

## RACISM AND PROJECTION OF THE SHADOW

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*This article uses the Jungian concepts of the shadow and shadow projection to illuminate racism. It argues that racism is one form of shadow projection. Racism and shadow projection have deleterious effects on both the targets and the perpetrators of projection. For the targets of projection, psychotherapy involves empathic understanding of the effects of racism and client empowerment. For the perpetrators of projection, psychotherapy involves exploration, acceptance, and monitoring their shadow side. This article suggests that training for therapists also include awareness of the shadow. Such awareness would support therapists' comfort with clients of different cultural backgrounds.*

In a universal daily drama, one individual takes an immediate dislike to another. The despised other may or may not have done anything to incur the dislike. Regardless, the first individual may feel repelled by the other, thinking "I hate to be near him." The first may feel disgusted by the other, thinking, "He gives me the creeps!" The first may feel hostile, thinking, "I want to get him before he gets me." According to Jungian (1951/1971) theory, when this dislike occurs, the first individual is likely projecting his or her shadow onto the other.

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This individual projection is a microcosm of a larger societal projection, in which groups of people, even nations, dislike other groups. The despised group may or may not have done anything to incur the dislike. Regardless, the despising group can isolate the other group into a separate neighborhood. They may feel disgust toward the other group and deny them rights and privileges. They may feel hostile and foment violence against the others. These larger societal dramas have been carried out, with varying degrees of severity, by Nazi Germany in its destruction of the Jews, Serbia in its "ethnic cleansing," and by the United States judicial system in its imposition of the death penalty. This systemic dislike foments such conflicts as those between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, Israelis and Palestinians.

In the United States, one manifestation of group dislike occurs in the form of racism. This nation is home to people of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Some of these groups find themselves less valued than others by the larger society. African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans represent some of the ethnic groups who often experience mistrust and dislike in the context of the dominant European American society.

This article suggests that the Jungian (1951/1971) concepts of the shadow and shadow projection comprise a major psychological source of racism. This article looks at the psychological effects of projection and racism on both the targets of racism and on its perpetrators. It also looks at the ways racism and shadow projection affect psychotherapy and at how therapists might integrate awareness of the shadow into therapy practice.

### Racism

Racism is defined by Pinderhughes (1989) as a societal structure in which people solve their discomfort about human differences by claiming superiority. She continues, "Belief in superiority of Whites and the inferiority of people-of-color



## *Racism and Projection of the Shadow*

based on racial difference is legitimized by societal arrangements that exclude the latter from resources and power and then blames them for their failures, which are due to lack of access" (Pinderhughes, p. 89). In other words, she observes differences between people raising discomfort, resolved by the development of a social hierarchy, in which some people feel morally superior to the others seen as different. To justify this moral superiority, by making it visible in societal terms, the groups seen as inferior are excluded from society's resources and power, which consigns them to a lower social status. The group that sees itself as morally superior, and therefore legitimately privileged, views the excluded group as not only inferior but, due to their inferiority, responsible for their subordinate social position.

Similar to Pinderhughes (1989), Jones (1997) defined racism as a belief, supported by systematic attempts to prove its rationality, in one race's superiority and another's inferiority, with the allocation of privilege or advantage to the perceived superior group and the rejection of the discredited group. In effect, racism provides the privileged a way to deny their role in maintaining the hierarchical social structure from which they benefit at the expense of the less privileged.

Racism has an insidious quality. As Hill (1997) pointed out, "Racism can occur even if the people causing it have no intention of subordinating others because of color, or are totally unaware of doing so" (p. 351). Therefore, racism may not only be unmeditated, but unintended. Furthermore, a group targeted with racial dislike can develop its own prejudices. For instance, African American society is often perceived as homophobic (Mays & Cochran, 1988). Similar to racial prejudice, African American homophobia can represent a dislike linked to the social hierarchy in which relative privilege is afforded to heterosexual members of society (Silvera, 1991). Greene and Boyd-Franklin (1996) also saw African American homophobia as internalized racism, suggesting that African Americans may adopt the larger society's tendency to solve discomfort with differences by claiming superiority.

