



Blackness and Diversity: Psychoanalytic Perspectives

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Introduction

The historical denial of Black subjectivities and a rejection of Black yearnings to belong are longstanding features of systemic resistance to diversity, equity, inclusion, and justice (DIEJ) in the American space. Such exclusions are motivated by a White existential ambivalence, alongside considerable anxiety to accepting Blacks as their equal, resulting in a feared devaluation of White worth. DIEJ initiatives are often perceived, as reducing White self-worth.

Systemically, the intractability of racism often results in a defensive legalistic inflected approach to DIEJ that marginalizes ethical concerns in favor of an amoral business case. Consequentially, despite the expenditure of nearly eight billion dollars annually, there is little positive change in the demographics of DIEJ (Williams & Dolkas, 2022). Various defenses are deployed to resist the substantive efficacy of DIEJ initiatives given that the devalued Other is a necessary depository for the unacceptable aspects of White aggression and anxiety.

A rampant capitalism combined with the negative objectification of Blackness results in an eons-old pattern of exploitation of their skills through surplus extraction, alongside a denial of their humanity and their concomitant rights. The longstanding demands by Blacks for substantive DIEJ therefore disrupts the splitting necessary in the White fantasy of an edenic world based on the denial of Black humanity alongside the exploitation of Black talent. Psychoanalysis, despite its historical indifference to Blackness, offers the potential to make sense of the irrationalities driving the disingenuous devaluation of Blackness and to contribute to understanding the possibilities of DIEJ initiatives (Tummala-Narra (2013)

Definitions

Despite diversity being essential for survival and creativity, it also engenders strong defensive responses given its tendency to disrupt. DIEJ initiatives are often an attempt to disrupt longstanding patterns of subjugation, exploitation, and dehumanization. Oppressed individuals such as African Americans have made appeals across the centuries for an ethics-based system that embraced diversity, inclusion, equity, and justice (Walker, 1829/2001; DuBois, 1903/1994; Coates, 2014; Cole, 2014; Cullors, 2022).

Traditional diversity initiatives are presented in the order of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI). Initially the goal was diversity and inclusion (D & I) an approach that did not require focusing on the structural impediments to creating a culturally diverse organization. Neither did it require initiatives to address the particular needs of traditionally excluded groups, that would give them an equal chance of gaining power

and status within the organization. Equity initiatives are politically fraught and face resistance resulting in a retreat from substantive interventions. The compromise is treating all groups the same, in the pursuit of equality of opportunity, that in turn simply reinforces the unequal and unjust status quo. Equity initiatives are also challenging given the problem of diversity and inclusion practices that appear limited to the lower levels of the organization but are virtually invisible in its senior ranks. The dismal outcome statistics indicate that many diversity initiatives in their lack of commitment to equity fail to be just, given their unfairness. The order DIEJ therefore speaks to the progressive degrees of difficulty encountered in creating ethically informed diverse and inclusive organizations, most of which in reality have limited themselves to doing D & I work.

Diversity speaks to an ethics-informed respect and acceptance of a wide range of demographic and cultural perspectives that contribute to the greater good. Perhaps the most demanding expression of diversity is viewpoint diversity, where there is a thoughtful appreciation of the unique perspectives that the individual brings and the willingness of the organization to adopt those perspectives. All too often organizations go for shallow inclusion such as demographic diversity but are wary of intellectual and cultural diversity. Instead, they recruit members of under-represented groups that will assimilate into the intellectual and cultural homogeneity of the organization (Thomas, Jr., 1991). DIEJ initiatives are an attempt to change the demographic and philosophical profile of the “snowcapped” organization with a customer facing staff comprised of persons of color, working with a leadership comprised mostly of Whites (Danley & Blessett, 2022).

Inclusion speaks to organizational practices in “which diverse individuals perceive to be treated in a way that helps them balance their need for a sense of belonging and their need for feeling valued for their unique characteristics” (Rabl, et. al., 2020, p. 533). They sense that the organization will facilitate their professional development by thoughtfully considering the perspectives and skills that they offer. Equity is the most demanding aspect of the DIEJ process, requiring organizations to acknowledge and dismantle the systemic obstacles that impede the progress of the very groups it seeks to recruit and retain. Equity focused interventions also require the development of ethically based interventions that provides appropriately differentiated interventions to ensure that diverse groupings have equal opportunity to grow and to contribute (Chauhan & Kshetri, 2022).

