychotherapy:

It does strike me that it is for middle class people who can pay, it's a convenient fit that bothers me at times. A place in me wants to be more radical, working more with the people [refugees] above. It strikes me that I didn't go into social work and why....yet I seem more attracted to the one on one relationship (Aaron).
And Theresa suggests that:

Most of my practice is white women....interesting, I had always thought it was more diverse than that. I am not sure about therapy really, what its potential is or how it is limiting. If only some people can afford it, then it is clearly not really very liberating (Theresa).

White psychotherapists can set up a primarily white clientele and through the invisibility of the racial other never question this conjunction. While these women refer to the cost of psychotherapy as a barrier, this does not take into account how culture and race may be a barrier for some when the psychotherapist is white, even if cost is not. Another psychotherapist muses:

They are mostly white young women in their middle twenties- that's been the largest number that I have had. But I have had one young Black man, a sixty year old woman, and a couple of women in their forties. I have a couple now, and she's Black (Eliza).

While chapter five will address how these women worked with the minority of people of colour and Aboriginals as clients, Eliza again substantiates that the majority of their clients are white.

Maureen, Serena, Zelda and Reta also mention that while they have seen some people of colour or Aboriginals, that the majority of their practices are white, and usually white women. Laura does not mention the whiteness of her practice at all. Lize speaks clearly about access to psychotherapy:

It's not really accessible to anyone who doesn't speak English or doesn't come from that kind of framework. In a Canadian way, it's sort of white bread, middle class, not immigrant. I think that's really important, the way that people get 'othered' in therapy. Maybe they don't want to have it because it's a different avenue of healing. It might be a sign of weakness for them. It's also hard because they may not want to raise the feelings that I am white, it just feels too unsafe for them ... And on this note, I think most of the therapists I know are white. They may be Jewish or lesbian, or working class, but they are white. Most women of colour that I know who are therapists are working in agencies. So that is very significant (Lize).
Lize’s summary of the demographics of psychotherapy illustrate how it represents a singularly Western based white population. She refers to the hierarchy that exists within the helping professions that position ‘different’ women differently as professional helpers. Ophelia mentions:

Most of my clients can pay for the sessions. It’s also a primarily middle class white thing...sitting and talking. I guess with my one client, a woman of colour, we do have to work through the race thing very thoroughly (Ophelia).

While Ophelia refers to poverty as a barrier to psychotherapy, she also states that her practice is primarily white. In wanting to ‘work through the race thing very thoroughly’, Ophelia suggests that she is willing and able to confront what is necessary in her identity as a white psychotherapist and that this must happen in order to provide resistance within her work.

Despite the hope that psychotherapy can become a practice to disrupt systemic oppression, it remains rooted in a eurocentric belief in a particular form of self-reflection propelled in part by a strong North American and white feminist influence. Psychotherapy is a profession that shapes white women as private practitioners who are paid to sit, talk and reflect upon issues of health, the self and the community. This is again elucidated by one psychotherapist:

Well I think I do attract - although I am referred them [whites] - I think there is a process of attracting the kind of people you feel comfortable with and can work with. Somehow unconsciously that gets to be played out here (Beth).

Later Beth refers to therapy in its eurocentricity,

I love doing this work. I realize it’s not the majority, or the reality for most people. I guess I haven’t realized how much I have been isolated and protected from the world (Beth).
These women are describing not only the skin colour of their clients, but also the deeply rooted values that center psychotherapy within a European and Western normative.

Brandy speaks eloquently in the interview about the possibilities for resistance that psychotherapy offers. While she has stated that she would quit if she 'thought therapy was only white', she also refers primarily to white clients in her practice. In this regard, it is unclear if resistance to racism is demonstrated through an increased clientele of color or seen in a fundamental change in how the women reflect on the Western and white values of their work.

**Empathy as a Tool that Shapes the Successful Psychotherapist**

While the whiteness of these women's practices appears clear from the above stories, I will refer now to how empathy, as a primary tool of the profession, helps to regulate white and racial relations within psychotherapy.

As I have discussed in chapter three, the acts of helping that women have historically been engaged in have become professionalized in part, through the formalization and acquisition of certain 'tools of the trade'. These tools provide the helping professional with the path towards exceptional performances of helping, increased respect as a helping professional, and the ability to regulate and train others in becoming such professionals. The helping professional who applies well the tools of her trade, solidifies her place as an expert within her profession.

Empathy is such a tool for psychotherapy. I suggest that empathy is the act of being aware of, to some degree feeling and expressing something shared with another, or at the very least, providing a cognitive understanding of another's situation. Within psychotherapy, helping is not seen as the primary or
overt tool since being helpful has been transformed into the professional tool of empathy.

Theorists of psychotherapy and psychoanalysis have described empathy, a concept much debated in the psychoanalytic field, in different ways. It is defined by Moore and Fine (Berger, 1987) as:

... a special mode of perceiving the psychological state of experiences of another person. To empathize means to temporarily share, to experience the feelings of the other person. One partakes of the quality but not the quantity, the kind but not the degree of the feelings (p.6).

Alternately, object relations theorists describe empathy as "an affective intuitive process involving a temporary breach of ego boundaries and regressive, symbiotic merger" (Jordan, 1991,p. 27). Basch describes empathy as a combined collection of data including affect and formulating a structural understanding of the client's communications (Berger, 1987, p.37). Kohut (1995) speaks about empathy as vicarious introspection and as a type of observation.

Feminist theorists such as Gilligan (1982), hooks (1988), Jordan (1991), Miller (1986) and others have also revised and significantly elucidated empathy: For example, Jordan (1991) states:

It always involves a surrender and cognitive structuring ...allowing perception of the other's affective cues, verbal and nonverbal. ...thus producing a temporary identification with the other's emotional state. There is a momentary overlap of self and other representations and a resolution period in which one regains a sense of separate self that understands what has just happened (p. 29).

In particular, as the above description of feminist psychotherapy has illuminated, psychotherapy is a place in which the white woman as a psychotherapist can express to her clients her awareness of a shared experience.

The success of empathy by the psychotherapist depends upon the client feeling heard, accepting challenges to herself within an empathic context which
result in the client acting in more healthy and constructive ways. The success of empathy is measured by the client's subjective experience of well-being and actual ability to make positive decisions and necessary changes in her life. This suggests that the client must also experience a desire to accept the empathy of the psychotherapist in order for it to be useful.

In this way, acts of empathy also situate the psychotherapist within a personal realm of emotive longing and cognitive organization which are imprinted on the acts of empathy themselves. By this I mean that the quality of the acts of empathy are situated within fantasies, desires and wishes that the actor has for the receiver, for herself, and for the relationship between them. This imprinting may represent the desire for the white woman to be seen as kind and to have a superior professional success rate.

As Meyers (1994) has stated in her book, Subjection and Subjectivity, empathy becomes something we learn from others who already practice it. Women learn this from each other and their environment, and the white woman as a psychotherapist can be trained to be more empathic through her own practice and development of it as a professional skill. Therefore, expressing empathy successfully as a professional tool depends on some level of shared experience that is to some degree felt as mutual. While empathy does not have to be about being 'nice', it is about the possibility of a shared experience, listening and understanding the other.

Several women in the interviews describe empathy. It is described by Jennifer as:

The process of being with another person to really understand or be with their experience. I try to leave myself out and to merge and get into their spot. To be there in that feeling place and check out, explore, find out about their experience. I try to get my lens out of the way to be there for them (Jennifer).
Later she critiques this when she suggests:

Pity in action is really bad. My own wounded place can get in the way, I'll coddle them and take care of them, be a big person. This helps me to feel good about myself, that my care giving side is good. I am really doing something benevolent, that I'm good and will go to heaven. Its very much like a missionizing kind of process (Jennifer).

Jennifer does not discuss empathy as a way to refer to the whiteness of her work, rather she uses empathy as a way to understand the client's pain and to find a way to disrupt and heal this pain. As Nadia also suggests, empathy, "is getting as close as possible to their experience and staying there with them". As Jennifer and Nadia describe, their hope to enter into the experience of the other is a way of defining her acts of empathy, of defining herself as a good psychotherapist using its tools appropriately and ultimately, in defining herself as a good, whole and strong person. Nadia confirms this,

It is so much about our own needs as therapists. I definitely know that we all have these needs to be seen as strong, as helpful, that is some of how I get fulfilled in this work (Nadia).

Another psychotherapist states that empathy is:

...feeling one's way into the experiences of another. How can I understand what this is for you? Saying to myself...how can I apprehend the flavour of it? (Zelda)

Aaron suggests:

There is something too about that experience and how it translates into my therapy of struggling with people in their differences to try and find the common places where we can meet. And with my clients where I don't have common experiences, I have that experience through my background to find those places or to assume there are those places even if I don't recognize that (Aaron).

One might argue then, that the ongoing success of their work as psychotherapists depends on the success of their professional 'tool' as I have
historicized previously in chapter two. Given the possibility that empathy, as a primary professional tool, will be less successful when there is an increased ratio of difference, continuing to have a primarily white practice, as most of these women do, can result in the success of their professional work. While I am not suggesting that they 'seek' out primarily white clients, I am suggesting that since the setting and practice of psychotherapy is constituted within a white and Western frame, its success is regulated and reproduced in part through the use of empathy that is an attempt to 'understand' clients. Furthermore, it shapes similarity as more desirable between therapist and client. Theresa suggests:

Empathy is hard. It means that one has to be empathic about the feelings of the client towards oneself that may highlight things about oneself one doesn't want to see. If the client thinks I am being judgmental, and I explore that, then empathy requires me to understand what that means for her, and it might fundamentally show me that in that moment or in a certain way, I am being judgemental. If I don't want to acknowledge that, or don't want to see that, then how can I be empathic about the client's experience of me (Theresa)?

Pinderhughes (1989) states that the critical issue in psychotherapy is that the process should never be defined to meet the needs of the clinicians - in order to protect themselves or bolster self-esteem, a sense of competence or power (p.135).

However, empathy remains a conflicted tool. It is first, through the act of kindness and helping, that the white woman is historically constituted as a professional helper; and second, it is through this practice that she gains a professional status and respectability; and third, it is the subjective experience of the client within psychotherapy through which the professional use of empathy will be more successful. Brandy, who calls herself a feminist therapist at the time of the interview, concurs:
There is a lot tied up with being a professional. There are layers and layers of meaning within that, what it means for us to be good therapists... we want to be a safe warm nurturing container for the client (Brandy).

The fiction of empathy within psychotherapy is that its success depends on the level of shared experience that occurs between the white women involved in its practice. While some might suggest that psychotherapy is accidentally or innocently white, I would agree that it is white because empathy as a professional tool used by the majority of white women psychotherapists reproduces and regulates its whiteness.

Further, the psychotherapist's desire for respectability within her profession would accentuate her frequent successful use of empathy, thus again producing whiteness as desirable and a visible representation of who is normative within psychotherapy. The desire for respectability is shaped by the more frequent contact and proximity to those clients who are also seen as 'respectable' and are not associated, for example, with the jungle, the field and the forest. Seeing the predominant cleanliness and whiteness of the psychotherapy setting removes the private psychotherapist from the more dirty, public and community based associations that have historically created in relation to marginalized peoples. Thus, empathy can sustain and regulate a more respectable practice for the white psychotherapist who is already situated in a more private and elite profession. Another psychotherapist reflects on the therapist's needs to be empathic and giving:

One can have selfish desires in being empathic, but that is not empathy at all. The exercise of being empathic brings us to our narcissistic vulnerabilities at times. It's more acute with someone who is radically different. We have our own needs in that openness and our desire for sameness. We have something invested in that sameness and it hurts when that is broken (Laura).
Laura reflects how central empathy can be to the 'narcissistic vulnerabilities' of the psychotherapist. True empathy, she suggests, does not lead the psychotherapist to her own needs.

I argue that this 'narcissistic vulnerability' is also the narcissism of a white profession that depends on and produces whiteness, and on the relative invisibility of the racial other, in order to ensure its existence and respectability. I return to this point later and turn now again to the women's stories about empathy.

Reta's hope to 'understand the other' is situated in a practice that she says is mostly white. She says:

I believe that empathy is when you get as close as you can to another person's experience. What is important is expressing the attempt to get close, so this expression is very important. It is making the other person see that you want to understand them, and to let them know that at least one person has heard them, or really tried (Reta).

Wanting to be seen as an understanding person is as relevant for the psychotherapist, as being understood is for the client. Given the context of race, this can be difficult. As Lorde (1980) has stated, "... as white women ignore their built in privilege of whiteness and define 'woman' in terms of their own experience alone, then women of colour become 'other', the outsider whose experience and tradition is too alien to comprehend" (p.117). This suggests that 'understanding' others can be mutually difficult. What Lorde describes continues to signify psychotherapy as a profession that "...fosters essentialism...so that women, and people of colour, are implicitly viewed as belonging to mutually exclusive categories, rendering women of colour invisible" (Grillo, 1991, n.a.).

Since North American feminist psychotherapy was based on the idea of women having 'shared experiences' about patriarchy, then empathy between
white women will be most successful when there is more rather than less shared experience. This makes empathy more difficult and less successful as a professional tool when it occurs outside of white professional and even white female client relationships.

Again, this form of racial regulation is relevant not only for the professional work of these women and can also be seen as intimately linked to their historical constitution as helpers. Walkerdine (1990) has suggested that growing up was not easy for girls, because they could see that their "mothers were not powerfully in control of their world either" (p. 154). As she writes, "...anything about wanting or demanding had to be suppressed as 'pathetic' (p. 154). The act of 'wanting' and 'giving' was sublimated as children and represents what was split from expression. For example, feeling anger or unhappiness, according to Walkerdine, was split off from expression, yet re-emerges as a transformed version of power later in women's acts of kindness - constructed in this thesis as a form of power within the helping professions.

This professionalization of kindness appears to make 'respectable' the early childhood needs of 'wanting' and 'giving' that Walkerdine suggests were sublimated, removed and suppressed for young girls. The professionalized acts of empathy in therapy make the white woman 'respectable' as she now professionally practices and teaches her clients the very task of coming to terms with their own desires and wants within herself, were sublimated as a child. Psychotherapy becomes a profession of bringing to life the feelings lost through a patriarchal oppression.

In this way, women's status can be said to revolve around disrupting and re-naming feelings and desires sublimated long ago. I argue that the health of white women within North America, through the promotion of North American feminism, and through the promotion of psychotherapy, has come to matter. It is
useful and beneficial because it provides a space for white women to work through their issues of health and well-being. The profession of psychotherapy is a site of resistance against patriarchy for these white women that marks the permission of real feelings sublimated in childhood. It identifies that psychotherapy tends to the health of white women in a way that has come to be seen as acceptable. As a psychotherapist, the white woman enacts the now more respectable role of working with the emotional manifestations of an 'ill' (patriarchal) society as it relates to her clients.

The respectability that is shaped for the white woman within this role is not only based on a professionalized production of expressing childhood sublimations for the white woman as client, but respectability for the white woman psychotherapist is also built upon the way that the profession makes invisible and segregates the racial other. As I will discuss, evoking sublimated feelings is core to therapy (and core to a feminist mandate for 'all' women within psychotherapy) and yet it remains the privilege of those who can afford it and to those who choose to enter into psychotherapy with a white woman. Thus, feelings of anger, self-care, and activism that North American feminist-based psychotherapy hoped to produce for the universal women, does not include the expression of these feelings in a professional setting by the racial other. While feminism, and North American feminist psychotherapy in particular, has made respectable the feelings of white women, I argue that this exclusion still marks how it has fallen short of addressing the presence, economy and feelings of the person of colour and the Aboriginal.

As I will discuss, since the racial other does not often work as a psychotherapist and only rarely as a client in the profession of psychotherapy, this enacts a system that reproduces the racial other and her expression of anger, self-care and activism as not respectable as the feelings of the white
women involved in this profession. While psychotherapists and clients of colour may be found within the more community based agencies, the status and respectability of forms of expression there do not match the more elite quality associated with the private and clean office of the psychotherapist. This hierarchical expression of emotions in the context of race is not an intention or a goal of psychotherapy, but it is the result of a highly systematized and historically racialized society. Psychotherapy gives the white woman the option of a clean private setting within which to understand her place in society, and since there is no such recognizable and respectable space designed for the racial other (and other marginalized people), this reproduces the conditions that shape normative notions of health and well-being in a specifically racialized way.

I continue at a later point to delineate more specifically how these divisions represent historical forms of racialization. I must first describe how the women in the interviews defined psychotherapy for themselves, so that their stories can later provide a better text through which to understand the process of racialization through the profession of psychotherapy.

**The Women and the Interviews : Definitions of Psychotherapy**

The women in the interviews discussed psychotherapy as a form of resistance against patriarchy and against formal institutions of health education and service. Throughout the following stories, while empathy is not overtly discussed, it is the professional tool that operationalizes how these three goals can be achieved and can mark the success of the psychotherapist in achieving these three goals. I do not refer to empathy in these definitions, but return to it in the final discussion.
The mandate of a North American feminism became a central influence in the work of feminists who were also psychotherapists, and even when the women in the interviews do not call themselves feminists, the influences of this movement can be detected within their definitions of and access to psychotherapy. The profession came to be seen as another way to disrupt what was unhealthy for the universal woman about the patriarchy, but keeps invisible the expression of feelings by the racial other. Literature on feminist psychotherapy is still one of the primary resources for many psychotherapists, whether they describe themselves as feminist or not. Landmark texts such as those of Gilligan (1994), Greenspan (1983), and Miller (1976) specifically discussed white women in their work of psychotherapy.

Some of the women spoke directly to a feminist understanding in their definitions of psychotherapy. Theresa says:

I guess the way it started, I had seen my mother go through a lot, and my own ability to read people was pretty good, which I learned at home, and so it became something I could put to use as a therapist. I felt that I could help to change the world, in my own little way, that I could have an impact on other women who were also feeling the way I had, or had gone through what we had (Theresa).

As Goldhor-Lemer (1988) has also stated, "... it is precisely the impact of patriarchy [that] is so profound and pervasive that it is not possible to fully comprehend how it shapes our theoretical assumptions and our practice of psychotherapy" (p. xxi). Lize stated:

Therapy is about healing people. If they think they are coming into therapy to fit better into society, forget it, it's about learning to be different and not feeling crazy or getting sick because of it. I'm not trying to make people fit in better, because in some ways, therapy only makes that worse (Lize).
Here, Serena defines her practice of psychotherapy:

I guess its looking at memories, memories of incest and things that have happened to people. Those are experiences you can't change and they do affect you in a social setting as well. You know, like abuse and trauma ...I think therapy is about change and healing, and some kind of personal development (Serena).

Goldhor-Lerner goes on later to describe that "women may participate as vigorously in their own depreciation as do men" (p.5) and, as Serena suggests, psychotherapy hopes to disrupt this depreciation. Reta states:

Therapy can be about education. Sometimes it's about educating people that the system stinks. Sometimes its about their families. I feel deeply that therapy can be about mending some broken parts of ourselves that come out of an unhealthy society (Reta).

Jennifer adds:

I guess for me its partly about making women stronger. Men too, but I really want to work with women and teach them that they can be healthier and stronger (Jennifer).

Nora called herself a feminist in the interview and comments on psychotherapy:

I do believe it is about deep change in terms of clarity and accepting people. It is not an overtly political front, but saying its not political is very political. Educating people and empowering people I think goes hand in hand. However, there is no onus on the therapist to upgrade her systemic analysis (Nora).

These women are describing how psychotherapy can educate clients, empower women or change society for the better. This is described by the theorist, Chaplin, as:
Not only about living more fully in the present...but working towards the future. It is training men and women for a society that does not yet exist; a society where feminine values are valued as much as so-called masculine ones. ...Feminist counselling rejects the prevailing hierarchical model of thinking, and recognizes the interconnection between different, even opposite, sides of life....It is struggling towards greater justice and equality. It is about respecting and celebrating differences such as female/male, Black/white (Chaplin, 1988, p.6).

