

Malcolm X and the Hajj:  
A Change in Tamed Power  
by  
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### Abstract

The research reported in this paper applies a new content analysis measure, of “Generative Historical Consciousness” (GHC), to the public speeches of Malcolm X. GHC is conceived as a mechanism for channeling or “taming” power into socially productive actions and outcomes. It involves verbal content themes of ‘General Future References,’ ‘Consequentiality,’ ‘Inclusion-Exclusion,’ ‘Sense of Importance,’ and ‘Adaptability.’ Arguably the most prominent Black Nationalist of the Civil Rights Era, Malcolm X provided an alternative viewpoint to mainstream African-American leaders. To many White Americans, he was a demagogue, filled with malevolence and distrust of whites. For some in the Black community, he provided a means to improve their lives and strive for self-determination. After breaking with the Nation of Islam, embracing Orthodox Islam, and making a Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, Malcolm publicly modified his previous positions, in favor of finding hope and possibility--not only in the next generation of Blacks, but also in the young white students who showed a considerable generational change in racial attitudes. These changes are described in Malcolm’s autobiography. The GHC measure was used to situate this shift more precisely in the trajectory of Malcolm X’s career, and to explore how this changed orientation to power related to aspects of his public career.

### Malcolm X and the Hajj: A Change in Tamed Power

This psychobiography explores the application of a new content analysis measure, of “Generative Historical Consciousness” (GHC), to the written and transcribed words of Malcolm X. GHC is conceived as a mechanism for channeling or “taming” power into prosocial actions and outcomes. The measure created by Winter seeks to distinguish expressions of good power from those that are considered unchecked or “untamed” (2006, 2010). Through the quasi-experimental inquiry into the changes in the expression of motives within Malcolm X, I sought to extend the validity of the GHC measure.

Arguably the most prominent Black Nationalist of the Civil Rights Era, Malcolm X provided an alternative viewpoint to mainstream African-American leaders. To many White Americans, he was a demagogue, filled with malevolence and distrust of whites. For some in the Black community, he provided a means to improve their lives and strive for self-determination. He was the infamous Nation of Islam (NOI) representative during the late 1950s until 1963. Malcolm X championed fiery rhetoric on the subject of the intrinsic evils of whites and their racism. Leaders within the white community believed Malcolm X to be a fomenter of racial violence and were shocked at his piercing rhetoric not often seen in black men of the era. His organization’s fight to define themselves as ‘black’ or ‘Afro-American’ rather than ‘Negro’ bewildered whites used to black complacency. There was no compromise in Malcolm’s words; the very existence of the white race was to the injury of black people. Whites were intrinsically evil. As a Black Nationalist, he criticized Civil Rights Leader’s on their efforts to negotiate for integration. Malcolm condemned traditional supporters within liberal America, believing them to be an albatross for Black equality. Christianity was seen as a means to placate Blacks and enfeeble their right to freewill (Lomax, 1963). Though encumbered by the inherent ideological

inadequacies of the Nation of Islam, he compellingly spoke of many truths that other Civil Rights leaders were either unwilling or unable to convey during the struggle of their time.

In his autobiography, Malcolm described his self-degradation in his youth, and his later demonization of the white race while a member of the Nation of Islam. Malcolm broke with the NOI in the last few months of 1963 and January of 1964. Though his confrontational rhetoric persisted, the nature of his understanding of race relations became an issue of human equality and dignity rather than black superiority. His self-described transformation culminated with Hajj, the holy pilgrimage to Mecca that Muslims must complete as a precept of their faith. His recognition of a change is succinctly captured in an August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1964 article he wrote for the *Egyptian Gazette* months after his return from the Pilgrimage to Mecca:

In the past I permitted myself to be used by Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the sect known as the Black Muslims, to make sweeping indictments of all white people, the entire white race, and these generalizations have caused injuries to some whites who perhaps did not deserve to be hurt. Because of the spiritual enlightenment which I was blessed to receive as the result of my recent pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca, I no longer subscribe to sweeping indictments of any one race. (Clarke, 1969, p. 302)

After breaking with the Nation of Islam, embracing Orthodox Islam, and making a Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, Malcolm publicly modified his previous positions, in favor of finding hope and possibility--not only in the next generation of Blacks, but also in the young white students who showed a considerable generational change in racial attitudes. These changes are described in Malcolm's autobiography. My thesis sought to confirm whether his self-described Hajj transformation induced a measurable change in the motivation. The GHC measure was used to

situate this shift more precisely in the trajectory of Malcolm X's career, and to explore how this changed orientation to power related to aspects of his public career.

Following the biographical portion of this paper, I contextualize Malcolm within the Nation of Islam and the call for orthodox Muslims to journey to Mecca for the Hajj. In order to understand the importance of the change in understandings of power motivation within Malcolm, one must engage his biography to see how he dealt with race relations in his youth, during his membership in the Nation of Islam, and toward the end of his life before and after the Hajj. The method section and beyond overlay my quasi-experiment and ends with discussion of results and possible impacts.

### **Malcolm's Life<sup>1</sup>**

#### **Formative Years**

The man once known as Malcolm Little was born on May 19th 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska. Malcolm's father and mother were members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and very active within Marcus Garvey's movement to go "Back to Africa" (DeCaro, 1998; Goldman, 1973; Haley, 1963). Garvey was a militant opponent of white supremacy and supporter of unifying the global population of African peoples. The organization drew flak not only from whites but also from NAACP for its belief in the superiority of blacks and the desire to separate (Decaro, 1996). Earl Little's outspoken support of Garvey within the Black Community with frequent speeches at Black Churches led the Ku Klux Klan to target the Littles, forcing them to move out of state to Lansing MI as soon as Malcolm, the seventh child, was born. Earl Little continued his outspoken preaching of Black Purity in Michigan, catching the attention of the local Lansing white supremacist group called the "Black Legion." It is unclear whether his later gruesome death under a streetcar had been perpetrated by the Black

Legion or whether it was an accident (Gallen, 1992; Haley, 1965; Perry, 1991). The Little family was left without a breadwinner. Malcolm's family was terribly poor and lived in a four room cottage built by his father. The rooms had no more than a bare light bulb, and an uninsulated tar-paper shingle exterior between the family and Michigan winters. Food was scarce and when they could not afford sustenance, the family often would survive on field greens. Social workers made frequent visits, which proved difficult for Louise Little's pride, as the caregiver, to accept any form of assistance that the family desperately needed (Perry, 1991).

Malcolm's mother Louise was raped by a white man. The knowledge of this had a lasting impact on Malcolm, enough for him to have the information placed in his autobiography and mentioned in his public speeches (Haley 1965; Perry, 1991). Malcolm believed Louise Little looked white, and later blamed his unknown white grandfather for his "reddish-brown 'mariny' color of skin, and [his] hair of the same color" (Haley, 1965, p. 2). Of his siblings, Malcolm was the lightest. Despising the white heritage, Malcolm took great pains in his autobiography to emphasize his own *black* bloodline. Race was inescapable for Malcolm, since he was tormented by white boys in school for being black, and was well aware of his family's poverty relative to white people. Even simple childhood mischief like swiping watermelons from a local patch was attributed to the black stereotype. Malcolm discussed his feelings on the matter by stating:

White people always associated watermelons with Negroes and they sometimes called Negroes 'coons' among all the other names... If white boys were doing it, it implied they were acting like Negroes. Whites have always hidden or justified all of the guilts they could by ridiculing or blaming Negroes. (Haley, 1965, p. 15)

At this point in his life, Malcolm still did not have a clear picture of the almost insurmountable white prejudice and hatred toward his race. The quotation exemplifies Malcolm's later feelings on the mistreatment of his youth.

Visits from social workers became more frequent as Malcolm got older. In 1939, with Malcolm in his early teens, Louise Little was declared legally insane. The state separated the siblings and placed them in a series of foster homes. As a youth, Malcolm had trouble with white authority figures, and regularly acted out in class. Climaxing with his placing a thumbtack on his teacher's chair, he was taken to court and ordered to attend reform school. Malcolm lived in a juvenile home in Mason, MI run by a white couple, the Swerleins. Malcolm himself described the experience: "It just never dawned upon them [*Swerleins*] ... that I wasn't a pet, but a human being" (Haley, 1965, p. 27). His caretakers would talk openly about how they didn't understand the "niggers," saying things such as, "I just can't see how those niggers can be so happy and be so poor" (Haley, 1965, p. 26). During his upbringing, Malcolm was surrounded by whites incapable of respecting the dignity of his person.