Justice speaks to giving to individuals their just due and treating them in a fair and dignified manner. In the context of equity, just acts require sensitivity to historical disadvantages that might be psychologically painful and costly for the organization to address. In an all too imperfect world DIEJ has failed to live up to its potential, tending to arc towards a legalistic defensiveness while avoiding dealing with the challenges of ensuring equity and justice.

The Case for Diversity

The dominant argument for diversity is the market-oriented business case. This is defined as, “For many generations now, some have argued that boards of directors should be narrowly focused on maximizing corporate profits, who at best may grudgingly accept that corporate boards have to devote some attention to law compliance, but nothing more. Instead of spending any time on DEI, boards should just get hell-bent for leather to increase profits, do the legal minimum, and let external regulation be the sole impetus for social progress (Brummer & Strine, Jr. (2022, p. 86-7).

Companies, however, are known to profit from embracing diversity, as having inclusive teams ‘... yield more creative ideas that appeal to broader customer bases, open new markets, and ultimately drive better performance...’ (Roberts & Mayo, 2020, p.12). In addition, “Scholars have found, for instance, that a team’s collective intelligence is more than twice as important as individual members’ intelligence in determining how well the team performs, and that gender diversity predicts higher collective intelligence. Other research indicates that when groups are racially mixed, they engage in less groupthink and work harder” (Williams & Dolkas, 2022, p. 81).

An over reliance on the business case is a shaky foundation as it lacks a substantive ethical base, and often ends up replicating the very exclusionary arrangements it purports to seek to change. A business case untethered from the ethical case is vulnerable to continue engaging in exploitive actions, given the long record of some companies profiting handsomely from engaging in racist practices (Roberts & Mayo, 2020). One therefore often observes a defensive legalistic approach to diversity focusing on meeting legal mandates, with an emphasis on diversity by numbers but little attention to inclusion, equity, and justice This is often accompanied by Blacks being responsible for making the case for diversity: “No matter their experience or expertise, Blacks’ statements involving race are deemed “special pleading” and thus not entitled to serious consideration” (Bell, 1992, p.111).

An ethics-informed approach to DIEJ places emphasis on embracing appropriate expressions of difference and treating individual with fairness and dignity. This engenders a sense of trust in the organization and identification with it on the part of the individual (Rabl et.al., 2017). Ethics while not in inherent tension with business sensibilities, is often constrained by the reality of business practices in a less than ideal, capitalist-inflected environment (Rhodes, 2017). DIEJ initiatives must therefore take into consideration-sometimes in support and sometimes in tension-with, the business case-organizational culture (Rhodes, 2017).

Motivation to change and commitment to act may in reality be a function of non-ethical factors such as prevailing standards emanating from Human Resources, compliance with the law and competitive pressure with peers who have progressive DIEJ policies (Rhodes, 2017). Such an ethics-lite approach raises the risk that should regulatory pressures ease such practices may not be sustained (Roberts & Mayo, 2020). DEIJ initiatives are sustained by an ethical energy concerned with the fair and just

treatment of all. Those that go beyond the business case are a substantive component of the lived organizational experience of the individual (Jones, et. al., 2013). Such an approach resonates with the individual's own ethical framework and engenders a sense of inclusion and support for the organization's DIEJ initiatives.

Substantive DIEJ work requires acknowledging past discrimination, dismantling long standing discriminatory structures and managing the anxieties of a White staff, who fear loss of privilege, and a Black staff wary of bad faith promises. As Baldwin noted, "I can't drive all White men into the sea, and you can't send me back to Africa. We are going to make the revolution here-together - or not at all" (Baldwin in, Standley & Pratt, 1989, p. 36). It is important that the ethical case is seen as enhancing, not impeding the business case (Rhodes, 2017). Equally important DIEJ initiatives should not create a perception of historically disenfranchised groups as being morally superior or of Whites as being morally inferior predators.

Statistics

Despite DIEJ initiatives expenditures of eight billion dollars annually, the demographics indicate little substantive impact (Williams & Dolkas, 2022). Blacks constitute 13% of the workforce, (BLS, 2021) and 14.2% of the general population. (Jones, et. al. 2021). Whites constitute 77% of the workforce (BLS, 2021) and 61.6% of the general population, (Jones, et.al. 2021).