The mandate of such a feminist psychotherapy is clearly about a renewed vision of society that disrupts oppression. It is also a contemporary version of what historical white women practiced in the period of social and moral reform.

Ophelia defines her approach to therapy:

I find that I first go for this human element. Although I recognize differences, I really try to join with the person on where they are at. So then after a while, we can open up other issues and discuss other things. Then it's about opening someone up to the potential for life, moving a blocked piece of energy and getting out of a stuck place. Images that come up for me are about getting unstuck and shifting a sense of self. My history in a family with broken bodies and diseases, alcoholism and the negative affects of that, brought me to this profession, wanting something to be different, wanting something to be noticed. I feel that therapy has a large educational component to it and looking at social issues and how people hold onto stereotypes. It's not just about individual's mental health but also about a community's sense of health (Ophelia).

Her definition is reflected in the mandate of feminist psychotherapy, whether she calls herself a feminist or not. Aaron comments on her work with one female client:

We spend a lot of time seeing how she can gain some control in her life, a sense of identity, how she can express her femininity in a healthier way. This has been a place of discovery for myself as well...empowerment, feminist issues and control in my own life. So, my clients are actually helping me to determine a feminist stance (Aaron).

Her intent for psychotherapy is based on the influences of feminism that hoped to empower 'all' women and oppressed people. This definition assumes a universality to women and suggests that her definition of psychotherapy is
embedded in the common cause of disrupting patriarchy. For example, after reviewing that feminist psychotherapy grew out of a resistance towards Freud's work and patriarchal oppression, Laidlaw and Malmo (1990) state:

As women began feeling safe in disclosing their pain to other women, they also looked for alternative therapeutic resources that would support their struggle to heal. As we, the therapists, listened to and worked with these women, the more we began to understand what they needed in order to become psychologically healthy and strong. As such, [feminist therapists] validate the clients' experiences, encourage them to fully examine their feelings, beliefs, intentions, and behaviour, and support their movement toward healthy growth and change (p.3).

Again, such a feminist psychotherapy included a re-visioning of society, and while it proposed to undo oppressions, it did little towards shaping theories and practices that understood anti-racism, a practice that was not only white and North American based. As white women were becoming helping professionals, as they began to understand their place in patriarchy, and as psychotherapy grew out of a resistance to psychoanalysis and patriarchy, it became a new kind of reform project that the imagined universal woman, and these real white women, could take on as their own. Brandy, for example, chose psychotherapy over her original shelter work because:

It was just handing out stupid stickers and band-aids. The shelters re-victimise women and set her up for more violence and it just drove me nuts. I needed to find a way to work with what I saw as injuries and violence. That actually I could find some hope of liberty from all the shelters and everything (Brandy).

Later she describes her hope for psychotherapy:

If I can help someone see that the violence is not about them, and if they have that kind of knowledge inside them, all the time, then that's what I think my job is. I can't liberate the whole world, I can liberate people in a world that is fairly entrenched in keeping them oppressed. But I do think therapy can be profoundly liberating (Brandy).
As Greenspan (1983) has suggested, a feminist psychotherapy proposes to encourage 'all' women's anger towards systemic oppression, to allow them to focus on the ways they have been oppressed and to examine the impact this has on their bodies, their relationships, and their health while finding new options. A feminist psychotherapy hopes to empathize with the plight of 'all' women so that this solidarity can educate the client on the oppression of patriarchal systems.

**Spirituality as Contemporary Mission in Psychotherapy**

For several of the women interviewed, the practice of psychotherapy was not necessarily intended to disrupt patriarchy nor be a feminist practice. For these women, it was intended to be a place to develop a spiritual healthfulness. While the history of psychotherapy as a profession can be marked by the influences of North American feminism, this section acknowledges that an evangelical thread remains where psychotherapy continues to be a form of spiritual healing for the following women.

In this way, psychotherapy offers another important conjunction to the historical practices of mission work performed by white women within the Christian church. As mission work became a professional and community practice of helping, the spiritual aspects of mission work were translated into the practices of helping. For example, some women in these interviews felt that when they became helping professionals, this felt 'right' as if it were a 'calling'. In the following stories their own visions for their work as helping professionals takes on an evangelical tone. Thus, psychotherapy can offer the opportunity for the white women practitioners to continue practicing a contemporary form of 'mission work' - the 'mission' of working towards a higher mental and emotional health, professing the value of self-reflection and spiritual integration through the privatized forum of psychotherapy.
I now refer to the women's stories from the interviews who describe psychotherapy not as a place for social change, rather as a place to discuss and reflect upon a spiritual practice. While the above women spoke openly about social change through psychotherapy, these women addressed the spiritual value of psychotherapy. I will suggest that this kind of reflection again marks the ways in which psychotherapy offers services to white women that it does not make available to people who do not have access.

Here, Aaron reflects on how a renewed form of mission work enters into her work as a psychotherapist:

At times, in terms of differences, Christianity has come up with a couple of clients. So we struggle around issues about God, issues of their childhood, especially if they've had bad experiences, how to make sense of it all (Aaron).

While psychotherapists are not missionaries, they are confronted with issues of spirituality in the 'healing' process that reflect a more contemporary spiritual mission than that of the historically elite woman. Aaron suggests that within her primarily white and female practice, women reflect on religion and spirituality as part of their hope for 'health'. As Burton (1994) states about British feminist activism, which is "the equivalent of earning the privilege of conferring salvation" (p. 210), so psychotherapy becomes a privilege of conferring a new kind of individualistic and health centered salvation upon the client. The white woman becomes a kind and moral guide hoping to free the client towards a renewed and stronger sense of self. On the subject of her transition from shelter work to psychotherapy, Brandy repeats:

I had started the shelter work because I wanted to see what was possible in the world for change...to be an organizer of that. But it was just as much a piece of the cloth as anything else....it's always the responsibility of the middle class to make the world a better place. Christian duty, but also
what comes from my socialist farming background. I think at the heart of it all is that the world is really a crappy place and it doesn't have to be that way (Brandy).

Brandy describes how difficult it is for white women to leave behind how they have historically been constituted as guardians of health, spiritual matters and social change. Beth, who claims to have primarily white clients, refers to her therapeutic approach as one that involved spirituality. In her case, this is without an obvious feminist politic.

Spirituality is a big part of it. There is the human and the divine, so although we talk a lot about spirit, we also talk about the basic human experience. We didn't work so much in a social context, it was just more the experience of man and community. So coming to the Institute for more training was like entering into the real world, people coping with the world. We [previous training] used to work a lot with themes of death and resurrection, but at the same time there are these harsh realities...the political stuff. Maybe when you are in the middle class you have the luxury of thinking about these things and for some people that is not even possible. So, this is new to me, not everybody can do this (Beth).

Beth's story indicates that for some of these women, spirituality is the primary concern. Laidlaw and Malmo (1990) mirror this evangelical tone when they suggest that "...the client has an innate ability to heal herself....and the transformation process is a natural one" (p.321). This suggests that the presence of a psychotherapist who guides and facilitates the client will tap into natural healing resources that some of these women speak about as spiritual. This activity reflects historical patterns of work for white women, in that they tended to people's Christian souls during the reform, and later worked in agencies to promote a normative description of health for others. Psychotherapy assumes a similar mandate of health and spiritual guidance for these psychotherapists.

Similarly, Lize states,

I think its about loving people. It's not about all this other stuff, its about loving people and not hating (Lize).
Lize's reference is clearly one of a lifestyle ethic. Maureen's definition of psychotherapy suggests a similar privilege of reflection on health and meaning:

I guess my goals are to help somebody work through different parts of themselves they don't know. Integrating those parts, being aware of their emotions and their process. It is a more integrated place within themselves that can then be moved in terms of connecting in other relationships. It feels like a privilege, working with people. I get a sort of a sense of specialness out of it. It is very touching to see people move into a better place of self-esteem and making changes in their lives. I feel that the work I am doing is meaningful, that I am making a difference in people's lives. It is worthwhile and I get a personal sense of satisfaction out of it, like I am contributing in a positive way (Maureen).

These stories signify how psychotherapy makes a professional space through which these women and their clients can have a personalized spiritual reflection.

Theresa states:

There is something profoundly meaningful about watching someone change. Watching them 'see the light' for the first time. It feels like we've connected into something beyond ourselves.....I also knew that I felt really good when I was there for others. I knew that this was something I was good at and that other people had commended me on my ability to be present despite a crisis, or to have clear insights about what people were going through (Theresa).

While "moral reformers played an important role in the development of urban social work in Canada" (Valverde, 1991, p.129), so too the psychotherapist could play an important role in the development of a spiritual and personal transformation; for some, participating in a resistance against patriarchy and for others, tending to the spiritual needs of their clients.
In Summary: The Successful Psychotherapist

The above definitions of psychotherapy both by the women in the interviews and through the literature have suggested that there might be three primary goals within psychotherapy. First, the psychotherapist may see psychotherapy as a site for resistance where any woman can come together with another professional woman and work towards a disruption of oppressive systems - in particular, patriarchy. Second, the psychotherapist may hope to provide the client with an opportunity to move towards greater health and well-being, building a stronger sense of self in relation to other people. At times, this may be viewed as part of 'resistance', but not all therapists described it in this way. Thirdly and lastly, the psychotherapist may feel that her role is advisory in a spiritual capacity providing the client with an opportunity to discuss questions and issues related to spirituality.

The result for these women as professionals is that this work determines a real privilege as elevated helpers. There are again three ways that this privilege can be demonstrated. First, the women are employed in a professional and private practice that provides them with a kind of privilege. They are knowledgeable about health and well-being, disrupting patriarchy, or working within a spiritual frame. This parallels some of the practices engaged in by elite women in the Christian mission. While psychotherapy is not only about 'mission' work around health, some of its professional practices can be traced to have historical significance in this regard.

Second, the women's privilege is marked by their achievement of a deep sense of fulfillment performing a profession that they have stated constitutes a core sense of valuing themselves as kind and good people. Having access to professional work that includes helping and marks their personal sense of wholeness reflects how imperial discourses shaped the appropriate and
‘feminine’ practices of the historical white woman. It is the access their whiteness provides for them through which access to other forms of respectability can be gained. However, other marginal identifications can contradict the privilege shaped by their whiteness so that they are once again placed in a position of greater vulnerability.

Finally, their privilege is marked since they have primarily white practices and do not work with many 'less fortunate others' as was the case with the historical elite woman in Canada in the 1900's. I have suggested that this fact evolves in part, from a successful professional use of empathy.

Thus, psychotherapy is not only defined by skin colour but also, as Stoler (1995) suggests, by "the matters of leisure, power and privilege" (p. 187). The European woman of leisure, now in Canadian form, is able to engage in activities that are privately paid for and that cleanse her body and soul. These 'purifying ceremonies' are ceremonies that defined a Eurocentric notion of femininity and how the middle class white woman was supposed to act (p. 188). As I have suggested earlier, marking her as a woman of leisure both succeeded in marking her proximity to the white man and in removing herself from the more 'natural' and 'jungle' representation of the person of colour. This apparent leisure marks how a North American feminism has made more respectable the place of psychotherapy as a place that tends to the sublimated feelings and economic realities of white women who can and choose to access this service. While this is not a deficit in itself, when white women choose to access and then benefit from psychotherapy, this reflects how psychotherapy can continue to constitute the practices that mark proximity to what is considered most colonial and dominant. This in turn continues to shape their respectability.
**Where is the Racial Other?**

The result of this combination for the person of colour or the Aboriginal is as follows: Firstly, as a professional helper or as someone looking for a 'mental health service', the interviewees have demonstrated that people of colour and Aboriginals are neither the professional nor very often the consumer in their practices. One hypothesis I have presented is that women of colour who are helping professionals are being placed in lower end, less respectable and well paying agency and community work. I suggest that their work may be defined by the examples of social work, crisis intervention, community services. As well, these services may be where people of colour or Aboriginals (as clients) look for the mental health care whose service cost is also carried by the government. These conditions begin to shape such mental health agencies as a potential 'health ghetto' of the person of colour and the Aboriginal. This regulation of racialized bodies leaves the white woman as a professional helper free to practice with others within the comparatively quiet and private setting of her office.

Another form of spatial and racial segregation marks the white woman psychotherapist as a more elevated helping professional. The racial other can be seen to be a professional helper, however, this is in her work as a domestic or a nanny. Bakan and Stasiulus (1995) remark that middle class and white "parents who work evenings or on weekends... have contributed towards a growing demand for full-time live-in caregivers. ...[and] most such applicants for in-home care giving positions are recruited from overseas" (p. 308). While I did not ask the women in the interviews about their personal adult lives, about their children and child-care concerns, the general professionalization of white women within the helping professions must be contributing towards the same demands for their child care as Bakan and Stasiulus have indicated for other professions. Bakan
and Stasiulus go on to state, "...because of the poor working conditions associated with providing live-in care, few workers in advanced states seek this source of employment if any other labour is available" (p. 308). This highlights how the poor working conditions of the domestic worker's helping work makes more possible the elevated helping work of other white women. This marks how the racial other's domestic or nanny work promotes the Western white woman who can become both a mother and a professional at the same time.

While domestic workers have traditionally been from the Caribbean (Calliste, 1991, p.138), Bakan and Stasiulus (1995) suggest that a newer trend in this profession is for families to ask for European caregivers (p. 310). This desire for primarily white professionals within all more respectable forms of the helping professions illustrates a powerful (one could say economically violent) racialized hierarchy amongst women of colour. This marks the hierarchy between all women within the helping professions that continues to reproduce racially discriminating selections around employment and ultimately, the ongoing construction of the racial other within low paid and less respectable places of work.

Reproducing Images of Race

These professional and spatial segregations regulate not only the economic factors within professional helping work, but function to regulate images and projections of race as well. While white women are seen to be practicing their work as private practitioners primarily with other whites, the racial other who is involved in less privileged helping appears to be 'less refined' or 'culturally different' and appears to be involved in marginalized forms of helping, health and cleaning/housekeeping work. Through their differently respected economic placements as domestics or as agency workers, the racial other can
be under threat of being constituted as someone who is not interested in the more elite practice of self-reflection. This may continue to mark the racial other as someone who appears to be less refined and less representational of Eurocentric norms for relationships, health and well-being.

When the racial other is economically situated in less well paid or respectable places of work, it becomes increasingly possible for "... the dominant group [to make] itself through imagining itself as everything the Other is not " (Razack and Fellows, 1998, p. 343). The whiteness of psychotherapy can be denied, and it becomes the practice of sitting and reflecting that appears not to appeal to the marginalized or racialized other. It is the systemically constructed and historically defined whiteness of the profession and its professionals that reproduces the invisibility and therefore, the racialized production, of the racial other within the hierarchy of the helping professions.

As Stoler (1995) states:

The cultivation of the European bourgeois self in the colonies required other bodies that would perform those nurturing services. It was a gendered body and a dependent one [that shaped] the politics of class and race (p. 111).

**The Porcelain Good Fairy: Back to Empathy**

As I have stated, the proper and good use of empathy will define the success of the psychotherapist. A good use of empathy suggests 'understanding' some degree of shared experiences with the client - not always agreeing or being kind, but understanding. The greater the capacity to understand the client, the more successful the therapists use of empathy will be. This in turn provides the therapist with more clientele and this marks her reputation as a good
professional. The better these women exercise their professional tool of empathy the more elevated they become as professional helpers and this in turn, marks their respectability within the hierarchy of the helping professions. As professionals, it also ultimately marks their respectability within imperial discourses.

This professional use of empathy functions to make the therapist look like a good professional (i.e., she is understanding, she gets more clients, she hones her use of empathy through training, she gets more clients) and therefore, she is constructed in a place that appears innocent by the terms of her profession as a helper and by using the professionalized tools of kindness available to her there. In particular, empathy does not sound like a bad thing - it sounds good and kind and 'fairy-like'.

At the same time, 'too much difference' produces a difficulty for empathy and difficulty for success and reputation. This marks how these women may be achieving a 'toehold on respectability' as indicated by Razack and Fellows (1998). The white woman appears innocent, but through these conditions regulates the respectability of white women's expression of feelings and regulates the respectability of her place within the hierarchy of the helping professions.

In this way, the successful use of empathy by these white women in their private practices with other whites may appear to be about nothing but an appropriate, innocent and successful performance of her profession. Through her professional work on health and well-being, she can be constructed as relatively innocent and as a good professional. The good fairy fantasy of the young girl child in Walkerdine's (1990) study emerges. Particularly when the white psychotherapist has not been educated on her racial identity, and the history of the helping professions, she is at risk of performing whiteness as
invisible within the sessions with her white and non-white clients. Thus, empathy becomes something that cannot disrupt whiteness and this colludes with how psychotherapy comes to be constituted as primarily white.

While I did not ask the women in the interviews about their transition into psychotherapy, I suggest that this transition may be linked to their desire to elevate their status as helpers and to sustain themselves as innocent in one way or another. This is the elusive nature of how a profession can appear innocently white, while in fact basing its practices and assumptions on the nature of its (in)visible whiteness.

It appears that it may be a professional risk for the white woman to take on clients where there is more difference, less shared experience, and where her empathy will be more difficult to practice. Not only would this risk shape the success of empathy within her practice (thereby altering her real privilege) - risking to hear the suppressed and sublimated feelings of the racial other and helping the racial other to become stronger may hypothetically risk the fragmentation of a core sense of self that has historically depended on the neediness and the imagined less refined racial other. Making her practice less white, acknowledging how her successful practice depends upon whiteness, risks un-making her as a 'white woman' and possibly, breaking into pieces the porcelain and omnipotent good little fairy.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has situated the emergence and hope of a North American feminist psychotherapy as resistance against patriarchy and traditional versions of psychoanalysis. I have suggested that not only does psychoanalysis render the voices of women invisible, but a North American feminist psychotherapy also
normalizes and solidifies the context of a European, white and bourgeois professional practice. This can be seen to provide the white woman with an entry point and access into the field and profession of psychotherapy. While she has been pathologized and marginalized on the basis of gender, it is how she is now situated as a respectable and elevated helping professional, against the regulated presence of the racial other, that she continues to be a kind, helping and respectable white woman.

The next chapter will discuss how exceptions within psychotherapy - the minority of clients of colour the women in the interviews talked about were integrated as a cultural other into their private work.
Chapter Five:
The 'Exceptional' Client - The Racial Other

Introduction

The previous chapters have explored how historically white women in Canada have gained access to the helping professions and more specifically, how the contemporary women in the interviews have continued gaining access to their educational training and the professional practice of psychotherapy.

In this chapter I will explore how the women in the interviews discuss the 'exceptions' - the racial other as client - within their predominantly white practices. When I refer to the racial other as an 'exception' herein, it is not to refer to their racial status as 'exceptional'. It is to state that due to a predominantly white number of clients the racial other as client occurs in less numbers and becomes 'the exception' to the white clients of these women. The term 'exceptional' could thus be historicized. However, I use this term to refer to the low numbers of racial others within these psychotherapy practices.

I will also establish the presence and invisibility of the racial other within psychoanalytic theories, feminist literature on psychotherapy, cross cultural counselling literature, and within the interviews of the contemporary women. I begin by summarizing how psychoanalytic thought has been race biased followed by the limitations of literature by North American feminist psychotherapists. Since the North American feminist movement does not address well enough the issue of race within psychotherapy, I refer to the literature that has emerged as 'cross cultural counselling' which is a primary resource for psychotherapists working with the racial other. However, I will argue that even this literature continues to other the non-white client.
With regards to the interviews, two primary strategies occur in order to integrate the racial other into the women's clinical work. First, they romanticize/demonize or mystify the racial other, and second, they avoid the racial differences in the session altogether. By employing these strategies, the white professional attempts to work with racial and cultural differences; however, these strategies also continue to mark the respectability of the white helping professional. This section will focus on how these women's strategies to negotiate the presence of the racial other can both heighten their successful professional work or alternately, problematize their clinical work, making the successful use of empathy more difficult. The presence of the racial other client, who occurs only as an exception within these practices and in relation to the white psychotherapist, continues to mark historically racialized relationships.