During his time with the Swerleins, Malcolm excelled in seventh grade at the majority-white Mason Junior High School. Even his teachers had the audacity to make 'nigger' jokes. His history teacher, Mr. Williams, "...laughed through [*history of slavery*] ... reading aloud how the Negroes had been enslaved and then freed and ... were usually dumb and shiftless" (Haley, 1965, p. 29). Malcolm often would describe the constant disparagement with words like 'nigger' and 'coon' as a deep seated horror that on the surface he had accepted or believed. His English teacher upon hearing that Malcolm aspired to be a lawyer told him that he should be realistic and choose a 'nigger' trade such as carpentry. Thus his early childhood and youth provided a strong foundation for later animosities toward the white race. Malcolm's autobiography is littered with

memories of the malevolence of the men who allegedly killed his father, the dehumanization at school and from state authorities, and harassment from townspeople. His relationship with whites provided plenty of motivation for Malcolm to find new outlets for his frustrations. Malcolm looked to escape Michigan and would later express his frustrations as a career criminal.

### **Young Adult**

In 1941, Malcolm moved to live with his paternal half sister Ella in Boston. Finding menial jobs working for the New Haven Railroad, as well as shoe shining and dishwashing, he eventually landed a job in a nightclub. It was in the cultural underbelly of Boston wherein he was first introduced to 'negro dancing' or Lindy-hopping. To make extra money at the clubs he sold 'reefers' (marijuana cigarettes), condoms, and alcohol to patrons. This and his associations with the Boston criminal underworld led him to become involved in drug trafficking, prostitution, gambling, armed robbery and anything else he could do to get some 'action.' Through his male bravado and successful illicit profits, Malcolm created the persona of "Big Red." For much of this time, he maintained illicit relationships with white women, boasting about his conquests (Perry, 1991). White women were a status symbol for Malcolm. Manifestations of his desire to shed his skin and become white were never more vivid than the descriptions of the agonizing process to have his hair straightened or 'conked' (Haley, 1965). The most offensive product used was the corrosive alkaline substance lye. The caustic substance commonly used as an oven cleaner and drain opener was popular for Black men and women to remove the kinks in their hair. Lye was mixed with other products to create a gel to comb into his hair:

This was my first really big step toward self-degradation: when I endured all of that pain, literally burning my flesh to have it look like a white man's hair. I had joined the



multitude of Negro men and women in America who are brainwashed into believing that the black people are “inferior”---and white people are “superior”---that they will even violate and mutilate their God-created bodies to try to look “pretty” by white standards (Haley, 1965, p. 54).

The issue of the *conk* is much more complicated in cultural meaning than Malcolm conveys, but its importance to him as a symbol of self-degradation found clarity within the Nation of Islam’s ideological hatred of whites (DeCaro, 1996; more to follow in NOI section).

At this point Malcolm was an addict and hustler, robbing houses to feed his habit and live on the meager profit. His downward spiral of addiction led him to be caught picking up a stolen watch he sent for repair. He was indicted for unlawfully carrying firearms, breaking and entering and larceny, and sentenced to 10 years on February 27, 1946. He was just under 21 at the time (Gallen, 1992; Haley, 1965). The Charleston state prison psychologist, chaplain and his siblings got the brunt of his diffuse hostility (Haley, 1965). His old patterns of behavior continued in prison: making contacts to steal him nutmeg to get high, and finding modest success at cellblock gambling. He received the nickname “Satan” for his copious cursing and antireligious attitude (DeCaro, 1998; Haley, 1965). Malcolm desperately sought a focus for the path his life had taken. Brooding over his misfortune, he channeled his anger to the abstractions of God and the Bible. Left with few opportunities, his life of crime was his only learned means to support himself and avoid the achievement ceiling of black people in legitimate society (Haley, 1965).

### **Prison**

Malcolm would serve around 7 years of his life in prison, finding the time for him to reinvigorate his once forgotten love for knowledge (Haley, 1965). During his term at the

Concord Prison, Malcolm converted to the Nation of Islam after much persuasion from his siblings (Gallen, 1992). By a number of accounts, this was a transformative experience for Malcolm, as if the crimes of his past were washed away and he could not even recognize his old self (DeCaro, 1998; Perry, 1991; Haley, 1965). Decaro went so far as to say that the transformation would never be superseded, even by his later break with the NOI and conversion to Sunni Islam (1998, p. 93). As will be discussed in the following section, the Nation of Islam was a cult promoting the racial superiority of blacks and intrinsic evil of whites. Malcolm grappled with these explanations for the injustices in his own life. His own mother was half white, and he found this ancestry to be shameful and only a reminder of white oppression.

In 1948 Malcolm was transferred to Norfolk prison, gaining access to a superior library and becoming known for his focus on the wickedness of the white race and excellent debating skills. He became an unofficial advocate in prison for the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, the founder and leader of NOI. He spent his remaining free time reading everything he could in the library of each prison. Often Malcolm would read late into the night, with the meager hall light bulbs to illuminate the words. Among his subjects of interest were a collection of recorded slave experiences and their journey to the new world. Malcolm also read heavily the classic philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Nietzsche and Kant. The biographies of Hannibal, Ibn Saud, Hitler, Karl Marx, Gandhi and Patrick Henry colored Malcolm's early literary exploration (Perry, 1991). Malcolm sublimated the street smarts he accrued in 'hustling' to advance the NOI's cause within the prison system. Throughout his near seven years in prison, Malcolm engaged fellow prisoners and wrote to the Nation of Islam organization about his newfound ideology (DeCaro, 1998). He maintained communication with Elijah Muhammad from prison, discussing his progress converting inmates as well as his own religious struggles. The initial

signs of political activism from Malcolm began in his demand that the prison warden accommodate NOI dietary restrictions (DeCaro, 1996; Perry, 1991). Malcolm's crusade and desire to convert fellow prisoners appears to have caught the attention of the prison officials, for they had him transferred back to Charleston State Prison likely to avoid trouble from his successful conversion of fellow prisoners. Malcolm was paroled at age 27 on August 7, 1951, free to express the sustaining force he found within the NOI and his feelings for Elijah and Allah.

### **Nation of Islam (NOI)**

Malcolm's new faith was headed by Elijah Muhammad, who followers believed to be the apostle of Allah sent to America to help the lost tribe of Israel, the black race, and save them from the evil white man. Upon his parole in August of 1951, Malcolm became very active within the NOI movement. That September Malcolm officially changed his name from Little to X, to remove the 'slaveholder' name and symbolize his unknown origin on the African continent. Malcolm moved back to Detroit under parole when his brother Wilfred offered a job at a furniture store by his brother Wilfred who was the manager. It was at this time that Malcolm attended the NOI's Temple No. 1 in Detroit wherein Elijah Muhammad himself would on occasion minister (Karim & Gallen, 1992). Malcolm was attracted to the camaraderie Black Muslims had for one another in the Temple. He soon stopped work under Wilfred and took a series of blue-collar factory jobs at the insistence of his parole officer. None lasted, as Malcolm's true passion was the advancement of the NOI across the nation.

Both DeCaro (1998) and Perry (1991) point out the similarities between Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm's father Earl Little. Both had their ideological perspectives from the Marcus Garvey movement, and had grown up with little education in rural Georgia. For the next few years Malcolm would spend many evenings as the personal guest of Elijah Muhammad. In

private, Elijah would refer to his followers as ‘babies,’ and actively presenting himself as a father figure. Elijah’s real name was Robert Poole, and got his start in Detroit under the tutelage of a man named Wallace Dodd Ford. Known to later followers as W.D. Fard, they believed he told the message of Allah to Elijah Muhammad and that he was Allah incarnate. Both men had multiple aliases in their lives, and had a history of being swindlers. Fard began Temple No. 1 in Detroit, and made money ‘selling’ the original surnames of blacks. He would temporarily give them an X until he had ‘revelations’ as to the true name (for more history on Elijah Muhammad and W.D. Ford, see: Perry, 1991). W.D. Ford vanished in 1934, about the time Malcolm was 9, leaving Elijah to create the NOI organization Malcolm later joined.

Malcolm quickly became a close pupil of Elijah Muhammad, and after his encouragement, began addressing the congregation of Temple No. 1. By June of 1953, Malcolm was assistant minister (Karim & Gallen, 1992). Beyond the temple, Malcolm actively proselytized to youth, taking the skills of persuasion he used to convert inmates to the streets of Detroit. By Perry’s account, Malcolm was considered Elijah’s ‘seventh son’ and received more attention than the man’s birth children (1991, p. 146). Muhammad sought to greatly expand the NOI’s presence in the urban environment, sending Malcolm into the ghettos of Philadelphia, Boston, Springfield MA, and Hartford CT. The reward for his work was the appointment as minister of Harlem’s Temple No. 7 in June of 1954 (DeCaro, 1998, p. 94; Karim & Gallen, 1992).

