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Developing a Social Justice Agenda for Counsellor Education in New Zealand: A Social Constructionist Perspective.

A Thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the
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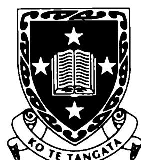
by

Gerald D. Monk



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Abstract

Counselling and Counsellor education in the West have traditionally been dominated by a liberal-humanist premise which emphasises the universality of human experience and the independence of individuals. The effect of this orientation on counselling practice has been a focus on the capacity of individuals to make independent changes in their lives through the exercise of rational choice. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, feminists and some Maori have challenged this perspective. Indeed a growing literature in the helping professions acknowledges that Eurocentric and patriarchal interpretations have been imposed through psychological practices, most particularly on women and those of non-European origin. Such critiques must have significant implications for counsellor education.

In 1991 as a counsellor educator with a concern for social justice, it seemed to me that critical theory discourse and some forms of feminism had developed the necessary conceptual underpinnings which would enable counselling practice to address these injustices. From a critical theory perspective, hegemonic practices of power maintained hierarchical social structures which systematically marginalise people. I sought to identify how these theories might be useful in reformulating counsellor education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In the belief that a social justice agenda was also important to the 12 counsellor educators in New Zealand universities, I wanted to further my understanding of the implications of such a commitment by interviewing my colleagues. The main focus of these interviews was to explore counsellor educators' awareness of Eurocentrism and androcentrism in both the discourses of counselling and their subsequent impact on their professional practice. Data was generated by individual interviews and group discussions, and circulated among participants for comment. A hermeneutic-dialectic method of data collection was used. Many of the responses had a cautionary, vigilant, or even suspicious quality, suggesting some participants' discomfort with my questioning. A deconstructive analysis of their responses revealed that the framing of my own thesis questions were characteristic of a rigid oppressor-oppressed binary. The underlying presumption of a single preferred path to social justice had, in effect, prejudged the defensibility of any other position. Manifesting a Eurocentric stance which I had set out to challenge, I had taken up a fundamentalist position. This was the antithesis of collaborative and respectful dialogue. The problematic of this thesis thus became how to engage with a transformative social justice agenda in counsellor education that was neither plagued by the presumptions of universality nor constrained by the rigidities of fundamentalist essentialism.

I was forced to recognise that any social justice agenda is discursively produced although an account of this production often remains unarticulated. However, recognising the limitations of grand theory did not mean that I could avoid taking a position on how social justice could be addressed in counsellor education. Rather than adopting a fixed non-negotiable position, discursive analysis of a theoretical stance offers the space to claim a temporary, located essentialism from which the generation of new possibilities might be achieved. My task here was to situate my own knowledge, recognise its partiality and develop a social justice agenda from a social constructionist perspective.

I began to view persons as being positioned by diverse discourses that are at times oppressive and at other times not. This led to the recognition that persons can be called into multiple subjectivities which affect the extent to which power and agency are available to them within particular interactions in particular settings. The conceptual tools of discourse, deconstruction, multiple subjectivity, agency, and capillary power (as distinct from commodity power) offer an alternative means by which androcentric and Eurocentric practices in counsellor education may be identified without taking up rigid or righteous positions.

The thesis is an account of the theoretical moves which might accommodate and engage the contradictions, ambiguities, and paradoxes associated with a search for social justice in counsellor education in the 1990s. It considers a social justice agenda at the sites of gender and ethnicity in counsellor education and remarks on the possibility of attaining discursive empathy in culturally different environments.

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Chapter 1
The Problematic of Social Injustice

Note to readers: The use of Maori phraseology in English text is a common practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is included in this work and appears in italics.

Introduction

The motivation for this study came from my interest in promoting social justice through my work in counselling. In 1991 when I assumed a new position as coordinator of the University of Waikato Counsellor Education Programme, I had marked out this area of enquiry for a doctoral level project. I define social justice as the right of every human being to voice their view point, to feel and to act in one's own terms, while at the same time allowing others the opportunity to do the same. Within a diverse world, people need the freedom to express their preferred identities without being dominated by the practices of others. Acting justly, in my view, involves engaging respectfully with different others while being prepared to be changed by this engagement. Young (1990) described a socially just city as one where "persons live together in relations of mediation among strangers with whom they are not in community" (p. 303). She advocated for a way of being where one is willing to meet and work with, understand, and be influenced by those who do not necessarily share the same life style or life goals, without assimilating them.

I seek to apply principles of social justice in my writing of this dissertation. I discuss what I believe is a move toward a more respectful encounter with research participants' comments, and demonstrate a readiness to learn and be changed by their contributions. Giving an account of my position and being prepared to argue for a moral cause based upon this position is necessary to create an ethical encounter with others. This is achieved, I believe, by taking a moral position while demonstrating a willingness to review, critique and if necessary change one's stance. I describe this stance as a temporary essentialism. This thesis is concerned with the value of a temporary or limited essentialism in attending to a social justice agenda.

This dissertation is also concerned with formulating social constructionist approaches to promoting a social justice agenda in counsellor education while circumventing the numerous pitfalls of the liberal-humanist agenda. I hypothesised that university counsellor educators, myself included, could engage more justly with students and clients who, in many instances, were marginalised and alienated by those benefitting from the rewards of the dominant culture. I targeted liberal-humanist discourse as one of the major sources of cultural oppression in counsellor education because of the inability of this perspective to seriously confront societal inequality, particularly in relation to gender and ethnicity issues. In this first chapter, I outline the

central problematic and background issues from which the focus on social justice issues in counsellor education emerged. In the process of interviewing counsellor educators about social justice issues in counsellor education and related implications for counselling in general, I was transformed in my philosophical position. My change process is chronicled throughout the dissertation and is indeed a primary part of it.

In the account of this change process and in my discussion of social justice issues in counsellor education, I consistently refer to both counsellor education and counselling. Counsellor education is focused upon preparing people for the work of counselling. Thus the issues that face counselling practitioners represent training issues in counsellor education. A blending, then, between training and practice exists because of the complementary issues arising from both contexts. This became evident as study participants discussed their roles as both counsellor educators and practicing counsellors. It appears that the exploration of a social justice agenda in counsellor education is promoted via the discussion of both counsellor education and the practice of counselling.

Prominence of Liberal-humanism

For the last three decades, liberal-humanism has completely dominated the counselling field. Gaining momentum through Rogerian psychotherapy in the 1960s, this perspective has consistently identified the individual as the agent of all social phenomena. In 1998, humanist values continue to dominate the counsellor education and counselling field. For instance, Weinrach and Thomas (1998) stated that counselling theories are rooted in humanism which places the individual at the centre of any focus. They suggested that abandonment of humanistic counselling theories leaves the counselling movement bereft of any viable theories.

Interwoven with the perspective of the individual as the central core to any field of human enquiry is the notion that people are independent, rational, unitary beings who are fundamentally separate from the social and historical world (Davies, 1993). Akin to this idea is the humanistic premise that change is initiated by the individual and is dependent upon an individual's choice. Intra-psychic change processes occurring within the individual are the target of a liberal-humanist perspective. This focus is favoured over the recognition of external influences born within the socio-cultural and socio-historical milieu which impact upon human volition and action.

The emphasis on individualism as opposed to collectivity led to the tendency for liberal-humanist thought to universalise the human experience. In a widely quoted summary, Geertz (1979) reported on the narrow culturally prescribed nature of the person described by liberal-humanistic discourse.

> The Western conception of the person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic centre of awareness, emotion, judgment, and action, organised into a distinctive whole and set contrastively against other such wholes and against a social and natural background is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures. (pp. 229)

Humanistic psychology has challenged experimental psychology for not treating the individual as a whole person. The goal then has been to focus on personal change and development. Humanism in psychology had replaced the relational subject with the feeling subject as the essence of individuality. From this perspective, the best intervention in therapy was seen as helping clients sensitise themselves to an inner mechanism that was propelling them toward a self-actualised emotional presence (Rogers, 1962). Hollway (1989) described this approach as getting in touch with layers of socialisation which are peeled back within a trusting environment. Feelings were seen as products of nature and bearers of truth about the individual, not of culture. The fascination with this theory lies with the exploration of what is on the inside of the person.

As personality theory has evolved in psychotherapy, healthy identity was associated with the dominant White Western cultural norms of achievement, individualism, self-determination, mastery, and material success (Ivey, 1993; Maslow, 1956; Olssen, 1991; Ridley, Mendoza & Kanitz, 1994; Sampson, 1989; Spence, 1995). Therapeutic goals such as self-actualisation, independence, creativity, competence, autonomy, and self- disclosure were given prominence with an accompanying emphasis on the immediate, here and now time orientation. According to a liberal-humanist agenda, social justice is based on the assumption that each person's progress and status should be evaluated according to her or his individual effort and achievement. In therapy, people are enjoined to "get themselves together." Contradiction or plurality of a sense of self is reproachable, a state to be overcome. This emphasis on the unitary nature of human functioning has drawn a tight boundary around the self and its possibilities. Some cross-cultural commentators on White Western counselling practices maintain that liberal-humanist discourse has promoted a monolithical or homogenous way to understand the world. This attitude invites thinking patterns that become dependent on measures such as goodness, badness, and appropriateness (Pedersen, 1988).

The dominance of liberal-humanistic values has been so taken for granted in contemporary counselling practice that many counsellor educators and practitioners regard it as the natural prescription for addressing human misery. Yet this stance has, albeit inadvertently, blamed people who are marginalised for both their complete lack of responsibility and individual effort in addressing their problems. Within New Zealand, a number of researchers and some counselling practitioners have been particularly concerned by the prevalence of liberal-humanist discourse and the negative

effects that it has had on counsellor training and practice (Abbott and Durie, 1987; Durie and Hermansson, 1990; Stewart, 1993; Tamesese and Waldegrave, 1993).

In contrast to liberal humanists, critical theorists reject outright the mainstream humanist assumption that the individual is both the source of all human action and the most important unit of social analysis (Giroux, 1992). Despite these criticisms, a liberal-humanist focus maintains momentum. Weinrach and Thomas (1998) argued

> Although it is clear that in the twenty-first century fewer and fewer clients (and counselors) will be White, there may be some reason to believe that widespread assimilation may reduce the urgency for radical modification of existing counseling theories. (pp. 117)

Earlier in their article, these authors referred to the need to hold on to humanistic counselling theories in the face of the challenges to humanism arising from the multi-cultural counselling movement.

Contemporary mechanisms of social injustice

A number of authors have suggested that most western counselling theories and constructs are derived from ethnocentric ideology. These authors suggest that the theories are of questionable utility for people of colour, women, persons in lower socio-economic groupings, and other groups that are constructed as marked and unprivileged by the dominant discourses in western communities (Katz, 1985; McGill, 1992; Ridley, Mendoza & Kanitz, 1994).

According to Sampson (1993), some of the most significant challenges to psychology in North America have come from movements involving women, gay males and lesbians, African Americans, and members of the developing world. The challenge to socially dominant groups has been that human activity has been studied primarily in terms of a White, male, Western viewpoint. Diversity across ethnicity, sexual orientation, or gender has been neglected. Sampson suggested that the dominant culture has historically silenced the "voices" of the minority. This systematic silencing by liberal-humanism is my particular concern. A liberal-humanist framework privileges a Eurocentric and individualistic voice which tends to be in contrast to non-Western collective voices. In this context, Eurocentric refers to a standard of normalcy that is based upon middle-class, White, heterosexual, able-bodied men (Ivey, 1986; Ivey, Ivey, & Simek-Morgan, 1993; Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990; Robinson, 1992).

The majority of liberal-humanist discourses (or widely accepted ideas that give meaning to social practices) portray persons as autonomous beings who are primarily responsible for their plight while dismissing, for example, racism, sexism, homophobia. These oppressive practices lie at the heart of social injustice. Young (1990) described the insidiousness of culturally oppressive practices in North America.

> ... White people tend to be nervous around Black people, men nervous around women especially in public settings. In social interaction, the socially superior group often avoids being close to the lower status group, avoids eye contact and does not keep the body open...Members of oppressed groups frequently experience such avoidance, aversion, expressions of nervousness, condescension, and stereotyping. For them such behaviour, indeed the whole encounter, often painfully fills their discursive consciousness. Such behaviour throws them back on to their group identity, making them feel noticed, marked, or conversely invisible, not taken seriously, or worse, demeaned. (pp.133-134)

These prejudicial interactions produce a form of exploitation when institutional processes support an unequal distribution of social benefits and promote the advancement of only a select minority. Severe material deprivation, objectification, and patronage describe the experiences of groups who are marginalised by these unjust activities.

In any society, the dominant group's cultural expressions are widely disseminated; their cultural expressions are seen as normal and unremarkable. Thus, the activity of counsellor education is not exempt from replicating socially oppressive habits which continue to be played out in New Zealand society. Because these cultural relationships are carried into the counsellor education setting, the counsellor educator can easily be at risk of unproblematically representing and at times reinforcing the dominant cultural group's expressions in counselling training interactions. Contributing to a failure of counsellor educators to act against systematic forms of oppression and marginalisation is a liberal-humanist climate in counsellor training.

The tendency for cultural imperialism occurs when the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one group and mark it out as the Other. As Young (1990) stated

> Given the normality of its own cultural expressions and identity, the dominant group constructs the differences which some groups exhibit as lack and negation. These groups become marked as other. The stereotypes confine them to a nature which is often attached in some way to their bodies and which thus cannot easily be denied... Just as everyone knows the earth goes around the sun, so everyone knows that gay people are promiscuous, that Indians are alcoholics, and that women are good with children. White males on the other hand, insofar as they escape group markings, can be individuals...Consequently the dominant culture's stereotyped and inferiorized images of a particular group must be internalised by group members at least to the extent that they are forced to react to behaviour of others influenced by those images. (pp. 59-60)

Young (1990) illustrated that when people are designated as Other, they receive from the dominant culture the judgement that they are different, marked, or inferior. Dominant societal norms invite abuses which occur by essentialising and rendering a marked category as deficient. Conversely, the unmarked group is not accountable to any constraining or demeaning cultural specifications due to their esteemed social position.

The nature of some dominant societal norms have profound implications for the creation of clienthood and for how counsellors will respond to prospective clients. More specifically, it is very likely that some clients will be positioned as a colonised people, if "marking discourses" are prominent in the counsellor's or counsellor educator's practices. Counsellor education can systematically deny the voices of people that stand apart from the cultural norms promoted by colluding so closely with dominant beliefs. This often unconscious silencing of the Other is an illustration of how the operation of power regulates, negates, and stultifies those positioned outside of the main stream. The question I am concerned with here is how can counsellor educators in New Zealand avoid perpetuating formulations of power which deny full and active participation of groups who are uniformly positioned at the margins of community life?

Ethnic social injustice in Aotearoa/New Zealand

There are numerous groups that are systematically marginalised by the alienating effects of dominant cultural norms in New Zealand society. For the purposes of this study, I have singled out the injustices perpetrated against groups on the basis of ethnic membership and gender. In saying this I am not suggesting that other groups or persons who are discriminated against based upon sexual orientation, class, religion, degree of abledness, or age are not important. Rather, I am choosing to target ethnicity and gender as they have received the greatest prominence in the literature, in counselling, at mental health conferences, and discussion groups that I have been involved with over the last decade. Moreover, ethnicity and gender intersect with other domains of identity.

Within the last decade, counsellor educators in New Zealand have been criticised for ethnic and gender discrimination (Durie & Hermansson, 1990). Of these two domains, many of the strongest concerns have arisen in relation to ethnic discrimination and the injustices perpetrated against the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. In the following section, I review some of the major injustices experienced by the Maori arising from New Zealand's colonial history. I will argue that the history of injustice perpetrated against the Maori requires specific and appropriate attention in counsellor education programmes in this country. Such attention is required to address serious historical abuses committed against Maori by European settlers. In addition, Maori people numbering well over half a million have unique concerns (Durie, 1997). Counsellors need to be aware of these unique concerns when working with clients who identify Maori.

Colonising discourse in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Ethnic inequity is of pressing concern in this country. There is compelling evidence to suggest that one ethnic group *Pakeha* (people normally of European origin) have an identifiable history of perpetuating colonising practices while the other, *Maori or tangata whenua,* (the indigenous people of the land) has a history of suffering because of the alienating processes arising from colonisation. To attend to a social justice agenda in counsellor education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, one must immediately consider the implications of this colonisation history and its effects on justice and equity in this country.

The effects of colonisation have been eloquently elaborated on by Memmi (1967) who described the bond that creates both the coloniser and the colonised. It is one which destroys both parties, although in different ways. Memmi drew a portrait of the "Other" as described by the coloniser. In the traditional or dominant colonising discourse, the colonised emerges as the image of everything the coloniser is not. The colonised could be positioned as lazy, wicked, backward, and in some important ways not fully human. Memmi pointed to several conclusions drawn about the artificially created Other. First, the Other is always seen as lacking in valued qualities of the society, whatever those qualities may be. Second, the humanity of the Other becomes mysterious and unknown. Third, the Other is not seen as a member of the human community, but rather as part of a chaotic, disorganised, and anonymous collectivity. Finally, the Other carries the mark of the plural or in more colloquial terms "they" look alike. The colonising discourse is a dehumanising discursive field where the ultimate positioning offered to the recipient is an existence which serves the needs of the coloniser. The coloniser in this scenario is enjoined to keep his or her life separate from the colonised rather than emphasising a joint community.

The history of racism in Aotearoa/New Zealand is concomitant with the history of colonisation. The colonising pattern in this country has occurred in a similar way to the strategies employed by a technologically advanced society wherein its cultural accoutrements are forced upon a communal and collective societal structure. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, indigenous Maori society was organised around the common ownership of land and collective labour within a hierarchical political system ascending from *whanau* (family groupings), *hapu* (subtribes), *iwi* (tribes) and *rangatira* (chiefs). As is typical of a colonising pattern, not only did the colonisers control the economic system but imposed religion and dominated the patterns of social relations.

Because of the centrality of this colonising history for social justice issues in this country, it is important to give a more detailed background to some of the specific historical detail. This is particularly pertinent to overseas readers who may be oblivious to the unique circumstances that have given momentum to social justice concerns in Aotearoa/New Zealand and to counsellor education in particular.

The Treaty of Waitangi

New Zealand has a shameful history in relation to the colonisation of the Maori people by the British Crown from the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is difficult to avoid the implications of this colonisation history of New Zealand for counsellor education because of the presence of colonising discourses within counselling interactions. Below I give a brief background of how the colonisation processes unfolded in New Zealand over the last 200 years.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand in the early and mid part of the 20th century, the needs of Maori, an indigenous people made up of numerous tribal groups, were considered to have largely been taken care of by the practices of assimilation - the genetic melding and fusion of the Maori and European races. Given the dramatic decline in the Maori population from 500,000 in 1800, to 49,000 in 1896, due mainly to introduced European diseases, it was widely believed that assimilation would bring an end to Maori as an identifiable group and that the two peoples would be thoroughly intermingled (Mental Health Foundation, 1988). Irwin (1989) stated that assimilationist policies of successive governments were a social goal since 1840. However, by the 1960s and 1970s, assimilationist practices were replaced by multiculturalism which translated racial denominators into ethnic ones (Sharp, 1995). Here, multiculturalism means valuing differences across, for example, gender, ethnicity, class, and religion. It is not merely acknowledging that culturally and ethnically different people inhabit a similar physical space. Rather, it is celebrating difference that is fundamental to healthy community (Robinson, 1992). During the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, identity politics changed from Maori and European to Maori and Pakeha. The recognition and the celebration of diversity under a multiculturalism banner was promoted and a wide array of ethnic groups such as Indian, Chinese, Pacific Island, and Europeans of various backgrounds were acknowledged.

Ethnic politics also changed in the 1980s with the ideal of a multicultural society being reformulated into a bicultural one. A bicultural society is best defined here by first defining a monocultural society. McIntosh (1989) viewed monoculturalism as a single-system of seeing. It presupposes that individuals share the same cultural system "and that its outlines are those which have been recognised by people who have the most ethnic and racial power" (p. 1). In comparison, a truly bicultural society is one where there is equal value placed by that society upon two systems of seeing. Individuals within the community are not devalued or disadvantaged because there is equal appreciation of the two cultures' contributions. Bicultural persons can equally embrace both cultures, knowing the language and the traditions of each.

Biculturalism was promoted on the basis that there were two peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand who signed a treaty that outlined a partnership to share the resources of the country and to respect one another's language and traditions. The revival of biculturalism occurred through a campaign for the recognition and status of the Treaty of Waitangi that was signed in 1840 yet had been largely ignored by the dominant Pakeha culture. Although this revival was led by Maori and women, it was supported by non-Maori as well (Awatere, 1984; Kelsey, 1990; Wilson, 1995). During the 1980s and 1990s, the push for bicultural institutions, bicultural arrangements and practices became part of both the private and public scene in New Zealand. The Treaty of Waitangi, described as reflecting the bicultural nature of Aotearoa, New Zealand, developed a prominence in the media, government institutions, legal institutions, and in private debate that was unprecedented since its signing (Orange, 1987).

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by over 500 Maori chiefs and representatives of the British Crown. The latter was given *kawanatanga* (the right to govern and make laws for all citizens of New Zealand). Maori were to be recognised as having *rangatiratanga* (the right of Maori to possession and control of their lands, dwelling places, and property of all kinds). The Treaty also guaranteed Maori the same rights and duties of citizenship as British subjects. Since its signing, there has been considerable debate about the meaning of the words to each party and its relevance to a nation 150 years later. Despite strong advocacy for the Treaty and all of its implications by both Maori and Pakeha, biculturalism is a contested territory. However, it has had a major bearing on the development of government policy since the mid 1980s.

Wilson and Yeatman (1995) elaborated on the political significance of the recognition of biculturalism in the Treaty of Waitangi by stating

> ...biculturalism ...has found official acceptance and become the policy of government departments and publicly funded institutions. In general biculturalism may be said to represent some kind of accommodation on the part of White settler (Pakeha) dominance to Maori claims on justice. (pp. vii)

The significance of the Treaty of Waitangi in contemporary New Zealand society is that it continues to remind the dominant Pakeha culture that it is obligated to full partnership with Maori. In the 1990s, the Treaty provides a platform for ongoing claims of Maori and many Pakeha that New Zealand is a bicultural nation that recognises Maori as an independent sovereign people, and that all public decision making must specifically refer to and address their interests (Wilson, 1995). Yet, it is debatable as to whether people in Aotearoa/New Zealand today acknowledge that considerable injustice was done to Maori by the early settlers from Europe including the breaching of the Treaty of Waitangi.

One need only look at a long line of legislation that instigated institutionalised injustice against the indigenous people of Aotearoa by European settlers. For example, just one year after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the 1841 Land Claims Ordinance was introduced which stated that all "unappropriated" or wasteland other than that required for rightful and necessary occupation of the Maori was deemed Crown land. While recognising the Crown right of pre-emption, it did so at the expense of Maori rights to *Tino rangatiratanga* (self determination) over their own land. A series of other acts were introduced which breached both the spirit and documented agreements made in 1840. A few other examples included the 1846 New Zealand Government Act where unregistered land would automatically be vested in the Crown. The 1876 Municipal Corporations and Counties Act provided the foundation structure of Territorial Authority Government such as Soil Conservation, River Control, Harbour Control. There was no recognition of Maori needs and values. By 1860, just 20 years after the signing of the Treaty, 60% of the land was under Pakeha control. Under the 1863 Suppression of Rebellion Act, huge confiscations of land in Waikato, Bay of Plenty, and elsewhere were made. At this time, the Waikato Maori were insisting on their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi and did not want to sell their fertile lands which allowed them to prosper. Out of the total land area of nearly 66,500,000 acres, by 1896 11,000 acres remained in Maori ownership (Durie, 1997).

In recent years, New Zealand governments have attempted to address some of the injustices perpetrated during British colonisation. For example, in October 1995, the New Zealand Government made a financial settlement with the Tainui tribe, the *tangata whenua o Waikato* (people of the Waikato). A similar redress was offered in 1998 by the Government to the *Ngai Tahu* tribe in the South Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

At the local level in tertiary education, there have been efforts made by Pakeha to work in partnership with Maori to address some of the historical injustices perpetrated by colonial settlers against the indigenous people. This is illustrated by Wilson and Yeatman (1995) who described a section of the University of Waikato charter written in June 1991

> ...create and sustain an institutional environment in which ... the educational needs of Maori people are appropriately catered for outside formally constituted whare wananga; where Maori customs and values are expressed in the ordinary life of the university; and the Treaty of Waitangi is clearly acknowledged in the development of programmes and initiatives based on partnership between Maori and other New Zealand people. (pp. xi)

This statement exemplifies how policies within formal governmental and educational documents arising from the Treaty of Waitangi have endorsed bicultural development. Within the last decade, the politics of biculturalism have become a part of the stated policies of many helping organisations as a response to the developments taking place

in this country. The idea of a bicultural community, however, presupposes that there are two distinct ethnic groups who can be self conscious about their identity. As Spoonley (1995) pointed out, these groups must be in a position to negotiate the form and content of a bicultural system. However, it is yet to be shown that Pakeha, as a dominant group, view themselves as having a separate ethnic identity from Maori and regard themselves as future bicultural partners. It is evident that more Maori embrace the notion of biculturalism than do Pakeha. For example, Tahi (1995) a Maori researcher stated

> In New Zealand today virtually all Maori are bicultural. Some cluster at the 'Maori' end of a Maori-Pakeha' spectrum in that they are culturally Maori in concept and practice, but frequently 'dip into' the Pakeha culture. Others string out along the spectrum to the other end inhabited by Maori often described as 'brown skinned Pakeha.' Most Pakeha exist at that Pakeha end, with a few strung out towards the 'Maori' end.' (pp. 64)

Bicultural policies are not without their problems. How are ethnic groups placed who are neither identified as Maori nor Pakeha? New Zealand is not made up of two ethnic groups; it is culturally diverse when we consider that nearly ten percent of the population is neither Maori nor Pakeha. The question is, if there is a commitment to biculturalism how do people engage with multiculturalism? Non-Maori and non-Pakeha groups have their own versions of identity, their own histories, and their contributions. We can not lay aside the responsibilities of Maori and Pakeha to them in return. As Sharp (1995) pointed out

> ...it is quite plainly evil if our public procedures are merely bicultural and not, in the relevant areas, multicultural. ... It is a positive evil if bicultural procedures leave no space for the selves and persons of what now must be seen as strangers in our midst. (pp. 127)

Contemporary colonising discourses

A contemporary version of colonising discourse unfolds with the judgement that many urban Maori have lost their culture and are now in need of being led back to their cultural path. Wetherell and Potter 's (1992) study on racism in New Zealand vividly reported

> They become not normal, but positioned as abnormal, the restless, urban discontented, crying out for the heritage therapy which is presented as their due. It is assumed in this discourse that Pakeha can get by very well without culture, whereas the Maori have a right to this dubious commodity - dubious that is in some of the ways it has been packaged... Pakeha become the agents who can dole out cultural opportunities to the Maori. (pp. 136)

This analysis is very common in both lay and professional circles when giving an account of problems experienced by some Maori. Counsellor educators can easily

become caught in this kind of analysis and train counsellors to help the client designated Maori (perhaps because of skin colour and body shape) to search for culture that has been carelessly lost. It is also easy to blame clients for not solving their problems through rediscovering of their heritage.

Caught by the hegemony of colonisation, some Maori are seen by representatives within their own ethnic community to be inferior in some way. The most disturbing display of some form of deficiency relates to the lower social ranking given to young Maori with dark skin pigmentation in comparison to those with lighter skin. I have observed these attitudes among large Maori populations on the East Coast of New Zealand where I have lived and worked. This state of affairs appears to be a product of White colonising discourse. These discriminatory practices defined as colourism are thoroughly documented in social science research in the United States among the Black community (Robinson & Ward, 1995).

A pertinent example of a statement made from a colonising discourse was expressed by Morrison, the Member of Parliament for Pakuranga. In an interview with Wetherell and Potter in 1984, he said, "I think it is a great idea teaching Maori language, to give back pride and dignity to a lot of Maori people who have lost it....I mean, after all we eliminated all the leadership and I think it is up to us to replace it" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p.136). First, Pakeha counsellors and counsellor educators are vulnerable to adopting this kind of colonising discourse which can contribute to Pakeha pathologising Maori. Second, the discourse which deprives the colonised of agency or power to act on their own behalf is subtle.