Finally, I will discuss how these fifteen white women began to speak about their desire for innocence through an acknowledgement of their whiteness. I will conclude by stating that psychotherapy is a profession that continues to mark an imperialist territory that shapes how the interviewees as psychotherapists have access to a form of privatized health care, how this shapes them as professionally and personally 'more' respectable and kind, and how this construction depend upon a majority of white clients and a particular othered image of the person of colour who occurs only as an exception within their private practices. I begin now with a description of psychoanalytic thought as it relates to race.
Psychoanalytic Thought

Psychoanalytic thought emerged from the elite European culture that Freud was a part of and did not take into account the standpoint of women (Herman, 1992). At the same time, it did not take into account how its theories were based on a racial construction both for its white members and the racial other.

Freud theorizes on the psyche and the therapeutic relationship began an introspection into the unconscious, into family dynamics, development stages, the self and definitions of pathologies from a European perspective (Herman, 1992). As Hermann explains, Freud, Breuer and others were central in uncovering a language and a beginning conceptualization for the unconscious processes of specific European groups. Within this sphere, Freud developed the idea of fantasy and projection as based within a medical model of drive theory. Central to his theory of development (oral, anal, phallic, latent and then genital) was the initial contemplation that his elite white female hysteric clients were entertaining incestuous memories (Herman, 1992). He soon renounced this finding on recommendation of his colleagues, many of whose daughters were his clients, and developed the theory of drive, penis envy, castration fears and fantasies situated in the unconscious. To many feminist scholars, and through more current research on the reality of incest, this appeared to be an institutional attempt to erase the real memories of incest Freud's clients had first described (Herman, 1992, p.30).

As I have already provided, a feminist critique of Freud in chapter four, I turn here to how current writers on race have begun to critique psychoanalytic theorists for pathologizing and neglecting the presence of the racial other. For a further examination on issues of race and psychoanalysis, Richards (1997) provides an extensive historical review of how psychology and psychoanalysis
have shaped racialized subjects. These more current critiques of an early psychoanalysis reflect that theories of hysteria or multiple personalities, the family triad (id/ego/super-ego) and ego development, just to name examples, suggested a process through which an intrinsic normative set of elite values was compared to the invisible or even visible values that were linked to the racial other.

Deleuze and Guattari (1992) refer to the racialized discussion of the Oedipal triangle - the ego/id/superego - introduced by Freud as central to an understanding of the psyche (p.38). They suggest that the presence of the father, mother and child in the Oedipal triangle itself refers to an already solidified social structure - that of the European bourgeois family. They suggest that this reference point as central to psychical formation is constructed within an ideology of the modern bourgeoisie and reflects this ideology more than it does any true or universal psychical structure. As White (1972) explains, Black psychology is needed to explain the "dynamics of the Black home, family, hero, role models, language systems, work and time management... a Black person who is not suspicious of the white culture is pathologically denying certain objective realities of the Black experience" (p.49). Psychoanalytic theories on the psyche that emerged out of a European context cannot sufficiently do what White demands. Theories that emerge from this context propose to resolve societal or individual problems according to a legitimation and organization of the European elite and white nuclear family leaving out how and where the racial other as marginalized or as pathologized participated in its construction.

Further research is required on how one might also understand the historical emergence of the concepts of 'super-ego, the ego and the id'. While exploring this in detail is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is clear that Freud's superego, as discipline and moral order, and the id, as the natural instinct, might
be casting elite values of discipline (the superego) against those perceived to constitute the natural and racial other (the id). This process of framing discipline versus instinct can also be historicized as a reflection of elite themes of racialization in relation to the normative European elite (Littlewood, 1992). As Littlewood suggests, both the expression of the superego and the id can be found in all cultures, despite the Eurocentric historicization of the racial other as a representative of what is considered to be more 'natural' and 'instinctive'.

For example, Littlewood (1992) refers to the white Western young man who takes a drug overdose, shoplifts or baby snatches (p. 46). He argues that this 'id' like form of release cannot be related to issues of being white, but must be seen as specific to a societal and cultural context. On the other hand, he suggests that in Trinidad, "the annual carnival is described as a necessary opportunity to release pressure, a healthy catharsis which prevents ...building up worries and anger inside oneself" (p. 46). While both examples demonstrate what Littlewood refers to as an instinctive 'id-like' reaction, he suggests that neither example can be defined in terms of race. He states that both examples are 'natural' expressions related to the 'id' and can be defined as positive or pathological in either cultural context without referring to specific racial representations. Herein he hopes to disrupt how the racial other may symbolize the traditional 'id' suggesting that all cultures can mark their own 'id-like' pathologies but that race, as a category, cannot. The 'id' cannot be predetermined by racialized discourses so that "the extent to which we extend our notions of pathology and thus therapy is hardly predetermined" (p. 46).

Therefore, the function of a Eurocentric theory on pathology, health or the psyche cannot be generalized as race specific since each culture has its own forms of pathology and health. This limits the extent to which a psychoanalytic and Western health norm can be referred to as centrally diagnostic. Littlewood's
anthropological exploration suggests that by limiting our definitions of individual and social health, for example according to frames that mark the white European and North American as normative, we "omit a full range of ... meanings, concentrating on a selected core to prove our case in advance" (p. 46).

As Deleuze and Guattari (1992) and Littlewood's (1992) critique above suggest, psychoanalytic theories refer to, not only a male centered perspective, but also to a primarily white and bourgeois context upon which their normativity relies. Psychoanalytic theorists hoped to define the psyche in universal ways for all people but perhaps merely substantiated the discursive, material and ideological environment of the Viennese bourgeoisie (Pellegrini, 1997). This has continued in contemporary form to predetermine who could exemplify both what is seen as civilized and what is seen as normative health. Blowers (1993), Henriques (1984), Kareem (1992), Shohat (1991) and can be referred to for further discussion on the false universality of psychoanalytic theories.

White Feminist Psychotherapists and Race

As I have already critiqued in chapter four, North American feminism also hoped to resist these patriarchally based psychoanalytic theories. Feminism began to reshape how women's development was understood in contrast to what psychoanalytic thought had proposed. It was invested in exploring how women could find public and private spaces to talk about their experiences and how these were intended to disrupt and specifically re-define what had traditionally been a male centered perspective on health and well-being (see Chodorow, 1989; Klein, 1988; Malmo, 1985; Miller, 1976). As I have argued, North American
feminism resisted patriarchy on the notion of a universal 'sisterhood' that could stand in solidarity.

Psychotherapy was one manifestation of this resistance. As chapter four has delineated, psychotherapy was imagined to be a space through which 'all' women could engage in an expression and disruption of oppressive societal relations and discourses. It was seen to be a site through which feminist theories on women's development could be explored and exercised. North American feminist literature began to articulate the need for feminists to disrupt patriarchal constructions of identity and health from the standpoint of the 'universal' woman. Psychotherapy was seen as one such possible site.

However, as I have illustrated, the profession of psychotherapy continues to constitute white women as normative within general definitions of health, it potentially marks them as a kind of expert on 'all' women's health, and it further marks their privilege and respectability within the hierarchy of the helping professions. In the contemporary and Canadian setting of this thesis, the private site and the professional practices associated with psychotherapy continue to mark how the white body is seen as concerned with self-improvement whereas the racial other, designated to other helping sites within the community, is seen as less interested and involved in the same Western practices. This practice of psychotherapy continues to be constituted as white and therefore, continues to refer to similarly (although less dominant) elite imperialist descriptors as does a traditional psychoanalytic theory.

As I now refer to the feminist literature on psychotherapy and the racial other as well as how their presence continues to be marginalized within this literature base, I will also refer to some of the stories told by the women in the interviews. The stories describe what these contemporary women saw as their hope for an emancipatory yet limited psychotherapy. This discussion illuminates
the presence of the racial other within a North American feminist frame that hoped to disrupt oppressions.

Nora states:

Even feminist theory [about psychotherapy] is very conservative... and it certainly does not have a racist and class analysis - not as I hear it discussed, so that I find that very [disillusioning] (Nora).

Many feminist psychotherapists hoped to enter into a profession that supported a disruption of patriarchy. Yet, as they step through the door into the clean and private office of psychotherapy, white women step into the practices that depend upon the culturalized and racialized regulation of white and non-white bodies. It has been said that "too often psychotherapists have entered the counselling relationship unmindful of the intrusion of their excessive, white, middle-class, cultural baggage" (Boyd, 1990, p.155). However, this neglects an examination of how psychotherapy as a field is defined and shaped by a whiteness that goes beyond just the body of the psychotherapist. One must focus not on how this Western baggage attached to the white psychotherapist is an 'intrusion' to the counselling relationship, but in fact, how the identity and professionalism of the psychotherapist depends on her enactment of all that is white, middle class and Western.

In Subversive Dialogues, the feminist psychotherapist Brown (1994), discusses the value of diversities, race, and culture as they concur with other types of oppressions in the therapeutic relationship. This book is unusual in its attention to the white, middle class feminist psychotherapist and her role in practicing a liberatory, emancipatory form of psychotherapy. Brown speaks of the "matrix of oppression and domination" (p.83) in her search for a clearer understanding of both the therapeutic supervisor in relation to intern psychotherapists, the teacher in relation to graduate students, and the practicing
psychotherapist in relation to her clients, all in conjunction with an exploration of particular group memberships (by this she means, for example, heterosexual/lesbian, Jewish/women of colour/white, middle class/working class). She is clear about the contradictions which emerge:

While a feminist therapist may bravely describe herself, as I have above, as engaged in acts of resistance and revolution, it is entirely possible that all we are witnessing is a feat of verbal legerdemain in which heroic-sounding justifications are advanced by a (usually) white and middle class woman about the manner in which she makes her living (p.32).

Brown articulates that whiteness shapes the primary domain of psychotherapy.

Here, one of the women in the interviews, Brandy, also critiques it:

There are the politics that happen between me and my clients. I am a white person and the way you kind of understand things is by naming, classifying, sorting and figuring it out. So when I get overwhelmed, I talk about it, which is resorting to my class.... yak, yak, yak. I can’t let go of my privilege, most of it is accorded. So, the bulk of my white privilege, I can’t divest. You know, I am white, a therapist, fairly well read and well thought. That is a very powerful combination. And yes, if I thought therapy can only be white, I’d quit (Brandy).

Brandy articulates how psychotherapy is white and how this shapes her privilege within the work.

Theorists on feminist psychotherapy have tried to address the contradictions between their North American feminist principles and the white demographics of their practices. Rave (1990), in her article, "White Feminist Therapists and Anti-Racism", explores what it takes for white feminist therapists to be committed to anti-racism. Anti-racism is defined as "a belief in one race, the human race, and a recognition that no ethnic heritage is superior to another. Ethnic differences are discovered, respected, and valued" (p.314). This recalls out-dated but still active notions of multi-culturalism and the lack of examining how the respectability of the white feminist therapist is based on the way that the
racial other is positioned within and outside of its practices. While Rave later does attempt to integrate a historical context by stating that whites have automatic access to this field, she does not explore how the respectability that the white therapist strives for is based on negotiating the presence of the racial other outside and within psychotherapy.

On the other hand, Rave does explore some aspects of the presence of whiteness in the therapeutic relationship. Firstly, she struggles with the difficulty of naming how racism may emerge when a white psychotherapist is working with white women clients who have never questioned their white privilege and second, she suggests that racism is activated when white women work with clients of colour. She asserts that what is most difficult for white feminists is to "comprehend how we might be the perpetrators, the enforcers, the reinforcers of white privilege. It seems to me that to begin to understand my part in the process I have to be willing to understand and identify with the oppressors" (p. 320).

Nora suggests:

By exercising power over our clients and not dealing with this is working within a systemic front. At the same time, I have difficulty with therapists who say, 'I am a feminist, or an anti-racist therapist', and they give up doing the piece about therapy. Nobody has married those two appropriately yet. I am oppressed and the oppressor, what do you do with that? You say, 'no' or 'yes', and I am ashamed? Shame never worked for anybody and we lose our perspective...this is not a thought out piece for therapy (Nora).

Few psychotherapists, whether they are feminists or not, are trained to understand their historical access to psychotherapy as a helping profession and even fewer are trained to link how normative standards of health and respectability are the central framework of psychotherapy. Instead, psychotherapists are taught about the tool of empathy without being aware that in order for empathy to be successful the practice reproduces an almost
essential requirement of whiteness. Even within a universalized and feminist oriented psychotherapy, empathy regulates the presence of non-white bodies. Ophelia speaks:

I have some trouble with that whole notion of mutuality in therapy. It can never be fully mutual, you know that is an ideal place to go, but our differences keep us from going too far with that (Ophelia).

Ophelia is reflecting on the limitations of mutuality, and therefore of empathy, within her practice of psychotherapy. While she marks the importance of mutuality for the success of psychotherapy, implicit is that depending on mutuality for success can only include the racial other to a limited degree when the clinician is white. This suggests that psychotherapy can only withstand the racial other in limited quotas in order not to disrupt the success of the professionals within the field.

While I am referring primarily to the conjunctions between the white psychotherapist and the client of colour, this can be applied to other relationships where the psychotherapist is more dominant in an area where the client is marginalized. For example, an able bodied clinician may not fully be able to empathize with a disabled person. This can produce for such a psychotherapist the need to work primarily with able-bodied clients continuing to re-inforce the marginality experienced by disabled people. Alternately, a more marginalized psychotherapist can integrate into her sessions with a more dominant client a form of re-education on such issues as they might emerge in the sessions with that client. In this light, I am focussing here on the issue of race as one component of dominant and marginal relations within psychotherapy without trying to deny or negate the need for a better understanding of other marginalizations within the same practices and the same site.
Lize goes on to state:

What really attracts me to therapy is the ability to be profoundly involved in someone's transformation, in terms of naming their reality, their past, their history. What do we do with that and how does this change them? I think what I fear is that I'm actually just helping clients to assimilate to a larger culture, that somehow by naming these pieces that we are colluding in a larger social structure (Lize).

Lize's practice was talked about as one of the most inclusive in that she mentions work with lesbians, bisexuals, women of colour and Aboriginal people. Even so, the majority of her client load were white and heterosexual. Her fear that she is helping her clients collude with a mainstream culture is on the mark. It is her mandate as a feminist therapist to disrupt their place within patriarchy and it appears that she is attempting to do so with a number of marginalized clients. However, she cannot disrupt the primary whiteness within her practice as long as her own professional success depends on working primarily with more similar clients.

These feminist authors and the women in the interviews have articulated how some North American white feminist psychotherapists have attempted to deal with their whiteness and the practices related to whiteness within psychotherapy. Their cautious and retrospective narratives about the presence of a dominant culture within psychotherapy suggest that for these women the racial other exists either as a shadowed presence to their whiteness or as an exception that somehow requires negotiation without sacrificing their professional gains as white psychotherapists.
The Context of the Cross Cultural Counselling Literature

Since psychoanalytic theories have only currently begun to offer a critique of their racialized basis and even a North American feminist literature exploring the practice of psychotherapy (and the development of 'all' women) is only beginning to explore how it is constituted as white, I now turn to the literature on cross cultural counselling in order to explore and explain where and how the racial other exists within the profession of psychotherapy.

This literature base is another more current attempt to begin to understand and integrate the presence of the racial other in the profession of psychotherapy. It does not propose to be psychoanalytic, nor is it considered an emergent of feminist psychotherapy. However, as I will discuss, this literature also does not offer a sufficient analysis or race critique of psychotherapy. While some of this literature refers to an anti-racist frame, some will be explored in its more limited form of 'cultural sensitivity' or 'understanding the differences of the other'. Cultural sensitivity suggests that a professional therapist need only learn the behaviours and tools of those marked as cultural others. This does not include an understanding of how the system itself produces professionals who are white, nor how the helping professions rely on a degree of sameness.

A further limitation to the application of this literature is that it has emerged out of the realm of 'counselling', as opposed to psychotherapy or psychoanalysis. Counselling is a term that often refers to a more short term, crisis oriented and solution focused psychotherapy than the psychoanalytic or even feminist fields. Its focus is primarily on immediate service and referral work for immigrants, refugees and 'newcomers' to Canada rather than on the intricacies of racial divisions between Canadians. This agency and community work is truly considered 'across' cultures as it often services those who are not born in Canada, did not grow up here, do not speak English well, do not have
Canadian citizenship, or do not feel that they belong within a white, Canadian culture. In this way, the literature on counselling originated through, and is directed towards agency and immigrant organization work. It incorporates some short to medium length counselling in order to 'help people along' in their transitions/their crisis/their conflicts at work and at home.

In effect, this spatial difference between the site of cross cultural counselling and the site of psychotherapy signifies the actual and real marginalization of the racial other outside of psychotherapy. Counselling and psychotherapy are different kinds of professions that signify a hierarchy within the helping professions. The former hopes to help the culturally and raced other within the social services and site of community while the latter has been constituted as a primarily private, white setting and practice.

Since little else is available for the white psychotherapist in the form of literature, psychotherapists borrow from the field and literature of counselling in order to better understand how to work with the exceptions to their private practices. The cross cultural counselling writers attempt to alleviate the invisibility of the racial other within psychotherapy but they do not express how the invisibility of the racial other within psychotherapy serves to sustain an elitist hierarchy within the helping professions. By attempting to interject the racial other as an exception and a 'difference' they are shaped as a cultural other to the normative white standards that define psychotherapy.
The Three Primary Cross Cultural Counsellors

Three major cross cultural counselling writers have specifically explored issues of power and race within the helping professions. Pedersen (1987), Pinderhughes (1989), and Sue and Sue (1990) will be summarized here.

Pinderhughes (1989), a social work pedagogue and theorist, provides the most comprehensive perspective within the cross cultural counselling literature on white professionals working with the racial other. Pinderhughes is one of the few theorists who clearly and appropriately contextualizes the intersections of white culture and the implications for relations of power as it applies to clinical work of the psychotherapist.

For the clinician to accept that whiteness is seen as normative or could be positioned less centrally appears to be profoundly difficult as Pinderhughes explicates in her exemplary clinical book, Understanding Race, Ethnicity and Power. Her work contributes towards an understanding of how some of the women in the interviews negotiated, discussed and felt about their relations to the racialized other as client.

Pinderhughes suggests several consequences of acknowledging racism for whites. Firstly, the white psychotherapist's beliefs about racism may be in direct contrast to the helping work towards the less fortunate other; secondly, acknowledging racism enforces confusion since white psychotherapists do not see themselves as white or privileged; thirdly, whites cannot experience their own culture as it is, because the level of implicit superiority and neutrality distances them from this and admitting to their own racism threatens their sense of competence and self worth; and finally, whites are compelled to have empathy for or protect people of colour (or alternately take a position which feels like it justifies exploitation and degradation). The implication of Pinderhughes' points specify what faces the white psychotherapist in coming to more fully contemplate
the intersections of their own race in a clinical practice and it illustrates Pinderhughes' command over the integration and assimilation of whiteness as raced within the discourse of psychotherapy.

The result of Pinderhughes' exploration, which integrates the social and historical interplay between white psychotherapist and non-white client, is mirrored in Hill-Collins (1990) explication that one must:

... expand the focus of analysis from merely describing the similarities and differences distinguishing these systems of oppression [race, class, gender] and focus(ing) greater attention on how they interconnect (p. 222).

Particularly in a therapeutic relationship the white psychotherapist needs to understand her own race, culture and professional role in a raced system with her clients. Only through understanding this systemic process could a therapeutic relationship be healing (Tatum, 1992).

The following cross cultural writers address similar questions. For example, Pederson (1987), as editor of the *Handbook of Cross-cultural Counselling and Therapy*, presents his readers with a text which specifies particular problems in specific ethnic groups and with questions the cross cultural counsellor may be working with. While the authors do elaborate on previously neglected areas of cross cultural counselling work, they do not explore the qualities and implicit culture of whiteness and how these scripts themselves might look in the therapeutic session.