The April of 1957 marked the beginning of events which would form Malcolm’s legend spreading outside the fringes of Black Nationalism. A black man by the name of Hinton Johnson yelled in protest when he came across two white police officers beating another black man. The police’s response was to severely beat him and send him to jail. Johnson was a Black Muslim, and word soon spread of his treatment. Within the hour, Malcolm led approximately 2,600 black

men and women who surrounded the 123<sup>rd</sup> street police station. The police were in complete disarray as how to handle the overpowering number of black people outside their station. Commissioner McGowen gave into Malcolm's request that if Johnson needed medical care, he would be rushed to the hospital. In return for Johnson's care, Malcolm would disperse the crowd. Indeed, Johnson had been terribly beaten and was rushed to the hospital per McGowen's direct orders. With a modest hand gesture the crowd left. In the words of one police officer, "Did you see what I just saw? ... This is too much power for one man to have" (Goldman, 1973, p. 59; Karim & Gallen, 1992). James Hicks, a friend of Malcolm and editor of *Amsterdam News*, asserted the comment from a white officer meant that it was too much power for a *black* man to have (Perry, 1991). Interest in Harlem took off, gaining members and money from the legendary incident. In response, James Hicks offered him an opinion column.

Malcolm's opinion column was a great success in the *Amsterdam News*. As a primarily black newspaper, he caused a great stir when he vilified Christianity. The church community was worried, and under pressure from the editor, an opposition minister was put in place to refute Malcolm's arguments. Word got back to Elijah Muhammad of Malcolm's written success. It would seem this was the beginning of Elijah's jealousy for being overshadowed by Malcolm. The column was turned over to Elijah, but within a few weeks cancelled for its lack of appeal (Karim & Gallen, 1992).

Malcolm never halted his Temple raising while he was a minister. By the time he left the nation, temples numbered to 35 across the continent. In 1957, Elijah Muhammad officially named Malcolm his National Representative. Throughout the NOI expansion, Malcolm remained in continued contact with Elijah Muhammad for instruction and advice. His political and theological rhetoric and actions were approved by the Chicago headquarters. During the

same time period of 1958, Malcolm married Betty Shabazz, despite Muhammad's discouragement (Perry, 1991, p. 188).

In early 1959 New York television began airing a Mike Wallace documentary entitled *The Hate that Hate Produced*. One particular scene showed black children being taught from the age of kindergarten on that whites were devils (Perry, 1991, p. 174). The shocking footage brought a storm of national media attention, magazine articles, and interviews of Malcolm X. In 1960, Malcolm focused his efforts to creating *Muhammad Speaks*, the NOI's own newspaper to espouse their rhetoric. The initial paper was produced in his basement. An academic from Boston University by the name of Eric Lincoln wrote the first work on the NOI, in his doctoral dissertation (Goldman, 1973). The work was later published in 1961 as a full length book. During this time period, Alex Haley, later the co-writer of Malcolm X's autobiography, approached him to do an article for *Reader's Digest* and later for *Playboy Magazine*. The digest article was the first in a national magazine to cover the NOI. From the time of the 1959 documentary on, Malcolm became the spotlight not only for the NOI, but also as a voice for Black Nationalism. His keen ability to adapt his rhetoric to the audience made him as desirable on the streets of Harlem as in the University speaker's circuit. He would go on to speak at Harvard, Michigan State University, Atlanta University and many others, and was as sought after as Barry Goldwater (Perry, 1991).

### **Doctrine**

This newfound religion elucidated the history of the institutions of slavery and segregation, and gave historical context to a group that had previously been ignorant of the totality of their own oppression. Though valid in their identification of real injustices, the faith departed from the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and many other

civil rights groups to conclude that the white race itself was the source of an original sin. The Nation of Islam had its own creation story which believed that whites were conceived of by a black scientist thousands of years ago to spite the black race and Allah. In essence, the doctrine of the NOI emphasized the conflict between white and black, and the inevitable downfall of the white race (Perry, 1991).

The speeches Malcolm gave while a member of NOI reflected their doctrine of separation from the white race. Malcolm and the other followers of Elijah Muhammad believed that any form of integration would remain a submission to the white man. During this era, most businesses and property were owned by whites, and Malcolm believed that until Blacks owned their own, nothing would change. Malcolm used the rape of his grandmother by a white man and birth of his biracial mother as an example of his own personal exploitation. Everything that the white man touched was considered polluted or used to benefit the white man in his conquest of non-whites. Christianity from the perspective of the Nation was devised as “Faustian machinations to make [the white man’s] own Christianity his initial wedge in criminal conquests” (Haley, 1965). The NOI did not believe in an afterlife, stressing the time to seek justice from the white man was in this life. “The White Man’s Heaven is the Black Man’s Hell” (Malcolm X, 1957b). Christianity was interpreted through the lens of racial struggle. Malcolm believed that the faith was meant to deceive blacks into disregarding their slavery to believe redemption awaited them in heaven.

One notable sermon Malcolm gave on “A Black Man’s History” at a Harlem mosque in December of 1962 outlined the dogma of the Nation of Islam (Goodman, 1971). One of the main points of emphasis was that the Black man has been on Earth far longer and advanced civilization more extensively than whites ever have. The NOI also taught that whites were the

product of a vengeful black scientist named Yacub who selected for the most deleterious traits in the black race. After generations of artificial selection by Yacub, an evil white race was created to damn his black brethren. The white race was then prophesized to rule for 6000 years, to give an explanation for why blacks were enslaved.

Awash in conspiracy, the 'white race' is accused of hiding the precedence of Black civilization and bringing about the current state of affairs in race relations. Malcolm X himself believed there would be a "War of Armageddon" between black and white (Haley, 1965). Prominently displayed in many of the Nation of Islam mosques was a poster of the American flag with the caption "Slavery, Suffering and Death," with another red flag, white star and crescent of the Nation of Islam stating "Islam: Freedom, Justice and Equality." Over both flags lied the question, "Which One Will Survive the War of Armageddon?" (Haley, 1965). On Judgment Day, "Allah would subdue the whites and deliver their black victims from bondage" (Perry, 1991). The only means for any reconciliation to God would be to give the African-Americans in the United States enough fertile land and economic support to establish a separate nation-state (Goodman, 1971, pp. 23-66).

### **Break with NOI**

Malcolm's success found resentment within Elijah Muhammad's children. They were threatened by the influence Malcolm had within the NOI, especially as the health of their father began to dwindle in the early 1960s. Elijah Muhammad moved to Arizona, away from the national headquarters of his organization. Many of the children felt that Elijah had treated Malcolm as a son more than his own biological offspring. *Muhammad Speaks*, which Malcolm had begun and seen blossom into the official NOI publication, in 1962 was ordered to minimize coverage of him by Elijah's son and editor of the publication, Herbert. Malcolm's troubles also



came from other rival NOI members and former protégés who wanted their own chance at authority.

The Muhammad family had been rampantly misusing NOI funds. Their interests were served using the tithes of followers to finance groceries, barbers, bakeries and other small businesses under their control. Official edicts by Elijah further increased his capital by forbidding followers from purchasing goods or services not under NOI control. Malcolm's concern for the greater good of the NOI interfered with the private interests of the family to make a profit from followers. The highest echelon, the "Royal Family" of Muhammad had been implicated in armed robbery, drug dealing, assault, fraud and a host of other crimes the NOI had originally been created to prevent (Perry, 1991). Malcolm on the other hand declined more than a living wage for his service, and refused Muhammad's repeated assertions for Malcolm to transfer the deed of his house from NOI to his own name. His ascetic lifestyle infuriated the family more, seeing it as a direct criticism of their immoral behavior.

Reportedly, Muhammad's feelings of inferiority grew when in 1963 Doubleday press approached Malcolm to write an autobiography with Alex Haley. Louis Lomax's book, *When the Word is Given*, published in 1963 with Malcolm on the cover and Muhammad decidedly absent, did not help relations between the two men. With regard to the tensions of his own popularity, Alex Haley noted that during a writing session for the autobiography Malcolm exclaimed, "Now, I don't want anything in this book to make it sound that I think I'm somebody important" (Haley, 1965, p. 392). Once Malcolm's mentor and father figure, Muhammad was eclipsed by his eloquence, adroit debating skills, and ability to manipulate media attention. Muhammad's own prideful statements about his humble 5<sup>th</sup> grade education became the handicap for his own oratory and thus the inability to persuade outside of the NOI.

Decaro describes Malcolm's split from the Nation of Islam as the final of three phases of an evolving ideology. Malcolm's personal redemption from the previous forsaken criminal life was arguably his first and most personal transformation. The second phase regarded his Ministry and fundamentalist push to expand the NOI across the country, building the organization and reaffirming his own beliefs through zealous rhetoric (1998, p. 97-98). Toward the end of the 1950's Malcolm's own purview expanded beyond the NOI doctrine, embracing his feeling that the 'Dark World' should unify under Islam. His rhetoric, especially in educated forums like those of Harvard and other universities at which he spoke, relied heavily upon Qur'anic teachings. Muhammad never intended to complete his doctrine's call to create a separate Black Nation, let alone return to Africa. While Malcolm conceived of programmatic advances for the Black community, Muhammad only valued the income he received from the support of followers. In December of 1959, Elijah had made his own Hajj. Rather than broadening his worldview, he overlooked the thousands of whites he saw and concluded to his followers: "(1) the white man is still the devil; (2) Elijah was still the synthesis of the Prophet Elijah and the Prophet Muhammad Ibn Abdullah; (3) Master Wallace D. Fard was regarded as Allah" (as cited in Evanzz, 1999).