Talking about the New Zealand scene, Tamesese and Waldegrave (1993) spoke forcefully about the disempowering processes of White western discourse.

> A country is colonised, her indigenous people made to live on the periphery, and are enforced to ape the civilisation of the dominant culture. They are then told that they will never make the grade anyway. Their histories, distorted/erased/ dismissed, are left untold. (pp. 39)

Some Maori authors believe Western counsellor educators have down played the role of history in affecting the relations across ethnicity in the counselling room. Wetherell and Potter (1992) commented on how liberal humanist practices have to some extent attempted to cover up the abusive aspects of this colonising history. Based on their research, these authors found that many participants in their study concealed the more exploitative features of New Zealand society with agreeable triteness. Participants in their study presented Pakeha New Zealanders as

> ...liberal, kind, and caring in their attitude to Maori people. Pakeha become concerned with the protection and welfare of the Maori people who, because they are 'an advanced race' [sic] are seen as more worthy and responsive to Pakeha care. (pp. 24)

This stance has tended to invite the argument that these injustices occurred in the distant past and now New Zealanders should leave the past behind and move onwards. However, there is considerable evidence to show that Maori suffer not simply from class disadvantage because of their typical position as unskilled wage labourers, but suffer also from discriminatory practices in housing, schools, and employment, which stem from a history of racism (New Zealand Race Relations Office, 1986, 1987a, 1987b).

The inadequacy of Western models of helping to meet the needs of Maori

The racial and cultural biases identified by mental health researchers explains why Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand fail to utilise the "helping" resources offered in the community. In this country there is a widely recognised view that many Maori people avoid formal health and counselling services because of the nature and the way information is provided (McKenzie, 1997). This is particularly pertinent when a large number of Maori youth feature in the statistics of the Departments of Justice and Health and are attended to by Pakeha health professionals who may have little understanding of the cultural locatedness of their clients or themselves. On this theme, Smith (1986), a Maori researcher, proposed that Maori culture has been defined, evaluated, and packaged to suit the reality of Pakeha culture. Thus, large numbers of Maori people on the receiving end of psychiatric services, mental health institutions, and prisons continue to be a testimony to the social and political position of Maori people in Aotearoa. Disproportionately, Maori are characterised as having drug and alcohol addiction, severe psychiatric symptomatology and problems with physical and sexual violence (Maling, 1996; Mason, 1996; Pomare, Keefe-Ormsby, Ormsby, Pearce, Reid, Robson, & Watene-Haydon, 1995; Te Puni Kokiri, 1996). Mental illness has been identified as the single most insidious threat to the health status of Maori people as they enter the twenty-first Century (Hirini, 1997). Counselling services catering to Maori are inappropriately resourced in comparison to services for Pakeha. Smith (1990) stated

> There are wider issues....which need to be addressed at a collegial level because they have implications for the way people are taught, credentialled, and evaluated. It is not enough for isolated individuals to struggle with the possible solutions if in fact the whole discipline (mental health services) is regarded by, for example, many Maori people, as being fundamentally antagonistic to non-western cultures, and more specifically to Maori culture. (pp. 49)

To address the ways in which large numbers of Maori are presently alienated from health and counselling services, Ramsden (1992), a Maori health researcher, argued that an understanding of Maori history by mental health professionals and an analysis of power relationships would be most effective. However, Stewart (1993),

identifying himself as a Maori commentator, criticised mental health professionals and stated that some of their activities have been both empowering and disempowering to Maori. Expressing frustration with the lack of respectful practices of psychologists when they work with Maori clients, Stewart (1993, p. 12) stated, "I have been to numerous meetings with psychologists who are able to "talk the talk" but it is very rarely that I encounter one who can "walk the walk."

The monocultural nature of many mental health services in New Zealand has been highlighted by some New Zealand researchers. Durie (1997) noted that Maori mental health workers make up only 7.7% of this workforce. The low number of Maori who are registered psychologists is even more depressing. Pidd and Hanham (1997) completed a survey of 659 practicing psychologists. They noted that 94% of the psychologists were of Pakeha or European descent while 0.8% identified Maori. In an earlier study, Sawrey (1991) found that of the 163 hospital psychologists and clinical psychologists surveyed who worked in the Justice Department, 97% identified Pakeha or European and over 80% of them estimated that 30% or more of the people on their case load were Maori. In addition, over 75% of the respondents felt that they had an inadequate knowledge of Maori beliefs and values to work effectively with Maori clients. While less than half agreed that there should be compulsory courses in Maori knowledge comprising 20% of the training for clinical psychologists, most agreed that all mental health teams should have a Maori consultant or kaumatua overseeing work with Maori people.

Clearly these statistics reflect the dearth of appropriate services to meet the mental health needs of some Maori. This state of affairs raises significant questions for counsellor educators in relation to the part they have to play in attending to the health needs of Maori and the social justice issues that arise when these needs are not met.

Specific training needs for professionals working with Maori: Implications for counsellor educators

Herring and Jespersen (1994) argued for a culture specific orientation for dominant White cultural groups working with Maori in the New Zealand setting. They stated that it was essential to have bilingual counsellors, utilise indigenous people, and use individuals who were knowledgeable about the culture to develop a culture specific counselling orientation. A number of writers have suggested that it is important to take a holistic approach when counselling Maori concentrating on the four dimensions of being: body, mind, spirit, and emotions (Herring & Jespersen, 1994). It is important that counsellor educators who train students who will counsel Maori clients that they incorporate this value orientation into their training as it has implications for the counsellor-client relationship.

Considerable work has already been carried out to establish what might be some of the essential indigenous elements in the development of Maori perspectives on education and mental health (Abbott & Durie, 1987a; Durie & Hermansson, 1990; Smith, 1992; Tamesese & Waldegrave, 1993). Abbott and Durie (1987b) have suggested that substantial changes be implemented to cater to the Maori dimensions of the helping and healing process they identify as *Taha Wairua* (the spiritual side of health); *Taha Tinana* (the bodily side of health); *Taha Whanau* (the family side of health); *Taha Hinengaro* (the thinking side of health); and *Taha Whatumanawa* (the ethos of health care). Abbot and Durie have also suggested that the Maori perspective is a reminder to all that there are some very basic principles that Western thinking has gradually devalued. They stated that spirituality and human values have taken second place behind scientific thinking. These authors suggest that Maori knowledge is not so different from many other cultures but it has not yet given way to the overwhelming importance of the scientific approach. It holds that science is a value but it is just a small part of life, with the human experience being much greater.

According to Durie and Hermansson (1990), there are three dimensions that counselling theory and practice have not paid attention to when it comes to working with Maori people. They have named these dimensions as *Whanaungatanga* (a person's relationship to their extended family); *Whakamanawa* (to encourage someone) and *Mauri* (the essence of a person; it implies thinking well of yourself, having self-esteem, and accepting yourself for what you are). In counselling, all of these dimensions related to *Manaakitanga* (caring for someone). The authors suggested that human service professionals seem weak when it comes to caring for people. They suggested that Manaakitanga is very important for Maori people. It is a culturally based term depending on many things, including for example *whakapapa* or the genealogy that provides connection with family.

Numerous researchers, trainers, and practitioners have challenged New Zealand counsellors and counsellor educators to do something about responding to Maori concepts using North American counselling theories which have been inappropriately transposed into the New Zealand setting (Awatere, 1981; Durie & Hermansson, 1990). For Pakeha counsellors and counsellor educators to avoid cultural myopia, Smith (1992) outlined six major elements that he deemed essential in establishing any training programme for working with Maori.

1. *Tino rangatiratanga* relates to Maori having greater autonomy over decision-making processes and where they look to and include things of the past and take into account those theories, structures, and objects handed down from *Tupuna* (ancestors).

2. *Taonga tuku iho* involves validating and legitimising Maori language, culture, knowledge and value.

3. *Ako Maori* relates to culturally appropriate information gathering and sharing.

4. *Whanaungatanga* considers socio-economic factors and acknowledgment of Maori people's commitments to family and tribe.

5. *Whakapapa* is an important source of identity via genealogical ties which also emphasises collective responsibility.

6. *Kaupapa* is the primary purpose of the gathering and highlights the importance of having a shared and collective vision.

Many of these values characterise a collaborative approach and are similar to other indigenous peoples and groups of colour (Ivey, 1986; Ivey et al., 1993; Locke, 1990; Sue & Sue, 1990). In communities where the traditional infrastructure is still intact, some Maori have relied on informal networks using people who are designated from within hapu (sub-tribes) or iwi (tribes) to take on supporting or helping roles. Western forms of helping have a series of discourses which promote the idea that clients will generally be helped by formal counselling rather than by their natural support systems. Pedersen (1988) suggested that what happens frequently is that counsellors erode the natural support systems of people by substituting the purchase of friendship through professional counselling services. Tamesese and Waldegrave (1993) identified a similar trend in New Zealand describing the loss of respect and time given to elders who have been replaced by influential achievers and people of status in the White world. These concerns again confront counsellor educators as they struggle to engage with social justice issues relating to the support and promotion of appropriate counselling services.

Ethnic matching

In the New Zealand family therapy community in the 1980s and early 1990s, there were strong statements made about implementing ethnic matching between counsellor and client because of abuse perpetuated by Pakeha counsellors with Maori and Pacific Island clients. Many Maori theorists, academics and practitioners challenged Pakeha therapists to avoid loading western materialistic values on their clients. Counselling itself was perceived as a colonising activity where the counsellor (usually a western,

middle-class professional) imposed materialistic and individualistic constructions on the problem.

There was a strong call in this community, particularly among women and Maori, that Maori should work with Maori, Pacific Island with Pacific Island, and Pakeha with Pakeha (Awatere, 1984: Jackson, 1988; 1992; Smith, 1990; Smith, 1993). This stance was perceived to be one practical way that colonising and racist practices of Pakeha counsellors could be curbed when working with Maori and Pacific Island clients. Also, one of the solutions to the dilemma of counsellor and client differences was to match counsellor and client on the likelihood that they had shared understandings, some of which it was tacitly acknowledged, shared oppressions. Although data are not available for New Zealand, there is a significant counselling literature in North America which argues for the matching of client and counsellor based upon specific identities, particularly in light of evidence suggesting that minority clients terminate counselling with majority group counsellors at a rate of more than 50% after only one contact with the therapist. This is compared with a White client termination rate of 30% (Sue & Sue 1990). Tamesese and Waldegrave (1993) have proposed that therapists of the same culture as the clients are much more likely to understand and empower families of those cultures as they tend to understand the stresses that bring them into therapy.

One of the main themes emerging from the North-American literature about the problems of two different ethnic groups working together relate to the deeply felt prejudices and distrust that exist between Blacks and Whites. Writing about ethnic relations in North America nearly 30 years ago, Grier and Cobbs (1968) portrayed a deeply disturbing commentary about what it meant to be Black.

> We submit it is necessary for a Black man in America to develop a profound distrust of his White fellow citizens and of the nation. He must be on guard to protect himself against physical hurt. He must cushion himself against cheating, slander, humiliation and outright mistreatment by the official representatives of society. If he does not so protect himself, he will live a life of such pain and shock as to find life itself unbearable. For his own survival, then, he must develop a cultural paranoia in which every White man is a potential enemy unless proved otherwise, and every social system is set against him unless he personally finds out differently. (pp. 149)

This description of the consequences of racial prejudice is not an isolated historical account which has little applicability to the contemporary issues in counsellor training. In 1994, Ridley, describing himself as a Black counsellor educator, argued that Blacks do not like to talk to Whites for fear that anything they may say will be distorted. Even when there are no apparent grounds, suspicion exists. He suggested that the Black client may not disclose to the White therapist because of the fear of being misunderstood, of being engulfed, losing autonomy, of being known. Ridley stated that this was tantamount to being destroyed in a society that is vehemently racist.

While spoken within the context of racial identity development, Parham and Helms (1981) reported that subjects with the strongest commitment to their own ethnic group were more likely to prefer counsellors from the same ethnic background.

In the late 1980s, a New Zealand Government Department, the former Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC), developed a policy which endorsed this stance. As recently as 1993, a proposal was presented to the New Zealand Annual Family Therapy Conference asking that Pakeha counsellors avoid counselling Maori clients and leave the counselling of these clients to Maori counsellors.

Regarding this theme for counsellor education programmes, Abbott and Durie (1987c) proposed that those in New Zealand that do not have Maori staff (at the time of writing there is one counsellor educator identifying as Maori) would benefit from Maori representation overseeing counsellor training activities. By having local *Kaumatua* (Maori elders) participate in the planning and execution of a counsellor education curriculum, space could be created and enhanced for presenting alternative indigenous approaches. Charles Waldegrave and the Just Therapy Team (1990) have modelled approaches to counsellor training and supervision which utilise culturally appropriate elders to monitor and contribute to therapeutic processes to reduce the risk of a predominant liberal-humanist agenda supported by Pakeha counsellors.

The above discussion suggests that the unique ethnic histories of Pakeha and Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand are deeply implicated in how ethnic equity issues are attended to in the helping professions.

Gender and social injustice

In the mid 1980s, I attended a number of forums where men working in the counselling and psychology field were personally challenged to take action in the community and deal with male violence. These challenges were presented largely by feminist professional women who saw that the problem of violence in the home needed to be addressed by men.

Male violence was a primary target which was described by feminist researchers such as Ellen Pence (1993) as arising from patriarchal patterns of male power and control. Pence and her colleagues reported how male violence was promoted by an attitude of entitlement by men within their relationships with women. She stated that men who are violent believe they have a right to be the sole authority in the home. With this authority comes control over family financial resources, decisions over who their partners can associate with, and a belief that they are entitled to access to their partners' bodies. Around this same time, the counselling profession was criticised for its failure to address issues of patriarchy and male violence in particular (Drewery, 1986; Goldner, 1985; McKinnon & Miller, 1987; Treadgold, 1983; Waldegrave, 1985).

A liberal-humanist perspective in the helping fields alarmed many feminists. Liberal-humanism was identified as emerging from patriarchal and Eurocentric belief systems and was perceived to lack the teeth to address a social justice agenda in counsellor education. From a feminist perspective, patriarchy and Eurocentric practices were viewed as systematically silencing of groups of people who did not conform to dominant cultural norms. These insights inspired many feminist researchers and practitioners to confront mental health professionals for colluding with culturally oppressive practices and failing to attend to the structural inequalities which supported racism and sexism (Calvert, 1994; Harre-Hindmarsh, 1987; McKinnon & Miller, 1987; Ohlson, 1993; Smith, 1992; Tamesese & Waldegrave, 1993; Te Aho, 1993).

Much of the feminist literature between the 1980s and early 1990s in New Zealand focused on the variety of abuses perpetrated by men against women. Women were portrayed as being trapped by patriarchy and were thought to believe their role was as subservient to the men, thus colluding with patriarchy. Te Awekotuku (1984) was one of many Maori New Zealand women who spoke against patriarchy. She said

> ...feminism means working as much as one can to end the oppression of women; to break our dependence on men, and to subvert, challenge, and ultimately destroy those bastions of male power that enslave us... I count women ... as my allies because I believe sexism to be the primary offence against humanity, whatever terse prioritising the other issues may engender. (pp. 120)

Incidentally, her statement illustrated her position that the oppression of women by men has priority over the oppression of Maori by Pakeha. Whelehan (1995) gave an example of the kinds of statements that were made by radical feminists in the United States in the early 1970s.

> All men are our policemen, and no organised police force is necessary at this time to keep us in our places. All men enjoy male supremacy and take advantage of it to a greater or lesser degree depending on their position in the masculine hierarchy of power. (pp. 536)

Men were depicted as capable of and predisposed to raping women and were challenged to take responsibility by bringing a stop to the destructive acts of violence perpetuated by men against women. Violence was also seen in the professional realm. For instance, evidence was presented at a New Zealand family therapy conference in the late 1980s of the disturbing number of male therapists who were sexually abusing their clients (Calvert, 1988). Male therapists were challenged for their ignorance of historical and contemporary institutional patriarchy and its effects on their practice (Chesler, 1972; Ehrenreich & English, 1979; Plath, 1963). They were also shown how they were guilty of victim blaming, particularly with female clients. Much of the

work among feminists in New Zealand at this time focused on these and other problems (Calvert, 1994; Harre-Hindmarsh, 1987; Te Aho, 1993).

Social injustice and women

A number of contemporary authors have identified what they have called the pervasiveness of gender bias in counselling. Kazan (1994) suggested that without the awareness of gender histories, it is very easy to promote sexism and inequity within counselling interactions. It is essential that counsellors and counsellor educators actively challenge sexist assumptions and the inequalities produced by their gendered traditions that appear within the counselling relationship. Otherwise they will end up colluding with racist and sexist norms (Tamesese & Waldegrave, 1993).

Feminists have pointed to the severity and pervasiveness of global injustices against women. For example, a United Nations survey conducted in 1980 showed that women do two-thirds of the work, but own only one-hundredth of the property, earn one-tenth of the income, and comprise two-thirds of the illiterate population (Kahn, 1989). Female infanticide is still practiced in India and China, wife burying in India, and genital mutilation is still carried out in many countries.

Marecek (1995) indicated that the history of psychology was full of examples in which esteemed "scientific knowledge" justified gender inequality. For instance, Marecek cited research which claimed that the female brain was thought to be less highly evolved than the male brain. While the female brain was not found to be less evolved, the purpose in citing this research was to demonstrate the androcentric bias of science throughout history. Thus it has not been surprising that the world-wide exploration of social justice issues in therapy has been of central focus for feminists for over two decades. This powerful international social movement which was founded upon the belief that women suffer from systematic social injustices because of their sex has concentrated upon alleviating injustices perpetrated against women (Whelehan, 1995).

Feminism and psychology

During the 1970s in the United States, the major emphasis on feminism in therapy was the recognition that the personal was political and the therapist-client relationship should be egalitarian (Gilbert, 1980). As a result of feminists' work on sex bias and sex role stereotyping, psychologists throughout the profession became more aware of the importance of informing clients about procedures, goals, and potential side-effects of counselling and psychotherapy. During this period, feminist therapists believed that limiting one's practice to counselling individuals was a form of treating the symptom and avoidance of the cause. They highlighted the need to work with the social disease

represented by society. Rawlings and Carter (1977) suggested that social action was an essential professional responsibility of therapists.

Offen (1988) identified that in order to counsel women in a respectful way, the counsellor needed to first assess a woman's status in society relative to men and then encourage women to claim their own values rather than be trapped by the ideal of what a woman should be according to a patriarchal specification. Offen also suggested that counsellors should encourage women to challenge the coercive authority of male privilege. In New Zealand during the 1970s, there was very little impact of feminist thinking on counselling practice and counsellor education. In part this may well be due to the larger number of men employed as counsellor educators during this period. In addition, the individualistic focus promoted by liberal-humanism directed practitioners' gaze away from domination of patriarchy in the counselling profession.

During the second decade of feminist family therapy development in the United States, this growing professional field was becoming recognised in its own right (Ballou & Gabalac, 1985; Chaplin, 1988; Russell, 1984). On the New Zealand front, however, the social justice issues raised by New Zealand feminists were just gathering momentum. Writing in the early and mid eighties pointed out ways in which exaggeration of women's gender role stereotypes were codified into and reinforced through diagnostic categories (Enns, 1993). Despite the powerful and articulate challenges by many women regarding the influence of patriarchal practices, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM III-R) published by the American Psychiatric Association (1987), introduced a Self-Defeating Personality Disorder. Enns contended that this category described 85% of women based on normative socialisation. This diagnostic label did not acknowledge the survival value of learned submissive behaviour in reducing the emotional or physical violence that accompanies abusive relationships. During my employment with New Zealand Psychological Services in the 1980s, the DSM III-R was a widely used classification instrument. Based upon anecdotal evidence, I can recall situations where female clients were inappropriately labelled with intrapsychic disorders. Few such issues were attributed to cultural causes.

In the United States during the early and mid 1980s, feminist therapists increasingly directed their focus on assisting female clients to understand the personal, cultural, and social aspects of their distress (Greenspan, 1983). By the late 1980s many feminist counsellors in North America were influenced by the re-emergence of liberal humanism which contributed to a growth in conservative and individualistic trends that were somewhat disconnected from the socio-cultural and historical context (Kahn & Yoder, 1989). At this time, there was a definite dilution of passion for the social action issues that were fundamental to the work of many feminist counsellors at an earlier time. A parallel return of some client centred therapies to romantic

individualism was reflected in encouraging individuals to look within for solutions. Missing still was a recognition of the impact of social contexts and accompanying dominant and oppressive discourses that had existed for centuries. Romantic individualism returned the burden of responsibility and transformation to clients rather than enabling a repositioning in social contexts through the educative process as advocated by feminist therapists (Enns, 1993). In New Zealand, however, the return of romantic individualism did not present itself until much later.

Gender related presenting problems

From an overview of the literature, it does appear that men come into therapy less frequently than women, are less aware of their feelings, and present more work related issues (Daniluk, Stein & Passick-Bockus, 1995). Women enter therapy more frequently and are said to present with affective distress and anxiety-related disorders and more often present relationship-related problems (Moor & Leafgren, 1990). These circumstances provided the very conditions for mental health researchers to pathologise the experiences of female clients. Such gender differences in seeking counselling reflect the positioning in dominant discourses of some men and women in western society. Is it that women are in greater need of counselling services than their male counterparts or has each gender internalised the prevailing socialisation messages which orient women toward greater dependence and men toward less?

Crose, Nicholas, Gobble and Frank (1992) commented that women suffer from more debilitating chronic disease whereas men suffer from more life threatening illnesses such as heart disease. They cited numerous examples of the psychological costs to women who are negatively affected by patriarchal and androcentric culture. These authors suggested that women are more likely than men to receive a diagnosis of mental disorder by their physicians. Women are more often prescribed psychotropic medication and take more prescription and over the counter drugs. Crose et al. suggested that women were also more likely to be informally labelled with a hypochondriacal, psychosomatic, hysterical, or dependent personality. In studies that address differential diagnoses by gender, men are found to have four or five times higher rates of alcohol abuse and antisocial personality. Daniluk, Stein, and Passick-Bockus (1995) suggested that when men seek assistance they frequently present with problems related to career, impulse control, and alcohol or other drug abuse. Women were reported to be twice as likely to exhibit depression, anxiety, or phobic disorders. Taylor (1994) reported on recent surveys which revealed that a high percentage of individuals with signs of depression, anxiety, panic, anorexia, and phobia were women, and that they constitute a very large percentage of the client population.

The male gender role is not without its liabilities. A number of researchers have suggested that an overdeveloped male gender role sometimes gets expressed by

increased risk-taking, self-destructive activities, high stress, emotional inexpressiveness, emphasis on control, and the drive to accumulate money (Kimmel, & Levine, 1989; Meth, 1990; Pleck, 1981; Stewart & Lykes, 1985). O'Neill (1990) stated that men can display "rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles learned during socialisation, which result in personal restriction, devaluation, or violation of others or the self" (p. 25). While much of this research on presenting problems has focused on the differences between men and women, there appears to be compelling evidence that gender histories shape and influence many of the problems that clients bring to counselling. Alerting counsellors in training of the relationship between counselling problems and gender influenced lives is an important task for counsellor educators.

Gender Matching

Over the last few decades, counsellors have been advised on how to respond to issues presented by both men and women. Similar to the call for ethnic counsellor-client matching, some feminists have promoted separate counselling services for men and women as a method of providing constraints on sexist or androcentric bias featured between male and female clients.

Historically, some feminists have requested that male therapists should avoid working with female clients. For example, Rawlings and Carter (1977) suggested that in most instances, men should not counsel women. Based on their clinical experiences in New Zealand, Fisher and Maloney (1994) concluded that women should work with a female therapist. They stated, "in our experience we have not met a woman who has benefited as much from a male as from a female therapist" (p. 18).

On a similar note, Orlinsky and Howard (1980) reported that women with depressive reactions, anxiety reactions, or schizophrenia had more positive experiences with female therapists. They also found that single women and particularly young single women benefited more from female counsellors. Russell (1984) summarised the results of various studies and concluded that young women in the process of defining their roles are best served by female therapists who have an awareness of gender role issues. Taylor (1991) suggested that feminist psychotherapists were at an advantage in assisting women clients because they had first hand experiences of male oppression based upon the predominance of patriarchy. Clearly, many feminists saw gender matching for clients as a legitimate method for seeking justice for women in the counselling relationship. Showing female clients ways of achieving independence by being unencumbered by "male transference" (Taylor, 1991, p. 102) was one benefit of matching.

Attending to gender issues in counselling

During the 1970s and 1980s, many feminist counsellors emphasised the different natures of men and women. Some felt that they could map out possible problem trajectories which were gender determined. In addition, many feminists suggested that there was a moral obligation for counsellors to teach and attempt to change their clients to embrace non-patriarchal practices. For example, Dworkin (1984) stated that the therapist has a responsibility to intervene directly or indirectly in the client's value system if it reflected a patriarchal bias. She argued with considerable authority that women were systematically taught to accept and conform to social roles and therefore had learned that they were less capable and needed the approval of others to feel good about themselves. This researcher suggested that because women's sense of worth is externally defined, a healthy self-concept would be difficult to attain. Dworkin suggested that therapy should provide the opportunity for women to explore and reflect on the origin and meaning of their feelings and behaviour outside prescribed roles.

Taylor (1989) proposed that women in the West have traditionally gained power indirectly through manipulation, helplessness, and personal relationships. She suggested that when one ignores history, it is easy to assume that women and men can have equal impact on their surroundings. Taylor commented that feminists view women's inferior position as having historical origins which continue to be reinforced, particularly in the family. Like Dworkin, Taylor said that women clients and counsellors need help examining what they have been taught about being female in comparison to their actual competencies, interests, and needs. Likewise, male clients and counsellors needed to examine what they have been taught and thus take for granted about women.

In *Invitations to Responsibility*, Jenkins (1990) outlined many of the traditional gender patterns that have positioned male clients in a very limited and constrained role repertoire in the ways they relate to women. Taking the position of entitlement, many men have learned to expect that their physical and social needs will be attended to. When their female partner fails to conform to these stereotypical relationship patterns, this may prompt them to experience a feeling of being abandoned or betrayed because the socially expected position taking of the woman is not forthcoming. Patriarchal cultural patterns also invite men to pass the primary responsibility of parenting on to women even when both partners may be working outside of the home. Once again, many women frequently become positioned in familial relationships as primarily responsible for the socio-emotional development of both their husbands and their children (Jenkins, 1990). On the basis of such arguments, one of the challenges facing counsellors is to help men recognise how gender discourse has often placed them in an unearned privileged social position which can lead to an unquestioned sense of entitlement within many of their relationships with women.

In commencing this study, I recognised the problems with male entitlement which featured in my clinical work, and I wanted to consider the extent to which counsellor educators were prepared to work with these issues in training.
Devoe (1990) commented that it was critical that counsellors understand that all women have in some way been negatively affected by political, economic, and social forces. In particular male counsellors needed to be aware of the impact of those forces on women as well as the diverse and complex lives that women lead. Anger, autonomy, power, and stereotypical roles have great impact on women clients, according to Devoe, and are extremely important issues for women in therapy. For some women who are socialised to show deference to men, Devoe suggested that emotional displays of anger were more likely to be repressed and viewed as unacceptable, both to themselves and to their partners as well.

While I believe there has been a growing awareness of the role of gender and gender-related issues in counselling, male entitlement has not featured prominently in the counsellor education literature. This study sought to investigate how gender issues were acknowledged as a social justice issue and addressed in counsellor training. Again, I hypothesised that the counsellor education setting was likely to mirror the societal context in which persons are constructed as gendered beings. The next section looks at some of the more recent literature on gender issues in counsellor education.

Gender issues and their implications for counsellor education

There is an increasing recognition in the counsellor education literature that gender is one of the discourse clusters that influences what happens in the counsellor - client relationship. Good and Heppner (1995) stated that the exploration of gender issues in counsellor education is a burgeoning area of research with a growing diversity of topics under its umbrella. To my knowledge, there are no comprehensive empirical studies of gender issues in counsellor education in this country. This is not surprising when we consider that the total number of University counsellor educators in New Zealand totals 12 people. Most of those who occupy senior positions are male.