For example, Deen (p.47), in her query about how to define cultural identity in the context of psychotherapy, describes the right of individual groups to maintain their culture and lifestyle in contexts outside of their country of origin. She includes the Dutch, the Muslims, and the Latin Americans. However, this was done without suggesting that each group is raced with a different value
base, has varying access to resources and is in relation with dominant standards from very different historical angles. To assume that the Dutch, as an ethnic group, face similar struggles as Muslims, as an ethnic group, is to deny the history and raced identity contributing to their ethnic and religious realities. Therefore, the problem of culture is not contextualized within an historical set of hierarchical relations.

One exception in Pederson is provided by Smith (p.181), who discusses the lack of texts about counselling Black women. She describes how white women have privileged access to counselling and social services in ways Black women do not. This implicates how whiteness continues to be seen as normative, or, as in Deen's case, one assumes that the dominant culture has an equal relationship to all other ethnic groups.

Sue and Sue (1990), in Counselling the Culturally Different, also provide an in-depth perspective on cross cultural counselling defining specific ethnic groups and how to counsel them. The strengths in this book are evident within the introduction which includes a socio-political perspective on the limitations of psychotherapy in that it can serve to assimilate the racial other client into an already racist world. Furthermore, Sue and Sue specifically address the importance of the psychotherapist's organizing schemas in acknowledging that psychotherapists allow preconceived notions and stereotypes about raced peoples to interfere with their "definition of the problem, assessment of the situation, and therapeutic intervention" (p.76).

Sue and Sue recognize that psychotherapy may represent a microcosm of the same oppression that is already part of the racial other client's internal self structure. They accentuate the need for psychotherapists to look at alternative curative processes which may not have been part of their training, and that psychotherapist's become better "the more we understand our motives, biases,
values, and assumption about human behaviour" (p.76). In placing the psychotherapist as central within the relationship, Sue and Sue make room for the discussion of the white psychotherapist and her clients.

Related to this strength Sue and Sue acknowledge that whiteness has an implicit culture which is often associated with a Eurocentric and middle class climate. For example, they state:

White Western European culture holds certain values that are reflected in a therapeutic process. ...Counselling and psychotherapy have initially been conceptualized in Western individualistic terms. Whether the particular theory is psychodynamic, existential-humanistic, or behavioural in orientation, a number of individuals indicate they share certain common components of white culture in their values and beliefs. (p. 30)

Throughout their discussions Sue and Sue incorporate a discussion of what white and middle class values may include. For example, the relationship between peoples, between people and nature, between people and time is explored with whiteness being one of several other raced categories (i.e., Aboriginal person, African American, Asian etc.). Again, as has been stated earlier, such a discussion is useful in that it explicitly illuminates that whiteness has a historical location, a particular culture and a set of values which accompany it.

As the women in the interviews discuss their work with the clients who are not white, their strategies will reveal similarities to what Pedersen (1987), Pinderhughes (1989), and Sue and Sue's (1990) work has described. We can begin to understand how racism has shifted out of traditionally biological arguments and into a more subtle hidden form of social management and regulation in the form of the discourse so that "we speak more of cultural and ethnic differences and less of race and class exploitation and oppression" (Razack, 1994, p.7). While the white helping professional solidifies what is
respectable and elite about her, the racial other becomes like a culturally different task to be tackled as a tangent to a primarily white based profession.

**One History of Anti-Racist Training in Psychotherapy**

As I have suggested, the psychotherapist can refer to either the emerging literature on psychoanalysis and race or on the emerging literature on feminist or cross cultural psychotherapy and race. However, the psychotherapist can also depend on workshops and specific training.

The Institute where the interviewees were trained as psychotherapists, as it has been introduced earlier, is an organization that itself marks the chronology of the helping professions within Canada. As I have suggested, in 1993 the Institute began to integrate a training aspect of anti-racism into its policies and its hoped-for curriculum development. This was in response to an initial request by several of the interns who had professed a desire for a more thorough feminist analysis. While some of the interns were requesting the training of anti-racisms for themselves as psychotherapists, it was also a desire that was shaped out of a larger awareness, as it has been reviewed in previous chapters, of how North American feminism had fallen short in addressing issues of race and racism.

Between 1993 and 1997, the Institute hired an external anti-racist trainer for two separate one day workshops to help the interns/residents and staff discuss and come to some new awareness of anti-racism within psychotherapy. The trainer facilitated the project of seeing white privilege within psychotherapy as well as bringing a more theoretical frame of historic racialization to practices. During this time, the Board of the Institute issued a proposed new mandate that hoped to expand and explore how the Institute could become more accessible
both to interns and clients who were not white. As I have described, the Institute was closed and the new mandate was never implemented.

Some of the women in the interviews mentioned that through their previous work (described in chapter three) as helping professionals, they had received training that was based on 'cultural sensitivity', 'cross cultural communications', 'learning about other cultures', and how to place these within their professional contexts. While all of these women have attended at least one one-day workshop on anti-racism, others have been educated through work seminars and others have read this cross cultural literature on their own, or have elsewhere been educated on oppression and anti-racism. Some of the women in the interviews describe their understanding of a social analysis in relation to the racial others in their practices. Some women refer to the two strategies (romanticization/avoiding) named earlier. Some women cannot refer to the racial other, since their practices have not led them to these clients.

While we did not explore training in more detail during the interviews, it was clear that most training did not involve an understanding of how psychotherapy itself may be constituted as white and how the tools of the profession may reproduce racialization.

The Women in the Interviews

The previously outlined literature readily available to the white psychotherapist, the training on anti-racism and the above anti-racist discourse analysis, have not necessarily been available to the women I interviewed. It is possible that some have read only standard texts on psychotherapy referring to a generic form of counselling and empathy. Alternately, others may have researched several of the psychoanalytic, feminist, cross cultural counselling or
anti-racist resources mentioned above. Yet, as I begin to discuss their work with the racial client, it becomes evident how difficult it is to separate a theoretical or clinical awareness from the actual racializing constructions of whiteness and the racial client.

In this chapter, as I discuss their stories about non-white clients, I will also explore how the interviewees may be employing the strategies of romanticization, demonization or mystification as well as avoidance. This will be followed by a discussion of their struggle to appear as good and kind professionals despite an emerging acknowledgement that they have the privilege of being white. In conclusion, I will discuss how the setting and practices related to psychotherapy continue to regulate the respectability of white women as more elite helping professionals - specifically ways in which the racial other is marked as a culturally different client and often located outside of psychotherapy within the less privatized and more community based sites of helping.

**Romanticizing the Racial Other**

As Pinderhughes (1989) has suggested, whites often talk about non-white identities and cultures through romantic ideals, mystification or negative other representation. This is a strategy that allows whites to continue to mark their privilege since the romanticized racial other represents that which is seen as more naturalized and therefore, appears to be less civilized. The raced other can come to represent, for the dominant group, a positive world unattainable or mystical in relation to the normative and more bland quality of the dominant group. Thus, the romanticized racial other becomes naturalized often imagined within the field, forest or jungle. Thus, they are imagined to be living in a more healthy and less polluted environment representing what appears to be
unachievable and eden-like for the Western person. Their true conditions or history is made invisible through such a romanticization.

Nestel (1994) explores such a racialized dichotomy in her historical account of the emergence of natural childbirth in the West. She explores how the discourse of the racial other as a 'primitive' (p.7) is employed by Western white women in order to idealize and then employ natural methods of childbirth. This appropriation is set within the context of a current childbirth reform movement in the West, and depends upon constructing non-white women as more natural against the culturally more advanced women of the West. She argues that while the West proclaims a deep yearning for that which is natural, eden-like and healthful, it is paradoxically responsible for much of the destruction of the same. In this regard, the strategy of romanticizing that some of the women in the interviews of this thesis employ in order to work with their racialized clients also depends on an idealization of the racial other that neglects a Western accountability for economic marginalization and 'othering'.

Stoler (1995) indicates that such a romanticized and naturalized state associated with the racial other is unavailable to the white European within her script of civilization. Keeping the colonial body close suggests that the European white can sustain a proximity with such a desirable state without sacrificing the value of being seen as civilized. Maintaining a proximity with the racial other through romanticization while sustaining one's own white privilege is suggested by Roman (1997) to be a kind of "naive faith in 'native testimony' " (p.277). She suggests that whites are naive if they assume that the presence of the racial other, or that 'native testimony', is a sufficient act of anti-racism. There is a presumption that simply permission by whites for the racial other to be present within a Western or white context might be an act of disrupting racism. She suggests that in order for whites to disrupt their romanticized versions of the
racial other they must 'get into' their whiteness before they can get 'out' and disrupt the privilege associated with it. Thus, according to Roman, this would also aid in the disruption of the romanticized projection onto the racial other.

The presence of the racial other as a client in the interviewed women's stories becomes a counterpoint to the disciplined norm of the European standard, as well as simultaneously marking the white professional's membership within civilization and respected European standards. One psychotherapist recounts:

KR: When you say [he had an] uneducated Black nanny, I am thinking there are more to your thoughts there.

Eliza: And this is just something that came into my head one day when I was writing my notes. I wondered about voodoo and superstitions and rituals and scary stuff. And I wonder in some way if he was exposed to that.

KR: So you make a link between that being a cultural thing and....

Eliza: I think so because I had read a lot about how those things do exist on the islands and are quite prevalent. So yes, I have wondered if there could be.

KR: It is interesting to make that connection and I wondered if that influences you as a psychotherapist in your work with him as a Black man.

Eliza: Well I wonder too. Did the idea pop into my head because I knew that it existed or did it pop into my head because it is something that he said. So it is true in a way I could be influenced by that. Which is why I have never suggested anything in anyway, I just wait for it to emerge.

KR: It is interesting when you say you might have been influenced from somewhere and I am wondering from where would you have been influenced?

Eliza: From reading about ...I can't remember the name...it is a combination of African voodoo and Christianity and it is a very prevalent thing that does go on in the Islands.

KR: How did it make you feel to think about that as being a possibility?
Eliza: I just felt tremendous concern about him and I wondered like...if he had been....
(silence)

KR: ....Ritual abuse?

Eliza: In some way yes, exposed to something that was terrifying or scary or something. Or scared by superstitious people telling stories - you know.

Eliza has demonstrated several strategies here that help her to work with the racialized client. Eliza implies what Bhabha (1994) has referred to in that "Black skin splits under the racist gaze, displaced into signs of bestiality, genitalia, grotesquerie, which reveal the phobic myth of the undifferentiated whole white body" (p.92) The imagery evoked in Eliza's story refers to the 'raced' phenomena of voodoo and ritual abuse positioning the Black client as questionably romanticized or demonized while implicitly referring to Christianity as a dominant reference point. She also makes visible particular class and race associations when she refers to the client's uneducated Black nanny - a pairing of class and race which she then follows with possibilities of what most of us consider a horrific but true phenomena, that of ritual abuse.

Eliza beckons a familiar world around her in this story. As she defines what qualifies the racial other, she also qualifies the illusion of safety in being white and Christian. The racial other in her narration represents a more naturalized religion which appears more fearful than her familiar Christianity. The white practitioner appears to be more religiously sane and therefore, more safe than the Black person upon whom other forms of spirituality are projected.

A fear of the racial other may be reality based, but it is more often "based on a defense against aggressive strivings that are projected onto those who are racially different" (Pinderhughes, 1989, p. 99). For example, projections related to fear and aggression can represent the white clinician's own internal machinations rather than representing the racial other as client. Not being aware
of how these projections have meaning within a session can deter the clinician from de-racializing an issue that may not primarily be race related, or if the clinical issue is race-related, not being aware of one's professional limitations can deter the clinician from making connections that prove vital to the racial client's well being.

At another point, Eliza remembers that as a child she was afraid if she touched the hands of a Black person, "my hands would get dirty". While other experiences have shaped her adult life, these projections can still lurk within her work with Black clients in particular. While education and anti-racist training can begin to name these projections as raced, I suggest that there is also an enduring quality to these deeply embedded historical projections that cannot be removed quickly, despite our own good intentions, and despite our hope to free ourselves from what can cognitively be understood as racism.

As Eliza's story indicates, the racial other is seen to be more closely connected to the earth, closer to that which symbolizes the natural and less ordered world. Acknowledging these stereotypes (as she does) involves "taking back one's projections and owning up to them, facing the feelings that they defend against, so that one does not use such projections for self-esteem" (p. 92). Eliza's story illustrates how one white clinician can refer to a more naturalized image of the racial other and thus, engages in a process that shapes her own civility and respectability against the presence of the racial other.

Eliza's story highlights one example of how white and non-white bodies are regulated within the psychotherapeutic moment. While Eliza clearly feels concern for her client, the concern is also for herself and what can emerge about herself when confronted with aspects of experiences/identities she perceives as unsafe and foreign. Perhaps she might be asking if she should fear this client? Should she pretend he is not Black? If she does, is she being racist and
therefore a bad professional? Eliza is consciously or less consciously confronted, through her client's raced identity, with what it means to be white and how her own personal and professional identification is so invested. Kristeva (1991) names this process:

> The foreigner lives within us: he is the hidden face of our identity, the space that wrecks our abode, the time in which our understanding and affinity founder. By recognizing him within ourselves, we are spared detesting him in himself (p.1).

In the end, Eliza negotiates the race of her client right out of the session when she suggests that due to the profundity of his suicidal issues they were not able to enter into work about race and racism.

Another type of objectification occurs through the following examples. One interviewed psychotherapist recalls meeting a South American client for the first time:

> I just thought, here is a woman who is really grounded, kind of earthy. She seemed warm and kind and I felt that she held a certain kind of wisdom, that she was very together. I wondered what I could offer her in therapy? What was she doing there (Theresa)?

Theresa is marking the naturalness of this racial client projecting wisdom onto someone she knows nothing about, someone who by being there has identified a need within herself. Bhabha (1994) relates to this process of romanticization and mystification by stating that, "stereotyping... is much more [an] ambivalent text of projection and introjection, metaphoric and metonymic strategies, displacement, overdetermination, guilt, aggressivity." (p.83). Stereotypes, whether negative or positive, reflect more about the historic and social system that creates them, and the fantasies desired by the privileged, than about the person who is the object of the stereotype. In this story, the racial other again becomes the natural other in a way that marks the white clinician as more
connected to an urban and technological culture. This demarcation creates racialized dichotomizes of earth and city; wisdom and knowledge; natural and civilized, marking the white clinician's proximity to the Western world.

Beth suggests:

Well, I think we have a lot to learn from people from other cultures. There are ways that they live and cook and think about health that I find very interesting (Beth).

Seeing the raced other situated at the hearth and in the home positions them as bearers of a more natural world. In the case of psychotherapy, making the racial other "more" natural allows the white psychotherapist to regain proximity to the metaphorlic eden state that has been lost through her access to a more professional, masculine and urban world. Perhaps having become a professional in the public domain removes her from the hearth and home in a way that both civilizes her, yet enforces her desire to romanticize in the racial other what she herself appears to have lost. I argue that a process of Westernization can be seen as both progressive and regressive, but should not be projected onto the romanticized racial other in order to come to terms with what might have been lost through an urbanization of society and culture.

The women in the interviews spoke about personal struggles to see their own cultural norms as either progressive or regressive in relation to the racial other. Eliza talks again about another client,

When my husband left me, my children did not know that I continued to have a sex life. I kept the home very sterile...so then this [Aboriginal person Canadian client] woman came in and kept talking to me about her open sexual habits in front of her six year old child. I couldn't handle it very well, and took it a lot to supervision, but finally I guess something slipped out and she just blasted me saying that I had no right to judge her or how she choose to live her life. She was going to hide nothing from her child and felt right that her child should know (Eliza).
While romanticizing the racial other is one strategy, this example suggests that overt judgement can be another. In order to sufficiently produce the correct 'professional' response towards the racial other, references can be made by the white psychotherapist to values that have centrally shaped the training and context of her professional work. As Martinez (1994) has described earlier in the context of the Australian school teacher, disrupting the values of professional training becomes an effort to disrupt the whole system of Western biased education through which its values are shaped and promoted. As the women in these stories are explaining, it is very difficult to overcome their own Anglo-Saxon values when working with clients who were not white. Being a 'good professional', as in Martinez' article, also depends on promoting practices and values within which clients may not associate.

Cross cultural counsellors have attempted to address the question of racial difference between the psychotherapist and the client. For example, Nickerson, Helms and Terrell (1994) discuss the mistrust by Black college students towards white counsellors. Bhamgbose and Edward (1980) suggest that there are no biases or differences to be found in the clinical judgments of Black and white clinicians. These studies contradict each other in the effectiveness of the white counsellor with non-white clients. This points to the central problem that occurs when a primarily Western and white practice of helping, such as psychotherapy, attempts to integrate the racial other without examining the elemental constitution of its history and practices.
Theresa states:

I had an Aboriginal client for a long time. But I was always scared that she just wanted to be like me, she was so vulnerable. She had been so badly hurt by her family, her community, by men and by the system. Then she started buying clothes from a second hand place and looking like me, even though I knew she just did not have the cash to do it. I had to continuously decide how and if I should bring up the issue of race. It was very difficult professionally for me, since I also believe that Native healing systems can be very powerful and good.....what would be best for her? Since she seemed to be idealizing me (Theresa)

While Eliza's client could speak up about the differences between them, Theresa's client appeared to be subsumed by the obvious racial differences and was trying to approximate her white therapist's world rejecting her own.

Theresa's client's reaction tried to cosmetically bridge differences between them in order to establish a better empathic attunement. This marks the power of the white psychotherapist's privilege within a clinical setting. If the client is subsumed by her own internalized racism, seeing a white psychotherapist who is kind and professional could intensify this feeling. This suggests that for some racial clients, no attempt at mutuality or successful and most professional use of empathy by a white professional can bridge what a history of racial marginalization has created.
Does Romanticizing the Racial Other help the Professionalism of the White Woman?

As the above stories indicate, working with the racial other as a client becomes a more difficult clinical negotiation for the white therapist than her work with other whites. Her professional success is at greater risk when there is obvious racial difference because the application of empathy is more difficult when there is less shared experience.

Romanticizing the racialized client as wise and more natural, one who is constructed as less wordly and sometimes less fortunate, can facilitate the psychotherapist's more successful application of her primary professional tool - empathy. Since the romanticization makes the racial other more natural and less culturally advanced, her empathy towards them as a 'less fortunate' is facilitated. This can position the psychotherapist as a redeemer and a contemporary form of missionary who hopes to save the racialized other from their own exotic and dangerous practices. This facilitation can also in part be due to the underpinning frame of a universalized feminism that hopes to address not only gendered, but other forms of oppression. By romanticizing the racial other as a less fortunate, from a less advanced culture, the white female psychotherapist resumes the historical practice of white women who were involved in rescuing those in need.

Frankenberg (1993) suggests that "whites are the non-defined definers of other people" (p.197). The client who is culturally other is, in these stories, more linked to food, festivity, wisdom and voodoo, whereas the white professional symbolizes professional tact, respectability and perhaps, even sanity or mental health itself. As the racial other gains entry into these white women's offices, they have done so by entering through the door of historically racialized projections. This does not mean that together they cannot disrupt these
projections, but that they will probably circulate in the room as central to the issues and the dynamics that arise within the psychotherapeutic relationship.

Through this revisitation of an historical dynamic, I argue that the contemporary white clinician gains most since she has demonstrated her empathy across difference. Not only has she successfully applied empathy across difference, but by employing the historical practices of disrupting oppression as a white woman who has gained from feminism (and only implicitly from her whiteness), she has ensured her innocence of racism by being kind and empathic towards the racial other. In other words, by performing her professional empathy well towards a few racial exceptions, she enters into a professional regulation of race relations.