Beyond the financial scandals within the NOI, nothing could traumatize Malcolm more than the rumors of Elijah's adultery. Malcolm remained steadfastly loyal to Elijah Muhammad. Well aware of the dubious goings on within the organization, he had an unfettered faith for the leader. Any accomplishment Malcolm had in building the NOI, he attributed to Elijah. Malcolm even named his third daughter Ilyasha, after Elijah. Rumors of Elijah Muhammad having committed adultery with his secretaries came to Malcolm early in 1955, but he did not give them serious credence until years later. Elijah's NOI severely punished those who committed adultery

or fornication. Malcolm later described the hypocrisy of Muhammad allowing many of his female secretaries to be, "... brought before Muslim courts and charged with adultery ... Humiliated before the general body..." (Haley, 1965, p. 295). The female victims of the NOI leader were accused when they were found to be pregnant and single. Elijah allowed each woman to bear his sins publically without any compassion. By the latter half of 1962, enough rumors had surfaced for Malcolm to take the allegations against Elijah seriously. In his own words, "there was never any specific moment when I admitted the situation to myself ... somehow I slid over admitting to myself the ugly fact, even as I began dealing with it" (Haley, 1965, p. 296). The NOI was fraying at the seams, with leaks of the financial and moral scandals reaching mainstream media in 1963.

On April of 1963, Malcolm flew to Arizona to meet with Elijah Muhammad. According to the autobiography, Elijah told Malcolm his extra-marital affairs were prophesized in the Bible much like those of Lot and David. Hoping to quell the shock of the increasing rumors about the NOI leader, Malcolm told a select few ministers. The result of his attempt to soften the moral blow was met with strong opposition in the Chicago NOI headquarters.

After the November 22, 1963 assassination of John F. Kennedy Jr., Elijah Muhammad issued the directive to make no remarks on the event and if pressed, to say: "No Comment." Malcolm was allowed by Muhammad to speak in the Manhattan Center. On December 1<sup>st</sup> 1963 Malcolm described the John F. Kennedy Jr. Assassination in the context of American domestic and foreign policy sins as "The chickens are coming home to roost" (see *God's Judgment of White America*: Goodman, 1971). Elijah Muhammad responded by forbidding him to speak to the press or teach for 90 days. The ban began a series of moves within the organization to push Malcolm from the NOI, and threaten his life. In early January of 1964, he was summoned to a

preliminary hearing in front of Elijah Muhammad, and a panel of NOI ministers. The panel berated Malcolm for his actions and Muhammad told him to “put out the fire you started” (Goldman, 1973, p. 125). During the hearing, he demanded a proper Muslim disciplinary proceeding afforded to all NOI members. Muhammad promised one after his 90 day silencing, but Malcolm soon found out that the leader had ordered him to be permanently ‘isolated.’ Malcolm was effectively cast out of the NOI, with no official hearing given (Decaro, 1996; Goldman, 1973).

### **Hajj**

During his break with the Nation of Islam, and thereafter, Malcolm redefined his religious and racial worldview. On March 12<sup>th</sup> 1964, he created his own religious organization entitled, Muslim Mosque Inc. (MMI). The organization’s objective was to serve the black community as an orthodox Muslim voice. Many former NOI members disaffected by the behavior of Elijah Muhammad followed Malcolm into his MMI. Malcolm had for some time been thinking about the racial plight beyond the confines of America. He sought to reach out to the greater Muslim world and bring the message of the continued subjugation of their ‘dark’ brethren. The pilgrimage to Mecca on April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1964 was planned under his own changing political and religious worldview.

### **Ceremony**

Malcolm attributes the great transformation in his understanding of race relations to one of the most sacred injunctions of the Qur’an, in which Muslims are instructed to follow five key tenets of the Islamic faith. The main pillar *shahadah* centers on the Muslim belief that Islam is the true monotheistic religion as expressed in the assertion that “There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah (49:19; 48:29)” (as cited in Waines, 2003, p. 30). Under

this central pillar stand prescriptions for daily prayer, alms giving, fasting during the month of Ramadan and the Pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj). All represent the obedience and worship within the faith to Allah (Waines, 2003). The city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia remains the central holy site in Islam, and serves as the direction for daily prayer. In most all mosques there is a niche on an ornamented wall called the *Qiblah* which delineates the direction of Mecca (Waines, 2003, p. 197).

The Hajj must be done at least once in the life of every Muslim, with exceptions only for lack of physical or financial ability. The Hajj itself begins on the seventh day on the twelfth month (Dhū al-Hijja) of the lunar calendar *hijri* (Turner, 2006, p. 122). The journey is saturated with specific rituals designed to create unity among believers and assume their total submission to Allah. Worshipers take great pains to prepare their body for the ceremonies ahead in a process called *ihram*. Men and women wash solely with water and leave their hair uncombed. They also shed their clothes and don two plain white pieces of cloth. Men must also cut their hair, shave the face and depilate the body. *Ihram* is a state of ritual purity not only of the body, but of the mind. All thoughts of or behaviors relating to sexuality are forbidden--as is harm toward any living organism (Turner, 2006, p. 124).

After *ihram* Hajj begins with the circumambulation counterclockwise seven times around the Ka'ba. The Ka'ba was believed to have been built by the prophet Abraham and lies within the Great Mosque. Millions of worshippers surround the shrine, carrying each other around as if orbiting a central celestial body. The next ceremony of *sa'i* signifies the Qur'anic character Hajar's search for water for her son, with followers making a procession from the hills of Marwa to Safa (Waines, 2003). According to the Qur'an, Hajar was the concubine of the prophet Abraham and the mother of the prophet Ishmael. She and her son were banished into the desert

to accommodate the jealousy of Sara, Abraham's wife (Turner, 2006). According to the Qur'an, Abraham's wife Sarah gave Hajar to him as a second wife to bear children. Sarah soon became jealous of Hajar and had Abraham banish her and Ishmael to the desert, where Allah is believed to have produced the Zamzam well for them to quench their thirst. Worshipers complete *sa'i* by taking some Zamzam water (Turner, 2006, p. 125).

The journey continues with canonical prayers on the eighth day in Mina and then traveling to camp on the plain of Arafat. On the ninth day, the faithful stand from noon to sunset praying and saying the names of Allah. When sunset comes, on foot they move to the mountain pass Muzdalifa and spend the night with more prayer. Over the next three days, pilgrims move back to Mina, for the 'stoning of Satan.' The process commemorates the Qur'anic parable of when Abraham was tempted by the devil not to sacrifice his son. Many then sacrifice animals and distribute the meat to the poor in the Great Feast. Other rituals are performed including more circumambulations with the conclusion of the process ending *ihram* to re-enter the outside world (Turner, 2003, p. 125-6; Waines, 2006, p. 92).

Something fundamentally changed within Malcolm X with his conversion to Sunni Islam leading up to his pilgrimage to Mecca. During the experience he discovered his ignorance of Islam had become a barrier between him and Allah. Throughout Saudi Arabia Malcolm encountered men of every ethnic background and color of skin, and found that their faith made no physical distinctions within the holy city during Hajj. Recounting his experiences interacting with fellow pilgrims and the Saudi nation Malcolm described: "We were *truly* all the same (brothers)—because their belief in one God had removed the 'white' from their *minds*, the 'white' from their *behavior*, and the 'white' from their *attitude*" (Haley, 1965, p. 340). Malcolm's belief that whites were somehow intrinsically evil had been wiped out with his break

from the NOI. The striking change after the Hajj was his changing attitude toward whether whites and blacks could live mutually in the United States.

### **Upon Return**

Malcolm continued his trip abroad to several African and Middle Eastern Nations. Ghana, Senegal, Morocco, and Algeria greeted him with pomp and circumstance usually given to foreign diplomats. Malcolm in many senses represented the dispossessed people within Black America. He took every opportunity to tell those in Mecca and Africa about the racial problems in his home nation, "...never once did I bite my tongue or miss a single opportunity to tell the truth about the crimes, the evils and the indignities that are suffered by the black man in America" (Haley, 1965, p. 345). He learned from political leaders about the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a political body consisting of the heads of African nations. Malcolm valued its mission for political sway when contending with the United States and former colonial powers like Great Britain.

Upon his return from Hajj, he founded in June the secular Organization for Afro-American Unity (OAAU) to address the social issues within the broader African American community (Breitman, 1998). Malcolm was moving beyond the political confines of only speaking to the Black Muslims of America to address not only the greater American Black Community, but the world community. He arrived back in the United States on May 21<sup>st</sup>, with a commitment by African leaders to support his efforts to have the U.S. charged with human rights violations. Though Malcolm found brotherhood in Muslims of all shades and nationalities during Hajj, he was not so naïve to think America could find the same harmony overnight. His changed perspectives on race and their importance will be elaborated upon in the discussion section.