Racism can be considered a personality trait. Gough (1951) developed a Prejudice (PR) subscale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), to explore racism as a trait. He found participants who score high on the PR scale tending to be "harassed, tormented, resentful, peevish, querulous, constricted, disillusioned, embittered, distrustful, rancorous, apprehensive, and somewhat bewildered" (Gough, 1951, p. 253). Gough (1951) also found high scores on the PR scale correlating with anti-Semitic attitudes. Further study by Dunbar (1995) added the finding that among White subjects, high PR scores correlated with both anti-African American as well as anti-Semitic beliefs.

Projection of the shadow

### **Projection of the Shadow**

This article suggests that racism is a manifestation of shadow projection. The concept of the shadow was developed by Jung (1951/1971) as the location for the hidden or repressed aspects of the self. According to Jung, human nature consists not only of welcome, laudable, and easily visible contents, but also of "the 'negative' side of the personality, the sum of all those unpleasant qualities we like to hide" (Zweig & Abrams, 1991, p. 3). This shadow side can include characteristics of one's opposite gender, qualities within oneself that stir embarrassment or shame, as well as inferior and reprehensible qualities. Such inferior qualities could well include the personality description Gough (1951) developed to describe individuals scoring high on the PR scale. Being uncomfortable to acknowledge, the shadow resists conscious awareness. Nevertheless, as an aspect of the self, the shadow demands expression (Jung, 1951/1971). If given no conscious outlet, one way the shadow gains expression is through projections. Projection occurs when one sees in another aspects of one's own shadow.

Projections involve emotions. If an individual feels a painful emotion, without accepting that emotion as one's own, one can project the cause of that pain onto another (Jung, 1951/1971). Seen as causing pain, the other is then at fault and reprehensible. In addition to emotions, projections involve personal characteristics. When one projects one's shadow, one attributes an inferior characteristic of one's own to another person. In placing that inferior characteristic onto another, one is making an unconscious effort to banish that inferior characteristic from one self (Zweig & Wolf, 1997). Seeing clearly another's inferiority, the projector can then maintain an illusion of moral superiority.

Projection is not a conscious process. According to Jung (1951/1971), the unconscious does the projecting. Therefore, projection occurs without awareness of its process, but as a reflexive response. Placing one's hand on a hot stove,

*Kenneth M. Reeves*

the kinesthetic reflexes withdraw the hand, the projective reflexes blame the stove. If the projecting individual has no inclination to recognize his or her projections, that individual becomes free blithely to view any and all as blameworthy.

If the projectors have power, they can use that power to harm the target of their projections. The group in power can kill the targets of their projections, or simply see the targets as undeserving, which justifies denying those targets society's rights and privileges. This power becomes exercised, again, without awareness of the projection process. Projectors may supply rational arguments to justify the projections and the projection's effects, but the projection process still emerges from the unconscious as an escape from self-awareness (Jung, 1951/1971).

Jung (1957/1971) added that groups of people can disown their shadow and project it onto other groups. He observed that modern life requires concentrated conscious functioning, causing societies to relegate their unconscious to the shadow. Still, society's shadow demands expression, and when it gains expression through projection, "disagreeable consequences" (Jung, p. 276) can occur. As an example of such a "disagreeable consequence," Jung (1957/1971) cited the Nazi destruction of European Jews. Contemporary observers in the United States could see racism as another, though less severe, "disagreeable consequence" of shadow projection. In these examples, a minority carries the projection of that which the majority rejects (Zweig & Abrams, 1991). Not wanting to see its avarice, Nazi Germany sees it in the Jews, then collects gold fillings from the teeth of Jewish corpses. Not wanting to see its own capacity for violence, White America can see it in African American men, such as Rodney King, whom it abuses.