**Denial of the Impact of Whiteness**

While romanticizing the racial other is one method of negotiating the presence of the racial other as a client, several women in the interviews explored issues of race through a denial of their racial presence or an attempt to minimize race by calling it ethnicity. Frankenberg (1997) states that the denial of issues of race reflects a "continued failure to displace the 'unmarked marker' status of whiteness, a continued inability to 'colour' the seeming transparency of white positionings" (p. 1). According to one psychotherapist:

I think the thing that was really curious to me was I adopted the same attitude as my mom. I guess that when [one client] started seeing me in therapy I thought it is really important that I don't - that I don't let on that she is a woman of colour, like I would treat her exactly the same way as I treat all of my other clients and then I remember my supervisor saying to me, 'Yeah, but she is a woman of colour.' And we thought about how that impacts her (Maureen).
Another psychotherapist states:

What is becoming apparent to me as I speak to you here is the way, the sort of cloudiness of the issue for me and that one of my ways of dealing with diversity is to assume there isn’t any. Assume that basically there isn’t... and be very blind if somebody’s...[she trails off] (Serena).

And later:

A long time ago when I decided how I was going to be with other cultures as a small child, you know growing up in the sixties, with race riots in the States, I decided I saw no difference between people and I have kept that decision making all along....don't tell me there is a difference, there is no difference. I wasn't going to be a racist, I was going to be one of those people who did awful things in the States. I wanted to be a loving, caring human being who accepted everyone and the way of accepting everyone was to be totally blind to their difference (Serena).

As the cross cultural counselling literature review has indicated, learning about race often centers around better understanding the racial other. Some literature has suggested that the psychotherapist learn about the behaviours and attitudes of racial and ethnic others as if these behaviours were like instruments of science that could be applied appropriately with the right clients, leaving out the subjectivity of the white therapist. Objectified application of racial difference, in effect, avoids the issue of race, because without the presence of the white clinician, there can be no racism. The successful understanding of the racial other's behaviours and attitudes continues to mark the white professional's place as a health expert, a scientist of sorts, who can understand the colonial other, yet who belongs to a more superior Western and white culture.

Another therapist speaks to her non-white clients. Nadia remembers:

...I think its important to understand how my Guyanese client, for example, relates to her family. There are cultural differences that perhaps I can't understand (Nadia).

This psychotherapist is reflecting a real desire to understand the 'difference' of the racial client. However, even with good listening skills and a
cognitive understanding of these differences it is difficult to interpret how Nadia can present the client with anything but her own white, Western and normative basis for understanding relationships. This demarcation can be handled by quantifying the existing racial differences, or it results in a reproduction of the white woman as a representative of normative and Western standards of health and relationships. The subjectivity of the white professional, especially, an empathic one, is too central to the relationship to assume its neutrality.

Denying the presence of race and attempting to create a cognitive basis for cultural differences occurs throughout the literature on cross cultural counselling. For example, Wolfgang (1985) discusses the meaning and value of non-verbal differences between cultures thereby situating the racial other as separate from the dominant norm and existing only within a different and 'othering' context. In the chapter, "Training Counsellors to Enhance their Sensitivity to Nonverbal Behaviours", Wolfgang suggests that working cross culturally involves three filters of gathering information: The client's culture, presenting issue as defined by the client's culture, and the client as an individual. Within this paradigm there is no room for the relationship between client and psychotherapist as the client is central to Wolfgang's discussion. There is no acknowledging of a historical process of racializing people and Wolfgang certainly does not acknowledge the psychotherapist's (or psychotherapies) cultural biases and interpretative powers. His work reflects the kind of resource available to the interviewees - a resource that does not help them to understand their own place in shaping race relations.

Another example is provided by Zhang (1994) who specifically contrasts the goals of the American counsellor with those of the Chinese counsellor. He does so without outlining stereotypes or contexts which might constitute either category. He appears to be suggesting that all American methods of counselling
can be titled 'American' without recognizing the many varieties of race, culture, and therapeutic method, existing in America. Simultaneously, Zhang attempts to speak for all of China in his references to its therapeutic and familial norms. His reference to these cultural groups appears to but does not dismantle how relations of power and race may be intersecting at the same time within psychotherapy. Again, this kind of resource sustains how a professional psychotherapist may implicitly be seen as normative, and it does not offer an analysis of intersubjective relations.

Another psychotherapist struggles with racial differences between herself and a client. About one client who is not white, Serena says:

I try to remain curious and dumb. Like, I want to learn about you, but I don't know anything. You have to tell me and teach me how I can be a good therapist for you (Serena).

Within the cross cultural body of literature, these differences are often named as 'cultural differences', 'multi-cultures' and 'diversity'. While group variability is mentioned, and ethnicities gain much importance, such a discussion excludes the backdrop of implicit and dominant norms related to race. 'Othered' women struggle to name anti-racism versus multi-culturalism as an issue within their clinical work. Beth has suggested:

Beth: ....yes, I had a white man who would come in and talk a lot about his friends from Third World countries. They would have these big food fests and get together and he seemed to be a very nice man, not prejudiced or anything.

KR: Did you ever talk to him about racism?

Beth: No, I don't think that ever came up. He didn't seem the type.

As I have discussed earlier, white psychotherapists can narrate their kindness through the discourse of a psychotherapeutic professionalism. Beth
seems to be erasing out the actuality of racism by narrating her own and her white male client's kindness. It becomes a tool of denial (as chapter six discusses). Yet, by referring to the racial other as one involved in 'food fests' and 'getting together', and by overtly denying the presence of racism, Beth marks her whiteness within an implicitly colonial dialogue.

Aaron, who is Italian, reflects on an Italian client,

She would make references, like, 'well, you know how important it is to have Holy Communion'. She was more steeped in Italian culture than I was. But she seemed to get very excited to think that I knew what it was all about. I guess there was some similarity, but not as much as she thought (Aaron).

Essed explains the phenomenon when racism can:

...operate as cultural oppression or, more specifically, as 'ethnicism'. Ethnicism is an ideology that explicitly proclaims the existence of 'multiethnic' equality but implicitly presupposes an ethnic or cultural hierarchical order (Essed, 1991, p. 6).

Firstly, such a system clearly reinforces the belief that the neutral counsellor need only learn about new ethnic behaviours and not challenge one's own (Atkinson, 1978; Brown, 1984; Gudykunst, 1992). Secondly, this questions if a 'universal' psychotherapy is even possible or if it only serves to assimilate 'different' behaviours into readily accepted ones (Kareem, 1992; Sue and Sue, 1990). Littlewood (1992) and others have clearly defined psychotherapy as a North American and Eurocentric practice. Finally, such goals of learning new behaviours for a psychotherapy session primarily oversimplify our understanding of the responsibility that whites have in maintaining or perpetuating racism (Ridley, 1989).
The following quote, while it clearly suggests a denial of white privilege or a hoped-for invisibility, also suggests a more personal struggle with a process of self-identification.

KR: Do you think about yourself as a white woman?

Beth: Not categorically. No. No.

KR: Say more, I am curious about that.

Beth: I think I've got this big exception for myself and I am not even in a category. My experience of myself is not categorized on any level - race or woman. I don't spend a whole lot of time feeling like I am a woman - my experience is this and their experience is that - sort of thing. Really, I think I just operate so much more from a feeling level. Do I like this, do I not like this, does it feel good, does it not feel good.

KR: But you made a really funny face when I said that ... I am just wondering what happened.

Beth: Well it just felt so strange, I just don't see myself as a white woman, I really don't. It was like that religion thing and I think I've got a thing about the boxes, the compartments, you know ...... I just refused to be put in a box one way or another and I don't like them. Feminists in their box. Lesbians in their little box, or business men in the power box and I think part of my not being tuned in consciously to race is that I don't like any of the boxes any which way ... I have a real thing about compartmentalizing and I think that is my sort of rebellion about how I was so compartmentalized by my parents.

The practice of avoiding racism is prevalent among white people. This avoidance is not always seen as an actual practice that whites 'do', but rather, it appears to be an invisible practice that negates their own access and privilege within society. Beth appears reluctant/unwilling to examine that her 'choice' not to be located in a 'box' has everything to do with the privilege of her whiteness, her heterosexuality, her physical ability, her middle class lifestyle and expectations. Beth is able to deny these categories and boxes because her membership in the dominant group is solid.
Another therapist, Lize, recalls a Black woman in her practice:

Its very much about finding a place in the world. It's very much about - is this person finding a way to be themselves given a world that can't make space for her...I don't think its about race, necessarily, it's more about a bigger picture, what's important in terms of love and being a good or a bad person and how much we believe we will be heard (Lize).

Lize is speaking about empowerment without specifying that race is a core issue that shapes the participant's presence within psychotherapy. Whiteness continues to be constructed as invisible yet normative. As Frankenberg (1993) states:

Within a dualistic discourse on culture, whiteness can by definition have no meaning; as a normative space it is constructed precisely by the way in which it positions Others at its borders....whiteness is indeed a space defined only by reference to those cultures it has flung out to its perimeter. Whiteness is in itself fundamentally a relational category (p. 231).

Ridley (1989) demands that "combating racism in counselling is the responsibility of every mental health professional" (p.27). Focusing on, and defining the behaviours of other ethnic groups does, however, provide a dualistic frame of reference for difference and continues to create margins extending from an implicit white and Western center. As these stories have suggested, such a center can be made invisible in a number of ways.

**Discussing A Place of Innocence: Recognizing Whiteness**

As the stories of the interviewees and the literature have provided, working with the racial other is for the white psychotherapist, both an exception to the norm, and an area of professional concern. Particular strategies are employed that enable the interviewees to work with the person of colour as an exception to their white clients. The psychotherapeutic literature provides only
limited and often culturalized insights into how a white therapist might successfully continue longer term psychotherapy. In particular, understanding how dominant and marginal relations are shaped through and within these relationships produces conflicted and often contradictory questions about the psychotherapist's identity and practice. However, as my interviews show, the respondents eventually recognized that being white was a form of privilege that one would not want to give up and that one cannot. In the words of one psychotherapist (Brandy), "It had to be wrested from me".

I will focus now on how the women in the interviews struggled with their whiteness, how they struggled with naming their own raced privilege through the guise of innocence and how resulting feelings of guilt and shame were processed in the interviews. As another therapist suggests, and claims her privilege as white, "...nobody is going to look at me and call me a 'nigger'. Nobody can hurt me that way, I can not be hurt that way" (Nora).

These themes of acknowledgement were highlighted in a number of ways throughout my interviews and I have selected the most concise examples. One psychotherapist's reflections illustrate how she uses gender to understand being white and privileged. In Serena's words:

I had one client that didn't keep going for whatever reason, but it was problematic to begin with. She basically interviewed me on the basis of how I would deal with people with a different ethnic group. I didn't know what to expect in terms of a different ethnic group, and when this person showed up, and they were Black. That person carried very much the assumption on the basis that I was white that I couldn't possibly connect.

KR: How did that feel?

Serena: It felt pretty intimidating, like maybe they are right, or this is a pretty big chip that is coming in, or this is a pretty big impediment joining him.
KR: What if they were right firstly, and what if it was a big chip? I am curious about both of those?

Serena: What if they were right, well...

KR: How does that feel to you? I imagine that's really hard when someone you don't know says you can't understand me, you feel somehow they are right ...

Serena: I would probably first of all feel that I would like to be given a chance to either understand or not understand and maybe then have that proven out. So where the irritation comes in for me is that it feels like any relationship would need time. As it turns out, the reason we didn't continue I don't think was this, but what that person wanted from therapy was more cognitive, problem solving. It didn't feel like a match for that reason. But then again it didn't feel like a match for another reason too. So it is hard to know. It didn't get beyond the first hour.

KR: And then you were talking about the chip...

Serena: Yes, it feels like it is in a reverse discrimination to me or whatever you call it. It is an assumption about an ethnicity, and if that is what it is, that's not acceptable to me.

KR: So you wanted to be given a chance rather than be seen as a white person. I imagine they saw you as a white person with a lot of privilege regardless if it feels that way to you or not. That's my guess how they saw you. It sounds like that is a really hard place for you to be as a psychotherapist who has...

Serena: Let me describe to you what it feels like. There's a feeling - the same as walking into a room and having - and again gender comes into this - having a man assume that you are going to react a certain way because you are a woman. It is the same kind of...being slotted. It is the same thing that happens when someone walks into the room and assumes you are going to act a certain way because you are a psychotherapist. Oh, she can read my mind! So there is a lot of that you have to go through anyway in psychotherapy but then it felt like, you know....feels like there is a big something in the room between the two of you.

A number of issues are raised here. However, I want to focus on how Serena positions her whiteness, the racial nature of her client, and the implicit emotions involved through a kind of innocence around her whiteness. Through her irritation, and feeling of reverse discrimination, Serena implies that she would
assume to be seen as innocently white and not racist until she is known by the client. The professional stance of the psychotherapist, the tool of empathy as kind in itself and the imagined innocence that is produced out of an essentialist female nurturing can be seen as buffers which propose an assumed innocence of the psychotherapist. The professional discourse of psychotherapy appears to promote this innocence.

While Serena's awareness includes her knowledge of her white privilege, she attempts to negotiate it towards an innocent position by suggesting that she understands prejudice on the basis of gender. This is clearly a 'race to innocence' (Razack and Fellows, 1998). "Powerlessness is painful and people defend against feeling powerless by behaviour that brings them a sense of power" (Pinderhughes, 1989, p.110). Serena appears to alleviate her awareness of being privileged by recognizing her (at times) less-than-powerful experience as a woman. Ironically, through Serena's status as a 'victim' she solidifies her sense of innocence and gains 'power' on the basis of race. Being a woman appears to buffer the more difficult acknowledgement of her own race privilege.

Innocence on the part of the therapist can produce a responsibility on the part of the new client (as racial other) to make herself feel 'safe' with the psychotherapist. Certain tools of negotiation, such as gender in Serena's story, act as buffers that can prohibit a deeper awareness of how the whiteness of the psychotherapist can construct normativity. This innocence can further substantiate that racial others have 'a problem' with race, while the privilege and innocence of the white therapist remains in tact. This re-instates imperial themes of how white and non-white people remain in relation to each other.

As Brown (1994) and Pinderhughes (1989) have suggested, the white clinician must acknowledge her own privilege. Marking her own privilege makes race an issue for both the psychotherapist and the client and this functions to
remove the racialized stereotypes of the more respectable white helping professional and the racial other. Respectability can no longer be claimed through a professional stance and both the therapist and the client are accountable to understanding how race relations are negotiated between them.

While some therapists could not name racisms or their participation within such a system, others could and did. Ophelia describes how she made visible and worked with her own analysis of racism within her sessions. This story refers to her work with an Aboriginal woman whose family member had AIDS, and her client did not believe that talking about it in therapy would help her in any way to heal.

I found it excruciating to sit back. I mean, I really had to honor where she was at with that, but right at the beginning I told her how hard it was for me because I felt she deserved a whole lot of support and was not getting it if she did not talk. She couldn't tell anyone he was dying so she was very isolated. It was very tough on me as well. In his last week, she finally came in and let it all out because she knew there was no hope left for him. I really had to come out of this experience and look at my own beliefs as a therapist (Ophelia).

Brandy adds:

These are divisive times. White women calling each other racist. It's a way to create more divisions. This is not useful. In a session, I don't know how a client will see me as white. I may be a lesbian to them, or look bookish, or look working class. Maybe this is idealized by them, maybe it is seen as a place to have anger, maybe they don't want to see race. I don't know until I am quiet and let it emerge what this client's work will be with me as a white therapist (Brandy).

Each woman is aware of her privilege as white and appears to be negotiating this with their racialized clients. "Racism itself is a set of processes whose parameters are shifting away from mainly biological considerations to include cultural and national ones" (Bhavnani and Phoenix, 1994, p.5). As Ophelia describes, working with her own awareness of these continuing shifts proved
difficult within a clinical setting. She describes her work with another person of colour:

Sometimes the guilt can get in the way. My own guilt and shame around being white, but I just let that go for a while until I got to know her better. It became very important that she could talk to me and tell me about her anger towards white folk. It was healing and I could see that it was healing to see another white person’s struggle with it. It was great, she finally got very enraged and I just wanted to stay present to it, to not get caught in my own stuff, to just hear her (Ophelia).

Ophelia is struggling to displace what she acknowledges as her own privilege in the face of what a client who is not white may need from her.

Another example of innocence emerges through not seeing whiteness as a race,

KR: So, does that mean that being white is being ‘a race’?

Maureen: White race - I might say that.

KR: What would that mean to you? What characterizes the white race?

Maureen: Well, you see, it's funny, I can't tell you. I can't answer that question.

This story shows that it is not uncommon for whites to avoid their whiteness. As Essed describes, it is a form of racism to not imagine race to also imply whiteness (Essed, 1991). Whites can't be held accountable for their own racism because they are either innocent members of the dominant group, innocent by the nature of their professional helping work, or simply do not see themselves as members in the group race.

Again, this results in racism being perceived as the problem of people of colour, rather than an issue that must be addressed by both whites and people of colour. Making racism ‘their’ problem has the effect of further entrenching the image of the ‘problem free’ white - a dynamic of innocence that parallels the context of the reform period in chapter two. Other forms of innocence also
emerged from the interviews. For example, "I sure notice it now with my father, just the racial names, it really bugs me" (Beth). And:

I would feel horrible to be called a racist in any way. And I know I have a big emotional investment in this. My husband will insist he is not racist, but he will sometimes make racist jokes and I get so upset (Eliza).

As I have discussed earlier, the tarnished image of being a 'racist' was for these women frequently pitted against the more overt racism of a family member, often a male - the father, husband, or brother. In these stories I argue that being female and the accompanying essentialist quality of nurturing that has become professionalized in the helping field, can be used to produce a fantasized innocence for the white woman who is now a helping professional. By the nature of her professionalized work, she might be signified as more innocent than her relatively racist family members.

Another woman talks about being named white:

I guess I have wondered what it is really like for him (Black client) because I am white. I am a mother and he has had a lot of anger and hurt around his mother. I also wondered about my whiteness. It's the feeling that there might be anger - perhaps that I am going to be discriminated against in the way they feel they have been discriminated against. I just want to say, 'give me a chance' " (Eliza).

In all these stories, the fear that faces white women in being named 'the oppressor' is evident. These stories reflect a desire to sustain a professional place of privilege. However, they also illustrate how being perceived as kind and innocent may run deep to the core of some white women's well-being. As I have previously discussed, performing kind acts has historically constructed the practices and identification of white women in the helping professions, shaping a deeply intrinsic method of self-valuation that has historically been in direct relation to the racial other.
The professional discourse of psychotherapy appears to be embody in the white woman, only what she already is imagined to be - helpful, kind and respectable. Psychotherapy implicitly narrates whiteness through the sanction of its empathy put into practice by the women who have become privatized health professionals.

Another woman's awarenesses of whiteness follows:

Maureen: I guess I have an investment in not being prejudice and then not asking those hard questions, they might have some investment too in being the good client.

KR: ...and not being angry at your whiteness....

Maureen: ...because they need me so much in other ways that to be angry would be too threatening.

Maureen acknowledges that she has an investment in being seen as 'innocent' but deflects this by rationalizing that what is best for the client would simultaneously mean not 'asking those hard questions' about race. Without further information about this case, no other conclusions may be drawn.

Another woman provides a clear analysis from her own theoretical stance of what this recognition may mean to her in psychical terms:

I think it is hard to be white because there is a certain pain in being the oppressor... I open that gate and what is going to happen? It means to my community and friends, to my clients, much more letting my ego control go and then it does have a much bigger sort of social, political racial effect as well (Beth).

This story illustrates that Beth believes she can 'choose' to let go of her 'ego' or as I understand, to let go of her privilege. By referring to the 'ego', the relations of racialized power become psychologized without acknowledging the material and historical bases available to the dominant group. As Pinderhughes (1989)
suggested, the more comfortable and stable a white person is in their whiteness, the more able they will be to acknowledge their place in a racist structure and to act in anti-racist ways. However, being secure and stable as a white person does not mean letting go of one's whiteness, rather it constitutes a process of naming, acknowledging and action.