A number of authors and researchers in the United States have argued that to practice ethically and effectively, gender must be integrated into every aspect of counsellor training, from beginning course work to the practicum and internship settings, for reasons that I have described in the above discussion (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Daniluk, et al., 1995; Hamermesh, 1992; Stevens-Smith, 1995). Stevens-Smith (1995) also suggested that each course in a counsellor education programme should incorporate gender issues into topics such as career counselling, substance abuse counselling, theories, and techniques.

An ethical responsibility exists for counsellor educators to present gender issues as an integral part of the curriculum (Storm, 1992). Storm cited the American

Counselling Association's (1988) ethical standards which clearly stated that programmes must "present thoroughly varied theoretical positions so that students may make comparisons and have the opportunity to select a position" (Section H-10). Storm interpreted the ACA ethical standards as endorsing the promotion of gender issues in a counsellor education curriculum as a way of countering the dominant patriarchal practices which often occur in counsellor training.

While counsellor educators note the importance of addressing the issues of gender, there appears to be a discrepancy between seeing the importance of addressing gender issues in counsellor education and practically implementing gender studies within training programmes. Dupuy, Ritchie, and Cook (1994) reported that 31% of the United States Masters level programmes and 43% of Doctoral level counselling programmes surveyed offered courses on women's or gender issues. Of these respondents, 41% reported that women's or gender issues were covered as part of other courses in their department. The results of the survey indicated that although many counsellor education programmes acknowledged the importance of including gender issues in the curriculum, this acknowledgment was yet to translate into focused attempts to systematically infuse gender issues across the curriculum. It also was clear from their data that gender issues meant women's issues as they noted that there was no mention of men or men's issues in course titles or text books.

Daniluk et al. (1995) proposed that more research was needed to determine the most effective way of infusing gender issues into the counselling curriculum. A systematic evaluation of various curriculum models in student learning outcomes was an important avenue for a future investigation. They concluded that the incorporation of gender issues as a core component of counsellor education was required. This incorporation would emphasise the critical importance of sex and gender role socialisation as developmental issues and counselling concerns of both men and women. The issues raised are pertinent to the counsellor education programmes offered here in New Zealand. Prior to commencing this present study, I understood that none of the five university counsellor education programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand included any specific courses dedicated to studying gender issues.

Gender issues in supervision

A number of researchers in the United States have expressed concern that gender awareness in clinical supervision has not been adequately addressed (Rigazio-Digilio, Anderson & Kunkler, 1995; Twohey & Volker, 1993). These authors suggested that supervisors need to be more aware of themselves as gendered beings. Nelson and Holloway's (1990) study illustrated this point when they found that supervisors often failed to encourage female trainees to assume power in supervision. Females tend to defer to more powerful authority figures more quickly than do males. Rigazio-Digilio

et al (1995) suggested that counsellor educators must accept the effect that gender differences have on male and female counsellors' work. This author stated that the socialisation of men and women produced different "voices" in clinical practice. Charles Waldegrave (1994) writing about gender issues in therapy endorsed this theme by stating, "being a man, I've got to relate to the collectivity of manhood and what manhood is in relation to womanhood" (p. 26). In relation to ethnic issues, he followed this same theme by stating "I have to look at the collectivity of being White and the nature of the relationship of the collective of Whiteness with Maori and Pacific Island people" (p. 27). Clearly, these arguments suggest that there is a need to attend to gender issues in some direct fashion in counsellor education.

Gender issues for counsellor educators

Portraying a rather gloomy outcome for staff who participate in addressing gender issues in counsellor education, Daniluk et al. (1995) stated that the process of training gender-sensitive counsellors was not without risks, as the results could be poor course evaluations, professional isolation, and institutional backlash. This has particular relevance for female faculty who, due at least to the greater likelihood of having junior or non-tenured status, are often in a more vulnerable position than their male colleagues. Researchers have commented that without a programme-wide commitment to the examination of gender issues, from theories through basic skills training, students and teachers who participate in courses on the psychology of women or gender issues may well be marginalised within their departments. Hittner (1994) suggested that there was a potential cost for women staff who address feminist and gender issues in counsellor education. Commenting on counsellor education programmes in the United States, she proposed that this could produce resistance from peers, many of whom are males in senior positions. This resistance includes a lack of support from colleagues in the tenure process and low teaching evaluations in course work. Wiggins (1994) suggested that within a strong hierarchical system with a predominance of male faculty, there were very real problems with sexual harassment.

Daniluk et al. (1995) proposed that a supportive climate be developed when introducing issues of gender, as students sometimes experience anger, hostility, anxiety, guilt, grief, and confusion in relation to some of the provocative material that often accompanies an exploration of gender. Another concern was assessing the impact of including gender issues in the curriculum where the training context may be heavily affected by patriarchal practices. Students may be reinforced in one educational experience to challenge dominant notions regarding gender while censured in other courses. This is clearly a fraught area which holds many untapped personal and professional implications - particularly for male educators.

Counsellor educators exploring their own gender issues

During the 1980s, some writers identified the need to motivate both men and women toward feminist political change (Brod, 1987; Libertin, 1987). They suggested the need to connect feminism with therapy in order to remove the abuses of power and sexism from therapy. A variety of ways were suggested to increase awareness of the limitations that society and gender role stereotyping placed on both women and men. Libertin (1987) recommended lectures, training workshops, reading feminist literature, joining consciousness-raising groups, and developing men's studies programmes.

Referring to the contemporary scene in North American counsellor education programmes, Daniluk et al. (1995) believed that all faculty members should examine their own gendered assumptions in order to eliminate sexism from the counsellor education curriculum and to ensure that varied theoretical perspectives were presented. Stevens-Smith (1995) suggested that to address gender issues effectively, counsellor educators and supervisors must first be aware of their own gender role issues.

According to Dupuy, Ritchie, and Cook (1994), many teaching staff members in counsellor education were not trained in programmes that addressed gender as an element in the counselling process. They suggested that this was of particular concern as many of the current counsellor education programmes were predominantly staffed by men who may not understand the importance of exploring gender equity due to their gender-privileged positions. Hamermesh (1992) pointed out that many counsellor educators may not have identified the significance of gender issues in their own lives and have not brought these issues into their teaching. These concerns might well be relevant to counsellor education staff in New Zealand given the larger numbers of men involved in senior positions and the noticeable absence of any formal courses on gender issues in counselling programmes in this country. The relevance of these issues was explored with participants in this study.

Overview of the chapter

In this opening chapter, I have outlined the very serious concerns many Maori and women have expressed regarding the extent to which their needs for social justice and equity have been met by counselling practitioners. In New Zealand, it is apparent that 200 years of colonisation have left this country with a legacy of social injustice. Serious protests by disaffected Maori groups in recent years contributed to the government's curtailment of celebrations in Waitangi to honour the signing of the 1840 treaty. This example suggests that New Zealand has problems with bicultural partnership. As I have demonstrated in this introductory chapter, many Maori are highly dissatisfied with the appropriateness of counselling services for their people.

By implication, this must raise issues for counsellor educators when preparing counsellors to work with a sizeable Maori client population.

In addition, I have identified problems with the history of patriarchy and androcentricism and shown how these cultural practices have systematically had a negative bearing on many women in the West and in New Zealand society. Many women are disadvantaged in the counselling room by the influences of androcentrism on mental health practitioners and the theoretical orientations that underpin much of their work. I have given an account of the problems for counsellor educators in attending appropriately to gender issues in their curriculum courses, instruction, and supervision.

In this chapter, I discussed how a liberal-humanist perspective in counsellor training and practice has failed to grapple with systematic injustices perpetrated by colonising and patriarchal discourse. The serious inability of liberal-humanism to deal with social justice for alienated and marginalised groups presents counsellor educators with major challenges in advancing socially just practice.

Chapter 2
Methodology and Field Research

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, I discuss the theoretical genealogy of the fieldwork research. Second, I deconstruct the original doctoral proposal. Doing so provides the necessary background to more fully discuss temporary or limited essentialism when engaged in ethical enquiry. The remainder of the chapter introduces the participants and outlines the methodological principles followed in the pursuit of social justice in counsellor education.

Challenges while working as a counsellor educator

In 1989, the Department of Education at the University of Waikato considered closing the counselling programme. Interest among university staff to support a school counsellor education programme was declining as were student enrolments. The acting director of the programme advocated for an increased commitment to counsellor education by the Department and proposed to open the counselling programme to community counsellors as well as to school based counsellors. With the growing competition and provision of counselling services in the market place, counsellors were coming under pressure to seek formal credentials and professional status. Accepting these arguments, the Department decided to allocate two staffing positions to counsellor training in 1991 to build the programme into a more viable training facility.

I took the position as co-ordinator of the counselling programme in July 1991. My entry into counsellor education came at a time when counselling and psychotherapy had come under close scrutiny by its critics, both from within and outside of the profession. A growing number of writers had raised serious questions about whether counselling and psychotherapy provided any significant assistance to those seeking its help (Masson, 1990). Some writers stated that counselling and psychotherapy could do more harm than good (Awatere, 1981; Waldegrave, 1992). As I have outlined, feminists and some Maori had mounted a challenge to mental health professionals regarding their approach to culture, gender, and ethnic diversity (Drewery, 1986; Durie, 1989a). These arguments were provocative, engaging, often well crafted, and persuasively composed.

As the new co-ordinator of the counselling programme, I was expected to respond to these and other challenges in the counsellor training field. As a newcomer, I felt stretched by the critiques offered, and I questioned my preparedness to respond. I was also aware that the counsellor training offered during my initial term may have

exemplified the very problems raised by critics. Nonetheless, I had considerable ambivalence about supporting the policies of gender and ethnic matching as the primary solution to these difficulties. I was also constrained by my awareness that as a middle class, Pakeha male, I was positioned by certain discourses that made me vulnerable to creating a Western, classist, and gender biased programme that excluded the voices of specific groups.

In 1991 there were 12 university counsellor educators in New Zealand located in the universities of Auckland, Waikato, Massey, Canterbury, and Otago. Each of the programmes served the needs of a similar student body. Students were typically seeking positions in school or community based counselling. Applicants usually had some counselling or general helping experience and were seeking a graduate qualification. The largest proportion of the counsellor educators working in these programmes had been in positions as co-ordinators or directors for 15 years or more. Thus, I had joined a group of experienced counsellor educators who had already been exposed to numerous challenges to their training programmes, particularly with issues that formed around patriarchy and monoculturalism. Many of these practitioners had written papers on these subjects and had given considerable thought to some of the critiques presented by Maori and feminists in counsellor training (Drewery, 1986, 1990; Durie & Hermansson, 1990; Glynn & Ballard, 1988; Everts, 1988a, 1988b; Kirton, 1993; Manthei, 1993; Tutua-Nathan, 1989; Wadsworth, 1987).

The university counsellor educators belonged to the University Counsellor Education Network [UCEN]. This group met and continues to meet at least once a year to discuss common issues arising in training as well as general issues facing the counselling profession as a whole. I found this to be an excellent forum to raise issues that were of concern in the counsellor education programme at the University of Waikato.

To prepare myself more thoroughly for my new position as both an administrator and teacher, I felt that there would be significant value in interviewing the counsellor educators in the network about the management of social justice in counsellor education in the 1990s. I used a semi-structured interview format. The questions were circulated to the participants prior to the interview [see Appendix A]. I used this as a guide only and added other questions as I responded to the participants' comments. I felt that a series of in-depth interviews with these experienced counsellor educators would help me develop a much clearer sense of my own assumptions, beliefs, and values in relation to social justice.

Through the generation of ideas and identification of pertinent material arising from the interviews about social justice in counsellor education, I believed my own practice would be advanced. I also anticipated developing greater clarity about the challenges laid before me in relationship to ethnicity and gender diversity.

Some of my questions were as follows:

Over your career as a counsellor educator, what are some of the major challenges you have faced in relation to biculturalism, feminism, poverty, and other controversial issues?

How do you respond to the challenges in attending to patriarchal and monocultural practices in counsellor education?

How do you promote respectful and ethical interactions when working with cultural difference in the counsellor-client relationship?

Theoretical postures that influenced the organisation of the original research focus.

In approaching this study, my research stance was in alignment with Glaser and Strauss's (1967) grounded theory which suggested that it was valid for researchers to start out with a general problem or question in mind but challenged researchers who began with preconceived theories or identifiable categories. I surveyed a wide range of areas of inquiry without making overt statements about my theoretical posture. Yet, I recognised that I could not be a blank slate on which study participants would write. I wanted to represent their views faithfully and sought to capture their underlying messages. I admit, however, to having preconceived notions about what would emerge. I favoured some areas of inquiry over others, as evident in the way I asked the questions, responded to, or ignored others. In short, I could not be completely free of being impositional during the production of text and my interpretation of it. Speaking about the location of the researcher, Bordo (1990) argued that researchers and writers need to guard against the "view from nowhere" supposition which suggests that if researchers employ the right method they can avoid ethnocentrism, totalising constructions, and false universalisations. She stated

> We always "see" from points of view that are invested with our social, political, and personal interests, inescapably "centric" in one way or another, even in the desire to do justice to heterogeneity. (pp. 140)

Luke (1995) pointed out that any research exercise is a situated, motivated, and provisional act reflecting the particular historical location and position of the researcher. Most qualitative researchers recognise that one can not be a neutral and dispassionate participant in a process that waits for knowledge to unfold in order to interpret it. The researcher is active in co-constructing what emerges from a research task. I discovered after conducting the fieldwork phase of the study the significance of my positioning when the interview rounds were conducted. I do not apologise for my positioning and its influence on the participants because I believe that it was a reflection

Foucault's (1980) perspective on the nature of knowledge has been primary in the formation of my ideas as a counsellor educator and researcher. He suggested that we are all shaped, identified, categorised, and come to define ourselves as a certain kind of person in response to predominant knowledges which are promulgated at the personal, ordinary, everyday level of our lives. This perspective differs from a neo-Marxist perspective, for example, where power and influence are thought to be put into operation to transform those placed in sub-dominant positions. Foucault argued that power and knowledge are inseparable in that dominant knowledges take on the characteristics of "truth" and when "truth" is upheld, believed, and followed, it takes on the same characteristics as power. Certainly my views fit within the parameters of what Foucault described as the operation of power. Foucault (1989) gave an example of how these mechanisms work in any society.

> Each society has its regime of truth, its general politics of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (pp. 131)

From this standpoint, we can act coherently within and through a given field of power/knowledge. Although these actions have very real effects, they cannot be identified with specific motives. We are all caught up in a web or net of power/knowledge which makes it impossible to act apart from this domain and we are simultaneously undergoing the effects of power and exercising this power in relation to others (White, 1989). During the fieldwork stage I advocated for a radical social justice agenda which I viewed as a superior way of understanding the world.

Foucault's analysis of power did not preclude purposeful or politically motivated action. However, it did point out a rather strong possibility that our purposes might not be attained (Gore, 1992). In fact a growing reflexivity (which I define in the next section) was to follow the completion of the fieldwork, thwarting my original agenda. The disruption and subsequent change to my ethical agenda described in the next chapter illuminated the dynamic value of temporary essentialism.

Organisation and underlying principles

My first attempts at presenting this study followed the conventional demands of a literature review, theory, method, and findings, with chapters written in discrete chapters-in-tandem. I attempted to follow this convention to present my findings and learnings after I had presented a thorough description of the current knowledge which had already been accumulated in my field of enquiry. I was occupied with describing what led me to engage in this particular study, providing an account of findings in the

literature, and felt only after this did I have permission to present my findings from my fieldwork. I felt uncomfortable doing this as it felt contrived and invited me to hide my own emerging arguments until the others could be seen. I wanted to be released from these conventions and declare my position from the outset. McWilliam's (1993) perspectives were helpful in clarifying my dissonance. She argued that it was timely for researchers to address more thoroughly the embeddedness of theory in the entire research task. She also suggested that it is a difficult task to write a doctoral dissertation during a time of "galloping theory" when in the past a systematic "plodding" enquiry was a very acceptable way to proceed. Research, she said, needed to be generative of theory rather than merely the production of objective findings. As McWilliam (1993) pinpointed, "depicting theory as a tidy point of embarkation and results-as-findings as a convenient point of disembarkation misconstrues the reflexive nature of educational enquiry and the epistemological assumptions within which it locates itself" (p.202). With relief, I took encouragement from her argument to write a thesis that took a slightly different shape.

As a counsellor educator, I have encouraged students to participate in reflexive learning. It is understandable that I wanted to model this practice in my own work. Thus, I insisted that if the students I worked with were to give an account of themselves as counselling practitioners, I needed to be able to do the same and personally take up a stance of reflexive learning. Reflexivity became the guiding principle behind the organisation and presentation of this study.

<u>Reflexivity</u>

There are a number of definitions and descriptions of the process of reflexive learning and reflexive research (Gouldner, 1970; Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992; Lather, 1991; Lax, 1989; Reason, 1988;). Reflexivity is an act of making oneself an object of one's own observation. Reflexivity is most in evidence when people are able to reflect on their research practices and through the process of identifying new information, act upon it. This required of me a readiness to be changed by the events that arose during this study. The parallels between reflexive practice and the declaration of a temporary essentialism are significant. For example, by adopting a reflexive stance, I would have to be prepared to implement a new practice or procedure if it showed itself to be more appropriate than the one previously followed. This practice is also a good example of being positioned by a temporary essentialism. To be reflexive and to practice limited essentialism, I need to be prepared to state my earlier position clearly, and make my research activities an object of subsequent observation. In addition, a readiness to respond to emerging issues is necessary. While there are similarities between reflexivity and temporary essentialism, there are noteworthy distinctions. In temporary essentialism one espouses an ethical position but is prepared to revise it in light of new

knowledge. Reflexivity is the act of reflecting upon one's position and involves the process of acting upon new knowledge. Temporary essentialism provides a context in which reflexive action can occur. These are the mechanisms which are necessary to promote social justice. Adopting a reflexive position would give me permission to move from the commitments and intentions with which I began the study and allow me to change in response to the material that would emerge. In order to be reflexive, I needed to be aware of the ways in which the personal and socio-historical contexts influenced what I would do and what I would find.

During any phase of research, popular ways of thinking have an influence on any study by either liberating or repressing, increasing or inhibiting the quality of reflection. Gouldner (1970) suggested that there was value in having an historical sensitivity to alert the researcher to the possibility that yesterday's theories may no longer be opening up possibilities but might in fact be closing them down. Lather (1991) argued that researchers must be prepared to encourage ambivalence, ambiguity, and multiplicity in their engagement with research participants. Researchers must be mindful of the nature of order and structure that is imposed while recognising the nature of their policing of what information is acceptable. The reflexive questions Lather (1991) asked the researcher to consider include

> Have I confronted my own evasions and raised doubts about any illusions of closure?... Have I questioned the textual staging of knowledge in a way that keeps my own authority from being reified? Did I focus on the limits of my own conceptualisations? What binaries structure my argument? (pp. 84)

In my own efforts at responding to these questions, I was engaging with a recursive process which by its very nature would have no end point. I needed to examine my own way of talking and behaving in my interactions with the participants in this study. I needed to stay curious about how and why we proceeded with particular rituals of communication. In my recording of my research, I wanted to continue to acknowledge and examine my theoretical commitments and sustain an ontological review of my work. By this I mean that I wanted to look very closely at my most basic assumptions about why I was doing what I was doing. I needed to review my beliefs about the nature of the phenomena I was investigating at the various stages of this research.

Lather (1991) described how the research process highlights the multiple relationships in which both researcher and the researched are immersed can not be separated. It also highlights the premises upon which conclusions are constructed as well as the coherence of the methodological choices the researcher negotiates. My involvement with the participants in this study unexpectedly emphasised my own biases and assumptions in a manner that I could not escape. I experienced first hand the effects of the very intimate relationship between the researcher and researched.

I discovered that reflexivity and limited essentialism were easier to theorise than to live by as it was an unpredictable journey into uncharted territory. Although there can be a significant degree of safety in being able to lay out an entire project in some linear form that has a mapped out beginning, middle, and end, I did not want to write about this project in a ventriloquist's voice - to create the pretence of self confrontation.

While it is difficult to be fully cognisant of all of my research assumptions, my aim was to embark upon this research journey with a spirit of openness. Gouldner (1970) suggested that there were some key questions that need to be asked and answered to show that reflexivity had been achieved. Some of these questions might include: How has this research transformed you? Has it penetrated deeply into your daily life and work? Has it varied your self-awareness of your work? Gouldner proposed that unless the researcher was vulnerable to being changed and influenced by the research process and the research participants' contribution to this, it would be invalid for the researcher to claim a reflexive stance. The implications of following through with a reflexive process have been profound in leading me to develop new sensitivities in understanding both my work and my life. However, my task was to demonstrate and document this through the process of completing this study.

Influences of radical feminist discourse on my fieldwork research

Radical feminist discourses featured prominently and contributed positively to my approaches to counselling in the late 1980s and were significantly influential in the initial stages of this study. This development resulted from my attendance at a number of professional conferences that had an agenda shaped by radical feminist theory. The critique of radical feminism on the patriarchal practices of contemporary psychotherapy has been enormously influential with some professional groups, particularly those involved in family therapy in New Zealand. I recall that these issues featured prominently at professional gatherings of the New Zealand Family Therapy Conferences of 1986, 1987, and 1993 in which I participated. This body of theory had offered me some alternative ways of thinking about my counselling work and of approaching research.

There are numerous versions of feminism. Perhaps the greatest distinction lies between liberal feminism and radical feminism. Whelehan (1995) suggested that one of the major sites of difference is the defining of the oppressor and locating the source of oppression in relation to the social justice agenda. She described liberal feminists as emerging from primarily White and middle-class groupings whose politics did not feature some of the extreme activities of radical feminists. While actively supporting women's equality in the workplace and in law, liberal feminists were more likely to be involved in lobbying and reasoned debate in the main stream rather than extreme political action.

Radical feminism emerged as a strong oppositional discourse in the late 1960s. Women espousing this position did not hold a single core belief which informed their theories but emphasised a variety of different qualities from the start. Echols (1989) suggested that by 1970, there was such an interest in radical feminism that it was on the point of becoming a mass movement. Radical feminism was distinguished from all other feminist theories because of its uncompromising focus on the oppression of women by males (Jagger & Rothenberg, 1993). For example, in the New Zealand feminist magazine, *Broadsheet,* the Black Stocking Sisters (1991) said

> The most fundamental of all oppression is patriarchy - the domination of men and the subordination of women - and is expressed in all aspects of our lives. From birth we are sex-role typed, being taught passivity and domesticity to crush our real selves into wives and mothers...Man is master, wife as servant. (pp. 32)

Jagger and Rothenberg (1993) suggested that women historically were the first oppressed group which existed in virtually every known society and that this oppression was the hardest form of oppression to eradicate. They suggested that this form of oppression caused the most suffering to its victims and could not be removed by other social changes such as the abolition of class differences. According to Whelehan (1995), radical feminists were the first group to utilise the term patriarchy as a shorthand term to designate the means by which women were oppressed by men. Jones and Guy (1992) suggested that these politics promoted the idea that women had a universally shared experience of oppression within a dominating patriarchy.

Larner (1995) noted that the dominant formulation to emerge in New Zealand in the late 1980s was that of a binary framework consisting of opposing groups; men, women, Pakeha, Maori, heterosexual, lesbian, middle-class, working class. Akin to the politics of radical feminism, " relationships between the different groups were understood in terms of a hierarchy of oppressions in which the emphasis was on personal experiences and the power relations were understood to be both monolithic and fixed" (p.183). The subordination of all women by all men was a tenet that was at the heart of this movement. Sometimes male sympathisers to the women's movement were treated with suspicion on the grounds that they were still potential oppressors existing with the privileges of male power whether they were aware of it or not (Whelehan, 1995). I was well aware of these suspicions among many women but there were many others who encouraged my interest and support of a feminist analysis of gendered relationships.

Overall, I identified with feminism as a way to both name the damaging effects of patriarchal and androcentric discourse and to provide a methodology by which these cultural positions could be challenged. Clearly, I saw radical feminism as a viable alternative to the liberal-humanist position toward advancing social justice in counsellor education. This framework consistently featured in the way I both constructed the

research questions and the manner in which I responded to the participants' comments during the fieldwork phase.

Influences of Critical Theory discourse on my fieldwork research

Critical theory discourse had also exposed some of the implicit condemning attitudes of liberal-humanism toward those consistently marginalised. This perspective also became significant to the field work stage of this present study. I found it to be highly congruent with a radical feminist perspective and in later discussion refer to these two theoretical perspectives as a radical social agenda.

My early exposure to critical theory discourse during my undergraduate studies had remained as an intellectualised exercise with little bearing on my practice. I returned to these earlier roots in the late 1980s at the counselling practice interface. At this stage, I was able to translate some of the critical theory to the applied area of counsellor training and practice. For example, I identified how counselling could become an activity of adjusting people to their own oppression produced by the unjust structural conditions in society (Nash, 1980).

In relation to therapy, I understood that critical theory discourse was primarily concerned with how political and moral issues impacted upon client groups which contributed to the development of clienthood. The counsellor working from a critical theory perspective would seek to empower people to reflect critically on several areas: their own life situations, class, gender, ethnicity, and the power relations present in these fields of concern. Many of the challenges and critiques of the counselling profession were based on an analysis offered by critical theorists. Bernard's (1969) phrase 'cooling the mark out' was a good example of the application of critical theory to counselling. It referred to how counselling practice could be concerned with reconciling and adjusting people to the failure and defeat which were products of a capitalist and classist system. The cooling description applies to any situation in which a person with a genuine grievance is led to accept the situation rather than change it.

This description of the counselling process from the perspective of critical theory has counsellors colluding with the capitalist system and reconciling people who have a genuine grievance to become pacified to an unjust situation. Bernard suggested that a competitive and capitalistic society requires that there be failures despite all that might be done to minimise them.

In my doctoral proposal, I quoted Alinsky (1969) who graphically illustrated how appointed helpers adjust people to poverty.

> They come to the people of the slums under the guise of benevolence and goodness, not to help people fight their way out of the muck but to be adjusted so that they will live in hell and like it too. It is difficult to conceive of a higher form of treason. (pp. 18)

Sue and Sue (1990), referring to counsellor education in the North American setting, summed up the argument as follows

> While counseling enshrines the concept of freedom, rational thought, tolerance for new ideas, and equality and justice for all, it can be used as an oppressive instrument by those in power to maintain the status quo. In this respect counseling becomes a form of oppression in which there is an unjust and cruel exercise of power to subjugate or mistreat large groups of people. (pp. 6)

In New Zealand, this major critique of counselling and counsellor training in the 1980s was presented by Roy Nash, a neo-Marxist (Nash, 1980). Waldegrave (1992) made similar points suggesting that it may not be an individual therapist's desire to exploit the circumstances created by harsh economic conditions but in fact deleterious conditions created the problems that the therapist addresses. Waldegrave suggested that many therapists address problems without reference to the real cause (which he suggests is often poverty and oppression) and then send people straight back to the condition that created the problem in the first place. From this perspective, counsellors were not benign helpers but rather individuals whose primary function was to ensure that people adjust and adapt to society's values and conditions. Numerous authors have presented similar arguments (Hindmarsh, 1993; Katz, 1985; Szasz, 1974).

Poster (1989) stated that critical theory springs from an assumption that we live amid a world of pain, that much can be done to alleviate pain, and that this form of theory had a crucial role in that process. Some critical theorists took a position that most people's difficulties were caused by social conditions over which they had little or no control. According to Hindmarsh (1993), critical theorists have been concerned with dealing with outcomes resulting from struggles around issues such as capitalism, patriarchy, and issues of race and class. Historical origins were founded on the first generation Frankfurt School of Critical Theory developed by Horkheimer and Adorno (Adorno, 1973, Adorno & Horkheimer, 1973; Horkheimer, 1972; 1973). Some researchers link critical theory to Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, and Paulo Freire's practice of conscientisation (Collard & Law, 1991; Luke, 1992). Freire's conscientisation was based upon an educative and liberatory process which empowered subjugated peoples to recognise and ultimately challenge oppression (Freire, 1976).

Lears (1985) defined Gramsci's translated work on hegemony as the

> spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is historically caused by the prestige which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production. (pp. 568).