The process of denying one's shadow side, seeing that shadow in others, then allowing those carriers of the rejected self to be harmed, meets one definition of evil (Zweig & Abrams, 1991). By this definition, evil occurs when one group denies its capacity for violence, which relegates that violence to the shadow. When the first group denies its violence, but sees violence in a second group, a projection is occurring. The first group sees its own shadow in the second group. The second group's perceived violence then justifies allowing violence to befall this second group. In effect, the first group denies its violence, but sees it in others, which it uses to justify permitting

or committing violence against the others, the violence the first group claims not to have. By this definition, evil operates without its perpetrators' awareness. People can believe they are doing good by exterminating "evil, harmful people," but when the perpetrators allow harm to befall the "harmful" minority, they are behaving in the way they claim to be attacking. Though believing they are combating evil by attacking another group they see as evil, the attackers, in truth, perpetrate evil.

### **Racism and Projection**

This article argues that racism has a psychological root in the projection of the shadow. It states that racism is a form of shadow projection, in which a dominant segment of society refuses to see a disowned aspect of its own nature, sees it in a racial or cultural minority, then allows harm to befall that minority. Applying this hypothesis to the United States, the dominant White segment of society, unwilling to see something of its shadow side, projects that shadow onto its ethnic minorities, this shadow projection made manifest in racism (Whitmont, 1991). Within a smaller segment of society, any dominant group can see its inferior characteristics represented in its minorities and project the shadow onto those minorities. For instance, heterosexual African American society can project its shadow onto homosexual African Americans. In addition, a subordinate social group can project its shadow onto a dominant group, as a way of assuming some moral high ground (although without power, the subordinate group would have little influence on the social hierarchy).

To observe parallels between racism and projection, both involve projected emotions. For example, the dominant White society can view African Americans as having hostile emotions. White people might then avoid young African American men, fearing their supposed hostility. Seeing hostility in these others allows the dominant group to overlook its own hostility. This hostility gains expression through racism, as the dominant group denies African American men access to the social benefits of employment and imprisons a large proportion of them.

Both racism and projection involve seeing disowned personal characteristics in the other group. Again, the White population can see in African Americans a characteristic of themselves, which the White people prefer not to see. For example,

## *Racism and Projection of the Shadow*

African Americans are sometimes seen as lazy. All human beings have some laziness, but when White people see African Americans as lazy, White people can then deny their own laziness. This projection of laziness contributes to racism, because seeing African Americans as lazy and therefore less deserving justifies denying them access to societal benefits.

Both racism and projection involve a lack of awareness of their processes. Promoters of racism may voice reasoned arguments in favor of another group's inferiority (Jones, 1997) but demonstrate no awareness of the process of racism behind their arguments. The perpetrators of racism may even consciously desire an egalitarian society, yet unwittingly enact the racist process (Hill, 1997). Similarly, as individuals project their shadow, they are not cognizant that what is seen in the despised others exists within themselves (Jung, 1951/1971). Despite seemingly reasoned arguments justifying the blameworthiness of the targeted group, behind the justifications there is no awareness of the process of projection.

### **The Effects**

For the projector, the main effect of projection is to isolate the individual from the environment (Jung, 1951/1971). The projecting individual does not relate to the real world, but to "the replica of one's unknown face" (Jung, p. 146). In other words, one sees in the world around one the hidden aspects of oneself. One does not relate to the world on its own merits, but instead relates to the despised parts of oneself seen in the world. In the end, the world and its inhabitants are not seen and understood for who they are, but as supposed by evil and wicked mirrors of one's own unknown self.