Another woman speaks lucidly to an awareness of whiteness:

> You know, this whole issue of innocence comes up really strongly for one client, she is just horrified that she is being sorted out as being racist, and she doesn't believe herself to be racist. She really knows she lives in a racist society, but she is really struggling, and I am struggling with her...I don't have the answers...It is trying to work with that (hundreds of years of racism) without minimizing the lack of innocence on the part of the white woman, but not wanting to claim guilt (Ophelia).

As the women began to come to the end of their interviews, they were acknowledging their own struggle with their privilege. The following woman states:

> White women are separating from each other because we are scared that we are going to be called racist. I think we - white women - are isolating ourselves from women of colour in some ways, I think there is the silent backlash, where white women blame women of colour for the demise of the women movement. So white women are withdrawing from the movement and going back into their positions of privilege. It's a pretty painful place to be when you think of the work that has been done, that kind of retreat happens, it is counter productive to everything that has been done (Brandy).

Brown (1994), the feminist psychotherapist, reflects on this confusion when she writes, "when I realize that I have been inattentive to the ways in which I contribute to your oppression, I feel a deep sense of inadequacy, combined with the full weight of my privileged status" (p.332).
Another psychotherapist who had named her whiteness relates the impact on the client:

With one Sri Lankan client she thanked me when I acknowledged that I was white, and that was my work to do, but how did she feel about it. She said that she was glad I was not trying to be one of those 'good liberal white folk' and we proceeded to talk about how it was for her not to be white (Theresa).

When such an acknowledgment cannot happen in therapy, the professional psychotherapist can be understood to be depending upon empathy as a blind professional tool that reifies her professional privilege. The performance of empathy, whether personal or professional, can alleviate associations to racism, guilt and shame. Zelda reflects:

This is maybe the place of resistance in my countertransference...not being racist. So I defend by being overly positive and I defend against my own racism....if I am trying to be a good enough therapist and my countertransference slides away, it's elusive, not therapeutic (Zelda).

And another reflects on her privilege:

I found it impossible at times to know how to balance my obvious privilege, my desire for what that life gives me, and then to see one Aboriginal client who I really loved working with, in so much pain. I felt the strength of my interventions and I knew that both being white affected her and the fact that I was not a man meant a lot to her. But I also wondered if this wasn't more hurtful to her having a white therapist whom she could see had quite a different life. Finally, she did not return because she began working with a female shaman (Theresa).

These therapists are struggling with their desire to be good professionals and to remain constituted as good white women despite the challenges related to working with a racial and cultural other.
Serena tries to come to terms with her own feelings of guilt or shame:

Isn't that in it's own way a kind of a trauma?

KR: What do you mean by that?

I think I carry my own little kind of trauma and it is not the same, it's not like being excluded or whatever, but like what is the trauma of carrying guilt for your race? What is the trauma of being, of having this original sin of whiteness? By what action in my life did I ever deserve this original sin? By what actual volitional act did I deserve to carry this into the room? (Serena)

As I have discussed earlier about the use of empathy, not only the loss of professional privilege and reputation is at stake, but also a fundamental self-identification of being a kind and innocent (and not racist) person. Facing the possible disruption of this identification by acknowledging how one's white respectability depends on marking the racial other as culturally less advanced, can lead to fear, anger, fragmentation and sadness. The challenge to avoid such feelings is high and this challenge can be temporarily assuaged when white psychotherapists assume that a professional application of empathy with the racialized client is a testimony of resolution. Another psychotherapist reflects:

Sometimes the collective guilt - I am just trying to think of incidents where I have been in that place, I have been part of some of the stuff she [her client] told me about. You know, white treatment of her. She was abused in one of the schools and of course I come from a religious community so there is lots of stuff for me how Natives were treated by Christian. So if I get caught in my own guilt and shame around that then I might just let something go for awhile. Okay, why didn't I say something about this? I don't want to add more to that hurt which really is not beneficial to her and then I will talk about where I was with it. This was really good ... and not to get caught, to really go down into the guilt, the collective guilt, and get caught in there, because that is not therapeutic for her. I really had to stay present with myself and her so she could work it through. That was a real challenge (Ophelia).
Ophelia is struggling with the nature of psychotherapy in conjunction with the challenges of working with a racial other client. As I have discussed, the white clinician must and often does depend on her professional tool of empathy. However, empathy can evoke colonial themes, the practice itself becomes problematic. Beth talks about a process of awareness:

I would really prefer if someone said, well you don't really have to, you've done a great job, you're quite evolved considering where you came from, you don't have to do anymore (Beth).

Beth reflects a kind of exhaustion in her examination of privilege and accountability. The following psychotherapist reflects on her own process of negotiating the racial other's presence:

My empathy can get rerouted in a bad way. I sense this when in the moment I begin to refer to stereotypes and clichés. I need to refer to their experience not to use stereotypes and I need to admit that I don't know what I can't know (Zelda).

And the following woman reflects:

If I am a white therapist working with a Black client I come from a position of privilege and power and the transference piece, if you have somebody who is very in touch with their own hurt because of skin colour, then you are going to have their anger right at you. But what I have experienced working with families is that they know that I am white, not only do I have the power and authority invested in me in my profession, but in my whiteness, I am of the system, I fit, I walk into a police station everybody smiles and says, "yes ma'am". They walk in and that doesn't happen, yet neither one of us has done anything. So the transference piece is in some way acknowledging that privilege and power. And the risk, the counter transference risk piece is "Thank you, yes I am better but I am going to be really good because I am going to join with you, I am going to step down from my pedestal and I am going to come down a notch, and I am going to because I am a good white person, a good little white person (Nora).

The above women's stories have illustrated that shame and guilt remain part of their awareness of coming to terms with their own hope for innocence despite their white privilege. Understanding that empathy can be a positive tool
demands that it is also examined in its deficits - how empathy can mirror and mask the privilege, power and status attributed towards the white woman who is designed to nurture and protect the health and well-being of other people, those considered 'less fortunate'. These contradictions and preferences demonstrate the ways "in which the silent signifier, whiteness, serves to maintain, and obfuscate its privileged position in psychological texts" (Bhavnani and Phoenix, 1994, p. 13). Zelda refers to how psychotherapy can reproduce whiteness as a silent signifier:

Society is still giving handouts, in a way, still talking about 'them' as the foreigner and doing 'the mission' by systemically keeping social work accessible but not forms of psychotherapy. It's still a way of controlling access. It's a systemic way of keeping psychotherapy very white (Zelda).

Another woman states:

I am very cynical about what therapy can do." but later suggests that, "the value of therapy is that perhaps this Black person has had one safe experience with one white person - has been heard once and listened to by at least one white person (Reta).

In conclusion, it is through an expanded therapeutic vocabulary about race that includes the study of whiteness through which the white woman within a psychotherapeutic setting can begin to dislodge her own projection of racial stereotypes onto the racialized client. As Roman (1997) has already stated, one must get 'on' whiteness in order to get 'off' it (p.278). In the context of the psychotherapeutic relationship, this recognition has the potential to be a witnessing of a violent and racialized history to which both the white therapist and the racial client have been linked to relationally and historically (Felman, 1992).
As one psychotherapist strategizes:

I am not sure you can keep separate from something that has so much power. It's like being in the mud and struggling with it. When I get confused it's about 'teach me, tell me about it, I don't know, you have to tell me about it' (Serena).

The following psychotherapist aptly queries what is required of a psychotherapist in relation to her professional practices and the racial other as a client:

What do you give up of yourself? What becomes shameful and hidden of yourself? What loses its potency?...You lose your history and you give it up (Nora).

As I have already described and to which I will again refer in chapter six, what Nora describes is that the fantasy associated with Walkerdine's 'good fairy' must be given up or let go.

In Summary

In Canadian history, the historical white woman has become a professionalized helper through her work within the Christian home and mission and towards the immigrant and racial other. The principles of the North American feminist movement and the medicalization of health in the West offered new pathways towards professionalizing helping. In part, such professionalization lead to a disruption of patriarchal marginalizations of white women's helping. The helping work of white women became valued as an area of expertise, as they were professionalized and seen to be more respectable than previously considered.

While the historical chronology of the helping professions in Canada originated through white women's Christian mission work with the racial other,
and later through social service work with immigrants, psychotherapy has done a complete revolution. Psychotherapists are now professionals who work primarily with other whites. Chapter five has explored how the fifteen white women who were interviewed work with only a few racial 'others' as clients. The literature presented in this chapter has illustrated that working with the racial other can be framed as cultural sensitivity work. However, while white psychotherapists may gain a better understanding of the racial other, an analysis of the interview reveals how their whiteness is reproduced through the setting and practices of psychotherapy.

The white professional helper can now (once again) become a professional who services not only white clients but also the more challenging racial other. However, by depending upon the practices and discourses that constitute her as a successful helping professional, the psychotherapist is centrally involved in regulating her own respectability as a white person and the presence of the racial other (either through colonial projections or in their actual different and less elevated work) within the helping professions.

Disrupting what Brown (1994) calls 'the full weight of my privileged status' (p.332) suggests that the conditions shaping psychotherapy as a practice that marginalizes and culturalizes people of colour, must change. The components that make up the professional practice of psychotherapy, as well as the people who practice it, and have access to it, must change. The ways in which whites understand the professionalized work of empathy to be successful, how this helps to construct the success of the white professional in response to their white clients and how this necessitates a marginalization of the cultural other, must be understood. A multiplicity of discursive and professional practices within the context of psychotherapy has become the venue through which the power of the dominant discourse can be repeated. Through these conjunctions they represent
implicit Western norms for relationships and the racial other who stands either outside of the field of psychotherapy, or enters through a myriad of juxtaposed historical and colonial projections - remaining an outsider, marginalized, culturalized and 'different'.

First, the white woman as a psychotherapist can begin to acknowledge how deeply invested her sense of self as a good, kind helper is to her personal well-being and professional status. This understanding must be linked to how North American feminism has both shaped resistance against patriarchy and at the same time maintained the respectability of white feminists through the ongoing marginalization of the racial other seen primarily to be situated in the Third World, in the forest, field or jungle. This requires an undoing of both historical and contemporary practices that continue to shape the 'good fairy' fantasy.

Second, rather than introducing the racial other as a client to the white therapist and attempting to integrate him/her within an essentially Western and white practice, the literature on cross cultural counselling (or new literature based on a more thorough critique) may do well to recreating its central assumptions. In order to integrate or establish the racial other's presence in psychotherapy, its professionals, associations and mandates must forcefully and visibly make present the racial other. He/she would bring either their own Western or non-Western methods of health and relating; and these perspectives would be valued and not marginalized against an implicit cultural norm. This can begin to disrupt how the respectability of the white woman as a privatized professional is shaped through her successful practice of empathy, primarily by whites towards other whites.

Moreover, such a shift within the helping professions would depend on other social, institutional and educational shifts through which the
representations of whiteness and the racial other are also changed. Ongoing anti-racist analysis is necessary in order to disrupt a racialized notion of who is respectable and who is not. I will return to this subject in chapter six.
Chapter Six:

Constructing a Fantasy of Innocence: Empathy as a Defense

Faced with being beneficiaries of white racism, and yet, shuddering at the thought of 'being racist', resulted in the participants having to live with contradiction - a state of dissonance that many whites are unwilling to accept, choose as a way of life, or both (McIntyre, 1997, p. 136).

Introduction

I previously suggested that a history of North American feminism contributed to the professionalization of acts of helping for white women. This was evident in the stories of the interviewed women who referred to their mother's involvement in Christian mission work and community activities all geared at 'helping'. Secondly, I discussed how the interviewees became professional helpers in social services, still 'helping' the racial other; and how they became more privatized and therefore, elite helpers working primarily with other whites.

The stories these contemporary women have illustrated show that within their current practices of helping it is primarily whites with whom they have psychotherapeutic contact. The ways in which the racial other is made visible as a client continues to construct for these women, their place of professional respectability. The shift from a community based site of helping to the private setting of the psychotherapy office positions the white woman in closer proximity to what are presumed to be - the respectable professional practices of the West. Discussion of the women's stories has also included an examination of how professional acts of helping contribute to shaping a core sense of self as a helper, and that this central identification depends upon the presence of a more dependent other.
While I have already referred to Walkerdine (1990) and others in the discussion of these women's core sense of self, I am left with questions about how deeply invested this 'goodness' can appear, and if it is so deeply invested, how is this investment sustained? I have argued that the cost of seeing how acts of helping are detrimental or racist is high when one's status as a professional, one's core sense of self and one's respectability are perceived to be, or are at stake. If these factors are shaped, for example, by the success of a white woman's helping activities within the privatized setting of psychotherapy (or other professional forms of elite helping), then it is detrimental to acknowledge how such acts of helping are built upon the foundation of historically and economically racist structures. This acknowledgement would contradict the meaning of 'being helpful', being benevolent and kind.

In this chapter, I will explore how Bhabha's (1994) definition of 'mimicry' becomes a useful description of acts of helping as a form of public expression, or a practice that allows white women to bridge their practices between a dominant and a marginal place. I then suggest that in order to sustain such a practice of mimicry, and in order to sustain the contradictions it holds, an internal psychical strategy must be established. I argue that when we metaphorically understand acts of helping as a fetish-like practice permitting a fantasy of innocence (or wholeness), this allows the professional white woman to sustain her own kind of mimicry in the context of imperialism.

Similarly, I suggest by keeping the act of helping in a fetish-like frame, professional white women can negotiate the contradictions and dissonances that McIntyre (1997) has described and thus, sustain her place of mimicry. My analysis of helping does not intend to annihilate all expressions of empathy as simply a production of fetish or mimicry (nor is it to condemn the women in the interviews). However, it remains crucial to explore how empathy, its professional
and personal practice, and its meaning for creating subjects and nations, can be seen as intra-psychically and socially constituted when understanding the dynamic it creates between differently located social subjects. This analysis suggests that the practice of empathy in professional sites allows white women to participate in their own reproduction as privileged social subjects within imperialism.

**Can Empathy Constitute White Women's Social Subjectivity?**

Expressions, including acts, are mediated largely by the discourses definitive of the agent's subjectivity (Goldberg, 1993, p.245).

Empathy is not generally seen as part of the overt imperial contract that is central to conquest. Indeed, emotions on the whole, are not seen as important to 'knowledge' construction but rather placed in a more invisible and less 'rational' realm. While Burton (1994), McClintock (1995), and Stoler (1995) have discussed the role of helping/mission work/nurturing for the historical white woman in the context of Europe, their research has not yet addressed how these women can sustain such practices in a psychical way. While they historicize European women's practices of helping, they do not discuss how deeply embedded these women's fantasy for themselves as subjects of imperialism might be through the very acts of helping. This chapter argues that emotions, as expressions of acts of helping, do shape social subjects and their subject place within imperialism.

Raymond Williams (1997) states that "structures of feeling are the least understood aspect of cultural transmission of ideology. [And yet they] are concerned with meaning and values as they are actively lived and felt" (p. 132).
Meyers (1994) concurs when she in light of her discussion on empathy states that "both interpersonal and intrapersonal forces belie the unity of the subject" (p.7). Who expresses which empathy, and to whom in what context, can be suggested as historically meaningful and socially constitutive given what has emerged in this thesis about white women.

In order to begin this discussion, I refer first to Bhabha (1994) and his definition of the term 'mimicry'. Posed in the history of a Christianity which hoped to promote the normativity of the British subject, the non-British subject who became "Anglicized [was] emphatically not English" (p.87). The colonial subject could 'imitate' the manners of the English and since they could 'emphatically' never become English, this imitation of what was British, exercised a form of social control over the colonial subject. Their imitation of the dominant appeared to make concrete, the values espoused by the British while also ensuring that non-British people could never quite become truly British themselves. Thus, mimicry "emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge" (p. 85).

Bhabha suggests that the practice of mimicry is a 'camouflage' strategy for the non-dominant subject that is combined with a desire and need to experience oneself as similar to others in dominant positions, despite one's difference to them (p.86). He describes mimicry as the borderland experience of the subject who exists between a regulation of, and a threat to, dominant powers. This ambivalent place represents both the desire to be the other and the inevitability (and desire?) of not becoming that other. Initially, Bhabha suggests that the strategic failure of mimicry occurs in the inability for the subject to fully become the dominant since "...the desire to emerge as 'authentic' through mimicry is the final irony of partial representation" (p. 88).
Acts of mimicry appear to visualize the colonial subject entering into the dominant frame, but since the non-dominant subject can herself remain only a mimic, she will never assume full license to an authoritarian discourse. All colonial subjects may 'mimic' respectability, for example, but can never achieve the full status of respectability stated historically by white heterosexual men who have defined the dominant discourse. Mimicry remains an act of being "almost the same but not quite" (p.89). In this way, acts of mimicry entice the subject into an assimilation of all that represents a dominant subjectivity and discourse without ever completely and successfully gaining entry into that realm. This process both provides the othered subject with a partial respectability and suggests that the dominant frame remains the primary frame of reference.

Thus, while mimicry at first appears to be a self-defeating strategy for the non-dominant subject, Bhabha proposes that mimicry is also a device of resistance against the same colonial frame (p.86). He states that mimicry:

...is thus the sign of double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline...however, [it also] poses an immanent threat to both 'normalized' knowledges and disciplinary powers (p.86).

Mimicry is a "metonymic strategy [and] produces the signifier of colonial mimicry as the affect of hybridity - at once a mode of appropriation and of resistance" (p.120). It becomes an act that can "radically [revalue] the normative knowledges of the priority of race, writing and history" (p.91). He refers to the fact that mimicry can be a 'menace' (p.91) through which dominant discourses and normative subjectivities may be disrupted. This reference of 'menace' is Bhabha's hope to reverse the self-defeating effects of mimicry as simply emulative of the British. The presence of the colonial subject as a mimic simultaneously acts to break apart what is seen as inalterably and unflinchingly dominant. Mimicry becomes not only an entry into partial respectability for the
colonial subject, but also a way to reveal the dominant dependence on the myth of its own wholeness. He states:

The ambivalent world of the 'not quite/not white', on the margins of the metropolitan desire...become erratic, eccentric, accidental objets trouves of the colonial discourse. It is then that the body and the book lose their representational authority (p.92).

The ultimate failure of mimicry to make the colonial subject whole in the eyes of imperialism, the subject who may be seen as 'erratic, eccentric, accidental', becomes the very site through which the normative 'body [loses] representational authority' (p. 92). It is the very possibility of mimicry to produce colonial subjects as 'partial', dominant members that marks the false fantasy of an imperial wholeness since its wholeness can only be set against the reality of the colonial subject.

In the context of this thesis, when professional practices of helping by white women are seen as practices of 'mimicry', such practices can become emulative of a dominant frame in that they are considered to be a form of respectability. However, they can also become self-defeating in that through their 'camouflage' of what is not considered male enough in the white female subject they make her more 'civilized' and male than the female subject who does not (or cannot) 'mimic'. This is to say that the professionalization and formalization of helping is marked by a translation of what is seen to be a female practice (i.e., caring) into a more male structured professional world where knowledge about a subject is valued more than its actual practice. Knowledge about caring and professionalized caring in respectable private and public sites is valued more, for example, than the practices of caring that occur in less professional or unpaid work. The social service provider who theorizes about her caring work is still
seen as more respectable than the unpaid mother at home who may or may not theorize about the care of her children. White women in this thesis as professional helpers, enter into and disrupt what has been seen as the 'undifferentiated whole white body' of the dominant white man, and they mimic the respectability of such a world in order to gain from it. Yet, in order to gain a place in the realm of respectability white women participate in sustaining a hierarchy within the helping professions where care and empathy are valued more in some sites than in others.