### Content Analysis

Generative Historical Consciousness (GHC) is a strong method to understand expressions of motivation which are conducive to healthy power relationships. Winter (2006, 2010) offers an approach to the discourse on power restraint and hypothesizes that certain individuals may have or develop such a perspective, which fosters a more discerning understanding of the self and one's place. Many other forms of power restraint including love, religion, intellect, and responsibility, can be 'hijacked' to service the force which they were meant to contain (Winter, 2006; 2010). This analysis is most useful for the study of Malcolm because not only does it recognize his power motivation, it distinguishes the different expressions of his power motive. Malcolm's rhetoric remained consistently aggressive and confrontational, but the nature of his "enemy" changed dramatically. GHC can distinguish between the 'good' power from the 'bad.'

Malcolm's attitudes toward race and religion and his programs for change were dramatically different after his disassociation from the NOI and subsequent Hajj. The changes seen in Malcolm X before and after his journey to Mecca can be seen in the biographies and words of the man himself. In order to further understand the change in Malcolm, one must look to a measure that could capture the dramatic shift in his understanding of race, power, and worldview. Content analysis of the conduits for motivation is a method to systematically look at the underlying and more consistent drivers of behavior in a leader. Motivation itself is only a small portion of a person's personality, but is useful in gleaning some predictive ability (Winter 2006; Winter, 2010; Winter & Carlson, 1988). Winter & Carlson found there to be a "trade-off between the scientific rigor of subjective measurement and the clinical sensitivity of subjective interpretation" (1988, p. 78). The use of a psychobiography to assess Malcolm's life and changes in motivation expression can present a number of limitations. For one, Malcolm has passed away, leaving only what written and spoken words that have been recorded. Without direct



access to the individual, one cannot directly validate findings (Winter, 1998; Winter & Carlson, 1988). The literature on the measure used in this study is sparse, owing to its novelty (Winter, 2010).

How Malcolm's motivation was tamed may strongly suggest a relationship between what Malcolm went through leading to his December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1963 break with the Nation of Islam and ensuing actions which culminated with the summer of 1964 Hajj. The appropriate null hypothesis would be that changes seen within Malcolm may be due to chance or other uncontrolled historical events. Given there is no way to rigorously control for history or other chance variables, we can only probe and seek a strong relationship given the relevant biographical data on Malcolm (Campbell & Stanley, 1966).

Specifically, power-holders with GHC have a level of restraint in their own actions because they are mindful of the profound consequences. Whether a leader's decisions will have a positive outcome for humanity is driven by a sense that future generations will assess history without a dated concern for current biases. The measure for GHC is a coding system in development that consists of positive categories--or those exemplifying tamed power--and negative categories for untamed.

This study is an extension of Winter's work pairing 50 speeches of world leaders exhibiting 'tamed' with those matched for 'untamed' power. Each pair was approximately matched by Winter for the "nature of the conflict, issues at stake and political position of the leader" (2010). The study resulted in an overall higher GHC for those leaders considered to have been 'tamed' in their actions, and lower GHC for those leaders considered 'untamed' (Winter, 2010).

## **Method**

## Materials

**Documents.** The content analysis measure requires verbatim documents spoken or written by the individual being studied. Malcolm X's available speeches and writings were collected for scoring from published books, newspaper sources, internet databases, library special collections and other archival sources. To avoid biasing my scoring, I made a conscious effort not to read or delve deeply into any speech. Each transcript was taken from published works, databases and libraries holding collections of Malcolm's public career. Documents were used under the criteria that they must be verbatim and complete. A total of 58 complete documents was compiled (see Appendix A for a complete list).

**Coding.** The coding system itself centers around five themes, all but one of which have a positive and negative manifestation (see Appendix B). The themes consist of 'General Future References,' 'Consequentiality,' 'Inclusion-Exclusion,' 'Sense of Importance,' and 'Adaptability.' Most every Theme has a positive and negative category which may be scored. The categories are meant to capture Winter's theories combining historical consciousness, generativity, and mortality salience. The coding system was tested for inter-scorer reliability in the study of world leaders. Ten speeches were scored for reliability by two expert scorers and resulted in an inter-scorer agreement (correlation) of .81 (Winter, 2010).

## Procedure

After the collection of documents was complete, each one had to be electronically compiled. For those publications found online<sup>2</sup>, they were converted into word documents and separated by each individual speech. Books and other manuscripts without an electronic version<sup>3</sup> were scanned and cropped into .pdf files. Once all 58 documents were compiled, research assistant assigned a random number and removed information that could bias scoring, such as

titles, dates of the speech, locations, and similar information. Most references to dates or events *within* the documents were left unblinded.

After this blinding, the documents were put in random order and scored. The scoring requires long uninterrupted sessions of time. As a scorer, I would choose days and times in which I felt most aware and able to dedicate my mental faculties without distraction or excessive fatigue, and concentrate on maintaining the reliability of scoring throughout the whole speech set.

After the speeches were scored, another colleague and I independently compiled the scores for the speeches. The two data entries were then compared to remove error. In order to compare scores of varied length documents, scores were expressed as imagery present per 1000 words. This process required the hand counting of all words in the .pdf files and using Microsoft's word count function. Negative categories are subtracted from positive categories to establish an overall total GHC score.

For analysis, documents were divided into phases. To test the main hypothesis, the 58 documents were divided into those made before Malcolm's official start to Hajj (4-19-1964) and after his Hajj (4-30-1964). There were no documents used in the set during Hajj. After more research into Malcolm's life, I decided it would be prudent to also test the significance of Malcolm's break with the Nation of Islam (12-4-1963). Documents from 1961 and prior (totaling seven) were grouped as Malcolm's 'Early Career.' The 'Early Career' varied much more in the year Malcolm created them, and the status of awareness the American public had of the still inconsequential NOI. The 'Pre-Split' phase were those speeches made approximately around the time the NOI was gaining national attention and right before and excluding the official date of Malcolm's split with the NOI (1962 to 12-04-1963). The 'Post-NOI & Pre-Hajj'

phase encompassed documents made on Malcolm's official NOI split (12-04-1963) until the Hajj (4-19-1964). The 'Post-Hajj; phase was all documents after the Hajj (4-30-1964).

### Results

To confirm my first hypothesis that Malcolm's GHC would be higher after Hajj than before, I found it appropriate to compare the mean scores. Levene's test indicated I could not assume equal variances between those speeches made before Malcolm's Hajj and afterward,  $F(1, 56) = 4.42, p = .04$ . Therefore I conducted a modified t-test to determine whether GHC was significantly higher after Malcolm's return from Hajj than before. Indeed, the comparison found that GHC was significantly higher after Malcolm's return from Hajj than beforehand,  $t(37.77) = 2.94, p = .006$  (see Table 1). Upon finding the overall scores significant, I delved into whether each individual category would have significant differences in means before and after the Hajj. We investigated the mean difference between speeches on subscales of GHC before and after Malcolm's Hajj and found five to be significant (see Table 1).

Beyond my hypothesis, I wanted to see if the renunciation of the Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam and conversion to Sunni Islam had an impact on the GHC of Malcolm X. The overall mean difference between Malcolm's measured GHC before and after his NOI split were significant,  $t(56) = 3.68, p = .001$  (see Table 2). As with the Hajj analysis, I wanted to see whether the individual subscales would also have a significant change before and after the NOI Split. The mean difference between GHC speech subscales before and after the official split with the Nation of Islam found the same five subscales as the Pre-Hajj and Post-Hajj analysis to be significant with equal variances not assumed (see Table 2).

An additional and more critical examination of GHC scores over the course of Malcolm's public career indicate that his change may have been before the Hajj. A one-way ANOVA was

conducted to test for differences in overall GHC across the phases of Malcolm X's Development (see Figure 1). The phase of Malcolm's public career had an effect on average expressed GHC in his writings,  $F(3, 57) = 5.01, p = .004$ . Specifically, post-hoc analyses found the greatest difference between the 'Pre-Split' and the 'Post-Hajj' phases corrected for multiple comparisons using Tukey's HSD test,  $t(42) = 5.98, p = .002$ .

### Discussion

The results of the data appear to confirm that there was a change in the relative motivations of Generative Historical Consciousness when comparing before and after Malcolm X's Hajj. The overall scores of each speech (expressed as themes per 1000 words) were significantly different before and after the Hajj. Even more so, the change apparent in Malcolm most likely occurred *before* the Hajj and likely lead to his break with the Nation of Islam. Further analysis of the four more nuanced phases of his life found that 'Pre-Split' and 'Post-Hajj' phases were the most significantly different (see Figure 1). This may suggest that Malcolm's change in motivations began toward the end of his career with the NOI, with a transitional period before his Hajj. Of the nine categories, the same five categories were also found to have significantly different means in analysis of both before and after the Hajj, as well as between the 'Pre-Split' and 'Post-Hajj' phases (see Tables 1 & 2). The categories were: *Zero-Sum Future*, *Prudence & Caution*, *Others Provoke*, *Perspective of Other*, and *Pseudo Speciation*. It may be important to note that *Hopeful Future*, *Historical Significance*, *Re-examination*, *Self Assurance* were not significant individually. One difference between these two sets of categories may be that the former regard the leader's interactions with an *other*--be it an out-group or in-group which has a different perspective. The latter categories were not significant and dealt with the leader's own hubris, or an abstract cognition about the gravity of the current situation or future.