As a result, the projector does not experience oneself as belonging to the whole of humanity (Pinderhughes, 1989). Projecting one's shadow onto a targeted minority causes one to avoid that minority and associate with one's own group. Each subgroup of humanity has developed routes to survival and growth. Limiting oneself to one facet of humanity deprives the projector of the support of the many routes available within the larger human experience. A second result is that the projecting individual is not a whole person within oneself. With the shadow projected elsewhere, one remains out of touch with its energizing and creative influence (Zweig & Wolf, 1997). Furthermore, one's rejected shadow might

gain expression self-destructively through addictions or mood disorders, or cause dysfunction in relationships (Zweig & Wolf, 1997). Robert Bly (1991) observed the shadow's backlash: "Every part of our personality that we do not love will become hostile to us" (p. 7). Therefore, within the projecting individual the hidden shadow remains as a corrosive influence. As a third result, projection causes harm to others (Pinderhughes, 1989). On an individual level, shadow projection can result in marital affairs, hatred, and/or racism.

On the corporate level, when society's hidden shadow leaks blame and attendant abuse onto a racial minority, racism occurs with destructive effects (Pinderhughes, 1989). For instance, in the United States, targets of racism, such as African American people, often experience limits on their socioeconomic achievement (Pinderhughes, 1982). Attempting to push against these limits creates stress. High stress among African Americans results in health problems, such as high blood pressure (Krieger & Sidney, 1996), as well as interpersonal problems, such as strains in family relationships (Pinderhughes, 1982).

A second effect is that the system's limitations on African Americans' achievements undermine their sense of personal efficacy (Pinderhughes, 1982). Doubting their efficacy can cause African American people to operate less effectively to improve their lives, families, and communities. It is as if racism generates personal inadequacy and unworthiness, which it prophesies.

A third effect is that to be a target of projection, and in effect a target of evil, takes a psychological toll. When shadow projection occurs in the form of racism, Latina women, for example, experience, "depression, anxiety, nightmares, and post-traumatic stress disorder" (Vasquez, 1994, p. 122). Individuals who experience racism's message that they are less than worthy experience hurt and anger and struggle to maintain their sense of personal worth. In a related study, Landrine and Klonoff (1996) found that among 153 African Americans, 100% of the participants, responding to an 18-item Schedule of Racist Events, reported having experienced racism in their lifetimes. Of these almost all (99.4%) found racial discrimination stressful. These experiences of racism were strongly related to a higher incidence of psychological problems and tobacco addiction (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

A final effect is that to be the target of racism and projection is deadly. In a study of racial preju-

*Kenneth M. Reeves*

dice and the death penalty, among high prejudice-scoring participants. Black defendants received stronger recommendations to receive the death penalty than did comparable White defendants (Dovidio, Smith, Donnella, & Gaertner, 1997).

The projection of the shadow can create deleterious effects on the projecting society. As mentioned above, a society can disown aspects of its identity, which becomes projected onto another society. For instance, a nation might deny its destructiveness, see it in another nation, and go to war against that nation. The effects of war on the society going to war can include the losses of life, national wealth, and civil liberties. At worst, a projecting nation, such as Germany in World War II, can become virtually destroyed.

#### **Therapy for the Victim of Projection**

Racism and projection of the shadow have numerous implications for psychotherapy. The client who has been the target of projection and the client perpetrator of projection bring to therapy different treatment issues. Projection also has implications for therapist training and the therapy process itself.

A minority client may arrive in therapy as a result of being the target of societal projection. As a result, such a client may be experiencing physical, interpersonal, and psychological problems due more to systemic rejection than to personal deficits (Vasquez, 1994). Therapy then involves an open airing of society's effects on the client and an affirmation of client worth in the face of societal projection (Vasquez, 1994). After that, therapy can involve supporting client empowerment through imparting skills in assertiveness, and developing with the client personal support strategies, such as positive self-talk (Vasquez, 1994). Ultimately therapy can support the development of a positive identity as a basis for mental health and well-being in the face of societal projection.