Thus, critical theory discourse derived from these various sources was a sincere attempt to promote social justice by explaining the sufferings of a class of people, and then help them recognise how their inability to satisfy their real desires was related to repressive social practices. Fay (1987) suggested that "critical oppressive moments" were opportunities to educate those suffering from unjust hierarchical structures to develop the necessary volition to produce a transformative experience. The analysis of hegemonic oppression was also put to use by feminist counsellors when working with clients suffering from the effects of patriarchy. I espoused this perspective in my counselling work with many people who identified Maori during the latter part of the 1980s. I believed that by developing these understandings a subjugated people would be empowered to act in ways which would free them from hegemonic oppression.

The outstanding advantage of critical theory discourse I identified over liberal-humanism was the theory's ability to critique the simplistic assumption that individuals were free agents with equal ability to extricate themselves from unjust circumstances. Some critical theory perspectives focused instead on the centrality of repressive social practices which contributed to oppression and marginalisation, unlike liberal-humanistic approaches which emphasised individual volition and motivation.

Methodological principles

Hermeneutic dialectic

There are few research designs which encourage negotiation of meaning beyond the descriptive level within the study itself. Involving research participants in data interpretation as well as theory building was a more sophisticated research practice than merely interpreting the data generated on my own. I wanted a research design that emphasised the interpretive nature of knowledge, acknowledgment of the inseparability between the knower and the known, and the value bound nature of all research inquiry.

Guba and Lincoln's (1989) methodology was congruent with my research aims. These authors' anti-objective stance placed emphasis on how research is always embedded within a context. They described this interactive and flexible approach to field work as a hermeneutic dialectic methodology. They suggested that the hermeneutic element was the interpretive part of the research process while the dialectic element represented a comparative and contrasting process in managing divergent views in order to achieve a higher level of synthesis. The dialectical component was to either raise the awareness or to unite divided views so that an individual may achieve a more informed understanding of and influence in a particular area of inquiry.

The hermeneutic dialectic model was also congruent with the basic principles of grounded theory but utilised a different protocol for the data gathering and data

analysis phases. The hermeneutic dialectic is concerned with accessing different stakeholders' claims, concerns and issues, and then promoting a process of devising joint, collaborative, and shared constructions (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). This research orientation serves the interests of both the researcher and participants. As Guba and Lincoln (1989) suggested

> If the process is successful, or, to the extent that it is, all parties (including the inquirer) are likely to have reconstructed the constructions with which they began. This is so even when consensus is not achieved. All parties are thus simultaneously educated (because they achieve new levels of information and sophistication) and empowered (because their initial constructions are given full consideration and because each individual has an opportunity to provide a critique, to correct, to amend, to extend all the other parties' constructions). (pp. 149)

I considered this approach to be congruent with my attempts at co-evolving a body of practical knowledge that would ultimately serve and advance myself and the participants. I saw this methodology as giving me licence to introduce my own constructions and views once significant amounts of data had been generated in the interview rounds. Here was an approach that had features which could also contribute to the participants' own understandings of their work as counsellor educators. As my focus dealt with social justice in counsellor education, introducing radical feminist and critical theory concepts was a way of moving the participants along in their own ideas about addressing problems with Eurocentric counselling theory and androcentrism. By constantly circulating the constructions of the participants (produced in individual interviews) to one another for comment and critique, I anticipated gaining a more sophisticated body of knowledge to meet many of the challenges put forward by some women and Maori groups in relation to the problems of Eurocentric and patriarchal dominance. At the time, I placed considerable value on critical theory and radical feminist knowledge in the hermeneutic rounds.

Guba and Lincoln's (1989) original hermeneutic dialectic was constructed as a circle where the initial respondent was engaged by the researcher and from the interview data, this first construction becomes the central focus of the inquiry. In the second round the first respondent nominates a second respondent who is notably different. This second respondent is interviewed about their views concerning the domain in question and is subsequently introduced to the constructions of the first respondent for some reaction. This process continues with a small or much larger group of respondents until all of the participants have been interviewed. A subsequent round of interviews can then be conducted building upon and refining the constructions generated in the first round. In subsequent rounds the researcher may introduce his own construction while keeping the source of the construction anonymous.

I changed the sequencing pattern of data collection in line with Jeffery, Hache, and Lehr's (1995) use of hermeneutic and dialectical processes. I had the resources only to target the prime stake holders, the counsellor educators themselves. As the participants were spread around the country, it was not conducive to have each counsellor educator nominate the next respondent, respond to the comments of the person last interviewed, or transcribe the interview and present the content to the next counsellor educator.

Instead, I introduced some of the dilemmas of attaining a social agenda in counsellor education and invited comments from participants. The questions were broad which allowed a general exploration of the subject with each individual contributing their information. The data generated was compiled and areas of agreement and disagreement among the group are identified. I raised with the participants possible reasons why different viewpoints were expressed. Any emergent ideas were incorporated further into the next round. This hermeneutic dialectic process was useful for providing feedback to individuals about the opinion of others and allowed opportunities for individuals to reappraise and revise their views. These broad principles were followed in this study although in the first and second rounds, participants were asked for reactions to one another's views and perspectives rather than identifying areas of agreement or disagreement. I introduced my own constructions in that I summarised, processed, and presented the interview data to the participants in a particular way. I give a full account of the specific stages of the hermeneutic dialectic under "working with participants" which follows shortly.

Focus Group Interview

Following the hermeneutic dialectic round, I used a focus group interview. It was a rapid way of gathering information, especially when working under tight time constraints. The focus group has the characteristics of an interview rather than a discussion. The participants of a focus group are typically a relatively homogeneous group of people who are asked to reflect on the questions asked by the interviewer. Participants hear each other's responses and make additional comments beyond their own original responses. It is not necessary for the group to reach any kind of consensus. The object is to get high quality data in a social context where people can consider their own views in context with others.

Generally this form of interview is used with a small group of people on a specific topic. Groups are typically 6-8 people who participate in the interview for one and a half to two hours. In the focus group I conducted there were 9 participants. There were two two hour sessions held with the same group on the same day.

According to Patton (1989), market researchers began using focus groups in the 1950s as a way of simulating the consumer group process of decision making in order

to gather more accurate information about the consumer product preferences. Patton (1989) suggested that the group's dynamics typically contribute to focusing on the most important topics and issues in the programme.

There are some weaknesses of focus groups. Because the number of responses by participants to any given question is increased considerably, the verbal exchanges are difficult to track. A single tape-recorder in the centre of a group of people might capture all that is said but it is then also difficult to separate comments and attribute them to particular individuals. Clearly, the more people involved, the more difficult this becomes. For this reason, I both audiotaped and videotaped the group interviews.

The other problem with focus groups is that by having a number of people participate, the number of questions that can be asked is limited, however, valuable comments were generated in a very short period of time. Participants were highly articulate and accustomed to presenting their views in groups. I was able to cover the research agenda I had constructed.

Study Participants

I interviewed individually all the university counsellor educators in the six well established programmes at the universities of Auckland, Waikato, Massey, Canterbury, and Otago who were employed in their respective programmes in 1993. While recognising there are numerous opportunities for participants to identify one another from transcripted comments, I have presented minimal demographic data to maintain a modicum of anonymity. The following summarises some of the demographic characteristics of study participants.

Participants

Number of males	5
Number of females	6

Level of qualification

Doctoral Level	6	[Four men and two women]
Masters Level	4	[One man and three women]
P G Diploma Level	1	[One woman]

Years of Employment in Counsellor Education

< 5	years	3	[One man and two women]
5 - 10	years	2	[Two women]
10 -15	years	1	[One woman]
15 - 20	years	5	[Four men and one woman]

Working with participants

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I met with representatives from the six university counsellor education programmes at a UCEN [University Counsellor Educator Network] meeting in October of 1993 at Massey university. Staff from Auckland, Waikato, Massey, Canterbury, and Dunedin were in attendance. I asked for two hours to present an overview of my proposed study. This included the methods I would employ to gather the information required.

In many respects, I had a dual role relationship with the participants. These people were my colleagues with whom I had regular contact on an annual or bi-annual basis in a counsellor education context. Because of the small number of University counsellor educators throughout New Zealand, dual relationships were not surprising. For example a few years prior to the study, one of my colleagues was on a selection panel for a counselling position I had applied for. Despite these complex dual-role relationships, there were no indications that these circumstances created problems in terms of participant disclosure. On the contrary, all participants engaged fully in their role of interviewee during the fieldwork. This was surprising given the initial difficulties in mounting the study. Some of my colleagues were sceptical of this project when I first presented it to them. They were concerned about the kind of research design that I would employ as many of them were unfamiliar with the hermeneutic- dialectic model. As over half of the participants were doctoral level researchers, it was not surprising that there was critical interest in the methodological aspects of the study.

My own surmising about the reaction of my colleagues also related to the reflexive nature of the project. There were occasions of guardedness among some of the participants about how the findings of the study might reflect personally on them. While these concerns arose, they did not dominate and I received full participation in the fieldwork phase.

After considerable discussion and explanation at this first meeting, the research participants were enthusiastic about the worthwhileness of the project and the value of the research method and methodology. While there were no major difficulties during the interview rounds, one counsellor educator was temporarily concerned with how I was going to present the final data from the interview round and did not respond to the

next stage of the study for two months. However, once I re-explained the process this person re-established involvement in the project.

Hermeneutic dialectic process rounds

The following steps were carried out:

1. Introductory meeting outlining the process
2. Preparation for face to face interviews
3. Interviews conducted
4 Coding transcripts from interviews
5. 'Summary interview' from transcripts sent to participants for verification
6. Transcribed material organised into themes for three reports
7. First report sent to focus group participants
8. Focus groups conducted
9. Report two sent to all participants
10. Report three sent to all participants

Step One : Introductory meeting outlining the process

In this introductory meeting I explained that I was interested in how they in their respective programmes were responding to the critiques of counselling. I outlined the following protocols:

1. I explained that participants would be interviewed individually on more than one occasion if necessary and would comment on a summary of their and other participants' transcripts. All interviews were to be audiotaped.
2. Participants were informed that all of the recorded transcripted material would have obvious content deleted if it revealed their identity. All references to specific names of programmes or participants were removed. However, the counsellor educators were told that they may identify the sources of the transcripted material generated by their colleagues. This was likely as some of them had met regularly together for periods of up to fifteen years and were very familiar with one another's opinions and beliefs about their work. The counsellor educators were informed that they were able to withdraw from the study at any time.

Step Two: Preparation for face to face interviews

After the counsellor educators gave oral consent, I circulated an outline of the research where I elaborated further on the orientation I was taking in the study [see Appendix B]. In this document, I identified particular fields of interest that I wanted to interview the counsellor educators about. The questions presented in Appendix A which accompanied the outline, requested the participants to comment on some of the challenges they had faced in their work as counsellor educators and what they felt most passionate about.

Prior to the first individual interview, the research participants received a brief account of my own area of interest in the study. I did this intentionally, to make my own position more visible as a researcher. I disclosed enough of my own views for the participants to determine my general positioning in the study [see Appendix B].

The first interview with each participant averaged two hours. The interviews were usually held in a small room away from telephones and unexpected visitors. The interviews were audiotaped using a single uni-directional microphone with a small dictaphone recorder and player.

Step Three: Interviews conducted

Interviews began in late October, 1993, and by the beginning of November 1993, the counsellor educators involved in the study from Auckland, Massey, Canterbury, and Otago universities had presented their views. In each case, I interviewed the counsellor educators in their own work context. I interviewed the three counsellor educators from Waikato University in October 1994.

Transcription conventions

In reference to recording the interviews, I needed to be aware that the choice of any transcription system should be closely related to the type of analysis being attempted. Since one hour of interview can take approximately three hours to transcribe, it was important to be clear about the purposes for the transcribed interview material. Right from the outset, the transcription process is already a form of analysis. It is simply not coherent to talk about the completeness or accuracy of a transcript without some frame for deciding what sorts of features of talk were relevant and what could be safely ignored (Cook, 1990; Fairclough, 1992).

In the form of transcription I employed, I was less interested in the moment-by-moment conversational interactions and the use of complex transcription systems to track this. Rather, I was interested in capturing the content of the dominant discourses pertaining to issues relating to gender and class in counsellor education. I focused

upon the broad argumentative patterns rather than any precise conventions for recording verbatim.

Step Four: Coding material

All of the interviews were fully transcribed. To make the data analysis of all 550 pages more manageable, I produced a series of colour codings. Such codings were distinct from the analysis itself. The coding was designed to make the job of analysis easier by being able to focus on relevant issues.

Step Five: Summary interview from transcripts sent to participants for verification

The first coding round was applied to the full transcripted interviews where I searched through the material to identify a number of themes. I produced a series of sub headings from the interview and recorded this material under these headings. I described this material as the "Summary Interview" which varied from 27 to 40 pages in length.

Step Six: Transcribed material organised for three reports

Ten of the original 11 interviews were reviewed to identify a range of viewpoints expressed by the participants under what finally became 18 different headings. Seldom more than three sentences were selected which succinctly expressed the views of the counsellor educators that related to the particular headings. This material was later to be organised into three separate reports and presented to participants at different stages in the hermeneutic rounds that were about to begin. I chose to present the material in this way because of the sheer amount of data that the participants were given. In addition, the first and second reports contained data that were directly related to the research focus. The third report contained material that was outside of the developed parameters of the study but was likely to be of interest to the participants.

At this stage of the research process, the counsellor educators had been given an outline of the study, asked if they wished to participate, received an overview of the study with some general questions to do with the thesis topic, and asked to add further questions which might be useful to explore. They had been individually interviewed about these questions using a semi-structured interview format, received a summary interview report to respond to so they could further expand on their ideas and where necessary, edited their comments to better convey what was to be reviewed by their colleagues.

Step Seven: First report sent to focus group participants

In keeping with the hermeneutic dialectic process, I assembled the material that was directly related to the emerging directions of this study [see Appendix C]. The participants' perspectives were included in addition to my interpretations of the transcribed material. Themes identified for this first report were presented under the following headings:

(a) Importance of the socio-cultural context in counsellor education.

(b) Place of biculturalism/multiculturalism in our counsellor education programmes

(c) Early theoretical influences

To give more direction to the focus group, which was organised in the next step of the process, I introduced further focus questions to gather more comprehensive data. These questions illustrated my own theoretical bias.

1. How do patriarchal arrangements impact on your work as counsellor educators?

2. Should you actively encourage Maori students to train in counsellor education programmes run almost exclusively by Pakeha?

3. How do your cultural practices stop us from addressing social justice issues in your counsellor education programmes?

This was circulated to all counsellor educators immediately prior to a University Counsellor Educators Network meeting in October, 1994.

Step Eight: Focus groups conducted

The counsellor educators of Waikato University hosted the annual UCEN October meeting. This was a regular two day gathering where the counsellor educators discuss issues arising in their respective university counsellor education programmes. This event was an opportunity to hear from the counsellor educators about their views on a range of viewpoints already gathered in the first phase of the fieldwork. This was also the first opportunity for the participants to hear one another's claims, concerns and issues in relation to the field of inquiry. This would enable the parties including

myself to extend and develop their original constructions in a climate of harmony and mutual respect.

There were a total of nine counsellor educators present. Staff from one university counsellor educator education programme were absent and one counsellor educator from each of two other programmes was absent. Utilising the principles of transcribing focus group discussions, I had a video camera to follow the group discussion as it unfolded in addition to a audiotape recorder with a multi-directional microphone. In addition to the focus questions presented in this first report, the participants were also asked about their experience with the focus group process.

Step Nine: Report two sent to all participants

The next step was to circulate the pertinent transcripted material which became report two gathered from the focus group. This report was also circulated to the counsellor educators absent from the focus group discussions. The cover sheet of this report is included in Appendix D. It was presented to the counsellor educators in early December, 1994. Following the same protocols as previously stated, the research participants were asked to return the transcripts with further comments elaborating upon their ideas and identifying which of their commentary they would like to have withdrawn.

A wide range of transcripted comments were presented in this report. Where there was some consistency or similarity of ideas presented, these views were assembled under sub-headings. Where there were distinct and opposing views challenging an emerging consensus, comments were positioned alongside the consenting opinions.

Step Ten: Report three sent to all participants

As I suggested earlier, additional data was gathered which became peripheral to the thesis. I did not want to completely abandon this material as it reflected many of the views and thoughts of the participants across a wide range of themes, and I considered this material of interest to the counsellor educators. I chose to circulate this discussion in a third report but decided at this juncture not to refer to this material any further in the thesis discussion.

This report was arranged under 11 sections.

(1) Spirituality

(2) Role of Personal Development

(3) Professionalism

(4) Managing Professional Boundaries

(5) Selection in Counsellor Education

(6) University Context

(7) Eclecticism

(8) Research

(9) Qualities of a Skilled Counsellor

(10) Modelling

(11) Ethical Considerations

In this third report, I asked the counsellor educators about their experience with the overall process. They were invited to make comment on both helpful and unhelpful features. The participants were thanked for their commitment to the entire process. Reports two and three were a culmination of their work in the hermeneutic rounds. They were given copies of reports two and three.

Sufficient material had been gathered from the participants given the constraints of the study and the limited time and energy the counsellor educators had available for this intensive and demanding project. The fieldwork phase was completed in March 1995.

Discourse Analysis

On completion of the hermeneutic rounds, I introduced a discourse analysis. My purpose was to expose the prevalence of Eurocentric and patriarchal biases while highlighting the missing analysis of these unjust practices within a liberal-humanistic framework. During this discourse analysis, my account of social justice was transformed. I give a full account of this transformation in the next chapter. However, because of a shift in focus, I introduced the deconstructive tools offered by social constructionist theory which provided a new way of understanding the transcripted content of my own and participants' responses.

Deconstruction

Deconstruction is a form of discourse analysis which primarily focuses on the process of exploring what is left out, covered over, what is privileged, and what is not (Harasym, 1990). The objective of working with deconstruction is to disrupt the usual privilege given to dominant knowledges and in so doing not only to understand but also to provide opportunities to subvert the ways in which such systems constitute everyday social practices. The use of deconstruction offered me a systematic method by which I could strive for reflexivity in my own work. The attainment of reflexivity

through deconstructive practices is the successful application of temporary essentialism. Using deconstruction I was able to identify the discourses at work in the counsellor education field and provided a way of identifying and naming the power positions people occupy in any discourse. Some groups take up dominant positions in communities where their particular experiences and standards become a societal norm. Dominant societal norms implicitly invite non-dominant groups to either conform to what is often deemed normal or be regarded by the dominant group as deviant or inferior. Deconstruction provided a way of exposing the taken for granted assumptions of a major cultural grouping to show how the discourses that produce their experience can inadvertently and sometimes obviously deny the legitimacy of an alternative account, thereby increasing the possibility of socially unjust acts.

White (1992) described deconstruction as subverting

> ... taken-for-granted realities and practices; those so-called 'truths' that are split off from the conditions and the context of their production, those disembodied ways of speaking that hide their biases and prejudices, and those familiar practices of self and of relationship that are subjugating of persons' lives. (pp. 121)

The goal of deconstruction is neither to seek specific answers nor to produce a resolution to a problem. It is to keep things in process, to disrupt, to keep the system in play, to set up procedures to continuously demystify the realities we create and to fight the tendency for our categories to congeal. Deconstruction looks at the textual staging of knowledge, the constitutive effects of our uses of language. As a postmodern equivalent of a dialectic, deconstruction provides a corrective moment, a safeguard against dogmatism, a continual displacement.

Some postmodern writers such as Lather (1992a) maintained that when they apply deconstructive techniques to a modernistic discourse, it is exposed as simply an ungrounded, historically situated conversation (Spivak, 1990). Spivak (1990) commented that the only way you can deconstruct something was by "making the structure of that which you critique the structure of your own criticism, then you become conscious of the limitations of total escape" (p.45). In presenting my argument in this study, I cannot appeal to an "authority" to prove to the reader that my argument is the right one. Discursive presence is all I have. I define discursive here as that which originates within discourse. This leaves me as Spivak suggested, constrained by those discourses that have positioned me in presenting the argument in the way I have. This is limited essentialism in action.

Discourse

The definition of discourse that I have used in this study relates to Fairclough's (1992) discussion of discourses as a mode of action in which people may act upon the world and each other as well as discourse being a mode of representation. Fairclough described discourses as shaped and constrained by the wider social structure on the one hand and having a socially constitutive function which shapes this same social structure on the other. Discourses are often used to describe more than one set of structured statements and ideas. Discourse, as an umbrella term, is inclusive of the term discourses which are multiple and varied. Most commentators would accept that the term discourse generally refers to a cluster of meanings, recurrent assertions, and understandings or interrelated set of statements that gather together (Codd, 1993; Drewery & Monk, 1994; Fairclough, 1995; Flax, 1992; Foucault, 1972; Gavey, 1992; Davies & Harré, 1990; Leahy, 1994; Luke, 1995).

Fairclough (1992) talked about three constructive effects of discourse (a) its contribution to the construction of different social identities or types of self, (b) its role in constructing the social relationships between people, (c) its contribution to the construction of systems of knowledge and belief. These interrelated sets of meanings both shape and are shaped by us. Discourses often suggest whole explanatory frameworks, including prior learnings, namings and understandings, and explanations which constrain our ability to see and create alternative possibilities (Drewery & Monk, 1994). They place limits on what we can say, think, and do in any particular time and context. They also arise within a complex discursive field causing them to compete with each other or create distinct and incompatible versions of reality. All texts are multidiscursive and draw from a range of discourses, fields of knowledge, and voices (Luke, 1995).

Once people are positioned in a given discourse - a religious discourse or discourses around gender and ethnicity, for example - these persons express certain definitions about what is important or legitimate. Hoffman (1992) suggested that people are seldom aware of how these embedded definitions are developed.

Position taking within discourse

Within any discourse, persons occupy "positions." Discourses describe a particular set of relationships which have the effect of locating or positioning the person in relation to the other phenomena inscribed by the discourse (Davies & Harré, 1990). Larner (1995) suggested that positionality does not merely refer to theoretical and ideological positioning but is also due to particular contexts which will have real effects on how people present themselves. For example, the ways in which the terms "Maori" and "Pakeha" in New Zealand are used typically embody ways in which we

are expected to live our lives according to ethnicity. The dominating discourses associated with being a man or woman outline positions based on particular gender expectations. Different discourses offer people a variety of divergent subject positions to speak from. When they are operating together in the same social situations, discourses may produce contradictory positionings or make some positionings impossible to assume. A detailed exploration of positioning in discourse requires discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis as a research method

Potter and Wetherell (1987) described discourses as interpretive repertoire drawn upon to characterise and evaluate actions and events. Recent reviews of discourse analysis research offer a wide variety of debates on discourse research and provide evidence of many different approaches to discourse analysis and its multiple origins (Burman & Parker, 1993; Fairclough, 1992). For example, Parker (1992) has focused on the relationship between the individual subject and discourse. Parker was interested in how a discourse opens up space for the expression of particular types of self. Many forms of discourse analysis involve different levels and styles of analysis.

Wetherell and Potter (1992) stated that one of the difficulties in talking about discourse analysis as a method is that it comes from a discourse developed for quantitative positivistic methodology. It is sometimes tempting to think that in discourse work there is an elaborate set of procedures and techniques that could be implemented and once applied would produce a measurable set of entities known as "the results." Yet to see things in this way would be misleading. The way analysis is conducted in positivistic studies concerns the procedures through which claims about the data and the research conclusions are justified. In much orthodox work, to carry out the procedure of analysis correctly and comprehensively justifies the truth of outcomes. In quantitative studies, the strength of a finding is reinforced through the operationalisation of the variables. As Wetherell and Potter (1992) stated, " In discourse analysis in contrast to analytical procedures, how you arrive at some view about what social practices are taking place in the domain of discourse may be quite different from how you justify that conclusion" (p. 101). They suggested that discourse analysis is not easy to codify and implied that it is largely dependent upon what the analyst brings to the task which will determine how discourse analysis will be applied. As Fairclough (1992) admits, "people approach it in different ways according to the specific nature of the project, as well as their own views on discourse" (p.225).

When I conducted a discourse analysis of my interactions with the counsellor educators, I became aware of my own multiple positionings in a variety of discourses and how this impacted on what I "saw" or did not "see" in the data. This series of fieldwork interactions was central to capturing a more theoretically complex account of

a social justice agenda in counsellor education. This move toward a more complex analysis is chronicled in considerable detail in the next chapter. Wetherell and Potter (1992) suggested that patterns of variation and consistency in the form and content of accounts help the analyst to map out the pattern of interpretive repertoires of the participants. In following chapters, I am cognisant of this guideline in the analysis of the interview material. The analytic goal of discourse analysis is not to classify people but to reveal the discursive practices through which various categories and practices are constructed (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Like Potter and Wetherell (1987), I have not featured individuals at the centre of my analysis. Instead I have made discourse the primary focus. At the same time, discourses are shaped by and shape the visibility or invisibility of the physical characteristics of persons. I will develop this point further in remaining chapters.

The crucial point here is that discursive positions do influence the ways in which people experience themselves as perceivers and knowers and their perspectives vary according to the positions taken in any one discourse cluster. By focusing on discourses, one is interrogating the social fabric from which persons construct their experience.

Different approaches to discourse analysis

Not surprisingly, there is not one way to "do" discourse analysis. Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggested that the primacy of language and text as a site for investigating social psychological issues is about the only thing that discourse analysts have in common. According to these authors, discourse analysis is a term to cover any approach which analyses text from cognitive linguistics to deconstruction.

There have been three major theoretical schools associated with discourse based studies in the social sciences and education. Psycholinguistics in education was the first field of inquiry utilising discourse analysis specifically related to focusing on an individual's competency in relation to complexity and range of language use. This model explained language production by reference to speakers' internal syntactic and semantic capacities (Fairclough, 1992).

Second, discourse analysis emerging from the fields of sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication stressed the social character of language use. That research agenda systematically connected language development with socialisation. It emphasised rule-governed, learned social interaction, and performance. Luke (1995) suggested that each of these approaches stressed the " constructed nature of written and spoken texts" (p. 8).

The third model refers to the discourse based studies associated with Foucault (1972, 1977, 1979, 1980) which emphasised a postmodern analysis of social history and contemporary culture. Foucault (1972) suggested that discourses "systematically

form the objects about which they speak" (p. 49). Foucault's views differed from some neo-Marxist and critical theory viewpoints and he was sceptical of their reductionist and deterministic qualities. Luke (1995) suggested that Foucault's postmodern stance has reinforced scepticism of the notion that interview data or other text is transparent and unproblematic. Foucault's postmodernism has inspired a number of studies using discourse analysis. Certainly the position I have taken in this study has emerged from a Foucauldian orientation. My approach to the study of discourse analysis occurs at the macro-level. I use what Gee (1990) termed discourses that "consider the large scale formulations of life".

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis departs from other methodologies in that it emphasises how power and identity are legitimated, negotiated, and contested (Van Dijk, 1993). Discourse analysis is a political act itself, an intervention in the apparently natural flow of talk and text in institutional life that attempts to interrupt common sense. Luke (1995) suggested that to privilege any particular reading or interpretation could be potentially authoritarian since, from a postmodern perspective, text has multiple meanings. There is no definitive analysis where the textual meaning can be proved. This implies that all meanings can assume equal plausibility and value. From this perspective, any analysis is relativistic. Often alternative readings of text are silenced by dominant discourses which privilege some readings and deny others. Critical discourse analysis focuses on the hegemonic function of discourse and how discourse establishes itself as a form of common sense to naturalise its own functions.

Deconstructive analysis exposes readers and listeners to the ways in which texts position and manipulate them. Thus, discourse analysis can show how texts attempt to position, locate, define, enable and regulate people. Some of these positions may be detrimental to people's preferred positioning and a deconstruction of text may well offer considerably more agency to people who begin with a very limited range of subjectivities. This form of analysis deconstructs relational functions which can be explored to show how text constitutes intersubjective relations of power, setting out a social relationship between text reader, speaker, and listener (Luke, 1995). I propose that critical discourse analysis is a useful conceptual tool to engage with the complexity of advancing social justice. This form of discourse analysis explores the way discourses can constrain and shape particular life trajectories and the ways that they construct and produce particular institutional relations of power and social formations.

Wetherell and Potter (1992), addressing the positioning of the researcher doing discourse analysis, suggested that the process of analysis is just as likely to involve interrogating one's own taken-for-granted assumptions and expectations in the analysis as it is to interrogate the text. Certainly this has become one of the central themes in

assisting me to build a more vibrant argument in proposing a social constructionist account of socially just practice in counsellor education.