Roberts & Mayo (2020), noted that White men constitute 85% of senior managers and board members, while 8% of managers and 3.8% of CEOs are Black (Roberts & Mayo, 2020). In companies with more than 100 employees, the proportion of Black men in management increased just slightly—from 3% to 3.3%—from 1985-2014" (Dobbin & Kalev, 2020, p.55). Quillian and his colleagues (2020) note that Whites receive more call-backs (36%) than Blacks (24%) with similar resumes. Salsberg & Kastanis (2018) noted,

The AP analysis found that a white worker had a far better chance than a black one of holding a job in the 11 categories with the highest median annual salaries, as listed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The ratio of white-to-black workers is about 10-to-1 in management, 8-to-1 in computers and mathematics, 12-to-1 in law, and 7-to-1 in education — compared with a ratio of 5.5 white workers for every black one in all jobs nationally. The top five high-paying fields have a median income range of \$65,000 to \$100,000, compared with \$36,000 for all occupations nationwide.

Williams (2020) notes various factors that reflect the incompleteness of a statistical approach. Quantitative approaches to speak to the 'what' and need to be complimented by a qualitative approach that speaks to the 'how' and 'why'. When persons of color are isolated, they tend to rate themselves more harshly compared to being in settings where there are others like them. It is also not easy to tease out within-group heterogeneity such as colorism, caste, class etc (Williams, 2020). Often the subject pool is too small to generalize useful quantitative data, and this creates a conundrum: "If only there were more of you, we could tell you why there are so few of you" (Williams,

2020, p. 76). Finally, managers often have difficulty in understanding the data that has been generated and how to act on it. These less than adequate work outcomes must be considered in the context of Blacks being embedded in a larger racist culture. They are over-represented with regards to poor educational outcomes (NCES, 2020), economic inequality (Benz, 2020), incarceration (Sawyer & Wagner, 2022), and poor health (Williams, et. al. 2019), among other disparities.

Critique of Psychoanalysis in Relation to Blackness and Diversity

Psychoanalysis affords us access to the often discomfoting, therefore unacknowledged discriminatory underbelly of the social. Thinkers such as Freire, (2000) Merleau-Ponty (Salmon, 2022); Holmes, (2021) and Stoute,(2019) among others speak to the profound but often unacknowledged and destructive effects of intergenerational deprivations on the intrapsychic and inter-psyche lives of both the oppressed and their oppressors.

Psychoanalysis despite its formidable insight facilitating capacities has been under-deployed as a way of making sense of racism, of the feared and despised other. It originated in a position of Otherness and ambivalence regarding its outsider status (Zaretsky, 2016). Freud was ambivalent of his status as a Jew who was an outsider in anti-Semitic Vienna, and to the marginalization of the non-Jewish and Egyptian contributions to Judaism (Said, 2003). As American psychoanalysis assimilated into the racist mainstream, it became increasingly indifferent to Otherness, focusing instead on sculpting a clinical model of middle-class adaptation to a capitalist, and racist structure (Adams, 2021; McGowan, 2016). Black-inflected psychoanalysis was marginalized given the persistence of the view of persons of color as being unsuitable for analysis (Leary, 1995).

Psychoanalysis, especially from a clinical perspective has been indifferent in its theorizing and practice, especially toward Black culture. In addition, there is an indifference to the fertile findings of the social sciences, so while other disciplines have fruitfully adopted psychoanalytic perspectives to illuminate the social, the reverse has been slow in coming. In that regard work from the “outsider” perspective by Black psychoanalysis such as Fanon,(1967); Powell, (2018); Stephens,(2018); Vaughans, (2021) and White (2002), among others who are only now gaining recognition in mainstream (White) psychoanalysis.

Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Otherness

As a specie humans are ambivalent regarding difference with an initial reluctance to embrace: “To perceive something you have not perceived before is terribly difficult; we fight against it like mad.” (Enid Balint, in, Auestad, 2012, p. 29). At the same time humans are curious as an expression of pleasure seeking and the reduction of frustration. So, slavery was a response to the pleasures derived from carnality, dominance, and the acquisition of treasure, This was in tension with the frustration arising from the shortage of laborers and the resistance of the enslaved to being dehumanized and commodified.