#### **Therapy for the Perpetrator of Projection**

Jung (1957/1971) envisioned psychotherapy as a process in which the shadow personality can be brought into awareness and assimilated, thus reducing its inhibiting and destructive potentials and releasing trapped positive life energy. In other words, one observes and accepts personal characteristics that had been rejected by the idealized self-image, and one establishes a new, more vital personal order that includes one's rejected charac-

teristics. This process of observation and acceptance often involves the loss of the illusion of personal moral flawlessness and loss of the facile ability to attribute moral culpability to others. With the formerly comfortable and reassuring self-image relinquished, doubts can surface about one's worth and confusions arise over one's identity. This doubt and identity confusion can be accompanied by despair, and therapy should involve support to work through this confusion and despair.

In therapy, despair may also occur when the destructive effects of shadow projection become evident. For instance, Macbeth, near the end of Shakespeare's (1623/1984) play of the same name, realizes the blood on his hands and the misery wrought by his uncontrolled shadow. Filled with despair he cries, "Life's but a walking shadow . . . it is a tale, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing" (p. 154). At such a juncture, therapy involves supporting a client's confession, looking with the client at his or her destructive actions, and supporting grief and redemption.

As one looks further at one's shadow, therapy involves supporting a client in learning to love these hidden characteristics (Hillman, 1991). The therapist is cautioned to avoid letting the client simply resolve to be better, a resolution that would strengthen the self-image and repress again the shadow (Hillman, 1991). Instead, therapy involves the client's developing a way of being that integrates and contains shadow elements, such as weaknesses or destructiveness. According to Hillman (1991), once the shadow has been uncovered, therapy involves first monitoring the shadow to guard against further projections. Second, therapy involves a breakthrough to acceptance of the shadow. Hillman (1991) calls this breakthrough, "that laughing insight at the paradox of one's own folly which is also every man's" (p. 243). In the end, one maintains a moral stance in control over one's shadow, while also joyfully loving and accepting it as a part of one's being.

One benefit of integrating the shadow is that it brings greater wholeness and authenticity to the individual (Zweig & Wolf, 1997). As an example, outcome research with preadolescent boys showed that their acknowledgment in therapy of their undeveloped masculine shadow supported their personal growth and development (Eide-Midtsand, 1987). Jung (1957/1971) saw as another benefit of therapy the alleviation of the problems of personal evil and social destructiveness.

## *Racism and Projection of the Shadow*

This benefit occurs when the acceptance one brings to one's shadow extrapolates to an acceptance of other people (Hillman, 1991). In other words, just as there was an inward rejection of one's shadow, there was also a parallel outward rejection of people onto whom the shadow was projected. Through therapy, as one learns to accept every aspect of oneself, this accepting attitude becomes the attitude one brings to others. The acceptance of all people halts the shadow's projections, alleviates such corollary effects as racism, and ceases one's support of evil.

### **Therapist Training Considerations**

Contemporary psychotherapy training recognizes the demographic reality that client and therapist cultures will not always match. Within the United States in 1999, African Americans, American Indians, Asians, and Hispanics represent about 17.6% of the population, with this percentage slowly increasing (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Therefore, if psychotherapy clients fit United States demographics, then, by 2015, one in five clients will belong to a racial minority (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Given the likelihood of conducting psychotherapy with minority clients, it becomes important for psychotherapists to be trained to work effectively with such clients.

The standard suggestions for training therapists in cultural sensitivity involve the therapists' understanding and appreciation of their own and their clients' cultural identities, developing therapist awareness of their own attitudes toward clients' ethnicities, and self-scrutiny to examine stereotypes, assumptions, and prejudices (Lu, Lim, & Mezzich, 1995). Unfortunately, such conscious efforts may fall short. The well-meaning therapist, striving to be as "good" as possible, can repress undesired attitudes into his or her shadow. Repressed, the shadow may then be projected unintentionally onto a client.