I suggest that acts of helping can be understood as a form of mimicry when they function as a form of survival between positions of dominance and marginalization, resistance and complicity. Rehearsing as the interviewees did - practicing acts of empathy as young children - can be understood as practicing over and over again, a social form of mimicry. As young girls, the interviewees were already engaging in practices that bring them closer to other professionalized forms of caring and in practices (i.e., helping versus knowledge production) that identify them as separate from other, more male counterparts. In this way, acts of helping that are professionalized bring white women closer to respectability but also mark their difference from an unnamed ultimate form of professional (male) respectability based on knowledge production and theory, but not on care. While fields related to 'helping' and 'caring' have become more professionalized, they do not match the respectability of more male dominated fields. This is the element of mimicry of the professional work of helping as it is performed by white women.

Acts of empathy (i.e., through mission work/social services/psychotherapy) become one form of gendered mimicry through which the historical and contemporary white women can regulate the presence of the elite white man, the subordinated racial other, or other marginalized people.
While white women are not seen to represent an active part in conquering other peoples and their land, their front in the empathic profession, home and community can 'mimic' elites through other forms of social narration. This contributed to the implementation of imperialist narratives and white women's place within them. As Said suggests, the "power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging is very important to culture and imperialism" (Said, 1993, p.xiii). Empathy within the context of psychotherapy becomes one such tool of narration.

**The Fetish**

I understand mimicry to be an overt practice. Mimicry is an actual practice that engages, in this case, the professional white woman in her own form of 'borderland' experience, 'mimicking' other elites and marking her distance simultaneously. How can the professional practice of helping be sustained given the contradictions it produces? The 'fetish' becomes a good metaphor that describes one analysis of how white women can live with what McIntyre (1997) has described as a fundamental contradiction and dissonance in their own practices. I am applying the fetish here, not as a clinical term, but as a literary metaphor that helps us to better understand how deeply invested white women as helping professionals might be in constituting their fantasy of their own benevolence and innocence.

Historically, the Freudian version of the fetish was based on a heterosexual male normativity reduced to the specificity of the male organs and a male centered narrative (McClintock, 1995, p.138). McClintock suggests that the original concept of the fetish emerged both through "psychoanalysis and Marxism as a primitive regression and ...disavowal of the social value of
domestic work" (p. 138). This emergence indicated a disavowal of the female subjects who were involved in domestic work marking the male figure as central and normative to the fetish. Thus, it followed that the concept and study of fetish became the exclusive domain of psychoanalytic (male) thought while other actual practices of fetishism were manifested through social and public representations (p. 184). McClintock's discussion of fetish aims to re-integrate private and public origins in a way that has inspired my application of the fetish to white women's acts of empathy as being both personally and socially meaningful. The idea of the fetish will be applied both as a psychological metaphor and as a social parable describing the interviewees investment in their acts of helping.

Lacan's fetish, one of the most famous, originated out of a belief in an early childhood conflict between the boy and his mother (McClintock, 1995, p.189). The boy, in discovering that the mother had no phallus, could not reconcile his differences with her and displaced this internal conflict onto another object. This meant that the mother who had no phallus but was imagined to have one incurred the eventual trauma of the child's discovering this real lack. The pain of such a lack for the boy, this discovery of the anatomically 'different' mother, is an experience that is latched onto the fetish object. The fetish object is an object or a practice representing this traumatic moment of the imagined 'whole' mother who then does not fulfill the boy's phallic fantasy of the maternal figure. The ability to have and sustain this fetish suggests that for the boy, "the mutilated woman can be restored to imaginary wholeness" (p. 190). He does not sense that his core self will fragment (i.e., a shaky sense of self, low self-esteem), nor does the maternal figure in his fantasy risk this kind of 'falling apart'.

According to Lacan, the fetish object is kept as a kind of pacifier and comes to represent the original fantasy of the 'whole' mother despite other
different realities (p.190). The soother represents the moment when a behaviour or a practice can be said to be delayed, fixated, or stuck. Such a defense in real terms, can be seen as subtle or extreme. For example, a fetish-like defense might be manifested through activities such as obsessive thumb sucking, imaginations of invincibility, chronic self-mutilation, and other more or less repetitive activities.

So far, these are definitions of the fetish that do not take into account society's role in creating and sustaining fetishes. McClintock (1995) argues that reducing the fetish to a phallically centered analysis, is to simplify the theoretical subtlety and historical complexity of the fetish. She suggests that one cannot relegate practices such as a "... racist fetishizing of white skin, ...of Black dominatrices,...of national flags,...of class cross dressing" and so on as the mark of one simple origin of male desire. Rather, the fetish is defined through both a personal and an historical memory that co-create a personal and a public fetish through and within a social context. McClintock states that "...fetishes can be seen as the displacement onto an object (or person) of contradictions that the individual cannot resolve at a personal level. These contradictions may originate as social contradictions but are lived with profound intensity in the imagination and the flesh" (p. 184).

She argues that by displacing the social and unresolvable conflict onto the object of the fetish the individual gains some control over otherwise difficult-to-accept realities. The fetish exists not to resolve the conflict, but to embody it in an intensely personal way. More importantly, the fetish becomes representative of that which is unresolvable on a personal level while at the same time marking a crisis that embodies social meaning. For McClintock, this removes the fetish from its traditionally private and individualized meaning and also incorporates it into a social context.
Many theorists have critiqued and built upon Lacan's work, and it is sufficient for my purpose, to suggest that more recent theorists would define the fetish simply as a practice that replaces an archaic loss or a painful moment of loss or realization. For example, Kohut (1995) would not support the 'phallic mother' fantasy (p.143-199). Kohut suggests that in the moments of development in which the child experiences loss or pain, the child generally attempts to equalize these through the maintenance of a number of practices that form an equilibrium one can say constitutes the individual. These practices normally continue into adult life and are often assimilated in more or less reasonable ways. Thus, the fetish can be described as an overt practice that sustains a personal sense of balance, is assimilated into daily life, yet incorporates a relationship with society and a disavowal of difficult realities.

**The Discussion**

From the above discussion, I have selected three components of the fetish. This can be seen to be first, an obvious and recognizable practice that is repeated again and again. Second, the fetish includes the fantasy that this practice is good and real. Thirdly, the fetish includes what is hidden beneath this practice, the disavowal of a moment too painful to exist overtly and visibly.

While this is a more individualistic definition of the fetish, the same components of the fetish can be argued to represent larger scale social and historical practices (McClintock, 1995, p.184). For example, imperialism is shaped by the practices of a dominant group of people who continue to reproduce practices that can be seen, that shape what is seen as respectable and civilized despite the cost to others. The fetish of imperialism may be described first, by the fantasy that respectability can only be defined by the real
practices associated with a more civilized West, and second, that these practices are repeated again and again in the West; and third, the fetish as a metaphor for imperialism may be seen by the disavowal that this respectability depends on an implicit and inferior location and representation of 'less fortunates' (i.e., the racial other). This is to say, the apparent reproduction of the respectability of the West can be framed as a fetish-like fantasy that includes marking the repetition of the practices of the West, by the fantasy of their respectability, based on real practices and by the disavowal that others are marginalized through these very same practices.

Now, I will return to the fetish in relation to the white woman. As stated, the fetish functions to sustain real and repeatable practices, a fantasy for the self, and a disavowal of something less tolerable. As Kohut (1995) states, for some the "fear of loss of the reality of self [and] frightening experiences of shame" can produce defensive responses that create a more manageable equilibrium (p.152). The fetish allows the white woman as a psychotherapist to perform her acts of empathy innocently while simultaneously gaining respectability within imperialism.

Since the fetish requires an obvious and repeatable behaviour or practice; a fantasy of the self; and a disavowal of something intolerable, one might suggest that the practice of helping others - as a repeatable practice - shapes the fantasy of goodness for the white woman and that the disavowal includes seeing or examining how she participates in racist structures through the repetition of these same acts.

Both the fantasy and the disavowal can be explored even further. For example, the fantasy for the white woman is also the fantasy that her empathy towards other whites within psychotherapy is a solitary and innocent act. This suggests that it is a coincidence to be helping primarily other whites in a clean
office setting. The disavowal may be further examined to define the disavowal of how the racial other is spatially made invisible within psychotherapy or enters as culturally different when experienced or perceived as an 'exceptional' client.

Understanding these three components as constituting a fetish helps to hypothesize how white women within psychotherapy can continue to perform acts of helping both by imagining and gaining from their respectability as an elite form of helping others, but also by disavowing the historical and imperial implications of their practices. Their acts of helping become a function that sustains them as good and innocent despite 'other' realities. When empathy is understood within the frame of such a fetish-like defense, it becomes more apparent how its structure can be used to metaphorically frame how white women in the helping professions can sustain a positive sense of self despite participation within imperialist practices.

**The Grandiosity of Imperialism**

Within the fetish and its practices, fantasy and disavowal there is also the emergence of a degree of grandiosity. Grandiosity can be defined as the "omnipotence of the aggrandized self" (Kohut, 1995, p.18). It can be seen as a necessary part of the development of the self, but it can also continue in unhealthy and larger than life ways. On a social and historical scale, belonging to the dominant group may create a social imagined grandiosity that refers to colonial themes in order to believe and enact the grandiosity fantasized about the West. For example, the fantasy that the West is ultimately respectable, civilized and rational is a form of grandiosity that depends upon imagining the less advanced and more natural chaos of the East.
The White Woman's Grandiosity as a Helper

Being empathic professionally (and personally) towards others can also be understood as a form of grandiosity. Even when these practices are socially sanctioned as in the example of being a religious rescuer (Burton, 1994), or being the benevolent and kind teacher (Walkerdine, 1990), practices of helping can construct a core sense of self that depends on an element of imperial grandiosity. The white woman as a helping professional may be invested in her own feelings of grandeur that result from her rescue activities of others. Her helping activities may result in her feeling big and strong (grandiose) and as some of the white women in the interviews have already described, they did feel more whole and complete when they helped others.

I argue that such a feeling of 'wholeness' is defined for white women, through the parameters prescribed by imperialism. For example, the practices that have described the respectable white woman within imperialism are the same practices that have been described by the interviewees as making them feel more 'whole'. The white woman who is a helping professional can feel 'whole' through her helping activities of others because imperialist histories have shaped the possibility of her sense of respectability based on these acts of helping. Therefore, practices of empathy may not only shape a fetish-like response of fantasy and disavowal but they may be accompanied by a degree of grandiosity - an aggrandized belief in one's helping activities towards others.

Giving up the fantasy that practices of empathy are innocent, that they create a true sense of wholeness, or that the porcelain fairy will not break (Walkerdine, 1990), also suggests a sacrifice of being seen as whole within the frame of imperialism. By qualifying empathy in the realm of the innocent, I am suggesting that the conclusion of the empathic act comes to represent for the actor who does not problematize it, a sufficiently innocent act that is sanctioned
through a belief system of equitability, - a good enough representation of morality and national tropes. The fetish-like fantasy for acts of empathy is that the privileged position of the white actor can be dismissed (she can stay 'whole'). As with the boy who sustains the fantasy of the whole mother through the fetish, perhaps the helping professional white women's 'wholeness' is also sustained by the fetishized discourses of imperialism which shape her to be good, kind, moral and nurturing. When she continues to perform her fetish well, the discourse of imperialism is not disrupted and the fantasy remains.

**Mimicry as Subversion, Fetish as Fantasy**

I have explored the hypothesis that acts of empathy performed by the helping professional white woman can constitute a fetish-like practice and fantasy that allow her to feel whole and to reproduce the discourses of imperialism which have shaped her. I have argued that it is through the internal capacity to sustain the fetish-like fantasy that she can continue to perform on the borderland between dominance and marginalization, effectively mimicking elites while not becoming one of them. As Bhabha (1994) has stated, "mimicry represents an ironic compromise....and the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence....[which] must continually produce its slippage" (p.86).

The practice of professionalized forms of empathy is a form of mimicry. It is a strategy that makes one 'look' and constitutes one as the one who listens well, forming a sort of confessional lens through which a dominant relationship is set up between, for example, the white psychotherapist and the client of color. As the white psychotherapist who does the looking, listening and empathizing, she becomes more respectable, more elite, more dominant. While practices of caring can be professionalized, this is a subversive proposition because professionalized acts of caring make more respectable the practices of caring
which outside of professional sites, would not be thus perceived. The conjunction of becoming a professional, while using acts of caring to do this, is in itself a subversive act that provides these white women with a form of emulation and a form of resistance against what has historically been marked as normative, based on male defined terms of respectability (i.e., knowledge production).

It is precisely by examining the ability to make caring a professional practice that white women mimic what is required for their subjective positions of respectability within imperialism. It is precisely her ability to make respectable 'caring', that which has previously been seen as less respectable by those in more dominant positions, that white women become mimics. They are imitating and entertaining practices of dominance as professionals while never quite becoming fully dominant subjects. Acts of helping as performed by white women in professional sites are both an emulation and a resistance to the dominant terms of respectability. I have explored primarily how these are acts of complicity, and other research can examine more thoroughly how acts of helping have also resisted systemic forms of oppression. In short, it has been my focus to describe how the white psychotherapist renders nurturing to be a more respectable activity through its professionalization. The helping professional white woman become one liminal space through which domesticity and colonialism are bordered.

Finally, I have attempted to trace one particular site, not at the exclusion of other sites, through which the young white girl and helping professional's raced and gendered identity have a part in imperialism. By understanding how the professionalized act of empathy becomes a bridge between race and gender, between innocence and complicity, between a position of subordination and a position of dominance, suggests one site through which emotions - in the example of empathy - construct imperialist subjectivities and discourse.
While empathy is not seen to be aggressive, it has been my attempt to suggest that through its ideal capacity to allow white women to 'mimic' dominant practices when it is professionalized, and through its capacity to allow white women to participate in constituting and regulating a myriad of social relations, empathy put into practice by white women in professional settings, becomes a central tool of resisting white male terms of respectability. It is how white women can apply and use this very act (i.e., empathy/nurturing/emotion) that has set them apart from the white male body. By engaging the act of empathy as a professional (and mimical) tool, it becomes a 'menace' that disrupts what is otherwise seen as a whole and undifferentiated dominant discourse, perceiving knowledge production as more valuable than acts of caring. Applying empathy professionally becomes simultaneously an act of approving of and altering what can be seen as respectable in light of an imperial context.

In conclusion, acts of empathy, as one example of an expression of 'emotion', can become a mimical interloper between a dominant/marginal reality that demands continual flight between the possible loss of self and the loss of dominant membership and alternately, facing other more difficult and threatening realities of participation in the same. Empathy becomes a mimicry that 'menaces' and breaks apart the historical relations between white women, white men and the racial other while also assuming for them, membership within an imperial context.

The following and final chapter suggests that while professional white women are invested in, and shaped by the context of imperialism, perhaps their practice as white psychotherapists can evolve into a disruption of the same social systems. I introduce the next section as a practical and non-hypothetical discussion of acts of empathy by the white psychotherapist as a potential form of actual resistance against those dominant norms.
Chapter Seven:
Implications for the Critical Practice and Education of White Psychotherapists

That's what I think my job is...I can't liberate the whole world, I can't liberate people in a world that is fairly entrenched and dedicated to keeping them oppressed. But I do think therapy can be profoundly liberating (Brandy).

This thesis hopes to function as an analytic disruption of the central whiteness within psychotherapy while making statements about the value of caring and the subject positions of white women within the professional realm of social services. Results of research about white women have suggested that in many ways, white women feel that being white is normal and in the case of this thesis, that their work as psychotherapists is an example of what is innocent, helpful and kind. At the same time, there is a concrete awareness of their privilege as whites and how this is reflected within their professional practice of psychotherapy.

In this final Chapter I will outline the primary literature related to a field called cross cultural counselling; I will refer to how we might then come to define transformation; and I conclude with recommendations for the psychotherapist in her work to both reflect and act upon what this thesis has suggested.

Counselling Theorists on Race

Counselling theorists have considered issues of race in the psychotherapy session, but for the most part, they have not conceptualized the issues as I have proposed, that is, as historically organized and deeply psychically structured performances of domination through the location of the helping professional. Instead, theorists have been preoccupied with a measurement scheme that
evaluates the degree of racism that may be operating between two people or between two pieces of curriculum.

For example, Gim, Atkinson and Kim (1991) study the contradictory ratings Asian-Americans gave to Caucasian counsellors without exploring the immediate history or contexts of either, and how such a history may be replayed in the intersubjectivity of the therapeutic relationship. Thompson, Worthington and Atkinson (1994) discuss the conflictual relationship between Black women’s trust and levels of disclosure with both Black and white counsellors without exploring where some of the differences of preference might originate; Brown and Lent (1984) offer that Black clients prefer Black psychotherapists, but they do not explore the impact of within group differences, thus, homogenizing Blackness; and, Nickerson, Helms and Terrell (1994) attempt to understand how to work with Black clients who do not trust white counsellors but do not explore whiteness and the powerful historical role of the white counsellor.

To cite a more explicit example of the denial of race as an issue, I turn to the quantitative study done by Bhamgbose and Edward (1980), "The Effects of Race and Class on Clinical Judgement". This study attempted to examine the potential bias of client diagnoses as presented by either Black or white clinicians. In this study it was discovered that "no relation was found between the race of a patient and diagnostic severity" (p.608) in Black and white clinicians defining client’s diagnoses. Bhamgbose and Edward reinforce their point that racism does not happen in clinical settings by devaluing other research. Since other studies were sited within this article suggesting this may not be so, Bhamgbose and Edward’s particular study suggested that other studies present diagnostic differences which reflect methodological gaps and errors rather than being truthful to the actual racism highlighted in their results. They describe this as follows:
This study has made two findings: a) either the prevalence of misdiagnosis is not as great as the literature suggests; or b) research methods used to investigate the phenomenon have been inappropriate (p.608).

Bhamgbose and Edward's study, while the results do not represent the majority of studies, none-the-less highlights the fact that the attempts to quantitatively measure racism within a system which is itself racist, one can deny the reality of historical and raced relationships, something which Razack suggested was central to a racist system (Razack, 1994). Further, when racism is discovered in other studies, it is proclaimed to be due to a particular misjudgment of measurement rather than a reality in and of itself.

This illustrates, to an extreme degree, how some research which attempts to study the presence of racism in client and psychotherapist dyads can be manipulated to disguise or suppress the true force of historical racism. Henriques (1984) concurs that the science of measurement itself situates racism in ways which hold raced peoples accountable for racism or which simply negates racism as a system but declares it to be individual acts. In attempting to limit racism as individual acts or to deny it's systemic reality by way of measurement, one remains within a de-historicized and artificial information base.

Another example in which the literature illustrates a proposed ability to measure raced identities, are the psychotherapist's self-awareness inventories. The inventories are intended to light the path for better service, more useful interventions, and explanations and degrees for mistrust (Nickerson, Helms, and Terrell, 1994; Terrell and Terrell, n.a.; Thompson, Worthington, and Atkinson, 1994), measuring counsellor credibility (Atkinson, 1978), reasons for early termination by client, and counsellor preference of client (Brown, 1984; Kurtz, 1989). These inventories propose that a counsellor can self-interrogate cross-
cultural (d)efficiencies (D'Andrea, 1991; Ponterotto, 1991; Sodowsky, 1994) and they suggest that racism is something which can be measured and quantified.

In Sodowsky's (1994) article, "The Development of Multi-cultural Inventories; A Self-Report Measure of Multicultural Competencies", he looks at how the 'generic' counsellor acclimatizes to the more complex and 'different' qualities of the client. The client is racialized through her association to a particular non-white culture and furthermore, her culture is reduced to a descriptive ethnic group leaving the counsellor's culture and privilege untouched. This again maintains the responsibility for an individual psychotherapist to be both rational and self-enlightened, and for the individual client to be capable of changing and responsible for raced social systems even within the psychotherapy. It suggests that assimilation will occur through the mastering of difference on the part of the client and the guidance of the psychotherapist.