Intertextuality in the research interviews

Our speech is filled with statements, ideas, and words taken from others. On occasions we transport our own speech acts that have featured in another setting and belong to another circumstance yet include this content in a present speech act. I wanted to analyse this process in the interview text and consider the different discursive contexts from which particular speech acts emerge. Fairclough (1992) described this interactional process as intertextuality, when the text under analysis is imbued with content gained from some other sources. Because texts are constructed from social and discursive relations between people, the writer's, reader's, speaker's and listener's intentions are neither self-evident nor recoverable without recourse to another text (Luke, 1995). As Fairclough (1992) stated, "Intertextuality is basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in" (p. 84). For example, reading and writing, listening and speaking depend upon intertextuality which is repeated and reiterated wording - similar statements and themes that appear in different texts (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).

Use of Fairclough's macro-analysis

I instigated a macro-level analysis of discourse rather than the micro-analysis favoured by linguistic and conversational analysts. Linguistic analysts attempt to pin down meaning beyond words by incorporating conventions for transcribing microscopic extra-linguistic features such as for example, length of pauses. I focused instead on the dominant discourses that had contributed to the participants' understandings of particular areas of enquiry, namely, their views on issues related to ethnicity and gender in counsellor education and the construction of subjectivity. My primary area of enquiry related to the wider social practices which informed discourses and discursive practices.

Fairclough (1992) suggested that it is best to start with the analysis of social practices in which the discourse is embedded. Just as discourses develop to articulate particular fields of knowledge and belief, texts develop to serve particular projects. During the exploration of the discourse practices, two main types of discursive formation need to be defined - genres and discourse.

<u>Genre</u>

A genre is the use of language associated with a particular social practice such as interviewing. Luke (1995) suggested that genre is a particular text type. He suggested that every text is a "kind of institutional speech act, a social action with language with a particular shape and features, force, audience and consequences" (Luke, 1995, p. 15). Freedman and Medway (1995) suggested that a genre has a regular pattern which is somewhat predictable. Genres generally operate within particular disciplinary fields and have identifiable lexical and syntactic characteristics.

The research interview could be classified as a genre which was a particular kind of institutional speech act. However, there is debate over the characteristics and value of genres as there has been a tendency to reify dynamic social processes (Freedman & Medway, 1995; Lemke, 1995).

<u>Discourse</u>

The other feature of the analysis of social practice is the exploration of discourse itself. The specific discourse is the language used in representing a given social practice from a specific point of view. Fairclough (1992) proposed that discourses need to be identified by type such as, in this study, discourses associated with professional counselling knowledge. Fairclough stated that it was important to know whether intertextual chains feature at this point and to identify the audiences associated with the text. For example, the generation of text was based in part on the principle of intertextuality resulting from the ideas formulated by one participant generating new and recovered ideas from other participants. I will elaborate on the significance of an intertextual analysis in the next chapter. Fairclough suggested that the researcher identify the conditions under which the text was produced.

The continuing challenge in using discourse analysis relates to how the analyst justifies the scrutiny they propose. As Fairclough (1992) suggested, there are no straight forward answers to this. He declared that all one can do is compare alternative analyses and to interpret what stands as a preferable reading given the balance of evidence. This I found to be a surprisingly weak conclusion. What is missing from this account is an understanding of temporary essentialism. Again temporary essentialism describes the need for the researcher to give an account of his or her personal positioning and the theory of knowledge espoused when carrying out a discourse analysis. As I described in the beginning of this chapter, the researcher sees through a lens constructed from one's social, political, and historical investment. I would have expected Fairclough to reiterate the significance of the dominant discourses influencing and shaping the analyst's interpretation. For example, in this chapter I have referred the significance of the discourses of critical theory and radical feminism

on my engagement with study participants. In chapter three, the importance of these dominant discourses in shaping my analysis of the research text is discussed.

<u>Overview of chapter</u>

In this chapter, I outlined my own interests in wanting to pursue this research study with my colleagues. To prepare for this, I have presented a discursive genealogy from which this study was conceived and present an account of how my original doctoral dissertation was developed. I disclosed my own presumptions of what I might expect from the participants while expressing a willingness to be changed by this research encounter. The centrality of reflexivity and the relationship with temporary essentialism is described in this chapter. I described my predisposition toward radical feminist and critical theory discourse as a superior perspective on social justice advancement. In so doing I exposed my underlying assumptions carried into the fieldwork phase of the study and consider how this might influence my responses to the research participants. The research methodology is introduced. I described the hermeneutic dialectic approach as a method for involving participants in data generation, interpretation as well as theory development. The methodological procedures are presented and explanation is given on the various stages of the hermeneutic rounds. A detailed discussion on discourse analysis is presented as a research method to interrogate the text generated in the hermeneutic rounds. This analysis proved necessary in maintaining my alignment with a reflexive process, an alignment which led to a profound transformation in my approach to social justice in counsellor education. This transformation is described in the next chapter.

Chapter 3
Discourse Analysis

Introduction

Given the history of colonisation across gender and ethnicity in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, social injustices are pervasive and ongoing. To provide appropriate services to all persons, the helping professions are faced with developing new modes of practice that advocate social justice. I looked to radical feminism and some forms of critical theory to address a social justice agenda in counselling and counsellor education, but I discovered that these frameworks provided only limited success. This chapter is a discourse analysis of the transcribed interviews with participants.

Reflexive changes

As I closely reviewed the data and reflected on the philosophical positionings offered by the participants in the study, I became more aware of the strength of my own theoretical position. This had produced some very strong responses in the participants that were either congruent with critical theory discourse and feminist critique, or clearly opposed to both of these frameworks. As I have already suggested some participants were guarded in their responses.

The interactions I had with the research participants were the turning point in the direction and development of this study. The problems with what I subsequently identified as a rigid and fundamentalist position on my part on issues pertaining to gender and ethnicity clearly constrained the space needed to explore patriarchal issues and Eurocentric imposition. In the earlier stages of the study, my approach was not illustrative of what Lather (1991) referred to as the need for the researcher to demonstrate ambivalence, ambiguity, and multiplicity when engaging with research participants. On reflection, the necessary tentativeness and open ended enquiry required for sound qualitative research during the fieldwork phase was somewhat lacking. During that phase, I neither seriously questioned my textual staging of knowledge nor did I focus on the limits of my own constructions. This was not illustrative of a reflexive position or one which reflected a temporary essentialism. These observations are not meant to be disparaging about myself as a researcher but rather to demonstrate how the influence of a radical social agenda impacted upon the research process, closed down communication, and limited the exploration of ideas. There was little evidence to suggest that participants moved during the hermeneutic dialectic towards a more sophisticated level of responding. I believe my own fundamentalist viewpoint limited participants' disclosure and exploration of new and creative approaches to addressing social justice issues. However, their contributions

during the entire process were pivotal in transforming my own conceptualisations about socially just practice. This transformation was completely unexpected. I had chosen the hermeneutic dialectical process as a means by which the participants in the study could be moved along in their ideas about the problems with Eurocentrism and androcentrism. Yet, the efficacious value of the hermeneutic dialectic was proved by its contribution to the shift in my own perspective and led to my developing a more open ended approach to addressing the problems with Eurocentric and patriarchal dominance. I have described this process as a reflexive shift in my own theoretical positioning, a development which I have identified as fundamental to qualitative research.

As I described in chapter two, reflexivity occurs when the researcher is transformed by the research process (Gouldner, 1970). I describe this reflexive transformation in this chapter. It is significant because it moved me toward another theoretical underpinning - social constructionist theory, a theory which I regard as a more sophisticated, complex, and meaningful analysis of a social justice project. I elaborate on this social constructionist account of social justice in chapter four.

By 1995, I had put on a new face on to this study. I could no longer follow through with my original plan to promote a further level of sophistication in the research participants' processing of the issues raised by androcentrism and Eurocentrism in counsellor education. Yet it was only in the latter stages of this study, as I deconstructed the participants' transcripted comments, that fundamental changes occurred in my approach to a social justice agenda.

Discourse analysis of fieldwork text

Social Practice

Initially, this study involved looking at the contextual arrangements in which the interview material was generated. Most of the interviews were conducted in a university environment within the office of each research participant. There were three occasions, however, where interviews were completed in a counsellor educator's private home.

As interviewer, I established a protocol with the participants where I audiotaped our two to three hour interactions. My role was as a counsellor educator and researcher engaging with the respondents about matters related to our professional work.

Several issues warranted consideration about the research setting. Some people were very circumspect about the responses they would allow to be circulated. Discussions held in the interviews that appeared to be "asides" to the main focus of the interview were sometimes erased at the request of the respondent. The erased material

may have been related to persons or students associated with particular incidents that had arisen in their programme. On occasions where personal anecdotal information was presented to illustrate a particular point, these particular episodes were deleted despite the fact that the points made may have related directly to the purpose of the interview. In these cases, confidentiality was primary to the participants, as it was relatively easy for most counsellor educators to pinpoint whose views were being represented. The formal research setting I have described here was disrupted by other competing agendas related to the participants' personal and professional relationships with one another. For example, in one or two incidents during the interview sessions, participants responded in a way that later left them feeling exposed by the strength or extremity of their comments. In these instances, they requested that sections of their verbatim be removed from circulation given their concerns about professional commentary. In other incidents, two participants stated that they were not prepared to comment on their colleagues' views on gender in counsellor education as they considered doing so would be inappropriate. One person stated, "I ...do not care to comment on the beliefs of others." This comment was made by a male participant. Considering that the study was partly concerned about exploring the beliefs of others as a way of understanding how counsellor educators conceptualised gender and ethnicity issues, this comment was initially surprising to me. To some extent, this response challenged the data gathering techniques employed which depended upon the reactions of the participants in the study to the material offered by other participants. I believe the prevalence of a "politically correct" climate and the lack of safety which some of the participants may have experienced in the discussion on gender contributed to this stance. There was a competing account of this process in that some participants felt it was only appropriate to comment upon properly researched professional knowledge rather than merely discuss people's beliefs. In their view, this was not a legitimate practice within the counselling profession at a university. Despite these misgivings, I would still describe the social practice as formal research.

Discourse Practice

The genres that feature in this study included both the "interview" genre and the genre of "professional commentator" when the participants responded to one another's original comments. While the interview genre dominated the interactions in the data gathering phase, there were other discourses which impinged on the interview interactions which changed the shape of this genre.

The nature of the interview was influenced by my previous relationship with the participants in the study. As I have suggested previously, the participants were a relatively close and intimate group where some of the members had known one another for a considerable period of time and in some instances over 20 years. My status in the

group was very much the "new chum". In addition, it was known among the UCEN group that the counsellor education programme at Waikato university had an association with a feminist agenda. For example, for a few years prior to conducting the fieldwork, I had been requested to act as an external examiner for the end of the year oral examinations in two other universities. I would frequently challenge students during their exam asking them to what extent they had addressed gender issues arising in their counselling work. In a small counsellor education network, it is relatively easy to gain a reputation for having particular agendas. I think it would be fair to say that the Waikato programme was known for its interest in critiquing the patriarchy and Eurocentrism in mainstream counselling paradigms. While nobody commented overtly on these issues during the fieldwork, some of the publications by members of the Waikato university counsellor education team (for example Drewery, 1986, 1990; Drewery & Monk, 1994) encouraged this description of the programme.

As an interviewer of the UCEN group, I was more than a research interviewer conducting a research project with a relatively anonymous group of participants. The counsellor educators made themselves available to participate in this project out of their desire to support my research and out of a sense of curiosity for possible outcomes of the study. Many of these counsellor educators developed a vested interest in both the process and the outcomes of this project. Others found the hermeneutic rounds becoming increasingly demanding on their time.

As the project unfolded, some of the participants developed an increasing vulnerability about where this project would lead and what conclusions would be drawn. For example, one counsellor educator expressed some nervousness about his participation of the project.

> ...I am still anxious about what you are going to say on our behalf when you are walking through a minefield with your basic areas of interest - so political, so easy to stereotype and distort, so complex at heart, so basic to counselling in this day and age, and so precious to us - your interviewees.

Some of the comments described in the latter part of this chapter illustrate the extent to which some counsellor educators became personally involved in the issues. The participants were all aware of my interest in exploring the socio-political context as it related to gender and ethnicity in addition to the other areas of counsellor education practice that were surveyed. I detected a growing degree of caution among some of the participants during the focus group round about expressing their views on gender issues in counsellor education in particular. This was confirmed when one or two of the women stated that they did not feel it appropriate to bring out the strength of their concerns regarding gender issues when it involved concerns to do with their own colleagues. This tentativeness surfaced during the second hermeneutic round. This was most notable when I attempted to explore the possibilities of gender issues

influencing their own practices. In part I believe these growing tensions contributed to comments like the one above. In the following example, the statement shows a move away from the participant role in an interview genre to a genre of professional research commentator. This shift had the potential to challenge my competency as a researcher and could have contributed to this participant withdrawing from the process.

> A quick look at the frequency with which people are quoted is uneven (sic). Since this was in part a function of your selection of material, this needs to be discussed. To what degree has this influenced your research to date?

Incidentally, the uneven frequency referred to here related to the fact that not everyone wanted to discuss issues of gender and ethnicity and had other issues they wanted to promote. Thus the unevenness occurred merely because only some participants included this content during the interviews. The above statement reads as a supervisory warning given by a senior academic colleague to a junior one. In the interview genre, the interviewee tends not to supervise the researcher. In this particular project, however, I was open to this form of commentary given the background of the participants and my relatively junior relationship with them. In this instance, there was a discourse associated with how research and interviews should be conducted which was in contrast to the more traditional interview genre. The latter leaves the interviewer primarily in charge of the interactions. In this study the interviewees were explicitly invited to help shape the discussions and conclusions that were to be made in the study.

I now turn to this study's central field of enquiry: an analysis of the interview data I generated.

Analysis of text

Discourse analysis, ethnicity and gender

Discourses which cluster for example around gender, race, class, and sexual orientation all contribute to the way selves are constructed and presented in the world. Within any given interaction, a variety of discourses are active and are expressed. To select out a cluster of discourses associated only with gender or ethnicity is an arbitrary procedure which does not consider the interactive nature of discourses occurring within a counsellor training conversation. However, it was clear that participants had much to say about these subject areas during the research interviews. Discussions on gender and ethnicity provided a rich source of text that enabled me to engage in three major activities.

(a) To articulate in a systematic way how fundamentalist approaches to justice inadvertently create new forms of oppression in their efforts to undermine oppressive social practices.

(b) To chronicle the transformative shifts that led to my abandonment of a radical social justice agenda and a move toward a social constructionist approach to social justice.

(c) To demonstrate the value of upholding a temporary essentialism which provided a foundation to articulate my own views while being open to change by others' views.

Discursive themes

As I have suggested in chapter two, I have used discourse analysis to illustrate how a fundamentalist approach to social justice has the potential to produce unanticipated oppressive interactions. I have analysed both my own comments as well as the participants' responses to highlight the discursive content featuring in the research interactions. A total of ten discourses have been identified. While five of these discourses reflect essentialising notions and five discourses are more characteristic of social constructionist perspectives, some participants were positioned within both sets of discourses. Such intrapersonal diversity speaks to the myriad of discourses which people are positioned by in their lives.

Five discourses describe a fundamentalist account of social justice.

1. *People can be divided into homogenous groups*
2. *Males oppress and females are oppressed*
3. *Pakeha as colonisers oppress and Maori as colonised are oppressed*
4. *Best counselling practice requires segregation by ethnicity*
5. *Hegemony is the cause of injustice*

In the section that follows the above discourse cluster, I show how the discursive context was significant in producing transformative changes in my understanding of social justice which ultimately led to a social constructionist analysis.

Five discourses describe a social constructionist account of social justice.

1. *Colonising discourses are problematic , not the people*
2. *Social justice is not achieved by forcing one's political agenda onto clients*
3. *Ethnic identities can be complex and dynamic*
4. *Gender identities can be complex and dynamic*
5. *Human beings are characterised by a multiplicity of selves*

People can be divided into homogenous groups

I begin by reviewing my own positioning during the interview rounds. I was strongly positioned by the discourse that people have a unified and homogenous identity. I saw the ethnic categories Maori and Pakeha as separate entities with no shared perspectives. I viewed Pakeha and Maori as individuals with distinct identities who share numerous within group experiences (as Maori or Pakeha) while having few between group similarities. When examining the interviewer transcripts, many of the key words I introduced and continued to use were presented stereotypically. I would often refer to a group of people as though they existed as some unified stereotypical whole.

The following interview question and subsequent response from the participant was an example of my use of simplistic binary descriptions.

> ...I don't know whether we can really accommodate Maori in our programme at all, and I'm not sure... whether [we] have got much to offer the [Maori] people that train in our programme who come from a very traditional perspective. How do you think about these issues?

In this text I am strongly defining myself as Pakeha and implicitly equating ethnic description with fixed identities that do not have common or overlapping lived experience. My statement had a powerful regulatory function which constrains my ability to engage purposefully with someone I have labelled as belonging to a different category. By recognising the intertextuality of the text, I could identify how much of my commentary was congruent with a radical social justice agenda. My fundamentalist stance about identity was so central to my way of interacting with people who identified Maori that I would actually caution them against enrolling in our counsellor education programme. I believed that the effects of Eurocentrism in the training would be detrimental to their professional development. Instead, I would recommend that Maori students seek training with an all Maori training provider. I now find this an inappropriate response to addressing harmful effects of Eurocentric discourse. Rather than cautioning prospective students against enrolment based upon their ethnic membership, I saw it preferable to change the curriculum and face the challenge of addressing the destructive effects of Eurocentric practices with students of all ethnic backgrounds. In hindsight, my previous position was inadvertently oppressive in that it denied opportunities for students based upon simplistic unitary notions of identity. Yet at this time, I saw myself as behaving in an ethically respectful manner that was congruent with parallel development for Maori and Pakeha - a position strongly advocated for by many Maori and some Pakeha during the early 1990s.

In reply to my question on providing separate services for Pakeha and Maori, one of the counsellor educators used the same non-problematised binary which characterised much of my interviewing in this study.

> In my view ... in counselling, ... white people shouldn't be trying to counsel ... people from different races about things that are racially embedded...If a Maori client fronts up I think it's the white person's prerogative to say "are you sure you want a white person to be your counsellor?

On reflection, some of my questions encouraged polarising descriptions. Services provided to persons that are based on shared phenotypical characteristics is indicated by this above response. Categorisation based upon a homogenous identity featured in discussions on gender as well. Positioned strongly by radical feminist writings, I made a clear delineation between the experiences of men and women. The content in my questions below totalises identity purely on a gender dimension. For example, in my summary statements from the hermeneutic rounds, I sometimes looked for common themes that were illustrative of some fundamentally different characteristics between the behaviours of men and women. My purpose here was to seek out the possible oppressive effects of patriarchal behaviour by men on women.

One of the immediate difficulties with using apparently self-evident categories is the implication that a group of men or a group of women exist as a homogenous group with the same needs and concerns. These polarising categories often ignore the numerous forms of oppression within the diversity of human experience. Such a stance contributes to highlighting only the differences between men and women while submerging the commonality and ignoring the intra-group differences. The discourses aligned with the self as homogenous and stable feature in a comment made during the focus group.

> And the way that some of the men answered in the interview, ... they demonstrated a linear... developmental process...Some of the women, ...featured a more rounded picture of their lives, and I wondered whether, in terms of gender ...there are quite a lot of aspects to ... how this reflects upon the way that we do our work as educators.

While these comments may have been congruent with my perceptions of radical feminist discourse at the time, the problem here is an oversimplification of relational processes associated with gender history. In another passage I make a similar point.

> There do appear to be some themes that are a little different between us as men and women,... the way we do things,...how might they be affecting us in what shapes our work as educators? If in fact this happens at all? [Focus group comment]

Underpinning my commentary are assumptions that men and women have inherently inferior and superior ways of functioning in the world. I believed women to be more psychologically complete and men to live more rigid compartmentalised

lives. The implication is that men are more narrow in their frame of reference while women are more holistic. I now regard this kind of analysis of men and women to inadvertently produce another form of oppression through categorising people based upon stereotypical features. Such a classification leads to a disrespectful and prejudiced engagement with people who have diverse qualities and relational patterns.

Males oppress and females are oppressed

Feminists have clearly shown, as stated in chapter one, how women have been persecuted and treated unjustly in a wide variety of locations over prolonged periods of history simply because they were women. They have demonstrated how the insidious and covert practices which accompany androcentrism have disadvantaged women and implicated them for being harmed by patriarchy.

In the interviews, I presented questions that were solidly located in a radical social justice agenda. The tone of this following statement is rather didactic and somewhat patronising.

> Some of the feminist theories I've read and some of the women who espouse those approaches, would say that one of the important jobs of a counsellor is to show clients how societal structure and social injustice is impacting on women, and that the problems that they are presented with, rather than being produced by themselves are often the same difficulties that other women are experiencing. Feminists talk about the isolating practices that go on which keep people thinking that they [sic] are the problem, whereas it is the structures that are continuing to produce these symptomatic problems that they are coming to counselling to solve. And it's the task of the counsellor to show the client how these structures are impacting on them, as persons, so that they can, in some way, not carry the burden of it being something that is to do with some inadequacy coming from themselves. So...this connection between social injustice and a problem is overt in the counselling practice. And I've been challenged by this, and the criticism is that if counsellors don't ... make those connections then counsellors are legitimising the unseen unequal practices. By being able to see them, people are then freer to be able to make decisions themselves...... What thoughts do you have about all of that in relation to being a counsellor educator in training people?

In this statement, I attempt to explain the nature of patriarchal hegemony and reveal the victimising effects it has when women are invited to consider their difficulties arising from some personal deficit, inadequacy, or failure. While a liberal humanist discourse would attribute women's shortcomings to a lack of effort or unwillingness to change, I am directly confronting such a discourse.

The appreciation of different positions outlined by feminism were reflected in some of the participants' comments. For example, one counsellor educator described the contributions of feminism during an audiotaped interview by stating

> Increasingly we've come to recognise that there is, in fact, a domain of experience which has been discounted, or not accommodated.. In the last few

> years we've aligned with the... emergence of feminist thinking and feminist challenges. We've ... begun to confront those in our programmes much more... It's being able to accept difference but in a way which values difference and to accept limitations, but also to work away at changing them ... that's the philosophy we'd be more inclined to pursue.

One of the female respondents spoke with strength about gender issues in relation to counsellor education in the focus groups, but stopped short of elaborating specifically on the issues that concerned her.

> I think, in terms of our practices and how we work in teams of counsellor educators, that there's a whole lot about gender arrangements and patriarchal arrangements that we can talk about and investigate, like this, as the conversation's gone on there have been times where I could have spoken, ... I think I'd be moved to tears, and like I think there's a lot that we could explore about our own experience and, for me, some of the responsibility of being a woman who is involved in educating counsellors.

These comments are congruent with feminist discourse in that there is a recognition that "being a woman" is to be a member of a group of persons who have suffered in some systematic way. Certainly this statement reaches beyond a liberal-humanist analysis by naming a process that has been clearly disturbing to women reflected in the phrase "our own experience" [meaning in this context women's suffering as a result of patriarchal and gender arrangements]. The fact that this female counsellor educator could not speak about the disturbances she experienced even while the focus group interview was being conducted perhaps illustrates the vulnerability and lack of safety this person experienced in this interview setting with male counsellor educators present. It is difficult to know whether it was the presence of male counsellor educators in the focus group that constrained this person's commentary or whether this participant felt that the group was unsafe for other reasons. First, the research context itself may have been constraining. Secondly, the limited time frame may have been problematic. Finally, the collegial nature of the group may have interrupted processing potentially controversial topics.

Another woman respondent was far less restrained

> I work in an environment where women's experience isn't valued, that interrupted career is I mean, there is no value attached to the "interruptions", that women by and large are less qualified, less heard, that when we protest we're told that we are being emotional, that we've gossiped. Now, this isn't anything to do with counsellor education, this is the context in which we have to work, that when I make really good points in meetings, some man will say, "now, we've heard the counselling stuff from [speaker]", and then return to what they perceive is the right agenda.

This statement exemplifies the widespread nature of oppression of women by men in a university setting. Again this comment would be congruent with feminist epistemology about gender relationships. The statement focuses directly on the nature

of sexed persons rather than on patriarchal or androcentric discourses. Clearly this comment validates mainstream feminism and the gendered nature of oppression. Implicit is the concern about the unequal distribution of power (when perceived as a property or commodity). The following statement has an underlying challenge regarding women as oppressed.

> On another level I see all the structural things in the university and I grieve for myself and other women in the difficulty that we have been in, in the temporary positions, the short-term contracts, without leave, very vulnerable. Women who give a huge amount to the department and yet can be displaced by somebody else who comes along with all the right publications. Women's prior experience isn't validated by the system. We're brought in to the programmes because we've got a practice background, which is what is valued and the students value, and that's not acknowledged in terms of our work conditions within the university.

At the time that I recorded these responses, I felt implicated in these oppressive practices by the fact that I was perhaps the "somebody else" given that I was a male academic with a small publication record. In addition, the intertextual content of my questions also demonstrate an investment in radical feminist discourse and its critique of men as oppressive and of women as oppressed. Take this following example

> ...in relation to patriarchal structures, and the histories of men and the histories of women, I think that it is quite an important role in the therapeutic context to educate clients about oppression and hegemony. What views do you have about this?

Reflecting back on the description of my reference to men's and women's histories, I found myself privileging one reading of issues while ignoring the complexity and diversity of human experience organised around numerous forms of oppression. An example of this is the complexity and diversity, for example, of men's histories. My reference to "traditional male behaviour" in the example below is a description of men who have been strongly positioned by patriarchal discourse who are in some way oppressive toward women.

> ...coming back to issues of feminist critique, of counselling relationships and the whole issue of patriarchy, traditional male behaviour, and those sorts of things. What's your understanding as you look at that whole field, the arguments that have been put against male counsellors being quite blind to the power differentials and different gender histories and that kind of thing?

Again I believe this is an example of discussion which leads to a stereotypical and prejudiced account of men. I am struggling here to give an account of the negative effects of patriarchal discourses on men and women. Instead I take a disapproving position on male counsellors.

Pakeha as colonisers oppress and Maori as colonised are oppressed

One of the major themes to emerge from the hermeneutic rounds focused on the history of colonisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Understanding colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand provides an important backdrop to the promotion of respectful and ethical practice when working with ethnic issues in counsellor education. There was recognition by most counsellor educators in this study that gaining respect, equity, empathy, and understanding between Maori and Pakeha must be attempted by the identification and refusal of colonising processes.

One participant identified the need to understand the processes of colonisation in New Zealand when examining ethnicity issues in counsellor education. In this comment the potency of the discourses of colonisation in limiting an indigenous person's choices is indicated. She stated

> ... some Maori choices of a Pakeha counsellor actually aren't good choices because they are a choice made within a colonising story.

The comment also demonstrates an understanding of the different effects of hegemony on Maori and Pakeha ethnic groups.

Virtually all of the underlying themes represented in the responses below have a strong affinity with critical theory discourse and the systematic nature of oppressive practices arising within colonising discourse. Some responses identify an oppressor-oppressed binary and target particular persons as oppressive or as oppressed due to their ethnic representation. Implicit in these accounts is the challenge to those representing an oppressor ethnic group, namely Pakeha, that they are accountable for the social injustices that have occurred due to colonising practices of the European and due to their ancestors' breach of the Treaty of Waitangi. This analysis of the mechanisms of injustice reflects my own account of how injustice occurred and how justice was to be restored when I began this study. The statement below also illustrates the perceived relationship between Maori as a colonised group and Pakeha as the colonising group.

> ...there's an intrinsic arrogance in me, which is the arrogance of a coloniser, and that's an aspect of the colonisation process, as is what has happened to Maori in terms of my predecessors convincing them most successfully, that also that I was the best, what I had to offer was the best thing available. So it's about not only enhancing our own cultural awareness and our perspective of the way in which we might be contributing to the colonising process, but also the way in which Maori have been colonised, and have been persuaded to think the way in which we, as colonisers, wanted them to think.