From Malcolm's history we can gather a number of explanations for why his GHC changed so drastically. Upon his departure, Malcolm converted to Sunni Islam, and established his own orthodox religious organization 'Muslim Mosque Inc.' In recognition of the need to expand his Black Nationalist efforts; Malcolm later created the secular 'Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU).' Both these organizations and the Hajj were likely effects, rather than probable causes for his change in GHC. Malcolm recalled in his autobiography: "...in the privacy of my own thoughts after several of these experiences, I did question myself: if one was sincere in professing a religion, why should he balk at broadening his knowledge of that religion?" (Haley, 1965, p. 318). The OAAU and MMI were manifestations of his acceptance of counterarguments to the clear contradictions and inadequacies of the NOI. The time period in December of 1963 and before may hold key information as to what factors may have led to Malcolm's increase in tamed power.

Elijah Muhammad meant the world to Malcolm X, becoming a mentor and father figure. Not only did the NOI illuminate many of the atrocities committed by whites over the course of colonialism, but gave Black men a reason to have pride. They were chosen by Allah over whites, and contrary to the messages received through their subordinate status, they in fact were the superior race. By the end of the 1950's Malcolm began to see the petty arguments and infighting within the NOI. Malcolm found this to be deeply troublesome, but it did not shake his devotion to Elijah Muhammad. Muhammad's moral hypocrisy was evident in the way he spent NOI funds. The money earned from tithes and NOI goods and services members were obligated to use bought Muhammad Cadillac cars, business ventures and multiple residences. Much of the tithes and the captive consumers of NOI products went toward the personal financial enterprises of the Muhammad family.

Little could strike more deeply than the knowledge that Malcolm's own savior and mentor was a moral fraud. Malcolm revered Elijah. During the course of 1963 Malcolm heard of Elijah fathering children with several of his young secretaries. Malcolm describes the anguish he felt,

He was The Messenger of Allah. When I was a foul, vicious convict, so evil that other convicts had called me Satan, this man had rescued me. He was the man who had trained me, who had treated me as if I were his own flesh and blood. He was the man who had given me wings---to go places, to do things I otherwise never would have dreamed of.

(Haley, 1965, p. 298)

Malcolm attributes the transformation he had within prison to the teachings and guidance of his leader. He was lost without the man for whom he devoted twelve years of ministry and had forsaken a previous life of crime and despondence. He stated in his own biography that he avoided the topic of morality beginning in 1963 because he had been shaken to his core upon learning of Muhammad's adultery and fathering of children with many of his young secretaries. When investigating the sins of his leader, Malcolm learned that Elijah had told the secretaries that Malcolm was 'the greatest minister he ever had, but that someday [Malcolm] would leave him, turn against him---so [he] was 'dangerous' (Haley, 1965, p. 297). Against the teachings of the NOI forbidding contact with silenced members, Malcolm confirmed the intention of Elijah to purge him. He felt himself and the NOI movement in his own words, 'betrayed.' Malcolm makes note of the dispassionate treatment he had when he cast out his own brother Reginald for simply voicing criticism of Elijah. The troubled relations with Reginald only exacerbated Malcolm's shock and the understanding of unrequited loyalty for Elijah Muhammad.

Malcolm had long felt that women were a temptation. As minister, one of the most important of his teachings aside from the doctrine of the Nation, was the proper behavior for black men. Malcolm taught about how since the time of Eve, women were sirens for men, enslaving them to their sexual appetites. The proper place for a woman was in the home, as a housemate and bearer of children. Especially before marrying Betty in 1958, Malcolm was known within the NOI for his anti-female diatribes. Elijah himself may have discouraged Malcolm's union with Betty so as to prevent distraction in his work with the NOI (Perry, 1991). As Elijah was his father figure, teacher and mentor, Malcolm's core identity was shaken by the realization:

The very keel of my teaching, and my most bone-deep personal belief, was that Elijah Muhammad in every aspect of his existence was a symbol of moral, mental, and spiritual reform among the American black people. For twelve years, I had taught that within the entire Nation of Islam; my own transformation was the best example I knew of Mr. Muhammad's power to reform black men's lives. From the time I entered prison until I married, about twelve years later, because of Mr. Muhammad's influence upon me, I had never touched a woman" (Haley, 1965, p.294).

Before Betty Shabazz, Malcolm had made a commitment to be chaste save only for if he chose a wife. He strongly believed in living up to the standards he himself espoused as a minister. Decaro mentions the importance of this in discussing Malcolm's sense of the hypocrisy within the American Christian Community (1996). Many of the precepts of the faith were ignored not only during slavery, but also in allowing the denigration of blacks. Hypocrisy was certainly a theme in his rhetoric, and within his moral teachings. Malcolm also believed the treatment of his mother and family hypocritical, for the family was eventually torn apart by what he believed to



be the wrongful actions of social workers which expected the family to thrive under their undue weight (Haley, 1965). Another key theme was the hypocrisy of the American North and ‘White Liberals.’ The North’s own de jure segregation and the political structures within the liberal elite was a major albatross toward true equality. Malcolm’s famous metaphor described southern whites as a “wolf,” open with their vehemence toward blacks, while northern whites were a “fox,” deceptive in their prejudice (see “The Old Negro and the New Negro,” Goodman, 1973). Malcolm’s strong beliefs about the discourse on segregation and racism extended to the Civil Rights Leaders. They were supposedly representing the values and struggles of black people, when in Malcolm’s mind; they were ‘Uncle Toms’ who attempted to avoid confrontation with the white majority. Malcolm believed that all blacks should have the right to defend themselves “by any means necessary” and as the appropriate response toward white aggression (Clark, 1991; Perry, 1989). Condemning the hypocrisy in personal morals, political leadership and the Christian community in America were central to his beliefs. Elijah Muhammad violated this core value.

Malcolm’s evolving beliefs increasingly showed a generative nature. He reaffirmed his changed perceptions of the white race,

“At Mecca I saw the spirit of unity and true brotherhood displayed by tens of thousands of people from all over the world, from blue-eyed blonds to black-skinned Africans. This served to convince me that perhaps some American whites can also be cured of the rampant racism which is consuming them and about to destroy that country. (Clarke, 1969, p. 302-3).

This was the continuation of a process to allow the perspectives of others be a means to reexamine his own misconceptions. He gave leaders within the Civil Rights Movement like

Martin Luther King Jr. a new respect for their efforts, even though he remained in disagreement with some of their precepts.

He had faith in the younger generation to move beyond structural hatred in order to realize true equality. Many of his speeches regarding the OAAU explicitly called for the college educated to help fashion a new future for the betterment of blacks (Breitman 1998, Breitman, 1970; Breitman 1965; Perry 1970). He saw racism as a human rights issue, not merely an African-American struggle. His beliefs concerning gender began to change as well, when discussing the strength of his half sister Ella, “No other woman was strong enough to point me in directions; I pointed women in directions” (Haley, 1965, p. 319). Though Betty Shabazz played the role of a traditional wife and mother, from 1964 on, Malcolm increasingly entrusted her with important information about his political and social strategies (Rickford, 2003).

One counterargument to the findings may be that Malcolm’s rhetoric in 1962-63 may have been an effort to prove his fidelity to NOI and Elijah (Decaro, 1998). During this time period, Malcolm was well aware of his tenuous relationship to the NOI leadership in Chicago and with Elijah Muhammad. It may very well be that Malcolm was attempting to prove his zealotry. Malcolm could have also been exaggerating Muhammad’s rhetoric or highlighting the most unsupportable portions of doctrine in an effort to slight the leader. Malcolm had always been adept in garnering media attention. Most individuals were shocked at his personable nature and courtesy when they met him in person (Perry 1991). His persona fashioned for the national media may occlude any underlying grasp of his real motivations at the time.

In some senses, Malcolm’s submission to the will of Elijah Muhammad was broken and transferred to his submission to the will of Allah. Malcolm never finished his transformation and acceptance of a racial reconciliation in future generations. His hesitations over interracial

marriage and persistent anti-Semitism expose his fallibility, and the inner struggles he continued with until his assassination on February 21<sup>st</sup> 1965. Regardless, he continued to promote pride for black people, speaking of desire that all be treated equally. He remained a Black Nationalist in what would seem only for the emphasis on black self-determination. His vision for the future of the movement lied in internationalizing the struggle, uplifting ‘dark’ people globally to reaffirm the equality of all.