Alternately, in Ridley's (1994) article, "Cultural Sensitivity in Multicultural Counselling: A Perceptual Schema Model", he presents the 'idiograph' as more layered and contextual to examining approaches to both client and counsellor culture. The idiograph is a pictoral account (i.e., circles which share points of interaction and perhaps even share a center) of a variety of intersecting and overlapping factors which may include position of race, class, gender, culture and so on. Both the psychotherapist and the client are pictured within their own idiographs and both are then examined for possible similarities and differences. In this way Ridley accommodates at least analytically, the social and political realities which enter systemically into the therapeutic relationship. By doing so, Ridley attempts to make room for both the client and the psychotherapists personal and social organizing principles. How the idiographs are then implemented into the psychotherapist's private work is up to them.
Self-inventories encourage an assumption about the individual's ability to examine her own location in systemic and perhaps, internalized racism. Inventories appear to want to measure the existence of this hierarchy from the standpoint of such a rational being and civilized self-awareness, leaving the system itself perfectly in tact. However, Henriques (1984) pronounces, "the ideal of perfect information processing is based on one of pure rationality," which reinforces the concept of "rationality as an ideal for a democratic society and the emphasis on the individual as the site for the breakdown of this rationality and therefore the object of research" (p. 66). This process illustrates a belief that the individual, for example the white female psychotherapist, can be held accountable for being aware of her own racism. According to these models, it appears that the psychotherapist is hoped to be rational and neutral; she is non-racist and objective or appropriately subjective and she is all-knowing (except for the new behaviours). In successfully completing a self-awareness inventory on her own cultural awarenesses with clients, she comes to embody all that represents a more civilized culture.

This concept of the civilized individual must be further examined. Henriques reflects that when the client evokes racist feelings in another person (i.e., as the Black client 'evokes' in the white counsellor) it may be implied that the client is responsible both for the evoked racist feelings, for the relationship with the psychotherapist and for her own internal changes outside of the psychotherapeutic relationship. Rave (1990), Ridley (1989), and Sue and Sue (1990) contradict this by stating that the feelings of anger, mistrust and resistance may be healthy for the client of colour working with the white psychotherapist, and must be worked through both, by the psychotherapist in her personal work (to understand her role as a white psychotherapist) and within the therapeutic relationship, including an awareness of the social and political
implications. Not doing this suggests that the white psychotherapist may falsely assume her vast cross-cultural skills, identifying herself high on the self-awareness tabula, while attributing her client's anger to other sources outside of the racialized therapeutic relationship. Her whiteness becomes invisible in the framing of race, but also becomes a tool with which she situates racism as an issue that is really only for the client.

While this expectation of self-awareness falsely places great responsibility and enlightenment on the individual, to examine one's beliefs 'in relation' to others also raises concerns: In order to understand one's own racism in the context of a relationship one must enter into the experience of marginalization of others. Such attempts to understand a dominant culture by self-referential awareness are often done in reference to non-dominant cultures and, as Frankenberg (1993) writes:"...frequently degenerates into efforts to 'appreciate diversity', where this means appreciating those who are designated 'diverse' or 'different' rather than questioning the very system that constructs margins and a center" (p. 231).

While self-inventories make specific assumptions about the capabilities of the psychotherapist, therefore defending the notion of the historically rational and responsible individual, they conversely support an investigative process which pretends to examine a symbolic center but truly continues to culturalize those not central to the system. The myth of the self-inventory is also the myth of a self-reflexive ability to understand that of which one does not have any experience.

A similar argument can be made for the "White Identity Awareness Stages". This tabula is primarily presented by Helms (1984), but also referred to by Sabnani (1991). These writers state that higher levels of race awareness in a counsellor can help a client's own racial awareness. They also contribute that white dyads are significant raced relationships (Helms, 1984) which few other
authors suggested. While this tabula can offer insights and awareness, it presumes to a large degree that identity awareness on race moves unidirectionally. This has been disputed by Tatum (1993) who states that race awareness is like a spiral staircase where one step looks different from different vantage points, and one can move up and down the staircase. The Identity Awareness model is quite general so that it suggests whiteness is a unifiable group centralizing whiteness using only Blackness as the primary contrast group. This can be a useful tool in early stages of race awareness education, but finally limits how race intersects with other identifications to create social subjects.

Again, the Identity Awareness stages reinforce that it is the individual's perception of race and racism which is central. Thus, measurement is rooted in the pathologizing of the client, ignoring the therapeutic relationship, and psychology's history and preference for the individual. What is examined is the importance of the rational being as central to the breakdown of society as well as the implicit neutrality of the white counsellor. Within such a system, racism can often remain a silent partner evident only through it's implicit function as screen, sub-text, and as that which is 'invisible', or visible as it suits the discourse and awareness of the psychotherapist. The underpinning effort suggests that to master the 'difference' and to align with the implicit culture of the white psychotherapist is the ideal goal. To validate the need for a more thorough socio-political analysis in the field of psychotherapy is to properly historicize and complexify an otherwise individualistic, skill oriented and raced practice.

These studies illustrate that race as a pedagogical issue in psychotherapy can emerge in a way that does not examine how deeply organized and invested social subjects are in their identification as racialized (i.e., white or non-white) beings. These studies illustrate one attempt to measure and quantify aspects of racism that in fact, are much more complex and contradictory. This thesis has
suggested that issues of race within psychotherapy can only be properly understood and then applied to a pedagogy for the psychotherapist and student, when one historicizes the presence and practices of the helping professional and comes to understand how deeply invested the identification and desire to be a helper can be. Historicizing what it means to be a 'white psychotherapist' as one form of helping professional centrally locates the production of social subjects within imperialism in a way that cannot be reduced to a measurement or quantification of 'racisms' between two people or two pieces of literature and curriculum. Such a revisionist and historical approach must be central to the education of new social service providers.

**What Is Transformation Then?**

In order to discuss what a critical practice and education of the psychotherapist would look like, I refer first to Freire's (1993) discussion of the pedagogy of oppression. This form of pedagogy functions to frame how an anti-racist method of education can be translated to the site of psychotherapy. Freire's pedagogy becomes a tool for new possibilities for the white psychotherapist.

In particular, I make reference to Freire's use of the term 'word'. Freire suggests that the 'word' is a form of emancipatory action and "to speak a true word is to transform the world"(p. 68). The 'word' is broken down into two components so that through the practice of 'reflection' and 'action' the word can constitute social change. For example, 'reflection' marks the intent that produces the word, and 'action' is speaking the word in relationship to others so that all have a right to both reflect and speak about their experience. Freire calls this
'action-reflection' (p.69) and determines this combination as a central core to all pedagogy about oppression:

If it is in speaking their word that people, by naming the world, transform it, dialogue ...is thus an essential necessity. And since dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person's 'depositing' ideas in another...it must not be a situation where some name on behalf of others. It is an act of creation; it must not serve as a crafty instrument for the domination of one person by another (p. 70).

While Freire is speaking about a very particular context of educating the oppressed, I would like to translate his meaning of education to the contemporary practice of psychotherapy and the practice of empathy within that.

Psychotherapy is a practice of 'words'. As I have described, it has emerged as a profession partly out of a North American feminist analysis of how oppression happens for (mostly) white women. However, this analysis has also been a tool that helps to describe the systemic oppression of other subordinated people. In this way, while psychotherapy can still today be constituted as a primarily white profession, it has some emancipatory potential. As Freire's 'word' has the potential to transform the world, so too do the 'word' of the psychotherapist and the 'word' of the client have the potential to transform what occurs between them, within the profession, and perhaps within other helping professions as well.

In order for psychotherapy to demonstrate its emancipatory potential beyond its mostly white practitioners and clients, it must express both a form of 'reflection' and 'action' that takes into account what it means to be white, what it means to participate in a primarily white profession, how these practices shape whiteness, and how other professional activities (i.e., supervision, conferences, association membership) contribute towards these racialized relations. I will now
discuss in more detail, how the white psychotherapist might examine and participate in such a disruption.

**Reflection and Action**

First, there are the intentional activities that must occur within the session itself. This includes naming issues related to race within the work of the session. For example, it is important to examine stories and feelings that might emerge as racially based. As psychotherapists might examine issues around gender and systemic sexism, the white psychotherapist must pay attention to the themes on race that have been named in this thesis and how they might be named and redefined as essential to the work of psychotherapy. This applies to working with white and non-white, female and male clients, as well as by recognizing one's place in contributing the dynamic set up within these relations. For example, when clients of colour refer to anger, suicidal feelings, submission and resentment, or an overt idealizing of what represents the values associated to imperialism or whiteness, these must be examined for their explicit racial content - specifically in relation to the white psychotherapist.

As well, when white clients refer to feelings of grandiosity, dominance, guilt, or shame, these must be reflected upon as historically, socially and racially based as well. In particular, the moment-to-moment practice of empathy must be understood as a tool that can enhance and reinforce the client's emotional and affective state, as well being a tool that can disrupt it. The white psychotherapist who responds in empathic ways to statements by clients (white or non-white) that reflect some form of racialization is not applying this professional tool in a way that might serve to disrupt racism. The professional use of empathy, choosing when not to express it, deciding how to follow the client's ensuing response, and
how to apply this as an educational tool about race, can become a tool for
disruption by the educated white psychotherapist.

This is a complex recommendation since the the risk of an altered
expression of psychotherapy's primary tool is that the profession and the core
identity of its professionals will be inalterably disrupted. As I have stated, re-
defining the value of empathy in this context may alter the fundamental way in
which white women involved in such professions constitute their sense of self
and the possibility of the profession itself. This thesis cannot solve these deeply
set imperial dilemmas, but it hopes to initiate further discussion and research on
how the self-reflexivity of dominantly white professions, such as psychotherapy,
depend on particular practices in order to sustain themselves and the identity of
their professionals.

This requires being aware of what kinds of personal investments the white
psychotherapist might have in denying his or her contribution to racisms, feeling
innocent, and to reproducing specific representations of whites and non-whites in
the context of the session. As my thesis has discussed, the white
psychotherapist must examine how she practices her empathy both with whites
and with non-whites. While more research must be done examining the clinical
specificities of this practice, it is important to begin with an awareness that
empathy is not based solely on a psychotherapist's investment in her
professional success but is also risking a disruption of how this professionalism
depends on being an 'empathic' and 'good' white person.

By recognizing the fantasies that are deeply embedded for the white
psychotherapist - fantasies related to goodness, kindness, and respectability -
the white psychotherapist can begin to reflect and act upon her white and non-
white client's in new ways. Narayan (1991) reflects that in the context of
understanding these differences the listener does best when she has both "a
methodological humility and methodological caution" (p. 12). Thus, such humility and caution in relation to the expression of empathy also prescribe a continual reflection on one's own investments in the case of psychotherapy.

There are other possibilities for disrupting the whiteness of psychotherapy that have to do with practices of solidarity related to the profession. These practices may be seen as a form of empathy, however, seen as 'solidarity', they go beyond an expression of empathy and imply a greater realm of practice, action and change. One recommendation for the education of white psychotherapist's is not only to understand the limitations (and fantasy for) such momentary expressions of empathy, but also to reinforce acts of solidarity as functional and transformative. In effect, such actions can occur through a number of practices and settings that would divert the white helping professional from investing too much clinical expertise in acts of empathy and re-invest them in a disruption of historical identifications.

For example, solidarity might be seen in finding ways to negotiate the fee for service so that white and non-white clients who cannot otherwise access therapy can access this reflective and privatized service. As my thesis has discussed, this economic transaction is not only about the question of income, but it produces a simultaneous affect of 'representing' marginalized others within a more privileged setting. This can arguably be seen as solidarity. It removes the white psychotherapist as a primary representative of who is seen in respectable sites and shifts the relations of power that produce whiteness as normative. When marginalized others (i.e., ability, sexual orientation, and race) are engaged in practices and settings that historically mark the respectability of the more dominant, then their presence exemplifies how the dominant group has also historically reproduced its own 'civilized' form of respectability.
As well, a white psychotherapist can take action through examining how psychotherapeutic association membership is defined. Examining how membership criteria makes 'acceptable' those who appear to have already accessed privileged resources may alter how whites appear most eligible for such membership. Conversely, associations must request that other racial communities demonstrate their own knowledge about health and healing and these associations must invite opportunities that teach white psychotherapists how they are perceived as whites. This will result in tangible restrictions on the value and expertise of a white helping professional’s knowledge base and professional breadth. Thus, reinstating other cultural and racialized forms of expertise represents a transformative reconfiguration of historical identifications and practices. This kind of professional interaction between white and non-white communities could mark an act of solidarity by whites that goes beyond the identified constraints of psychotherapy.

When associations seek out these conversations, whites are placed in a position of discussing alternate definitions and practices of health in a way that both brings awareness to, and de-centers their whiteness. As McIntyre (1997) suggests, resisting professional conversations and relationships with people of colour can contribute slipping into a white world, with "an occasional adventure to visit the Other" (p. 140). Encouraging educational and supervisory interactions across racial groups and cultures can be one attempt that shifts the focus of whiteness and re-positions other discourses. This suggests that associations must do outreach to other diverse communities asking questions about where people of colour are situated within the helping professions, how whites see them, and how they relate to whites.

As this thesis has illustrated, there is a dirth of literature on how whiteness constructs psychotherapy and the psychotherapist in specifically racialized ways.
Therefore, creating new literature on race and professional social service providers can shape a more critical and educational practice for existing white psychotherapists. Understanding this process as an anti-racist critique of psychotherapy is as essential as psychotherapy's origins which hoped to disrupt gendered claims within a patriarchal context. Given what has been demonstrated in this thesis, providing new curriculum and literature for the psychotherapist in training, would disrupt what Martinez (1994) has illustrated is a method of training white professionals across educational settings.

**In Conclusion**

In conclusion, I suggest that these alternate professional practices can constitute a new kind of empathy, or perhaps better called 'solidarity', in the context of psychotherapy. These practices shape what Freire (1993) has referred to as an education about oppression. Through the above forms of reflection and action, white psychotherapists can begin to disrupt themes of race, class and gender. Empathy in this case, becomes not only an activity between whites within a primarily privileged setting, and not only an expression of one's privilege towards others, but empathy as reflection and action becomes a Freirean response to social systems of marginalization. Thus, empathy seen as solidarity is not invested (as much) in a fantasy of the self or in an imperial membership, but can manifest a true philosophical and historical potential.

I have attempted to delineate the psychical and material conflicts that produce the labour of caring as a meaningful production of the social subjectivity of these white women. It has been my attempt to highlight that their whiteness is historically constituted through activities of helping and how their professional work regulated their whiteness, their gendered identity, and contribution towards
resisting and shaping the place of the racial other. The specific context of psychotherapy illustrates one setting through which white professionals are trained to re-constitute, again and again, imperial subjectivities. Framing this work within an anti-racist analysis suggests that new tools for training the helping professional can make space for what Freire (1993) has determined is an essential project of educating not only the oppressed, but also the oppressor (p.42). This thesis attempts to stand as one example of a critical and educational text on psychotherapy, creating an awareness that despite fantasies of innocence and kindness, the white helping professional can make room for new social relations that speak to historical injustices.

Epilogue I: A Future Field of Research

While I have described in this thesis a broad historical narrative of white women within the helping professions, there is also a more local and current context that frames how white psychotherapists might be participating in systemic discriminations. Since the subjectivity of white women has emerged within a historical context, this current manifestation of health is important to frame and it leads to questions for future research projects.

As North American feminist psychotherapists are trying to find ways to make space for the person of color into their predominantly white practices, they are also tapping into another social movement where healthful living has become a source of consumerism. While this contemporary trend attempts to bring balance to an unhealthy technological and urban world, the West also depends upon the racial other imagined in the jungle and the desert to signify what might be seen as representing more healthful and less scientific versions of living. As
this thesis has explored, health comes to be simultaneously defined as normative by white, middle class people in the West. However, defining 'health' allows us to appropriate some of the tools and practices of the "Third World". This contradictory context reflects that definitions of what 'health' is, and how we in the West hope to achieve this 'health' depends on complex discourses that relate to an imperial history.

These trends of health and environmental well-being depend upon producing images of the racial other as more healthful than the Western person and therefore, also more natural and less advanced. Nestel (1994) suggests for example, that this health movement is in part exemplified by how The Body Shop declares a more natural health for 'all' (p.35) while depending on images of the racial other in order to provide for whites these more natural tools of health. While the Western person can purchase the products that emerge from such a mercantilism, the person of colour in the "Third World" gains little more than a reproduction of their historical and colonial images.

Making health a consumer activity in the West, dependent upon the racial 'other' in order to concretize an image of natural and more healthful living, can also be seen in the field of psychotherapy. For example, some authors identify the process of transforming 'soul' wounds, of performing exorcisms, and of other more communal forms of healing as valuable forms of psychotherapy (Aron, 1992; Duran, 1990; Herbst, 1992; Kuoch, 1992). Yet, these kinds of healing were initially silenced in Western medicalized assumptions because of a standardized vision for health and well-being. These 'other' therapies were not seen as empirically authorized so they were circulated discursively as 'quacky', 'irrational' and 'dangerous' methods of working with people and their psyche. They were initially disqualified based on their emergence within 'less developed' or 'less civilized' countries.
Currently, these forms of healing are trendy in conjunction with a romanticization of the natural world that feeds a Western imagination and consumerism of health. However, rather than valuing the racial other as a professional who represents these othered forms of healing, applying them becomes valued as scientific and respectable when they are introduced and applied by whites. While the racial other remains an important symbol of health within the process of marketing, this symbolization requires them to be located within the setting of the jungle, the desert or the village. Setting them clearly within colonial representations, the racial other (within and outside the West) does not appear to gain a Western form of respectability by implementing the same methods of healing.

In this regard, other white 'helping' professionals can integrate marginalized methods of healing and through their use, enhance their own professional expertise. What is respectable remains that practiced by, for and about other whites. Littlewood (1992) concurs that the lack of training and the lack of access to these 'othered' services further marginalizes these services and marginalizes the person of colour who might practice them professionally and gain status through their application.

While a balance of health and well-being might be the ultimate goal of this contemporary and Western movement, the tension that is produced in defining an ideal form of healthfulness within a Western culture ought not to depend upon the marginalized romanticization of the racial other or the elevated respectability of the white clinician in order to do so. This area presents for me, a new facet of research on health and race that frames the context of alternate health professions within broader racialized discourses.
Epilogue II:
Insights Into My Own Practice

The writing of this thesis has had a profound affect on my ability to not only theorize how my own practices and identity are shaped within the helping professions, but it has also resulted in an ongoing awareness of being white in a daily manner. In this ongoing process as an academic, a professional, and a private person, I have continued to try to find new ways through which I can speak to and name this reality both within my clinical work and within other academic contexts. At the same time, I am constantly aware of how and when I continue to reinstate the very concepts I have theoretically come to understand as representational of my historical (as a white woman) and contemporary subject position. As the thesis comes to an end, as I accept what I 'know' in this area of research, I am faced again with the complexity of how deeply ingrained these racialized discourses and practices of kindness are in my ongoing professional and personal practice. It will be an ongoing project to consider, to reflect and to put into practice professional and personal practices of reconfiguration.
Appendix One

Interview Schedule

1) General information on you as a psychotherapist:
   - primary influences as child
   - status of present private practice
   - the nature and quality of education and training, including that of any anti-racism training.

2) Specific accounts related to race and culture that shaped your first or early contact with the racial other and how you first began to perceive yourself as white.

3) How did you decide that you wanted to become a psychotherapist?

4) Specific accounts of working with particular clients (both white and not white). Describe them in as much detail as you like.
Bibliography


Deleuze and Guattari, incomplete.


Fernando, S. "Race in Mental Health Services: Power, Culture and Service Provision." *Presentation at Queen Street Mental Health Center*, Nov. 4, 1994.


Helms, J. E. "Expanding Racial Identity Theory to Cover Counselling Process." *Journal of Counselling Psychology* vol. 1, pp. 62-64.


McIntosh, P. "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack". incomplete.


Razack, S. "Asian Canadians and Schooling: Moving Beyond Accommodation and Towards Equity." In press. 1995


Roman, L. "White is a Colour! White Defensiveness, Postmodernism, and Anti-Racist Pedagogy". incomplete.