The dominating discourse in this above account reflects much of what I identify as critical theory discourse. This response captures the oppressor - oppressed dualism

and articulates the ethnic membership of an oppressor-oppressed binary. It does this implicitly by referring to Maori as a homogenous group who are colonised and the "we" who are members of a homogenous group of Pakeha. While the statement is illustrative of colonising discourse, I experience this as an invitation to consider Pakeha as a persecuting group due to their colonising history and Maori as victims due to their status as a colonised people. This commentary is a good example of intertextuality where the response is imbued with a neo-Marxist or critical theory perspective. The statement is a direct challenge to the liberal humanist agenda which does not invite an analysis of colonising practices. Just as the above statement is imbued with critical theory discourse, so is the following statement full of intertextual content from liberal-humanist discourse.

> Counsellors have a real responsibility to be responsible to the culture of counselling, rather than the culture of any ethnic or gender-based group, and that there is a political reality that has an agenda of its own which is different from the professional agenda of the counsellor. I look forward to the day when we celebrate our cultural diversity but recognise our common humanity, and our common nationhood.

Colonising discourses are very easily lost in the liberal-humanistic agenda which continue to privilege the doctrine of Enlightenment about equality, rationality, and individuality. This counsellor educator's comment echoes a liberal-humanist theme by highlighting the universal nature of human experience and emphasising the individual identity as the sovereign subject. What is missed here is any acknowledgment of the systematic effects of hegemonic discourse within a country's colonising history.

A response from a focus group participant suggested that the Treaty of Waitangi was an important symbol guiding our responsibilities today. This following statement again personalises oppressive behaviour as belonging to a Pakeha group.

> ..it has become the symbol of what our ancestors, whether we were directly related to them or not, did over a long period of time here, which was wrong, which I believe to be wrong now. I would have behaved like them back then because I would have had the same values systems, and I'm quite clear about that. But I believe that what we did was wrong to the people that we found living here. I believe that we should be putting that right, and the Treaty is just a moment in time, an important moment in time, and it symbolises what the original intentions were, what the misunderstandings were, and also sets a point in time from which we can perceive what went wrong afterwards.

The context is important in deconstructing this comment. The reference to "we" and "our" might relate to the fact that "we" are viewed as belonging to the same ethnic group. It might also reference a collective “we” which includes those persons involved during the time of colonising. Implicit in this position is the idea that power is a product owned by a particular group. The colonised group is victimised and lacks power and agency. The colonising group, which has the power, needs to share that

power and cease being oppressive. The problem with this perspective is that it views groups in a totalising sense, either with or without power. A coloniser - colonised binary, based upon ethnic categories, creates the illusion that a social justice agenda will be obtained.

During one discussion in the interview rounds on the relative merits of biculturalism and multiculturalism, one counsellor educator expressed strong concern that multicultural counselling had the potential to undermine *tino rangatiratanga* (right to self-determination) under the Treaty of Waitangi. The weighing up of the implications of introducing a bicultural and multicultural approach to counsellor education is developed further in the next chapter. However, it is useful to elaborate upon the liberatory agenda that can underpin the discursive theme, *Pakeha as colonisers oppress and Maori as colonised are oppressed.* Below there is a grand narrative implied that outlines how a liberatory process might be attained. This participant made this comment in a focus group meeting

> The only thing I would say about biculturalism and multiculturalism is that I've got a real problem with the word multiculturalism in terms of how it usually gets used, and that it's usually an apolitical word that's about other people's disadvantage and how important it is that we help them. Whereas, biculturalism tends to be used more politically and, I think, a lot more challenging for all of us, and I would be sorry to see that political focus, that recognition of power relations, and the history of colonisation, disappear. The emphasis on multiculturalism risks that. On the other hand, I also believe that most of the people who have ended up here [New Zealand] from other groups, besides Maori, and Northern European, have come because of oppression and colonisation in their own places as well. You know, the reason there are Indians, or Chinese and Pacific Islanders here is because the British did the same sorts of things in their places as well, and therefore we have a responsibility for that too. But I don't see it as the same as the responsibility that we have to Maori, because this is the only land that they had, there isn't anywhere else where the culture stays Maori.

This statement places biculturalism at the heart of the struggle for social justice for Maori. It is believed by some that emphasising biculturalism (for Maori and Pakeha only), as opposed to multiculturalism will ensure an ongoing focus on the Treaty of Waitangi.

A further response on the merits of biculturalism as a mechanism for building equity and social justice for Maori is presented by another participant.

> Biculturalism is with us as a kind of a political event or occasion. In some ways it's one of the most brilliant things that's occurred I believe, in that even after all these years this kind of recognition is being given to the rights of the Maori people to have some kind of standing, which goes back to the spirit of interpretation of that piece of paper [Treaty of Waitangi]. So, it's a political reality, .. as I said you're living in New Zealand in the 90s... then bicultural is a phenomenon, .. a kind of legal event..

Implicit in this statement is the notion that Pakeha will be doing the recognising if held to account for their part in the Treaty. In this instance the colonising group is viewed as relatively passive but obliged to respond to the "political reality". There is no indication as to whether this is a desirable action for the group that is "doing the recognising". This comment also fits with the discursive theme of Pakeha as colonisers who, when honouring the Treaty of Waitangi, will give the power, or in the above case "rights," back to the colonised group. Again, this characterises a radical social justice position which can inadvertently create other oppressive forms of engagement. I return to this theme in the latter part of this chapter.

Best counselling practice requires segregation by ethnicity

In chapter one I described the call for ethnic and gender matching by some researchers and practitioners as a way of reducing prejudicial cross cultural encounters. In the early 1990s, I was an active supporter of parallel development of services for Maori and Pakeha and ethnic and gender matching in counselling. However, through deconstructing the interactions with a counsellor educator who gently critiqued parallel development (featured below), I could see how educators and practitioners could erect impermeable borders between the self and others who were perceived as having essentialised differences. By looking only at differences, mental heath professionals could have an excuse for avoiding cross-cultural engagement. For example, a person identifying Pakeha can discount the prospect of working with a person identifying Maori because they may tell themselves that their natures are different. Of course this can occur in the opposite order. Individuals might then claim that the only solution is to find people who are of the same kind who will provide the best counselling service (eg., those who have the same phenotypical characteristics, gender, disability or sexual orientation).

One counsellor educator identified a series of complications in developing culturally specific parallel streams. This respondent is very concerned about the professional organisational problems that might arise with separate counselling systems based on culturally specific knowledge.

> ...An interesting thing happened at the NZAC AGM [the main professional counselling body in New Zealand] this year [This statement was expressed in 1993. Meetings on the development of a parallel service continue today]. Maori counsellors are having a meeting to come up with a parallel system of training and accreditation. So eventually we'll end up having a parallel system. Maori/Pacific Island counsellors will qualify this way, and Pakeha qualify that way, and no one will ever want to talk about the differences. NZAC says education and qualifications are so important, but they'll probably not want to talk about the differences in education and qualifications here, because it's politically too difficult. An interesting little contradiction.... I think that what might happen is a two-tier system within an organisation, say, the NZAC, where, if you're Maori or Pacific Island you qualify in one way, if Pakeha you

> qualify in another way. But what will happen, I think, is that there will always be a suspicion about the other way. That is their way isn't quite like ours, or it doesn't quite measure up. And the other thing that will happen is, outside funding bodies, as is already happening now, [Accident Compensation Corporation, and insurance companies] as they start paying out more for counselling, will favour traditional, mainstream types of training and they will begin to dictate who gets accredited and who doesn't. No professional bodies are naturally going to say, "take our whole membership, we guarantee them." I just think there'll be some stresses and strains come about as the result of that.

The same person identified other potential difficulties.

> .. if the procedures can be modified to accommodate one group, why can't it be done for other groups? It's not just a matter of racial grouping, it's a matter of alternative views of the world. For example, the Chinese counsellors could say "here's our way of accrediting our own people. You took theirs, take ours." There will be some real strains and tensions in all of that. And if NZAC can cope with that, well, all very well.

Such a form of cultural determinism in counselling and counsellor education is constructed on the assumption that if culture determines behaviour, and if members of a group share the same culture, then the approach to counselling them should be based on principles and techniques appropriate to their specific culture. Ho (1995) objected to cultural determinism on the grounds that intra-cultural variations and individual differences with respect to virtually every cognitive behavioural and motivational domain cannot be accounted for from this orientation. Participants' statements like the one above brought to my attention the cultural determinism of my theoretical position in a way I could not ignore.

Hegemony and the accompanying loss of power is the cause of injustice

During the late 1970s and into the 1990s in Aotearoa/New Zealand, promoters of a radical social justice programme produced sufficient disturbance in the helping community to expose the domination of Eurocentric values and androcentrism. These researchers, activists, and practitioners showed how systematic the processes of marginalisation, alienation, and colonisation were in isolating people from available resources in comparison to more privileged members of the community. They also exposed the systematic processes of oppression that silenced representatives from a range of minority groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand over the last two decades. These advocates of a social justice agenda showed how the assimilationist policies of the New Zealand Governments up until recent years contributed to this silencing. They argued that it was now time to hear those voices who represent a rich body of divergent experiences and viewpoints. It was argued that the counselling profession contributed to a privileging status for the beneficiaries of social injustice.

One educator picked up upon this theme and referred to the hegemonic potential of counselling by stating

> We might think that we're actually doing things to help people to change the world, but we may not be doing that at all. We may merely be calming them down and cooling them out...

Bernard's (1969) "Calming them down and cooling them out," which is described in the previous chapter, illustrated how counselling practice served as a reconciling and adjusting function for disadvantaged peoples by diminishing their sense of entitlement to express a genuine grievance. This is illustrative of the theory of hegemony, congruent with both radical feminist and critical theory discourse, which names how practices of colonisation and oppression are carried out. Another counsellor educator demonstrated the importance of being sensitised to a hegemonic process in counselling by describing the responsibilities a White counsellor has when working with a person representing a minority ethnic group. I chose part of an earlier quote plus additional verbatim to illustrate this point.

> I think it's the White person's prerogative to say "are you sure you want a White person to be your counsellor?" [addressing a Maori person] and to recognise that even when they say no, that might not be what they mean...

Reading this statement within a critical theory discourse points to a tendency of elite groups to impose their meanings and agendas on subordinate groups. This statement is congruent with the critical theory notion of hegemony and how it works. Hegemony is the process whereby the consciousness of the powerless is locked into an interpretation of experiences within the fixed categories and perspectives of the dominant (Lears & Jackson, 1985). Such practices are evident in the phrase, "even when they say no, that might not be what they mean..." Within this framework, then, there is a tendency of unsuspecting oppressed groups to consent to the elite's definitions, despite the adverse effects that such definitions have on their lives. Following this line of argument, a marginalised person who has not been enlightened about hegemonic processes may not be in a position to identify the source of their oppression and thus take any action. Thus, within critical theory discourse, when an 'oppressed person' gives an answer to a question, the counsellor recognises that this opinion most likely reflects a colonised mindset that is indeed suboptimal. This has the effect of suggesting that colonised people cannot "know their own minds." A further analysis of the hegemonic discourse is best explained by a discussion on commodity power.

Understanding the nature and workings of power has been a primary focus of many critical theorists and their concern for social justice. Advocates of critical theory have been keenly interested in ownership of power as the territory that needs to be surveyed in naming and responding to socially unjust acts.

From the perspectives of most critical theorists, power has been frequently taken as a commodity or property that is possessed by those at the top of the social hierarchy. Power is viewed as a finite quantity, distributed unevenly between groups, particularly on the basis of gender, ethnicity, class and sexuality (Jones & Guy, 1992). This analysis of power views oppression as constructed in a hierarchy with those experiencing the worst oppression on the bottom and those experiencing the least oppression on the top. The few at the top of the hierarchy have been typically identified as White middle and upper class men who have ownership over what has been seen as a finite source. Discussions in the literature about empowerment tend to view power as a property (Gore, 1992). Henriques et al (1984) argued that the orthodox Marxist's position in relation to the theory of patriarchal power is that power is the property of men as the dominant sex-class while women are described as victims, the objects of power. Within this analysis, the group with the power is oppressive and the group without the power is oppressed. Since they don't have any power, it appears that there is very little that the oppressed can do to change things. Yet the concept of commodity power as being given, held, and conferred could allow for the hegemonic techniques of the oppressor group to be exposed and for their power to be lost or taken away. Radical pedagogy has seen power in this way also. The implication here is that the most oppressed group deserves to be listened to and has a superior moral vantage point. In some family therapy conferences I have attended in the past few years it has been argued, for example, that men, Pakeha, and heterosexuals belonged to the oppressor group and women, Maori, gay men and lesbians belonged to the oppressed group. The oppressor group are all seen to benefit from the status quo and the oppressed group to pay the price.

It makes sense that the commodity metaphor of power would make it impossible to attain equity, understanding, respect, or indeed justice between counsellor and client when a client may be positioned in an oppressed group and the counsellor in an oppressor group. Not only is it unlikely that a counsellor placed in an oppressor group would empathise with a client who may be a member of an oppressed group except on the basis of an unequal relationship, they may also have some unconscious investment in maintaining the status quo given that to do anything else may turnover their privileged position. From this standpoint, it would be congruent to match counsellor and client on the basis of a shared experience of oppression. Separatist developments in counselling promoted by some Maori and some feminists use this form of commodity analysis of power in relation to understanding oppression and achieving their goal of equalising power relations. However, I believe there are considerable problems with this view. For example, this form of analysis views groups as static and homogenous, based on immutable characteristics. It sets up a system where one group becomes passive victims while the oppressor group is morally corrupt, intent upon keeping the power for themselves while benefiting from the labours of sub-

dominants. Unfortunately, this polarised analysis of power may lead to unnecessary hostility and confrontation between groups as they vie with one another for most oppressed status.

The concept of commodity power has been harshly critiqued from a postmodern perspective. Henriques et al (1984) suggested that power is not a one-sided monolith, even when we do speak of dominance, subjugation, and oppression. In a postmodern analysis, power is not seen as the property of one group or another, inherent in the apparatus of the state. Nor is it sufficient to consider a class or group of people as occupying the seats of power in order to exercise their dominance. Any system is seen as riddled with sites of resistance and conflict. These themes will be developed further in the next chapter. In this study, the complex nature of power relations was lost in discussions on biculturalism and colonisation. Some of the responses matched the perspectives on the commodity view of power as being owned by Whites and taken from Maori or held by men and kept from women.

In this next section, I introduce discursive content that was critical in assisting me to reconceptualise my orientation.

Colonising discourses are problematic, not the people

A significant theme was how some participants emphasised the discourses of colonisation and hegemony rather than classing people into an oppressor-oppressed binary. Some of the participants made links between hegemony and the systematic effects of colonisation. Identifying the subtlety between targeting discourses instead of persons was enormously influential in transforming my own theorising around oppression and social injustice. Through a deconstructive reading of my own text and the texts of the participants, I began to see more and more clearly the problems associated with the view of people as having a colonising or colonised identity. As a result of these insights, I was drawn toward theoretical ideas which promoted human complexity; theories that disrupted the idea of the existence of discrete homogenous groups that share a complete, unified concern. This transformative shift also raised issues for me about how understanding and respect could be developed in a context where one cannot rely on sameness as a basis for establishing understanding.

Over half of the counsellor educators in this study recognised the colonising processes as they relate to counsellor training. Here is another example.

> ...an understanding of the effect of colonisation, of Maori development, and the Maori-Pakeha partnership, is a foundation stone for the development of, and analysis of practice and thinking the way we think about practice, and the way we analyse our own role.

This comment focuses on the primacy of colonisation processes to understand the effects on culturally respectful pedagogical practice. This participant has documented

the significance of attending to the effects of colonisation to promote a social justice agenda. Again, this statement confronts liberal-humanist discourse and invites us to attend to systematic processes that impinge upon a social justice project. This response does not invoke a relationship of persecutor and victim in contrast to the comment about the "intrinsic arrogance in me" and "we, as colonisers." The tone of the above response is less accusatory in that it does not target individuals directly as implicated in colonising behaviour because of their ethnic membership.

A number of counsellor educators in this study commented on the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi and biculturalism in counsellor education. The first comment links the understanding of biculturalism with colonisation.

> I think the advantage of the biculturalism is that it actually focuses us on colonisation and on the historical facts... [it] focuses on power relations, and it focuses on the particular country that we live in...

This response demonstrates an awareness of the colonising issues that counsellor educators must contend with while emphasising the power relations that inevitably emerge through the effects of colonising discourse. More closely tied to a critical theory discourse than a liberal-humanist one, this statement does not illustrate the narrow oppressor-oppressed binary so characteristic of critical theory discourse. This comment also invited me to consider the value of biculturalism as focusing on "power relations" but went on to identify some of the problems with biculturalism.

> ...biculturalism [is] in the end a very binary distinction that divides people into two places. And often people are not able to be divided into two places, or it simplifies complexity, reduces complexity out of people's lives, ... So, I mean, I find it hard to commit myself to either of those words [biculturalism and multiculturalism] as anything other than a useful metaphor on certain occasions...

This kind of response made me question a rigid adherence to a radical social justice agenda that divided people based on ethnicity into a simple and non-problematic binary of the coloniser and colonised. I suggest that while this analysis may have value in a static and simple society, it is problematic in accommodating to the subtleties, incongruities, complexities, and paradoxes of human oppression in these last few decades in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Another viewpoint illustrates the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi without targeting individual persons as belonging to a narrow binary.

> ... it locates sort of cultural, race, ethnic issues in a historical context when we think about it as a treaty as something that took place. And I think that's really useful, because it's been, it's enabled us as a country to try and address some of the issues, some of the outstanding issues, some of the unfinished issues, from a century or so ago politically.

Other viewpoints expressed a relationship between Treaty of Waitangi, processes of colonisation, and biculturalism in counsellor education.

> I believe in being in partnership, and I believe in addressing the wrongs.. or the problems that have occurred through the Treaty signing,...I do think that I have a duty to make sure that people who go through this counselling programme have, at least, considered what's going on in New Zealand at the moment, and what effect that might have on clients or people in general.

> ..But I want to bring in elements of bi-cultural knowledge in perspectives, [into the counselling programme] right from the word `go' no matter who's in the group.

The distinction between focusing on discourses rather than persons became progressively more central to my own understanding of advancing social justice. One other counsellor educator recognised the need to identify the discourses that feature in Western frames of thinking and show how the discourses themselves rather than persons per se have the potential to colonise people.

> ...as educators within the University system we can show how that knowledge colonises or not, interfaces with anyway, other kinds of knowledge. And if you've embedded it well enough then you can, you've got a way of sort of coming at some of the more intractable problems.

This statement shows the importance of concentrating on the colonising influence of knowledge and the identification of the separation between persons and discourse. A primary point I have developed in an analysis of ethnicity issues in counsellor education is evident in this statement. In addition, this statement is a good example of how deconstruction can begin to name the social injustice issues and give an account of how disrespect and misunderstanding creep into counselling interaction when working cross culturally. One counsellor educator endorsed this theme by stating

> ... by putting undue focus on the Maori, and issues of biculturalism, we run the risk of, ... doing an injustice to other people who also live here.

This same counsellor educator argued for a commitment to the practice of counselling rather than to an ethnic culture.

> For some of us the focus on biculturalism instead of multiculturalism is too confining in preparing counsellors for cross cultural work. For example, I embody a multiculturalism, and.. a commitment to a culture of counselling which is not embedded within any one culture...

I explore the implications of these responses in chapter five when I explore the place of biculturalism in counsellor training.

<u>*Social justice is not achieved by forcing one's political agenda onto clients*</u>

Over recent years some of the grand narratives associated with critical theory have been strongly challenged because of their tendency to dictate in rigid and narrow terms how liberation and the freedom from oppression should be achieved. Gore (1992) suggested that some critical theorists have failed to explore how liberation is contextually bound for particular people and groups of people rather than being a universal phenomenon. Sawicki (1988) and Lather (1992b) argued that no discourse was inherently innocent, liberating, or oppressive. These points challenge the idea that emancipatory rhetoric is constructed upon the notion of a pre-eminent truth based philosophy. Lather said, "The liberatory status of any discourse is a matter of historical inquiry, not theoretical pronouncement" (p. 166). The historical connection of critical pedagogy to Neo-Marxism is evident in its emphasis on overturning unjust dominating power structures.

Lather (1986) suggested that it was possible to use a research orientation that was devoid of all forms of imposition while maintaining an emancipatory or critical stance. However in a later article, Lather indicated that such a position may be unrealistic or perhaps dishonest. She stated, "in my own work, for example, I have tried to turn the gaze upon myself as well as others, as I look at the sins of imposition that we commit in the name of liberation" (Lather, 1992a, p. 129). Lather's change in orientation here is a example of reflexivity in her work. It is this same spirit of reflexivity which I have attempted to infuse in this study.

Critics of emancipatory posturing have become concerned about theorists and intellectuals who present themselves as an authority on how those suffering oppression might be released. As Hoffman (1992) suggested, academics like anybody else who may be espousing emancipation, do not have the corner on what the ideal set of values or discourses should be or which social problem is most pressing. While there is obvious value in developing a stance of reviewing power relations hidden within any social discourse, the critical awareness should include the critical theory discourses themselves. This level of analysis illustrates the complexity of reflexivity and has been one of the major contributions of postmodern theorising. I have concluded from my own review of some of the dominant discourses that appear to align with critical theory that practitioners need to be mindful of how the very conceptual tools we use to understand and explain the world may be the same tools that are experienced by others as oppressive or disrespectful.

Below is some of the commentary that was effective in assisting me to reposition my focus. One response from a counsellor educator suggested that people should be free of unjust structural impositions yet they challenged the idea that anyone can be confident about offering liberatory guidance to another.

> ..one of the most important things is to try to free people, is to try to liberate them. And whenever that process involves information, however, I'm forced to question the validity of the liberative information that I'm passing on to that person, because I realise that in the end it's my view that this information is liberative..

This comment I perceived as a challenge to some of the grand theorising of critical theory which invites people who espouse this theoretical perspective to know who is to be liberated and how this will be done. This person described the subjective nature of liberatory knowledge. At the time of this interview, I did not see the significance of the points raised by this counsellor educator.

The respondent in the example below expressed concern about the counsellor being cast in a political agitator role. They saw problems when counsellors have a rigid political agenda which they impose on somebody else - a well argued critique of critical theory.

> I think if somebody comes in and their life is constrained in a certain way and they see a successful solution in terms of coping better with the situation they live in, I think it's ethical and I think it's professionally defensible, as a counsellor, to work with that person to cope in a way that is better for them.. To make that person the bearer of my ideas of social change because I'm not out there doing it myself, I think is very questionable...

This point is further illustrated in another part in the interview.

> I would hesitate to make a blanket statement that you have to politicise all of your clients. Not all of your clients need it, want it, can take it,...

In the following passage, this participant clearly illustrates the way in which essentialising narratives undermine and patronise the client. This passage encapsulates the bind of grand narratives

> I think that one of the things that feminism would propose to say would be that the counsellor shouldn't be the expert. Often a feminist counsellor then says but clients must have this social consciousness-raising. ... Even though they're saying that they still believe that they do know best... I like to turn the whole thing on the head and say, well, that's not actually empowering (because that's the word that everybody wants to use) the client very much, because we actually disbelieve the client a hell of a lot. They say that's what they want, but we're not really too sure. When do you draw the line ...whether you know best as the counsellor, or they know best as the client.

In this next passage, this counsellor educator by inference is cautioning against the counsellor inappropriately imposing their political agenda on another

> People present to counselling for stuff that's way beyond them. And in many cases raising their consciousness to that is a good thing, but it's not going to help them.. it's going to educate them.. but if that's all they've got then I don't think it would help them, I think it might hinder them actually. So I guess what I'm trying to do.. is to keep people aware of those things and to be equipped, at the end of this course, to make decisions about which client, at which time,

> would benefit by having their consciousness raised. ..I'm saying there are times when upholding the status quo, which is actually causing the problems, is okay.

There is an uneasiness expressed about the radical feminist agenda of the 1970s and 1980s which was about educating clients about structural inequalities. This commentary expresses some suspicion of a structural analysis as offering some assistance. This same counsellor educator outlined some of the difficulties of a counsellor forcing their own liberatory agenda upon the client

> .. One of the abuses.. that a feminist counsellor can do is to make an assumption that they've got to educate this woman, usually in all the social structures, and the patriarchy, the oppression that she's suffering. ..but I figure.. that this person could actually.. need some other things, way before they need that politicising.

This insight challenged my views on how social justice in counsellor education might be addressed. I learned that academics and professionals run the risk of reinforcing their own positions of power as they take a stand for a good cause. What is required, I believe, is a high degree of self examination in order to maintain a respectful and ethical position in one's interactions with culturally diverse others.

While I do not think that the impulse to empower groups who have been historically oppressed is bad or wrong, I agree with Gore's (1992) point that academics must continue political struggles but be willing to question their own espoused position on the nature of truth. I now feel encouraged to challenge the radical social agenda built upon emancipatory rhetoric and to admit to some vulnerability, ambiguity, and doubt about how justice and equity might be gained. While the explanatory value of the theory of hegemony has contributed significantly to the modification of oppressive societal norms, it has also inadvertently placed restrictions on how social injustice can be understood and challenged. As Lather (1992) commented, a tentative stance invites a whole variety of possibilities which might be opened up for investigation.

<u>Ethnic identities are complex and dynamic</u>

More than half of the counsellor educators critiqued my categorisation of people into definable uni-dimensional and homogenous groupings. Here are some examples.

> The problem is that I believe that many Maori are not as Maori as they want to be, or as some Maori would want them to be.

> I mean there are all sorts of complications and problems to that. One of them is the definition who's Maori? Which isn't as simple as that, either for the counsellor or the client.

> Just because a person has brown skin doesn't mean to say that all the assumptions about Maoridom apply to them.

Here are two other comments a respondent made to my use of unitary and essentialist categories.

> ...my experience that things Maori in the south do not always coincide with that espoused by Northern Maori groups... This is of course one part of the hugely complex dilemmas we face - Maori are not a unified group any more than "Non-Maori" in relation to values, strategies, policies, etc. We do not have a partnership between two distinct peoples - even the definition of which side of the equation a particular individual belongs on - can be a matter of real debate.

The discourses prominent in these interactions emphasised the complexity and diversity of human identity. One participant identified problems with reifying categories when teaching cross-cultural counselling.

> I think a lot of [what] cultural counselling training has fallen into, is the cook-book approach, ..you get a checklist... these are the key things about this group or that group or the other group, which can be damaging.
>
> All I know is that we have a variety of cultures and complexity of cultures within the community, and we need to be training counsellors to be, not just aware of that but equipped to work with that complexity, their own and others' complexities.

One participant voiced concern about my commentary and other participants' comments when a stereotypical analysis of ethnicity was invoked.

> It seems to me there is real danger at the present time of stereotyping according to broad ethnic categories and not recognising the complexity of issues of identity.

Inherent in most of these quotes is the recognition by participants that people do not possess a unitary homogenous identity based on phenotypical characteristics or indeed, a declared ethnic identity. The discursive themes that run through these above statements reflect in one degree or another the notion that ethnic identity is multiple and dynamic.

Gender identities are complex and dynamic

During the early eighties when White, middle-class women privileged gender over ethnicity as the common uniting bond, the assumption was that Black women shared the experiences of White women. However, many women of colour made it clear that their allegiance was shared across a spectrum of identities (Poindexter-Cameron & Robinson, 1997). Thus, the radical feminist notion of sisterhood was problematic for many women because it blurred the fact that women can also function as oppressors of other women (Crosby, 1992; Davies 1993; Mouffe, 1992).

Referring to this possibility, Ellsworth (1989) challenged the feminist movement.

> We cannot act as if our membership in or alliance with an oppressed group exempts us from the need to confront the grey areas which we all have in us... There are no social positions exempt from becoming oppressors to others... any group-any position-can move into the oppressor role, depending on specific historical contexts and situations. (pp. 6)

There have been other problems with the rigidity of some radical feminist perspectives. A significant amount of recent research and academic writing has criticised radical feminists for recasting women in the role of passive victims of their biological impulses (Flax, 1992). This has often involved debates around male violence, where discussion draws on essentialist assumptions about the "fixivity of aggressive male sexual impulses" (Whelehan, 1995, p. 80). One of the problems with fundamentalist feminist discourses is that it becomes easy to categorise people in disparate groups because of essentialising tendencies that negate multiple and intersecting identities and focus on visible identities. This position was taken by a participant.