This psychobiography explored the application of a new content analysis measure, of Generative Historical Consciousness, and extended its validity to an individual’s changes in their expressions of power. This measure is most useful to study Malcolm because, not only does it recognize his power motivation, it distinguishes the different expressed outcomes of his power motive. The GHC measure strongly related to Malcolm’s self-described transformations, and reveals an increase in ‘tamed power’ after his Hajj. Furthermore, the measure accurately captured how Malcolm’s confrontational and aggressive political posture changed dramatically after he separated from the Nation of Islam and converted to Sunni Islam. Expressions of ‘tamed’ power were far more present after his transformation and distinguished from those ‘untamed’ purporting racism and hatred. Though his confrontational rhetoric persisted, the nature of his understanding of race relations became an issue of human rights and dignity rather than black superiority. Malcolm publicly modified his previous positions, and found faith in the next generation—black and white—to progress further toward human equality in the United States.

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## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> This sketch of Malcolm X's life is based on the following sources: DeCaro (1998), DeCaro (1996), Gallen (1992), Goldman (1973), Goodman (1971), Haley (1963), Karim & Gallen, (1992), and Perry (1991).

<sup>2</sup> Electronic sources: Breitman (1985), Breitman (1970), Clark (1991), Haley (1963), Perry (1989). Also all articles from: Pittsburgh Courier, New York Amsterdam News, New York Times, and The Guardian.

<sup>3</sup> Sources scanned from books: Bosmajian & Bosmajian (1969), Breitman (1998), Clarke (1969), Clark (1992), Epps (1969), Goodman (1971), and Lomax (1963).



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Table 1

*The GHC Category Means Compared Before and After Malcolm's Hajj*

	Pre Hajj	Post Hajj	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
Total Overall	-2.07 (5.16)	0.99 (2.19)	-2.94**	37.77 <sup>†</sup>
Hopeful Future	.40 (.49)	.48 (.51)	.67	56
Zero-Sum Future	.54 (.97)	.14 (.37)	2.09*	56
Prudence & Caution	.20 (.41)	.56 (.82)	2.06*	56
Others Provoke	1.46 (1.40)	.82 (.67)	2.23*	56
Perspective of Other	.36 (.91)	.83 (.83)	2.03*	56
Pseudo Speciation	1.32 (1.63)	.27 (.42)	3.39**	56
Historical Significance	.03 (.07)	.02 (.07)	.54	56
Re-examination	.55 (2.18)	.42 (.63)	.29	56
Self Assurance	.28 (.53)	.10 (.22)	1.76	56

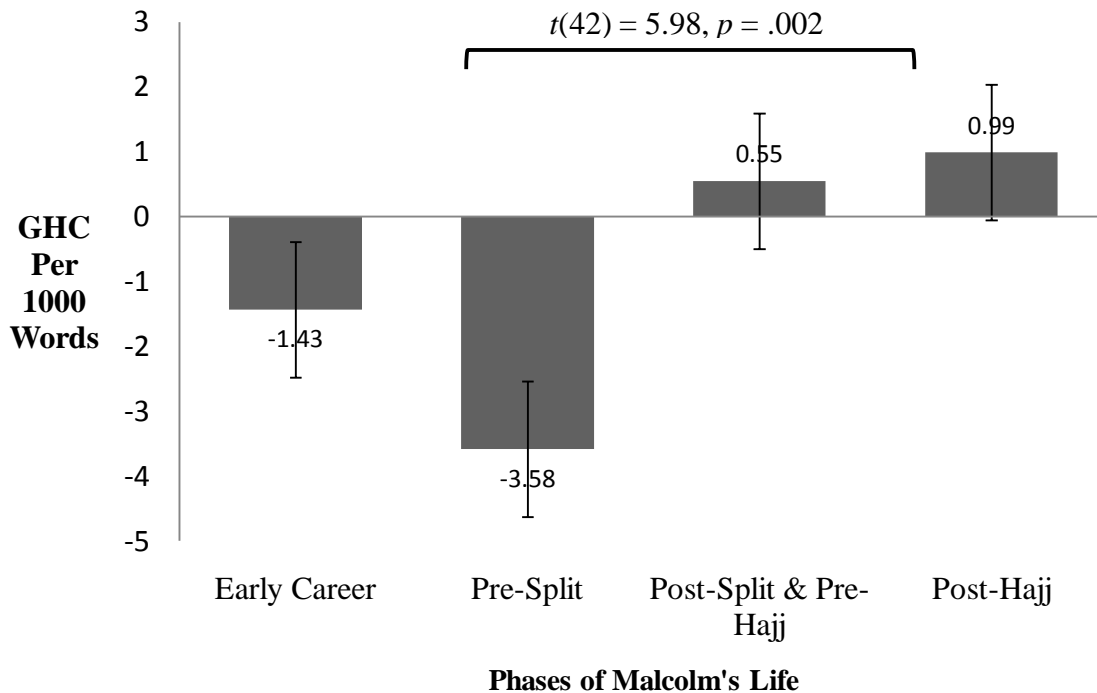
*Note.* \* =  $p < .05$ ; \*\* =  $p < .001$ . <sup>†</sup> = *Equal variances not assumed.*

Table 2

*The GHC Category Means Compared Before and After Malcolm was Suspended & Silenced for Ninety Days by Elijah Muhammad (12/4/1963)*

	Pre Split	Post Split	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
Total Overall	-2.90 (5.35)	0.90 (2.48)	-3.68**	56 <sup>†</sup>
Hopeful Future	.36 (.53)	.49 (.48)	.92	41.00
Zero-Sum Future	.67 (1.08)	.13 (.34)	2.26*	23.50
Prudence & Caution	.10 (.14)	.55 (.80)	3.28**	38.40
Others Provoke	1.64 (1.44)	.84 (.77)	2.39*	28.51
Perspective of Other	.25 (.83)	.81 (.88)	2.43*	46.82
Pseudo Speciation	1.60 (1.78)	.31 (.42)	3.35*	22.47
Historical Significance	.03 (.07)	.03 (.07)	.12	43.14
Re-examination	.60 (2.50)	.42 (.60)	.34	22.47
Self Assurance	.34 (.59)	.10 (.21)	1.83	24.16

*Note.* \* =  $p < .05$ ; \*\* =  $p < .001$ . Equal variances not assumed. <sup>†</sup> = Equal variances assumed.



*Figure 1.* The phases of Malcolm's career as divided for analysis within the studied document set. One-way Anova overall for phases,  $F(3, 57) = 5.01, p = .004$ ; Standard error bars are 95% CI.

Documents from 1961 and prior (totaling seven) were grouped as Malcolm's "Early Career." The "Pre-Split" phase were those speeches made approximately around the time the NOI was gaining national attention and right before and excluding the chosen date of Malcolm's split with the NOI (1962 to 12-04-1963). The "Post-NOI & Pre-Hajj" phase encompassed documents made on Malcolm's official NOI split (12-04-1963) until the Hajj (4-19-1964). The "Post-Hajj" section was all documents after the Hajj (4-30-1964).

## Appendix A

*Set of Malcolm X Speeches and Writings Studied*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Speech</b>	<b>Source</b>
12/15/1956	We are Rising From The Dead Since We Heard Messenger Muhammad Speak	Malcolm X in <i>Pittsburg Courier</i>
12/22/1956	We have risen from the dead	Malcolm X in <i>Pittsburg Courier</i>
5/25/1957	God's Angry Men	Malcolm X in <i>New York Amsterdam News</i>
6/01/1957	God's Angry Men [2]	Malcolm X in <i>New York Amsterdam News</i>
8/22/1959	Africa Eyes Us	Malcolm X in <i>New York Amsterdam News</i>
Spring, 1960	On Unity [ <i>Unity Rally on Streets of Harlem, NYC</i> ]	(Lomax, 1963)
3/24/1961	At Harvard [ <i>Harvard Law School Forum</i> ]	(Epps, 1969)
1961-1962	University Speech [ <i>Atlanta University</i> ]	(Lomax, 1963)
1962	At Yale [ <i>Debate with Herbert Write: Secretary of NAACP</i> ]	(Lomax, 1963)
3/7/1962	A Debate at Cornell University [ <i>James Farmer v. Malcolm</i> ]	(H. A. Bosmajian, H. Bosmajian, 1969)
10/6/1962	Muslim vs. Moslem	Malcolm X in <i>Pittsburgh Courier</i>
12/12/1962	Black Man's History	(Goodman, 1971)
<b>1963</b>		
1963	Louis Lomax Interviews Malcolm X	(Lomax, 1963)
1/23	Twenty million Black people in a political, economic, and mental prison [ <i>Michigan State University</i> ]	(Perry, 1989)
April	Teachings of Elijah Muhammad [ <i>Queens College</i> ]	(Lomax, 1963)
June	Malcolm X talks with Dr. Kenneth B. Clark [ <i>Public WGBH-TV "The Negro and the American Promise," Boston</i> ]	(Clarke, 1969)
May	Alex Haley Interviews Malcolm X [ <i>Playboy</i> ]	(Haley, 1963)
June	The Black Revolution	(Goodman, 1971)
8/25	Muslim Teachings	Malcolm X in <i>The New York Times</i>
September	The Old Negro and the New Negro	(Goodman, 1971)
10/11	America's gravest crisis since the Civil War [ <i>UC Berkley</i> ]	(Perry, 1989)
11/10	Message to the Grass Roots [ <i>Detroit</i> ]	(Breitman, 1965)
12/4	God's Judgement of White America (The Chickens Are Coming Home to Roost)	(Goodman, 1971)
<b>1964</b>		