Auestad (2012) suggests, that in the spirit of Michael Balint's perspectives on trauma, the effect of White predations on the Black Other goes unacknowledged. This can be attributed to feelings of guilt that in turn are projected into the oppressed or by a stance of disingenuous ignorance. Consequentially there is a denial of the oppressed individual's subjectivity, a lack of support to think through and make sense of their reality. The individual is deliberately misunderstood, their experience seemingly without meaning and the risk of them identifying with the person who refuses to acknowledge their reality (Auestad, 2012).

The exploitation of the Black as the denigrated Other presented a conflict for Whites that is still unresolved and bedevils attempts at DIEJ. Alongside a need for the product of Black minds and bodies was a rejection of their humanity, and acknowledgement of them as human and as equals. Frosh (2013) notes, "The White is not interested in the interiority of the Black. His interest is limited to controlling his surplus labor as one who works but does not think and has no point of view. The white gaze toward the Black is one that alienates" (p. 146).

Such an approach negates, even as it exploits Black agency, and human commonality, instead fragments and objectifies Black subjectivity. Fanon speaks to this rejection of Black humanity, "While I was forgetting, forgiving, and wanting only to love, my message was flung back in my face like a slap. The white world, the only honorable one, barred me from all participation. A man was expected to behave like a man. I was expected to behave like a black man—or at least like a nigger. I shouted a greeting to the world and the world slashed away my joy. I was told to stay within bounds, to go back where I belonged" (Fanon, 1967, p.p. 86). This White ambivalence is embodied in a still potent *Chain of Being* framework (Oludamini, 2016) that contradicts Christianity in its discounting the full humanity of Blacks.

Exacerbating such dehumanization is the role of a dominant, and often amoral capitalism. Slavery is the classic example with its commodifying of Black bodies, the unethical extraction and robbery of their surplus capital, and the denial of Black subjectivities. Capitalism presents many challenges to DIEJ work. Even as it seeks out difference and diversity in the pursuit of new ways of generating surplus, it commodifies and homogenizes, thereby suffocating the very source of the difference it seeks. Secondly, it is ambivalent about democratic processes that facilitate healthy diversity and resists homogenization. Consequentially, through the process of state capture it weakens the structures that allow for the cultural frictions and idiosyncrasies that are the lifeblood of the generation of difference. Finally capitalist homogenization sustains a concentration of wealth and authority that constrains both the income and wealth of the marginalized Other (Piketty, 2022).

Black Consciousness

Given such hostility the Black might well question, "Why go on?" (Gordon, 1997, p.6). Blacks have a long history of asserting a positive sense of self against attempts to make them ontologically invisible. Achebe (Standley & Pratt, 1989) notes a dissatisfaction with

position, a refusal to passively accept projections of inferiority. Fanon noted the modest and yet profound demand of Blackness, “All I wanted was to be a man among other men. I wanted to come lithe and young into a world that was ours and to help to build it together” (Fanon, 1967, p. 85). This perspective was reinforced by Baldwin, “What it means to be me? Nobody can do you anything if you really know that you’re Black. And I know where I’ve been. I know what the world has tried to do to me as a Black man (Baldwin in, Standley & Pratt, 1989, pp. 83-92). Crucial to sustaining a positive sense of Blackness has been using spirituality as a buffer (Cone, 1991; Raboteau, 1995), eschewing attempts to essentialize race (Shelby, 2005; Morrison, 2017) and a critical stance toward the White gaze, which Birt (1997) refers to as ‘thingification.’ Fanon exemplifies this spirit of resistance when he notes, “I put the white man back into his place; growing bolder, I jostled him and told him point-blank, “Get used to me, I am not getting used to anyone.” I shouted my laughter to the stars. The white man, I could see, was resentful. His reaction time lagged interminably. . . . I had won. I was jubilant” (Fanon, 1967, p.83).