> ...from our point of view, I have some problems with the extreme positions that are held, and some of the politicisation of some of the elements of it... of saying that all men are power users and exploiters... encompassed within the radical extreme views of "All men are rapists" kind of notion.

Some radical feminists have used the term "patriarchy" in a way which implies that all men actively subordinate women but fails to pay more than token regard to the likelihood that men have different degrees of access to the mechanisms of oppression. For example, non-White males often find themselves outside the dominant patriarchal representations of masculinity. One of the most common criticisms of radical feminism is that its view of patriarchy remains largely unexamined (Whelehan, 1995). About this one counsellor educator said

> I am a little cautious about descriptions of patriarchy that reify it and solidify it. There are many counterplots to the story of patriarchy and this is not to deny the real issues which speakers in the transcript noted about structural inequities. But a purely structural analysis has effects of producing hopelessness and bitterness at times and I think it is more useful to analyse change processes than to analyse structural stabilities.

This response was highly significant in contributing to the shift in my perspective. It challenges the oppressor-oppressed binary descriptions related to gender and by implication challenges the metaphor of power as a commodity. The statement also focuses on discourses of patriarchy rather than individual persons who could be perceived as being perpetrators of oppression simply due to their gender membership. The universalising tendencies of some forms of feminism dismiss the prospect of some men being non-oppressive or having diminished choices while proposing the inevitability of women's subordination. Women from this perspective are perceived

as an oppressed class, regardless of class or ethnic distinction. Yeatman (1995) suggested that those feminist separatists who have designed a moral universe that excludes men operate in such ways as to deny justice. What is recognised here is the blatant disregard for the validity of differing views of a large number of persons who share the male gender classification. The same occurs when Maori separatists make identity claims that seem to deny the historical fact of Maori co-existence with Pakeha. Again there is a total disregard for the contributions of a multitude of voices who share the same or similar ethnic identity. Kirby (1993), critiquing the premises of radical feminism, stated that many women still tend to believe that they have privileged access to gender truths, just as ethnographers trust that "insiders" have particular access to ethnographic truths. She demonstrated how this way of thinking replicates the very power structures which the women's movement arose to challenge. She suggested that this was a re-creation of truth claims and power structures which regulate the authority to speak so prevalent in Eurocentric discourses. A radical social agenda has the potential to jeopardise a counsellor educators' ability to advance a social justice project.

Although in the 1990s feminism advocated a social justice agenda, there was not a shared vision as to how this should be delivered (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1994b; Hyde & Plant, 1995; Marecek, 1995). Work produced by postmodern feminists recognised the complexity of gender oppression and raised pertinent issues about alternative approaches to gender justice that move away from categorising all men as oppressors of women. Postmodern feminists have been some of the most challenging critics of the theoretical underpinnings of radical feminism as postmodern constructions of the self and identity disrupt the tendency to essentialise the self or produce totalising descriptions of people based on one aspect of their lives. According to Gore (1992), feminisms have their own power-knowledge centres which in particular contexts or at particular historical moments will operate in ways which are oppressive and repressive to people.

In a concluding statement in the third round of the hermeneutic process, one of the counsellor educators wanted to make it especially clear that while she recognised some gender differences, she wanted to emphasise the importance of the particular qualities of the person and suggested that oppression was not necessarily bound up with gender.

> I'm aware of women who would say similar things [referring to particularly oppressive interaction with a male colleague] about relationships with female colleagues and seniors, and there are vast differences among the women in our department in the ways they operate and use their power.

It must be noted that many women who have engaged in the analysis of patriarchal practice have expressed fear that the critiques I have described above have the potential

to soften or neutralise the bite of a radical feminist critique. This might mean the hard won struggle to find and maintain a voice despite the marginalisation by the dominant discourses of patriarchy, heterosexism, and Eurocentrism could be lost. In writing about my shift away from the more essentialist versions of feminism, I do not want to neutralise the challenge of naming the damaging effects of patriarchal and androcentric discourses. I do, however, want to distinguish between harmful discursive practices and the tendency to universalise a male and female experience by locating patriarchal oppression "inside" men and the status of victimhood "inside" women.

What follows are challenging responses to my exploration of gender issues. Discourses depicting human beings as having complex and diverse lives feature prominently.

> Gender issues are very complex. It's a big issue. There are very many personal interpretations of the situation and what policies and personal action should prevail.
>
> I guess what I am saying is that there may be greater similarities between male and female counsellor educators than between male counsellor educators and other (non-counselling) males. If so, what does this mean in relation to your data on this topic? Differences may be more contrived than real.

In this latter comment, the counsellor educator is confronting the problems with the simplistic binary descriptions used in the fieldwork interviews. Two other participants refer to the problem of producing oversimplified accounts of gender issues.

> In reading through what I've written, I seem to be discounting gender or maybe sound as if I'm creating justifications for some actions. ...It's just not a simple matter and I'm very concerned that in this whole process of your research, some issues will become oversimplified.

The second participant said

> I guess you will need to avoid simplistic generalisations on the one hand and unsupportedly detailed inferences on the other. I like the range of comments, mine included, but what you will do with them remains unclear.

These comments in addition to numerous others made by study participants carried considerable weight in further challenging my use of binary descriptions during this fieldwork phase.

Human beings are characterised by a multiplicity of selves

The above responses provided the impetus for me to critique the way I had homogenised identity. This journey led me to an exploration of a social constructionist perspective on the multiplicity of identity.

The notion of an individual self as an independent agent or bounded entity is made problematic in social constructionist theory. Instead, it seems preferable to look at individual decision making by viewing the person in terms of complex relational processes manifesting themselves on the site of the individual body. I find the term 'relational selves' useful in describing the complexity of human identity. Harré (1991) suggested that the self or the 'I' has been used as a "device by which unified narratives and coherent commitments are created" (p. 58). The 'I' is not seen as an entity although it can be portrayed as a singular point from which to view the world. It is, in my view, preferable to consider the 'I' as occupying a multiplicity of discursive positions from which to speak. Hermans and Kempen (1995) suggested that the 'I' can be regarded as a product of history which has evolved from institutions and traditions. From this stand point, the self as a speaking voice is not an individual voice at all but a collective voice carrying the collective stories people tell one another.

Hermans and Kempen commented

> The simultaneity of individual and collective voices contradicts any antinomy of individual and society. Instead the individual is a micro-society and society functions as an extended self. (pp. 112)

Other writers have spoken about the self as multiple. For instance, Escoffier (1991) referred to overlapping identities. He stressed that the self is often simultaneously connected to a number of different identity discourses and resides within overlapping identities. Similarly, Shotter (1990) stated, "although the postmodern self may be something of a mosaic, no self is completely an island. In postmodern everyday life, as well as in postmodern science, one occupies a multiplicity of standpoints" (p. 19). Illustrating this point still further, Pedersen (1990) estimated that we all have over 1,000 different roles or cultures to which we could belong on any occasion. We may say these overlapping roles resemble a myriad of identities.

I think there are definite advantages for counsellor educators in utilising the notion of border identity described by Giroux and McLaren (1994). This concept acknowledges the historical and cultural formations that shape multiple selves through their interaction with numerous and diverse communities. Giroux and McLaren described border pedagogy as a process of affirming and legitimising local meanings and constellations of meanings that grow out of particular discursive communities, but at the same time interrogating the interests and social practices that such knowledges serve. 'Border identity' is one of the most liberating concepts arising out of the work on identity, multiplicity, and subjectivity. Since individuals are shaped by a variety of conflicting, competing, and changing discourse clusters such as ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, it becomes progressively more difficult to categorise people on one

attribute or another or for people to name one identity as the description of who they are. Identity descriptions change according to cultural norms which predominate in a particular context at a particular time. Forms of identity correspond to the changing contours of normative trends. Border identity, which is a variation on Giroux and McLaren's (1994) border pedagogy is a term that is able to accommodate to the complex nature of multiple selves. When counsellor educators acknowledge their own border identities and those of their students, there is a new way of exploring these enormous complexities in working with cultural difference. People can be encouraged to find ways of connecting with the other based on one or more shared dimensions of identity.

Fraser (1992) suggested

> As we move into an age in which cultural space becomes unfixed, unsettled, porous and hybrid, it becomes increasingly difficult either to defend notions of singular identity or to deny that different groups, communities, and people are increasingly bound to each other in a myriad of complex relationships. (pp. 40)

Because of the complexity of interlocking, overlapping, and competing discursive frameworks operating at any one time, I now do not believe it is possible to perceive any identifiable group by gender or ethnicity for example to have homogenous needs. I would like to take further this issue of the porous nature of ethnic membership. While it may be possible to pinpoint some culturally specific knowledges, I suggest that the group that this knowledge pertains to becomes increasingly difficult to define. How does one identify a discrete ethnic group? Willmott (1990) gave an excellent illustration of the permeability and shifting nature of the multiplicity of identity and ethnic membership.

> A Maori may choose, for instance, to emphasise her Maori identity, her tribal identity, or the identity of her local Marae. Alternatively, she may find her identity as a woman, as a worker, as a mother, or as a New Zealander more important. Each identity she chooses to emphasise will link her with a group of people and distinguish her from others, and the reader will readily see that the groups defined by each of these identities are cross cutting and by no means exclusive of each other. The circumstances will dictate which identity she will find most salient...Some of these groups go far beyond the boundaries of her country, for there are important circumstances in which a person may identify herself with women and/or workers around the world. If she is experiencing antagonism from men or exploitation by structures she defines as patriarchal, she may well feel that being a New Zealander is far less important than being a woman, and her identity as a woman may then obliterate her national identity. Alternatively if she is convinced her unhappy circumstances stem from the world capitalist system, she may choose to identify with workers in the Philippines, South Korea or Australia. (pp. 8-9)

Deconstructing the text of the participants led me towards the literature on multiplicity of selves and provided the transformative impulse from which to reposition

my entire theoretical account of how social justice might be advanced in counsellor education.

Concluding comments

Deconstructing the text exposed the complexities and competing tensions in seeking social justice. I have articulated in this chapter how fundamentalist approaches to justice and stereotypical approaches to understanding human identity inadvertently create new forms of oppression in their efforts to undermine oppressive social practices.

The discourse analysis which was the major focus of this chapter was indeed an occasion to displace and disrupt my preferred theoretical account of social justice. I hope in this account that I have honoured the reflexive stance I have striven for in presenting this work. This chapter provided me with the opportunities to chronicle some the transformative shifts that led to my abandonment of a radical social justice agenda.

In searching for a new perspective to a social justice agenda, I wanted to make further progress in working with the intricacies of social justice in counsellor education. I wished to identify an approach to advancing social justice which not only reconceptualised the nature of a rigid and fundamentalist oppression but avoided the tendency to universalise the human condition in the face of injustice and domination.

The underpinning of my alternative approach to addressing social justice lay in postmodernism and social constructionism. Indeed this chapter was an occasion to show the discursive moves that present the dynamic nature of applied temporary essentialism. This was expressed by the account I have given about the transformative shift that led me to social constructionism which I present in the next chapter.

Chapter 4
An Alternative Framework: Social Constructionism

Introduction

In this present chapter, I elucidate the contributions of social constructionism to social justice by presenting seven conceptual tools which provide practical directions to grapple with the complexities of dealing with social injustice. This provides a theoretical platform from which to show the practical applications of social constructionism to advancing social justice in the Waikato Counsellor Education programme, which I introduce in chapter six.

To assist the reader to keep track of the different frameworks I described in this study, I present on the next two pages a table which outlines the assumptions, strengths, limitations and implications these different theoretical traditions offer a social justice project.

I begin this chapter by introducing postmodernism,

Postmodern theory

My introduction to postmodernism came in the early 1990s when I returned to theoretical study. Liberal humanism, radical feminism, and critical theory which had featured in both my training and in my practice were significant milestones on my journey toward postmodern theorising. Radical feminism, critical theory, and postmodernism were similar in that they emphasised the social context. However, there are some significant differences which I describe shortly.

On returning to university after working five years in applied fields, I discovered that a dramatic shift had occurred in the way many academics and some practitioners were theorising their work. The term postmodernism had increasingly begun to feature in the social science literature over this time and appeared to be having an influence on epistemology and ontological developments in counselling and psychology theory and practice (Doherty, 1991; White & Epston, 1991; Olssen, 1991).

Postmodernism is mainly characterised as embodying the politics of resistance, particularly because of its critique of the grand narrative of emancipation - agendas espoused by radical feminism and critical theory. The grand hopes associated with totalising forms of social theory and the politics of revolution were, from a postmodern perspective, diminished because of their failure to recognise the complexity of a variety of forms of knowledge, cultural, and political conditions and human subjectivity.

Table 1. Approaches to Social Justice in Counsellor Education

Epistemology	Assumptions	Strengths	Limitations	Implications for Counsellor Education
Liberal-humanist Discourse (LH)	• The individual is the central focus. • Human experience is universal. • Progress is made by individual effort and achievement. • Focus on the here and now with minimal emphasis on external factors. • Social justice achieved by individuals being responsible for their volition and action.	• Empathic engagement is central to understanding. • Focusing on the here and now is more important than studying early psychopathology. • Taking ownership and responsibility of the problem can facilitate change. • Commonality is emphasised over diversity.	• Eurocentric values lie at the heart of the theory. • Abnormality or normality is based on dominant cultural values. • Patriarchal concepts particularly related to competition, autonomy, and individualism characterise LH. • Human functioning is determined by internal factors rather than cultural ones. • Healthy identity is based upon dominant cultural norms.	• Taken for granted assumptions about counselling may be Eurocentric and Androcentric. • The significance of the socio-cultural context can be lost by focusing primarily upon internal factors. • Excessive individualism might be promoted over collectivity and communality. • Individuals can be blamed for failing to take responsibility. • Dominant Western cultural norms can be viewed as the right standard to determine progress and change.
Critical Theory Discourse (CT)	• One group of people oppress another group of people. • Mental health problems can collude with competitive and capitalist ventures. • Social justice is achieved through structural change. • Justice is achieved by educating oppressed groups about the mechanisms that thwart their efforts to satisfy their real desires. • Hegemony and conscientisation are key principles in CT.	• Prominence given to socio-cultural context in locating causes of social injustice. • Identifies how hegemonic patterns of interaction produce injustice. • CT shows how counselling can be a colonising activity based upon Eurocentric and androcentric values. • Provides educators with a coherent theory about how injustice is systematically produced.	• Does not recognise oppression as contextually based. • There is a fundamentalist quality to the theory which can be viewed as rigid and arrogant. • Theorists favouring emancipation set themselves up as authorities on how justice will be realised. • Oppressors and oppressed are viewed as being located in a binary. • New forms of oppression can occur when people are othered by being placed in an oppressor or oppressed category.	• CT is helpful in showing educators how counselling practice can reconcile people with a genuine grievance to become pacified to an unjust situation. • Counselling is viewed as an educational activity as well as a therapeutic one. Its purpose is to educate oppressed groups to understand how socially unjust mechanisms work in any society. • People who share oppressions are in a better position to free others. • Ethnic and gender matching are promoted. • Any emancipatory agenda can be forced upon clients in a rigid and fundamentalist fashion. • CT shows how educators can colonise their clients with Eurocentric and androcentric ideology.

Table 1 (Continued). Approaches to Social Justice in Counsellor Education

Epistemology	Assumptions	Strengths	Limitations	Implications for Counsellor Education
Radical Feminism Discourse (RF)	• Founded on the belief that women suffer systematic social injustices because of their sex. • RF committed to alleviating social injustices perpetrated against women. • Subordination of women by men is at the heart of the movement. • Women are the first oppressed group and hardest form of oppression to eradicate. • Women perceived as an oppressed class in their own right regardless of class or ethnic distinction.	• Identification of systematic discourses of oppression based upon patriarchy and androcentrism. • People invited to critique the culture of entitlement that many men enjoy. • Women can stop blaming themselves for their experiences of victimisation from patriarchal practices. • Women sensitized to the colonising effects of patriarchy in counselling. • Counsellors invited to help clients conform to non-patriarchal practices.	• Problem with fundamentalist view that all men actively subordinate women. • RF fails to acknowledge that men have different degrees of access to the mechanisms of oppression. • Fundamentalist tendency that men are an irredeemable enemy and that women's subordination is inevitable. • RF suggests that there can be privileged access to gender truths. • Simplistic dichotomies universalise male and female experiences and locate oppression inside men and victimhood inside women.	• Moral obligation on counsellors to teach their clients about patriarchy and its effects. • Clients should be encouraged to challenge the coercive authority of male privilege. • Men need to be taught their role in a culture of entitlement. • The focus is on external cultural practices and how these oppress women. • Greater responsibility falls upon men to address social injustices caused by patriarchal attitudes.
Social Construction Discourse (SC)	• Local, regional and specific contexts are emphasised as sites for social injustice rather than global sites. • There is no single system of knowledge that is privileged. • There is not one truth about how social justice should be achieved. • Language constructs human experience rather than acting as passive symbols which give an account of an experience. • Power is not a commodity owned by one group or another. It operates relationally. • Focuses on deconstructing taken for granted assumptions.	• Focus on discourses rather than upon classes of people. • Challenges fundamentalist views of oppression that fit into unified binaries. • Provides more complex conceptual tools to addressing the complexities of social justice. • Takes a discursive position rather than an essentialistic one. • Avoids totalising descriptions of human conduct.	• Can down play systematic abuses and violations that confront groups who share similar phenotypical characteristics. • Can be accused of not having a social justice agenda as it has no base to stand on. • May disintegrate social movements based upon some identity that has been systematically abused. • At risk of advocating for no position at all. • Vulnerability of SC to collude with dominant cultural norms.	• Counsellor educators are invited to locate themselves within a discursive context. • Focus upon discourse to identify socially unjust patterns of interaction. • Identifies power as operating within and through discourse. • Focus upon unpacking cultural assumptions in counselling interactions. • Emphasis upon the context in relation to discursive presence.

Postmodernism has tended to challenge all boundary-fixing and the hidden ways in which people subordinate, exclude, and marginalise others (Bernstein, 1983). Advocates for a postmodernist approach such as Jencks (1992) suggested that this meant an end to a single world view, a resistance to single explanations, a respect for difference, and a celebration of the regional, local, and particular. Yeatman (1994) suggested that postmodernism called into question the fundamental premise of the project of modernity: that societal progressive development involved "the progressive mastery of society over nature" (p. 8). While the postmodernist position has been characterised as the total acceptance of ephemerality, fragmentation, discontinuity, and the chaotic (Harvey, 1989), modernists tend to see chaos and fragmentation as problems to be overcome.

This body of theory was appealing to me. It addressed the problems that were apparent during the initial phase of this study which reflected the frameworks of liberal humanism, radical feminism, and critical theory. I wanted a theoretical orientation that would enable me to address the complexities of gender and ethnicity issues in counsellor education. In addition, I desired an approach which could accommodate people's multiple and simultaneous positionings in complex, changing, and often contradictory patterns of power relations. Postmodern theorising was pertinent to this study. It emerged from a scepticism concerning the possibility or desirability of producing totalising narratives which reveal essential truths about enormously disparate groups (Lyotard, 1984).

Many social science researchers have rejected the monolithic categories upon which liberal humanism, critical theory, and some forms of feminism have been constructed. Much of the postmodern literature holds that discourses that propose a single definable reality are impositions that dismiss or distort the diversity and indeterminacy of human life. Any description of a movement or some form of change is a consequence of the coming together of a unique set of circumstances at a particular place and time. Descriptions of human behaviour emerging from postmodern literature are generally concerned with local and specific occurrences rather than global descriptions based on context free laws (Hoshmand & Polkinghorne, 1992). The modernist position tended to emphasise the primacy of the rational mind over body and emotion and its capacity to take up one non-contradictory position. Postmodern theorising on the other hand emphasises the significance of the multiply positioned subject, a view quite contrary to the unitary notions of the self.

Since all knowledge is situated in one context or another, postmodern ideas emphasise the cultural boundedness of any voice. This approach offers a way to expose how dominant cultural practices systematically marginalise those located in a sub-dominant context. By showing how these processes are produced discursively, a postmodern approach can provide tools to deconstruct homogenising categories which allows differences to be named. Gunew and Yeatman (1993) stated that

"deconstruction postmodernism" offers a way of situating the speaking subject and provides a way of engaging with the intersections and contradictions of competing interest groups. These theoretical premises provide a way of discussing non-binary groupings and can accommodate the multiplicity of positionings of persons in social interaction. What postmodernist theory permits us to see is that the universal exists only as it is particularised and that this particularisation is always partial.

Yeatman (1994) argued that her version of postmodern theory was an important vehicle for emancipatory social movements. In fact she suggested that emancipatory movements were postmodern in character while proposing that postmodern emancipatory politics did not abandon modern universalism and rationalism, but entered into a deconstructive relationship with them. She was suggesting that postmodernism draws on rational modernistic practices but in so doing is prepared to expose its own operational assumptions and tentative status. At first glance, her initial definition of postmodern theory appears to be another version of a foundationalist argument of critical theory. However, her definition of emancipation maintains a postmodern perspective.

> In modern usage this metaphor (emancipation) connotes an act or action whereby individuals or people are released (or release themselves) from some kind of bondage into freedom. Postmodern usage withdraws any sense of completion or finality from this idea of release. Emancipation is always relative to an established, discursive order which is already of the past, a new discursive order with its own peculiar modes of domination, having been ushered in through the process of emancipation. The acknowledgment of difference has brought about a loss of discursive innocence. The transparency of good intentions guarantees nothing, and the ideal of transparency is a dangerous illusion, encouraging as it does various forms of moral terrorism practised on self and others. (pp. 7)

Yeatman presented an argument that advocates for a particular set of outcomes or purposes while being prepared to acknowledge her discursive positioning at the same time. The crucial point in my argument is the acknowledgment of how new discursive orders, such as those produced by fundamentalist grand narratives, have the potential to produce their own forms of dominance. These new discursive orders can "Other" individuals who might, for example, be crudely categorised as being oppressors or colonisers. My position here is that there is no moral high ground from which any group can assert its freedom from committing acts of moral terrorism when foundational emancipatory rhetoric is invoked.

For my purposes, postmodernism provided a framework where I could explore the means by which androcentric and Eurocentric practices can be identified and challenged without resting upon a superior emancipatory logic on how this could be achieved. Within a postmodern framework, temporary essentialism uses discursive presence to provide a systematic account of one's perspective and to locate oneself in a

particular body of knowledge. It enables one to disclose the presuppositions that are being used to advance a set of ideas.

Social Constructionism

Social constructionism was first theorised by sociologists Berger and Luckman (1967) and described by Hoffman (1992) as an orientation focused on how the construction of knowledge was transmitted through language, a stance congruent with most postmodern literature. Since Berger and Luckman's work, the disciplines of psychology, anthropology, and philosophy have contributed to this expanding field of inquiry. Social constructionism remains principally concerned with identifying the processes by which people come to account for themselves and the world in which they live (Gergen, 1985).

A social constructionist perspective challenges the taken-for-granted and essentialist assumptions of the human sciences. Social constructionists have emphasised the communal basis of knowledge and processes of interpretation and are concerned with how discursive arrangements produce particular theories of knowledge. Theories are understood to have more value at the local level and have limited application when employed as some overarching universal framework of truth. Social constructionist thought promotes the idea that there is no single system of knowledge that is privileged.

Language as social construction

The meaning of human experience is perceived by social constructionists as being constituted and produced by language. Thus, language has meaning in its use rather than having a corresponding function with events in the world. It is not merely a medium for the transmission of ideas or an instrument for unveiling consciousness. Language speaks us into existence and constitutes our personhood as much as we use it to communicate to others (Davies, 1993). This constitutive function of language which produces human experience has major implications for how learning and educational processes occur more generally. This theory has direct relevance to counselling which by its very nature is a meaning making activity. If language can be understood as a meaning making activity rather than as having a passive reporting function about events in the world, meaning cannot be chosen arbitrarily. From a social constructionist perspective, language is seen as having a function which permits or constrains options that might be available to us. The significance of these ideas for counselling practice is profound. Bakhtin (1981) described language as being "overpopulated with the intentions of others... expropriating it, forcing it to submit to

one's own intentions and accents is a difficult and complicated process" (p. 294). Intertextuality is a function of these processes described by Bakhtin.

Intertextuality features in the interactions between client and counsellor or student counsellor and trainer. The counsellor by the very nature of the work that they do is involved in the co-creation of meanings in the client's life. Less acknowledged is the extent to which the client contributes to co-creating meaning in the counsellor's life. Clients are very vulnerable to having their lives shaped by the meanings which the counsellor gives significance. In my experience as a practicing counsellor, clients expect to be given some form of guidance or expert knowledge from a counselling experience. However, the client arrives at solutions with the counsellor despite differences between their roles. Intertextuality is evident when the counsellor's voice reflects the voices of others, including those of clients both past and present.

The meanings about clients' stories that counsellors help to construct will generally be congruent with the counsellor's own therapeutic framework. For instance, Hubble and O'Hanlon (1992) described how counsellors shape the client's story into particular therapy-type accounts which can be solved by the application of a particular type of therapy. It is no coincidence, then, that a counsellor with a Gestalt or Narrative orientation creates Gestalt-like or Narrative problems which will be solved or deliberately limited by Gestalt-like or Narrative interventions. Counsellors are constrained by their own meaning-making structures which limit the kinds of therapeutic conversations they can hold with their client. Eurocentric and patriarchal practices are prominent in many counselling therapies, and adversely impact on clients. For example, clients who favour a communal lifestyle will be disadvantaged by therapies that emphasise personal development at the expense of collective development. The language constraints come not only from the theoretical orientations that the counsellor espouses but also from the meanings they construct from their clients' lived experiences.

The counsellor's philosophy and favourite counselling model become enormously influential from this perspective. The capacity to analyse the role that language plays in constructing counselling interactions and counsellor education practices is crucial to understanding the nature of equity and the ability to respect, understand and convey shared meanings in counsellor-client interactions. It is crucial then that counsellor educators know as much as possible about the constitutive properties of language and how this will shape what takes place in counsellor education. These ideas will be further developed in chapters five and six.

From my fuller immersion into social constructionist theory I have developed seven major analytical tools used in postmodern epistemology which provide an entry point to assist counsellor educators to address some of the more complex issues arising in counselling, particularly in relation to gender and ethnicity. These conceptual tools include (a) discourse, (b) positioning, (c) power, (d) deconstruction, (e) multiplicity, (f) contextuality and g) agency . Each of them is intimately connected with the others and points to a way of reconstructing social justice and how it might be advanced. They also provide a vehicle from which the stance of limited or temporary essentialism might be explored.

Seven conceptual tools

Discourse

I first introduced the term discourse in chapter one. Discourse, as a mode of enquiry, identifies systems of meaning, fields of knowledge, and belief (Gee, 1990). The identification and development of the term discourse has produced a shift from naming the unitary and contextually independent person as the source or reservoir of knowledge, to viewing discourses as the currency from which knowledge and learning are acquired. In chapter three, I highlighted the value of researching the effects of discourse. I also discussed how discourses invited persons to engage in specific kinds of actions rather than targeting specific persons who may or may not be supporting a social justice agenda. For example, the immediacy of engaging first with the physical characteristics of a person can prompt an observer to categorise him or her as belonging to a particular group. A series of assumptions are quickly made on this process of categorisation. Some people in New Zealand society today may suggest that Maori or Pakeha are simple, cohesive groups each with a common life. However, like other ethnic groups, they are differentiated by many things such as age, gender, class, sexuality, religion and the like. Any one of these characteristics in a given context may become significant as a group identity. This view of group differentiation is multiple, cross-cutting, fluid, and shifting and implies another critique of the model of the autonomous, harmonised fully integrated self. Individual persons, as constituted partly by their group affinities and relations, are heterogeneous and not necessarily coherent. Not only is the composition within and among these groups diverse but the individuals themselves can take up perspectives which are internally contradictory. From this perspective, it becomes more difficult to confidently name the particular individuals who belong to oppressor categories and those who are assuredly oppressed in any universal sense.