- 3/12 A Declaration of Independence [NYC] (Breitman, 1965)
- 3/18 Malcolm X at Leveritt House Forum [Harvard] (Epps, 1969)
- 3/19 An Interview by A.B. Spellman [NYC] (Breitman, 1998)
- 4/3 Ballot or the Bullet [Cleveland: Cory Methodist Church] (Breitman, 1965)
- 4/8 The Black Revolution [Speech at Palm Gardens: NYC] (Breitman, 1965)
- 4/8 Answers to Qs at Militant Labor Forum [Q & A at Palm Gardens: NYC] (Breitman, 1998)
- I'm Not an American, I'm a Victim of Americanism [University of Ghana] (Clark, 1991)
- 5/13 The Harlem "Hate-Gang" Scare [Militant Labor Forum: NYC: "What's Behind the 'Hate-Gang' Scare?"] (Breitman, 1965)
- 5/29 NYC: "What's Behind the 'Hate-Gang' Scare?" (Breitman, 1965)
- 6/28 The Founding Rally of OAAU [Audubon Ballroom, NYC] (Breitman, 1998)
- 7/5 The Second Rally of OAAU [Audubon Ballroom, NYC] (Breitman, 1998)
- 7/17 Appeal to African Heads of State [Organization of African Unity (OAU): Cairo, Egypt] (Breitman, 1965)
- 8/29 A Letter from Cairo (Breitman, 1998)
- At a meeting in Paris [Présence Africaine: Salle de la Mutualité] (Breitman, 1998)
- 11/23 The Homecoming Rally of the OAAU [Audubon Ballroom, NYC] (Breitman, 1998)
- 11/29 Whatever is Necessary to Protect Ourselves [Les Crane Interview] (Perry, 1989)
- 12/2 Any Means Necessary to Bring about Freedom [Oxford University] (Clark, 1991)
- 12/3 At the Audubon [OAAU: Harlem, NYC] (Breitman, 1965)
- 12/13 Harvard Law School Forum of December [Alan Dershowitz, Moderator] (Epps, 1969)
- 12/16 With Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer [Woman from Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), NYC] (Breitman, 1965)
- 12/20 At the Audubon [OAAU, NYC] (Breitman, 1965)
- 12/27 Our People Identify with Africa [Bernice Bass Show] (Perry, 1989)
- To Mississippi Youth [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Hotel Theresa, NYC] (Breitman, 1965)

**1965**

- See for yourself, Listen for yourself, Think for yourself [Hotel Theresa, NYC] (Clark, 1991)
- 1/1 Prospects for Freedom in 1965 [Militant Labor Forum; Palm Gardens, NYC] (Breitman, 1965)
- 1/7 The American System of Exploitation and Oppression [The Young Socialist] (Clark, 1991)
- 1/18 Malcolm X on Afro-American Unity [OAAU] (Breitman, 1970)
- 2/9 On Being Barred from France ["The Militant," London] (Breitman, 1998)
- 2/10 I live for change and action ["Flamingo Magazine," London] (Clark, 1992)
- The Oppressed Masses of the World Cry Out for Action
- 2/11 Against the Common Oppressor [London School of] (Clark, 1991)

*Economics]*

- The fight against racism from South Africa to Australia to the U.S.A. [*Interview by Alan Scholefield of South African "Sunday Express of Johannesburg"*] (Clark, 1992)
- 2/12
- After the Bombing [*Afro-American Broadcasting Company, Detroit*] (Breitman, 1965)
- 2/14
- There's a Worldwide Revolution Going On [*OAAU, Audubon Ballroom, NYC*] (Perry, 1989)
- 2/15
- Not Just an American Problem, but a World Problem [*Corn Hill Methodist Church: Rochester, NY*] (Perry, 1989)
- 2/16
- Confrontation with an Expert [*Station WINS, NYC*] (Clark, 1992)
- 2/18
- Black & White [*London*] Malcolm X in *The Guardian*
- 2/27

## Appendix B

*Outline of Scoring System for Generative Historical Consciousness*  
(Adapted from: Winter, 2010)

Each category is independent; that is, it can be scored whether any other category is scored or not. The sentence is the unit of scoring: a category can be scored once per sentence, but two adjacent sentences cannot be scored more than once for the same category.

- (+) Hypothesized to be more frequent in “tamed power” documents
- (-) Hypothesized to be more frequent in “untamed power” documents

For each category, raw scores are converted to images/1000 words. Then negative categories are subtracted from positive categories to obtain an overall total GHC score.

## Theme 1: General Future References

- (+) Hopeful Future: Speaker expresses a hopeful, positive outlook toward the future---for own group (if not at the expense of others groups), other groups, or the world as a whole.  
“And when we can develop that kind of relationship [*with African nations*], then it means that we will help them solve their problems, and we want them to help us solve our problems. And by both of us working together, we’ll get a solution to that problem [colonialism and *institutional racism*]” (“*The Homecoming Rally of the OAAU:*” Breitman, 1998).
- (-) Zero-Sum Future: The future welfare of speaker’s own group can only be secured at the expense of some other group or enemy. Welfare of own group requires unethical, inhuman or highly immoral actions.  
“So the present demand of our people for more of the white man’s jobs must lead to violence and bloodshed. It may even lead to a race war—a bloody race war” (“*America’s gravest crisis since the Civil War:*” Perry, 1989).

## Theme 2: Consequentiality

- (+) *Prudence and Caution*: Speaker expresses need for mindfulness (thought, care, caution, self scrutiny, self-examination, etc.), because one’s past present or future group contemplated action will be consequential for others.  
“The Organization of Afro-American Unity recognizes the tremendous importance of the complete involvement of Afro-American parents in every phase of school life. The Afro-American parent must be willing and able to go into the schools and see that the job of educating our children is done properly” (“*The Founding Rally of OAAU:*” Breitman, 1998).
- (-) *Others Provoke*: An outcome is due to the actions of others, rather than of self or own group. Speaker rejects possibility that own actions contributed to the problem.  
“As the white man loses his power to oppress and exploit the dark world, the white man’s own wealth (power or “wordl”) decreases. His world is on its way down; it is on its way out . . . and it is the will and power of God himself that is bringing an end to the white world” (“*God’s Judgement of White America:*” Goodman, 1971).



## Theme 3: Inclusion-Exclusion

(+) *Perspective of the Other*: Speaker feels sympathy, empathy, or is conscious of the situation, concerns of others (within or outside of own group) who disagree or oppose speaker's perspective. Attempt to explore or understand others' beliefs, intentions and attitudes of others so as to understand their action.

"... I tell you that to let you know that in all of the traveling that I did, in the Middle East and in Africa, everywhere I went, I found nothing but open minds, I found nothing but open hearts, and I found nothing but open doors. Our people love us; all they want to know is, do we love them?" (*The Homecoming Rally of the OAAU*: Breitman, 1998)

(-) *Pseudo-Speciation*: Disregard, derogation, or contempt for another group or person--- through use of stereotypes or derogatory names, or by magnifying seemingly inconsequential differences.

"We have a common enemy. We have this in common: We have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator ... And what we have foremost in common is that enemy – the white man" (*Message to the Grassroots*: Breitman, 1965).

## Theme 4: Sense of Importance

(+) *Historical Significance*: Current situation is of great historical significance, magnitude or gravity.

"We have to make the world see that the problem [*racism*] that we're confronted with is a problem for humanity. It's not a Negro problem; it's not an American problem. You and I have to make it a world problem, make the world aware that there'll be no peace on this earth as long as our human rights are being violated in America" (*The Second Rally of OAAU*: Breitman, 1998).

## Theme 5: Adaptability

(+) *Re-examination*: Re-evaluation or questioning of own preconceptions, judgements, understandings, prejudices, actions, etc. Constructive criticism and learning from mistakes can be scored if they involve re-evaluation or change.

"In the past I permitted myself to be used by Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the sect known as the Black Muslims, to make sweeping indictments of all white people, the entire white race, and these generalizations have caused injuries to some whites who perhaps did not deserve to be hurt. Because of the spiritual enlightenment which I was blessed to receive as the result of my recent pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca, I no longer subscribe to sweeping indictments of any one race" (Clarke, 1969, p. 302).

(-) *Self-Assurance*: Speaker denies or refuses to accept that a past action involved any error of judgment, planning, or execution; also denial, rejection, or refusal to confront information contradicting own point of view.

"After four hundred years here among the Caucasians, we are absolutely convinced that we can never live together in peace, unless we are willing to remain subservient to our former masters. Therefore, immediate and complete separation is the only solution" (*At Harvard*: Epps, 1969)