Psychoanalysis, Organizational Life, and DEI/J

In looking at organizational life in contemporary culture thinkers and practitioners build on the seminal work of Bion, (1961) and Menzies,(1961) who focused on the defensive processes enacted to manage the anxiety generated by the work task. In thinking about twenty-first century organizations, Krantz (2010) places emphasis on some important tensions: Organizational structures are increasingly defined by networks of individuals who negotiate authority relations as against seemingly having it imposed on them. At the same time even while unique talents are being recruited there is a muting of the individual voice in preference to a collective mind. This is facilitated by the pervasiveness of computerized systems, giving rise to what Krantz refers to as the ‘digital mind’. Such a mind even as it seeks and mines the breathtaking diversity and subjectivity of human subjectivity, imposes an increasing homogeneity of thinking in the name of uniformity and ease of operations. Krantz notes that this creates models of reality and time that are in subtle ways removed from the actuality of lived experience. Consequentially, management approaches struggle to understand and effectively manage the emotional consequences of the disruptive effects of DIEJ perspectives.

The emotional demands of DIEJ work often generates multiple levels of resistance. These might be manifested through supposedly color-blind perspectives that are a de facto rejection of diversity (McCluney, et.al., 2019). In such an organization the culture does not recognize difference and therefore is willfully if unconsciously oblivious to discriminative behavior. By default, the dominant group’s ideology prevails. With multi-cultural approaches difference is often acknowledged but often unrecognized are status hierarchies that privileges Whiteness and marginalizes the perspectives of those who are not White (McCluney, et.al., 2019).

The affective consequences of organizational life came into focus in the 1980s as until then studies of organization life portrayed it as passion free, ignoring the reality that all work requires emotional labor congruent to a particular role. The structure and work

roles generate emotional states which are not always recognized or managed in ways that enhance the primary task of the organization. Gabriel notes, “In summary, depth psychology views the display, channeling, unleashing, containment, control, and management of emotions as a set of core processes in organizations, which frequently account for the difference between success and failure. Feelings, emotions, and fantasies shape the world of work, rather than being mere by-by products of work process” (Gabriel 1998, p. 308).

Many Black workers recount a considerable emotional cost that comes with being embedded in White organizations. The core burden comes with the onerous demands of code-switching, defined as “...adjusting one’s style of speech, appearance, behavior, and expressions in ways that will optimize the comfort of others in exchange for fair treatment, quality service, and employment opportunities” (McCluney, et.al., 2019).

This presents many Blacks with a host of emotionally costly demands. Many report the burden of feeling they must represent a generic form of Blackness as against their subjective view of Blackness. As such they must suppress any behaviors defined as ‘bad Blackness’ such as being angry or overly assertive, while always presenting as the ‘good’ Black who is amicable, cooperative and does not challenge the status quo. Such an emotionally demanding role requires high degrees of self-vigilance, given that Black workers’ behaviors are subject to high levels of scrutiny and that they cannot afford to fail, especially given a corresponding lack of support. Often evoked are feelings of inauthenticity given the need to present a false self, and the constraining of spontaneity and creativity, thereby increasing the likelihood of burnout. Employees might well resist such management demands with an attendant diminution in loyalty to the organization.

DIEJ initiatives confronts the organization with a variety of longstanding obstacles to understanding and implementing corrective processes. Hirschhorn (1999) argues that such work presents a primary risk to the organization: “When managers and executives seem stuck or unable to choose a direction for the enterprise, when there appears to be a gap between the stated primary task and what people actually do, when executives are unable to make seemingly pragmatic decisions, when people in the organization describe their experience as “drifting” it is useful to assume that the organization has been unable to take a primary risk” (Hirschhorn, 1999, p. 19-20). This is evident in DEI work that requires ethically inflected ways of thinking as against an exclusively business oriented approach and the defensively oriented legalistic interventions that flow from that. Good-enough DIEJ work requires accepting that business as usual is not only unethical but also makes it increasingly difficult for the organization to achieve its primary task of generating goods or services. The primary risk is therefore how the organization thinks of the types of defenses it deploys to manage the affective consequences of doing DIEJ work.

Organizations deploy social defenses defined as an unconscious institutional response to dealing with the emotions generated by a challenging task such as doing DIEJ work. Hirschhorn notes, “Racial thinking evokes feelings associated with conflict,

intractability, inauthenticity, and distrust, all of which contradict the image of the perfect organization.” (2007, p.172). Social defensive work can be either harmful or helpful to the organization’s ability to achieve its primary task. In relation to DIEJ work, the inappropriate use of defenses can manifest itself as disingenuous where an organization argues for seemingly objective standards as a defensive against efforts to diversify their work force. They would argue that candidates of color did not meet the required standard when in reality those standards were narrowly tailored to exclude, or the excluded groups were denied the resources to develop the skills to meet the standards. A combination of unnecessarily high physical standards and secret coaching of some White candidates was used to exclude female and Black candidates from the ranks of the Fire Department of New York City (City of New York, 2014).