Minority clients can stir deep, unconscious feelings in therapists, which can become the contents of projections and countertransference (Comas-Diaz & Jacobsen, 1991). In other words, the shadow can enter uninvited in countertransference reactions to a minority client. Some of these reactions may be relatively benign. Not wanting to own one's shadow, the therapist may overcompensate for it by being overly good, expressing superficial solidarity, solicitousness, guilt, or pity toward a minority client. Uncomfortable with the

way interpersonal differences raise projections, the therapist may also deny differences between oneself and one's client (Lu et al., 1995). Other reactions may be less benign. For instance, a therapist can deny one's personal shadow and society's racism, then ignore its pressures on a minority client, or a therapist can collude with racism to view the client's suffering as entirely the client's fault. A therapist may be impatient with a client's slow progress or even behave aggressively toward a client (Lu et al., 1995).

To prevent such projection, the therapist needs to become familiar with the contents of one's own shadow. Advocating such self-awareness, Jung (1973) stated that for one not to perpetrate the evils associated with projection, one must "know relentlessly how much good [one] can do, and what crimes [one] is capable of" (Jung, p. 75). Being human, the therapist contains both goodness and crimes, and can potentially express either in the therapy session. Therapist training in awareness of the shadow can occur through the same process involved in therapy for individuals who have been projecting their shadows. In such training, the therapist gives up the image of being all good, experiencing some discomfort in the process. The therapist also accepts the harmful effects one's projections have had on others. Rather than trying to be better and to restore the good self-image, the therapist learns to love the personal traits that raise discomfort. Then the therapist both accepts and monitors those shadow traits.

Awareness of one's shadow can parallel and support standard training in cultural awareness by easing the threat posed by interpersonal differences. When one accepts the full range of one's inner characteristics, one can accept the full range of human characteristics. Such training in shadow awareness, if it were to have the desired effect of reducing conscious or unconscious racism, would result in psychologically healthier clinicians. Research by Hightower (1997) indicates that racially tolerant individuals have better interpersonal skills, better internal control and integration, greater cognitive resourcefulness, and better psychosocial functioning than racially intolerant individuals.

While this article argues for the development in therapists of awareness of their shadows, it recognizes that such awareness is difficult and painful to achieve. Nevertheless, such awareness benefits not only minority clients, but all clients.

*Kenneth M. Reeves*

Even when from the same ethnic group as the therapist, clients present with weaknesses and flaws that can evoke the therapist's own weaknesses and flaws. The therapist who wishes not to accept these uncomfortable traits in himself or herself may deny having them, yet see them clearly in the client and unconsciously support the client's maintenance of these weaknesses. Therefore, this article recommends that for the benefit of all clients, therapists explore their shadows.

### **Considerations for Effective Therapy**

Effective therapy for minority clients involves interweaving the personal relationship between client and therapist with techniques that demonstrate the quality of that personal relationship (Sue & Zane, 1987). Both relationship and technique depend on the therapist's personal awareness of and acceptance of his or her shadow.

As an example of the interweaving of relationship and technique, Pinderhughes (1989) believes that good therapy with minorities requires the development of trust. Technically, such trust is developed when the therapist can adapt therapy to the "values, expectations, and preferences of specific clients" (Pinderhughes, 1989, p. 163). Gearing style to client gives that client a sense of trust in both the therapist and the therapeutic process. The therapist's being at ease with himself or herself supports this adaptability. Being at ease with oneself comes with having accepted one's shadow, resulting in a minimum of self-protective denial and avoidance. Self-protection evokes rigidity rather than adaptability in the therapist, which erodes client trust. Rigidity may occur, for example, in response to minority clients' tendency to test the therapist's trustworthiness by asking personal questions before moving into the therapy process itself. A therapist in denial of the shadow, who then lives with rigid self-protection could fail this test by resisting the client's questions. On the other hand, a therapist who has accepted one's shadow reveals this acceptance with openness and self-confidence, manifested in the adaptability Pinderhughes (1989) suggested would support client trust in the therapeutic relationship.

Sue and Zane (1987) suggested that therapy across cultures rests on a basis not of technique but on a relationship in which the therapist demonstrates credibility and is giving to the client. The acceptance a client receives from a therapist who, having accepted his or her own shadow,

generously gives acceptance to a client of a different culture, supports this credibility and giving.

Boyd-Franklin (1989) noted a confluence of relationship and technique in therapy with African American families, when she observed that such families can pick up a "vibe" (p. 97) from a therapist regarding the therapist's respectfulness. To achieve such respectfulness, she supports therapists' "soul searching" to reckon with their "subtly manifested ingrained beliefs" (Boyd-Franklin, p. 98). This soul searching seems analogous to a process of looking deeply within and developing an awareness of one's shadow. With awareness and acceptance of the shadow, the absence of the projection of that shadow onto a family gives the respectful vibe Boyd-Franklin (1989) suggested.

Pinderhughes (1989) observed that power becomes an issue in therapy with African American clients. She noted that White practitioners who can "diminish the perceived power differential between themselves and the client" (p. 168) demonstrate effectiveness in supporting client improvement. In other words, the effective White therapist steps down in power and disowns the White culture's practice of having power over the African American minority. Though the therapist might consciously be willing to take that step down, his or her shadow may still grasp power over the client. The therapist who accepts the shadow and its grasp for power, then monitors that shadow, supports greater power equality.

The support of client strength is another treatment strategy for minorities (Pinderhughes, 1989). Again, such support is enhanced by shadow awareness. A therapist might unwittingly project shadowed weaknesses onto the client, expecting to see those weaknesses, and thereby colluding with the minority client to maintain those weaknesses. In effect, the therapist could remain ever-focused on client weakness, implicitly expecting to see such weaknesses. Focus on client weakness allows the therapist to avoid seeing his or her own shadowed weakness. On the other hand, a therapist who is aware of, and comfortable with, his or her own weaknesses as well as strengths, could as well accept both in a client. The therapist could then choose freely to adopt a strategy that supports minority client strength.

Also helpful in therapy for minority clients is the support of the idea that no one cultural pattern is superior to another (Fish, 1996). This equal valuing of differing cultures is strengthened by therapist awareness of the shadow. Without such



## Racism and Projection of the Shadow

shadow awareness, a therapist can unconsciously project the inferior aspects of self onto the minority client, the projection becoming manifest in the view that the client represents an inferior culture. On the other hand, with shadow awareness the therapist can accept the self as having a range of strengths and weaknesses, and therefore not need to find weaknesses in other cultures to provide a shield from one's own.

A final way in which shadow awareness can benefit cross-cultural psychotherapy involves the subtle but inevitable effect therapists have in influencing client's values in the direction of their own (Fish, 1997). This effect indicates the power held by a therapist. When a therapist belonging to a dominant group in a society works with a client who belongs to a subordinate group, the therapist's power is further magnified. A therapist can be corrupted by this power, made manifest in a belief in the superiority of his or her values and a tendency to pressure their adoption by the client. On the other hand, shadow awareness involves a humbling experience, which can check the power of the therapist's role and direct the therapist to support the client's values and the attainment of the client's therapeutic goals.

To conclude, according to Jungian (1951/1971) theory, unwelcome characteristics in an individual or a society become relegated to the shadow, where they are then projected onto others, at the expense of both the projectors and the targets of the projections. At the societal level, the projection process often targets members of minorities, and the projections are manifested as racism. Psychotherapy can heal those targeted with projections, as well as heal those doing the projecting. Finally, psychotherapists, being human, are not immune from having shadows, but when therapists know and accept their shadows, their therapy practices, especially with minority clients, can strengthen in flexibility, acceptance, and respect. With awareness of the shadow and of shadow projection, psychotherapists can ultimately contribute to the easing of racism and its psychological harm, by healing its victims and its perpetrators and by freeing therapists from unwittingly contributing to racism as professionals.

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*Kenneth M. Reeves*

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