A more subtle approach to managing the anxieties of inclusion is to admit traditionally excluded populations to low authority positions but avoid putting the equity resources in to place to make them competitive with Whites. Such moves limit the anxiety generated by the painful work of confronting institutional impediments and the intergenerational legacies that gave rise to them. The organization meets its inclusion quotas but remains ‘snowcapped’ with a Black base and a White management ((Danley & Blessett, 2022). This is often accompanied by much moralizing about doing the right thing alongside a failure to do the actual work of ethically-informed institutional change (Hirschhorn, 2007). Driving such behaviors are unconscious defensive acts such as denial, splitting, projecting, and co-optation (Gabriel, 1998; Hirschhorn, 1999).

Managing a DIEJ generated confederation of conflicts can result in a suite of defensive postures including selective denial of the past, bad faith, denial of power, and resistance to atonement, all of which costly and disruptive. The physics of the psyche do not however permit the obliteration of what is consciously denied. So, the presence of Blacks and other devalued Others are a source of resistance to obliteration, and a disruption of toxic systemic defenses alongside opportunities for the reparative and the ethical.

Crucial to successful DIEJ work is having a broader understanding of the lived experience of a thoughtfully defined Other. Both Whites and Blacks carry unconscious essentialized constructions of each other that obscures their individuality, authenticity, creativity, and wish to belong. Also obscured is the potentially illuminating commonalities - the yoke of Capitalism and differences-that are obstacles to being a part of the meritocracy.

DIEJ work requires acknowledging that the denial of being oppressive and the rage over being oppressed are at a level of intensity that cannot be consciously tolerated (Auestad, 2012). Both parties must mourn the inability to either, feel nothing - in terms of White guilt or - fully express rage in the case of the Black. Both, in the service of recognition of their humanity and their wish for an ethics-based sense of community must, to some degree understand each other’s introjections and projections. This suggests that given the rawness of the material, hence the splitting, there must be some de-

intensifying of affect if the material can be made tolerable for symbolization and recognition. Hence the carefulness in acknowledging the awful sins of their White ancestors, not holding their descendants responsible but requiring them to acknowledge and address the contemporary systemic consequences and amelioration of those acts. Within safe spaces, the focus would be on how they manage their personal and professional sense of agency to address contemporary White unearned privileges and Black undeserved disadvantages.

Social defenses can be deployed in the service of facilitating positive and ethically informed DIEJ work, such as unpacking the intergenerational obstacles to the work that are institutionalized and are perceived as normative and objective. Structures are created that can acknowledge the ambivalence in doing the work and also the necessity of such work to address the anxieties it generates. These structures would include mechanisms that allow for the relatively safe expression of Black pain and White anxiety while at the same time tightly managing the temptations of Black victim, White predator dynamics. Also contained would be the negative enactments that can derail the process such as scapegoating and marginalizing of persons of color. Such managing is often done by middle managers who must have both the training and a sense of the vision driving DIEJ initiatives (Creary, et. al., 2021)

DIEJ initiatives must go beyond a shallow attempt at diversity with limited inclusion and a shying away from equity and justice work. Systems have become adroit at recruiting individuals from diverse populations but who do not necessarily demonstrate a diversity of viewpoints, "As praiseworthy as this is, diversity here means equality - different-looking people doing the same things as other people" (Jacoby, 2020, p.7). Such individuals wish to have authority commensurate with that of Whites but have no interest in promoting ethically informed approaches to how merit is defined and facilitated. In summary, DEIJ initiatives are essential for organizations achieving the goals of their primary task of generating goods or services. The research is clear that organizations with viewpoint diversity achieve better outcomes than those that are culturally homogeneous(Dobbin & Kalev, 2020).

Conclusion

The recent social perturbances have highlighted the failure of traditional approaches to DIEJ. To be successful DIEJ approaches must interrogate the irrational and unconscious fantasies that sustain discriminatory structures and practices. It is becoming clear that an ethically informed approach speaks to both justice claims and also facilitates the organization's pursuit of its primary task. It is an open question as to whether this liberatory pathway will be traversed

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