A focus on discourse can assist the counsellor educator to engage with complex, highly differentiated societies like our own, where all persons have multiple group

identifications. At the same time this does not negate the coherency that exists in identifiable groups. Apple (1993) used the metaphor of hearing the sound of many radio stations being played at the same time to illustrate the multitude of discourses operating within any group at any one time. The naming of discourses can assist the counsellor educator to hear and name the source of the sounds played simultaneously. In other words the extent to which counsellors know the discourses that are significant to the client, the more likely they are to identify what counts for the client. The less familiar counsellors are with these discourses, the greater their difficulty will be in understanding with any degree of fullness what is central to their clients' concerns.

Apart from the multiple and competing discourses influencing individuals in particular circumstances, there are also competing discourses operating at the site of counsellor education practice. For example, in counsellor education programmes in New Zealand university settings in the late 1980s, liberal-humanist discourses which emphasised the universal experience of human beings clashed with radical feminist discourses. The latter stressed fundamental distinctions between women's and men's experiences of life. Critical theory discourses highlighted ethnic differences between an oppressor group labelled Pakeha and an oppressed group labelled Maori.

Position taking within discourse

I would like to add additional information on the significance of position taking which I introduced in chapter two. I introduced this concept by discussing how persons can be invited to take up particular positions within discursive events which propose a standard of behaviour or a set of expectations that will direct their activities. Both the discursive practices that feature in a person's life coupled with individuals' positioning within discourses will affect people's sense of agency in interpersonal contexts. Some discourse positions offered to people place significant constraints on their experience of agency in some contexts. People often come to counselling because they are positioned in conflicting discourses. For example, the woman who has lived in a violent relationship for many years may slowly begin to locate herself or be aware of being located in a counter discourse which suggests that women have a right to be respected and to live a violence-free life. This growing incongruity can motivate a person to want something different. The expression of empathy requires the counsellor to find a meeting place between the client's and counsellor's respective positions within the prominent discursive patterns. In fact, the former can not take place without the latter. For example, it would be difficult for a counsellor positioned in a traditional sex role discourse of *the man must be the breadwinner and the woman the primary caregiver* to empathise with a woman's despair in feeling trapped at home because she feels it is her duty to be at home as a primary caregiver.

Based on the discussion so far, I would argue that there is considerable value in integrating the conceptual tools of discourse and discourse positioning into a counsellor educator's work on social justice. However, the study of discourse, discourse analysis, and the identification of subject positioning within discourse is not enough by itself to confront the complex problems in advancing socially just practice in counsellor education. There is a need to include an analysis of power that is inherent within the shifting and changing discourse positions that people occupy.

Power

The question that is pertinent for me at this juncture relates to how does one pinpoint systematic marginalising and alienating societal practices when the effects of power are present without being caught by a simplistic oppressed - oppressor binary analysis.

Understanding the nature and workings of power has been of primary focus when considering a social justice agenda in any area of inquiry. Advocates of foundational theories are keenly interested in ownership of power as the territory that needs to be surveyed in uncovering socially unjust acts. In chapter two, I discussed the problems with perceiving power as a simple commodity that is owned by one group and absent in another group. In this next section I introduce another way of understanding power.

Capillary Power

In the social constructionist literature, power is conceived of quite differently from the view of power as a commodity or quantity. Power is understood to operate within and through discourse. Foucault (1978) has had a profound influence upon how power is understood from a postmodern perspective. He said: " ...discourse transmits and produces power, reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (p. 100). Power is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or a piece of wealth. From this perspective, power is not a property but operates relationally.

Power shifts in a context-dependent fashion rather than being inherent within categories of people. Gavey suggested that power is "diffuse, multiple, and relatively subtle, infused throughout social practices and discourse" (Gavey, 1996, p. 51). While power can be played out in relation to gender and ethnicity, it gets expressed in particular interactions in particular settings. Jones and Guy (1992) suggested that individuals are exposed to and have more or less power in different situations. It does not explicitly act upon them but acts within their actions. Power viewed from this perspective cuts across individual lives in a variety of ways that can entail privilege and

oppression for the same person in different respects. This does not in my view preclude the notion that power can be systematically applied with a degree of consistency in such ways as to be more oppressing to some individuals in more contexts than other individuals in those same contexts. Despite the systematic effects of capillary power, it is not viewed as a tidy package that is owned.

Foucault's contributions to the analysis of power acknowledged the capillary action of power, which he argued needs to be studied at the extremities. From this perspective, power is perceived to be present among groups located at the bottom of hierarchies presumed to be remote from any influence or potency. The image of capillary power is that power is everywhere and pervades the entire social body. All social life then comes to be a network of power relations which can be re-viewed not at the level of large scale social structures, but rather at very local and individual levels (Hartsock, 1990).

Foucault (1980) stated

> ...what makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply that it doesn't weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it transverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than a negative instance ...[of] repression. (p. 119)

In this formulation, the world is not divided neatly between dominant and dominated discourses, a position that is held by some adhering to a radical social justice agenda. Foucault's discourse theory moved away from a deterministic approach to power and positionality (implicated in the view of power as commodity) and allowed for the possibility of change (Harrison, 1995). Foucault (1980) articulated that

> ...(the) understanding of power as exercised rather than as possessed, requires more attention to the microdynamics of the operation of power as it is exercised in particular sites and is conducting an ascending analysis of power starting ...from its infinitesimal mechanisms. (p. 99)

Touraine (1995), in support of Foucault, rejected the hydraulic or quantitative theories of power and thus challenged the notion of a central power that is held on to and condensed. On the contrary, he stated that the exercise of power increasingly merges into the categories of practice itself. In a modern, liberal society, power is simultaneously everywhere and nowhere. In other words, power from this perspective is an unstable shifting and moving phenomenon that is difficult to locate independent of context and circumstance.

Young (1990) suggested that to understand the meaning and operation of power in modern society, we must look beyond the model of power as sovereignty, the didactic relation of ruler and subject, and instead analyse the exercises of power played out in

the fields of education, medicine, corporations, and institutions of all kinds. She suggested that the conscious actions of many individuals daily contribute to maintaining and reproducing oppression sometimes deliberately and at other times inadvertently.

It appears that the dominant discourses of fundamentalist grand narratives have the potential to reduce people's abilities to act. This is particularly the case when people perceive themselves to be powerless in the presence of a central or sovereign power. However, the metaphor of power as a capillary action opens up possibilities for developing a more complex analysis of social justice. More specifically, from a postmodern analysis, power relationships are consistently changing and fluctuating in every counselling interaction. Because of the shifts in power relationships, it is possible to imagine that the counselling relationship has junctures where the counsellor and client occupy both oppressive and oppressing positions. From this standpoint, it is conceivable that a Pakeha male counsellor might have some understanding of his Maori or female client's oppression based on his personal experience with oppression. The experience of that oppression might relate to a different set of circumstances and therefore it is not always possible to assume that there will be sufficient understanding between the parties to the counselling process. Nevertheless, given the notion that people's positioning in discourse and the power located within that positioning is constantly changing, it makes less sense for example to organise separatist counselling services around a presumed stable or static identity in order to achieve a just match between counsellor and client. A person who has been a beneficiary of the state over a number of years who experiences their identity as "beneficiary", something static and unchanging, might find it difficult to accept that they may have opportunities to experience alternative subject positions other than "beneficiary". However, if one views their experiences of life at a micro-level, their circumstances are not necessarily static. For example, they may attend a night class to learn a new language, develop their artistic interests, engage in a child care programme and the like, which may introduce other dimensions or identities into their lives that are additional to "beneficiary." People's lives are complex and are comprised of multiple identities and subject positions that are offered to them or taken . Such complexity seems sufficient to challenge the practice of matching counsellor and client across gender, ethnicity, or any other salient characteristic toward developing understanding. Robinson (1993) elaborated on this point by stating "...it is a mistake to assume that female gender, low socioeconomic status, and being a person of color is automatically associated with feelings of less power" (p. 52). Conversely, she points out that economic and occupational status do not promise psychological and moral potency.

Power and subjectivity

Postmodern theory rejects the individual -society dualism. The personal and the social become inextricably intertwined. From this analysis, the subject itself is the effect of a production, caught in the mutually constitutive web of social practices, discourses, and subjectivities. Foucault (1982) showed how power can be productive and not necessarily repressive.

> ...in itself the exercise of power is not violence; nor is it a consent which implicitly is not renewable. It is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects. (pp. 789)

The way in which power acts upon the subject has implications for how a counsellor may come to understand the client's life circumstances. In liberal-humanist counselling literature, empathy for example, is regarded as a universal phenomenon that can be applied as long as the counsellor is sufficiently self-knowledgeable and skilful. However, considering Foucault's description of power as "that which can make easy or difficult, constrain or forbid", it would follow that the power inherent in counsellor-client discourses would influence the counsellor-client relationship. There would be some domains within the client's world where the power relations forbid access or knowing. Either party in the counselling relationship may be offered subject positions in discourses that are unfamiliar or simply not understood by the other. For instance, a male counsellor might not be able to personally understand his female client's experience with sexual harassment. In this instance, the counsellor's level of understanding can diminish to the point where he might lose even a rudimentary understanding of his client's experience. Despite the limitations on the counsellor's abilities to understand his client's experience, his willingness to stay curious about her frame of reference may provide a necessary bridge to stay actively engaged.

<u>*Deconstruction*</u>

The third conceptual tool I refer to in advancing a social justice agenda in a postmodern framework is deconstruction, an approach which disassembles the common sense taken-for-granted assumptions about the nature of any phenomena. I have introduced deconstruction in chapter two and in the analysis of the reflexive shifts discussed in chapter three. I develop this further as a conceptual tool for the promotion of social justice within a social constructionist framework. Deconstruction is an approach which can expose the biases and prejudices that may underpin any "truth based theory" about life. It is also a tool which encourages researchers to adopt limited

essentialism in any research stance that is taken up. Certainly deconstructing my own research stance has invited a close examination of my theoretical and philosophical underpinnings. Such an examination has provided an opportunity for an ongoing evaluation and revision of research positions I may adopt in the future.

In relation to this study deconstruction challenges the unitary categories that accompany notions of a male and female experience, a Maori perspective or a Pakeha belief. It offers an alternative to the stultification that results from uncritical emphasis on unitary positions. Deconstructive listening, for example, invites practitioners and educators to promote a tentative, curious, and deliberately naive posture when working with cultural difference. This stance invites a counsellor in training to be wary of jumping to conclusions and too easily accepting prior assumptions about the nature of a problem or the experience of the individual they are working with. However, to be able to apply the tool of deconstruction in a counsellor-client interaction, a counsellor must first recognise the discourses present that need to be exposed. In order to do this, the counsellor must already have familiarity with the discourses that feature in the client's account of the problem. At the same time, the counsellor must be aware of the way in which their own positioning within a discourse deprives them or enhances their ability to ask deconstructing questions of the client in language that will be both helpful and accessible to the client

In this present study, I am not using postmodernist theory as some kind of nihilistic and relativistic form where life becomes devoid of any meaning and purposefulness. This is not a study where life equals a mere bunch of discourses which produce no preferred meanings in people's lives. Throughout this study, I advocate for a constructionist perspective on social justice but want to resist concretising and reifying this theoretical orientation and present it as a new truth-based theory about life. However, I do present this perspective as a preferred option and give it at least a temporary essentialist status. Spivak (1990) supports this position by saying

> Since one cannot not be an essentialist, why not look at the ways in which one is essentialist, carve out a representative essentialist position, and then do politics according to the old rules whilst remembering the dangers in this? (pp. 45)

Spivak is not, I believe, advocating for what could be considered a fixed essentialism where there are stable unchanging structures that are perceived to have some form of objective substance. Rather I see her arguing that people should explore the ramifications of the positions they take up in discourse, a view I have adopted in this study.

For counsellor education, my objective is to practice ethically and respectfully. This requires of me a stance of accountability for what I say and do. In my counsellor education work, it requires subjective presence with a willingness to acknowledge my

own prejudices and limitations whilst also making plain the principles of social justice which guide my practice. All of these actions will contribute to or diminish the quality of understanding, respect and empathy and the extent to which I can "be with" my client while being mindful of myself.

Multiplicity and Identity

Tensions exist between those who espouse universalism as a legitimate way forward and those who are ardent advocates of local and particular causes (Touraine, 1995). On the one hand, there is a call for an open society which is grounded in liberal-humanistic politics and which has the tendency to slip into a form of cultural imperialism. On the other, and at the same time, there is the appeal to the formation of an identity which can produce, for example, a dangerous moral majority (Young, 1990).

Identity politics in America has been producing a new leftist theory of difference which recognises no general truths but demands histories written from the point of view of Indians, women, or homosexuals, usually as opposed to what it denounces as written by and for White men. In New Zealand these same trends are occurring. The *tino rangatiratanga* movement, for example, is based on identity politics which rely on a coherent and cohesive group identity. In this instance, those who can claim genealogical status as Maori are *tangata whenua* (the usual translation is 'people of the land') and for some people who identify Maori, the rightful owners of the land. Escoffier (1991) commented that communities that have been excluded from the mainstream have been galvanised by the politics of identity. The dynamics of identity politics have driven the Maori renaissance and the women's movement in New Zealand. Both of these movements represent pertinent issues that relate to multiplicity and identity.

Identity politics

Identity politics are based on the particular life experiences of people who seek to be in control of their own identities and subjectivities (Sampson, 1993). Escoffier (1991) suggested that the politics of identity is a kind of cultural politics which relies on the development of a culture that is able to "create new and affirmative conceptions of the self, to articulate collective identities, and to forge a sense of group loyalty" (p. 62).

However, a number of problems have emerged from this view. Many advocates of fundamentalist perspectives argued that there was a strong correlation between one's social location and one's political position (Whelehan, 1995). The issue raised here was that one's identity was firmly rooted in a particular set of experiences and that led

rather unproblematically to a particular form of politics. For example, some women subjugated by "male oppressiveness" took up a political position with an identity as victim of patriarchy and identified the eradication of patriarchy as the only way that women could legitimately move forward. Focusing on the historical context from which identity is often constructed enables people to make sense of the contextual nature of identity.

As I have argued, people are connected, often simultaneously, to a number of different identity discourses. For example, in one moment, a colleague of mine is clearly identifying as Maori and speaking about the treachery of the Pakeha who illegally stole land from his *iwi*(tribe). In the next moment this same colleague is talking about his Scottish heritage and speaking fondly of his clan and its history. Escoffier (1991) referred to the common experience of living on the boundaries of different communities of discourse and finding oneself within overlapping identities or what I have referred to earlier as border identities.

Counsellor educators who are caught by analyses that essentialise and totalise groupings which can spring from grand narrative discourses, invite people to notice only those identities which fit the dominant descriptions of a group and ignore those dimensions that do not fit with the category's dominant characteristics. For example, while the colleague whom I described above is able to locate himself and speak from two ethnic histories, he may be invited to only acknowledge one ethnic identity if that is all that a counsellor educator can acknowledge given this person "looks" Maori.

The multiple "I"

As I have already begun to elaborate in chapter three, from a social constructionist perspective, the self is a social construction rather than an inner reality represented by emotions and cognitions (Gergen, 1985). Gulerce (1995) commented that it was time to take seriously the micro-social processes of constructing selves. For practitioners and educators, I am arguing that it is limiting to understand oppression and injustice based on any uni-dimensional characteristic. My thesis is that it is more useful to focus on the discourse clusters and how people get positioned by these rather than to personify complex issues as if they are embedded in the psyche of people belonging to this or that category.

The notion of relational selves also raises interesting points about the nature of empathy. Empathy is most commonly associated with a liberal-humanist tradition that focuses on the unitary self in the world. This quality is typically understood to be present when one unitary self is in meaningful dialogue with another similar unitary self. The bridge between the two, from the liberal-humanist perspective, is the universal experience that these two selves will have as human beings in the world. The presence of empathy can be regarded as a relatively straight forward phenomenon

from this perspective. This is based upon the idea that "humanity" will bridge any cultural gap.

Understanding empathy in postmodern terms is far more complex. First, from a postmodern perspective, engagement in meaningful dialogue cannot be guaranteed through invoking a universal human experience. Instead, empathetic engagement requires the counsellor in the intimate and personal encounter of a counselling relationship to be cognisant of the dominating and alternative discourses which offer them and their clients varying degrees of agency. It also involves the ability of those in relationship to respond to the multiple selves that are called forth by the changing discursive positions in the various contexts where the relationship is experienced. Thus, the attainment of empathy from a constructionist perspective relates to how understanding might be reached between counsellor and client in some contexts, with some selves, positioned in some discourses. This view of empathy is in significant contrast to liberal-humanist versions. The notion of multiple selves or multiple identities introduces a great deal more complexity to the engagement between counsellor and client.

The construction of identities in the 1990s is an ongoing process of struggle that has no natural outcome. Judith Butler (1990a) argued for a deconstructive intervention into the repetitive processes which define and endorse identity positioning. This approach would mean that counsellor educators in their respective programmes would not accept essentialist identities pertaining to woman, man, Maori, or Pakeha for example, but would be constantly inviting students to consider the complexities of selves and identities by pointing out the discrepancies, continuities, discontinuities, and paradoxes of personal identity. At the same time, students would be aware of salient identity constructs such as gender and ethnicity and the potential impact of these socially constructed meanings on people's lives. This desire to honour the complexity of identity was born out recently with reference to a professional woman whose mother is German and her father is African American. She resisted having to choose a fixed racial category, given the multiplicity of her racial identities (Robinson, 1998).

When counsellor educators consider the significance of multiple identities, they may encourage counsellors-in-training to build bridges with those labelled as culturally different. Counsellors can challenge the notion that shared phenotypical characteristics lead to a shared set of life experiences. Efforts to acknowledge the complexities of identity undermine interventions based on simple binaries of gender or ethnicity.

Contextuality

The postmodern subject is constituted by discourses that both shift in meaning according to context and are often in tension with one another. What gets expressed depends upon the context and the available discourses which are present in diverse

locations and time. Thus discourses call forth different facets of the self based upon the contextual configurations present at the time. The significance of context in postmodern theory is in stark contrast to the theory generated by some fundamentalist social justice agendas which produce context-independent analyses of human life. For example, some fundamentalist versions of feminism have globalised male oppression of women while dismissing the extent to which there are numerous counter-stories and acts of resistance to patriarchal dominance. Similarly, some critical theorists have tended to focus on how one group suffers at the hands of another while not considering the complexities of suffering and how this might change in relation to location and time.

As I have argued, people are constructed by discursive fields which produce shifting, multiple, contradictory forms of subjectivity (Lather, 1992). Alcoff (1988) suggested that when we speak, we position ourselves within a field of particular historically produced discourses. From this perspective, our identity is the product of our own interpretation and reconstruction of history as mediated through the cultural context to which we have access.

Who we are depends upon the circumstances we are placed in and the discourses available in the setting we find our selves. For example, on numerous occasions in the past when I have been participating in a large Maori *hui* (gathering using Maori protocol) I am clearly positioned as Pakeha. I am white skinned, conversant in English, and am likely to be seen by some people as a member of an oppressive colonising culture. I am most likely to be positioned as possessing a particular ethnic history associated with colonisation by my looks and my language style. In these settings I feel uncertain, somewhat deferential and near the bottom of the social orderings. In a university environment lecturing in front of a group of students, I am more aware of myself as professional academic rather than Pakeha, particularly if I am teaching a mainly Pakeha audience. Discourses in this setting position me as privileged, somebody with influence, and in a subjective positioning rather than the more subjected position on the *Marae* (traditional Maori meeting place). When I am in a subjected position, my agency is restricted due to a narrow band of available discourses that offer me subjectivity. In contexts other than one I have described above, I become aware of quite different identifying features of the self or selves. On occasions when I have been in a setting where the majority of the group is gay, I am aware of my heterosexuality in a manner that would never usually feature for me given the discourses of heterosexism that normalise my sexuality. In a context where the power relations in dominant discourses are inverted, my sexuality takes on prominence. The argument that selves are impermeable and fixed, such as sexual orientation, is debatable as it may also be subjected to change across location and time.

From a social constructionist perspective, the context is central to the ability of the counsellor to engage meaningfully with the other. For example, if I want to strive to

attain empathy with persons I am meeting on a *Marae*, I will need to be mindful of the discursive fields operating in that setting. In like manner, when I am meeting with persons in a university setting other discursive arrangements are present. In each of these settings, the quality of the empathy I demonstrate will relate to my ability to work within the dominating contextual field.

Agency

I have argued that subjects are not unified, autonomous individuals exercising free will, but rather individuals whose agency is created through situations and statuses conferred on them. Thus, individual subjectivity is inscribed by discourse and dominant discourses offer particular forms of identity or subjectivity and function to regulate the production of some forms and to preclude others (Foucault, 1977, 1981). My view is that the discursive fields within which people live inevitably provide some degree of subjectivity and thus an agentic position. Yet at the same time, people experience enormous variation in the extent to which they are constrained or are encouraged by their discursive placement.

Using postmodern theory it makes no sense to speak of somebody as powerless, having no ability to act in any total sense. Viewing agency from this perspective acknowledges that there are likely to be opportunities to act in apparently powerless circumstances in a variety of settings at different periods of the time. Even the most down-trodden or defeated person can demonstrate some level of psychological resistance to an oppressive or constraining circumstance (Robinson & Ward, 1991; Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 1994). This form of analysis moves away from a globalised notion of powerlessness and sensitises persons to their abilities to act, even in some modest way. This way of thinking opens up new avenues for considering how social justice issues might be addressed. It invites persons to consider oppression, not in global terms where persons can be persecutor and victim, but in terms of how discourses invite persons into oppressive and oppressed behaviours. A social constructionist approach is much more expansive and opens up many more possibilities to address oppressive and unjust states of affairs. Davies (1991) used a postmodern perspective to define agency as "the freedom to recognize multiple readings such that no discursive practice or positioning within it by powerful others can capture and control one's identity" (p. 52). The implication for educators and practitioners is to know the effects of discourse upon them and upon their clients and the agentic positions offered by these discursive arrangements.

The counsellor educator can teach a social constructionist approach which invites students to explore sites of resistance to oppression using a micro-analysis of agency invoked by discourse and the capillary action of power which accompanies it. As I have discussed in the last section, this will be contingent upon location and time.

Being a subject means being able to define conditions of existence. It also means that one can name or have access to the conditions that supply agency. Of course a person's experience with agency will vary according to available discourses and their positioning within them. This idea is in contrast to a liberal-humanist perspective which views people as replacing aspects of themselves with more desirable possibilities. Liberal-humanist discourse promotes the notion of free will and the willingness to act. The problem with this form of analysis is that it is easy to blame somebody for failing to act. Some therapies couched within this framework can implicitly invite counsellor educators to blame people.

From a postmodern perspective, the person does not have an autonomous rational mind in control of their actions and desires independent of their cultural milieu, a position advocated by liberal-humanism. Neither are persons hopelessly controlled by the whims of an identifiable group of oppressive persons. According to Davies (1993), action and desire stem from "images and story lines, from the imbrication of ways of knowing and the metaphors and patterns of the discourses through which we come to know" (p. 11-12). Davies suggested that discourses inscribe themselves on bodies and are constitutive of "conscious and unconscious minds" (p. 11). Once again, this point emphasises power as emanating from discourse rather than power emanating from individual persons.

Agency in postmodern theory focuses on the way persons actively take a position within discourses which become the means by which they construct their world. Through discourses, people are, or not, made speaking subjects at the same time as they are subjected to the constitutive force of those discourses. Agency occurs when one manages the tension between being a speaking subject and the corequisite of being subjected to the meanings inherent in the discourses through which one becomes a subject. In reference to being subjected to meanings constructed in discourse, Davies (1993) had this clarification to make.

> In order to know that one is being hailed as a subject or as a particular kind of subject, in order to respond to that hailing it is necessary to share some obviousness about the nature of persons and the processes in which they are engaged. Each person must make their way inside the experience of belonging to the category of person as that understood within their time and culture if they are to recognise themselves as addressed as such. (pp. 25)

In order to occupy a subject-position, one needs to understand the operation of the complex and changing discursive processes by which identities are ascribed, resisted, or embraced and which processes are unremarked on and indeed achieve their effect because they aren't noticed. These understandings are primary to the acquisition of empathy in social constructionist terms. The task of the educator and practitioner from this standpoint is to know the discursive processes at work in the client's life that contribute to the client's positioning in their personal world.

Bringing together the conceptual themes

In relation to exploring social justice issues in counselling and counsellor education the postmodern themes of discourse, positioning, power, deconstruction, multiplicity of selves, contextuality and agency come together to provide powerful conceptual tools to explore alternative methods for pursuing social justice and attending to processes of marginalisation in the counselling profession. These tools provide a way of identifying many of the subtleties, intricacies, and complexities associated with addressing the insidious mechanisms of racism and androcentrism. When positions within discourses are named and the discourses themselves are located, they can be acted upon and changed. This is the revolutionary potential of postmodernism displayed when apparently intractable and debilitating patterns of interaction are deconstructed by disrupting old discourses and thus opening up other possibilities for discursive location (Davies, 1993).

From a postmodern perspective, one cannot be reliant on the liberal-humanist metaphor to promote, as it does, a rational yet free choice not to trespass against the Other. I argue that any theory that subscribes to agency, or in humanist terms free will, independent of the respective histories of the participants and their interactions, is either underestimating or denying the impact of power inherent in social practices.

The multiplicity of positions that can be taken up by persons leaves them simultaneously capable of perpetrating an oppressive act in one instance and being subject to an oppressive act in another instance. The capability to express oneself from a multitude of subject positions raises a number of possibilities for building bridges across the supposed oppressed-oppressor divide and introduces the possibility of understanding, respect and empathy that does not have to be located within people with mutually shared oppressions. Since any one individual may have experienced being the Other on rare occasions or on a consistent basis, there is, I argue, the prospect of forging links based on mutual experiences of subordination or exclusion despite the fact that a person's cultural norms might be systematically seduced by hegemonic discourse. This is not to suggest that individuals have an equal number of spaces or speaking positions within discourses.

Mouffe (1992) further illustrates some of the ideas I have presented here in relation to the nature of subordination and domination.

> ...it is only when we discard the view of the subject as an agent both rational and transparent to itself, and discard as well the supposed unity and homogeneity of the ensemble of its positions, that we are in the position to theorise the multiplicity of relations of subordination. The single individual can be the bearer of this multiplicity and be dominant in one relation while subordinated in another. We can then conceive the social agent as constituted by an ensemble of "subject positions" that can never be totally fixed in a closed system of

> differences, constructed by a diversity of discourses, among which there is no necessary relation, but a constant movement of overdetermination and displacement. The "identity" of such a multiple and contradictory subject is therefore always contingent and precarious, temporarily fixed at the intersection of those subject positions and dependent on specific forms of identification. (pp. 371)

Postmodern theory has the capacity to unravel the traditional essentialised and stilted constructions for addressing social justice issues by deconstructing the ambiguous and contradictory discursive threads through which people's experience of themselves is determined.

Overview of Chapter Four

In this chapter I elaborated upon the contributions of social constructionism to social justice. In doing so, I presented seven conceptual tools that provided practical directions for dealing with the complexity of social injustice. These conceptual tools included (a) discourse, (b) positioning, (c) power, (d) deconstruction, (e) multiplicity, (f) contextuality, (g) agency. Because several frameworks have been described and critiqued in this study, I presented a table which outlined their assumptions, strengths, limitations, and implications. The four frameworks presented in Table 1 were (a) liberal humanist discourse, (b) critical theory discourse, (c) radical feminist discourse, (d) social constructionist discourse. The conceptual tools provide a medium by which one can actively apply a research or counselling stance located within a limited or temporary essentialism. An exploration of social justice with the aid of these conceptual tools guards against the tendency to produce a fixed, fundamentalist, and superior position on how justice will be realised.

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Chapter 5
Deconstructing Multicultural Theory

Introduction

In the first part of this chapter, I utilise the conceptual tools of discourse analysis and deconstruction to disassemble gender and ethnic identities. I do this to identify for counsellor educators, advantages of challenging fixed and immutable descriptions of identity. I argue that social constructionist theory opens new avenues to redescribe ethnicity and gender. In the second part of the chapter, I review current multicultural theories of counselling and their contribution to a social justice agenda. I propose that the present debates on the exclusivity and inclusivity of multiculturalism, and the discussions on culturally specific and culturally universal approaches to counselling can be significantly advanced by the contributions of a social constructionist metaphor. In the remainder of the chapter, I refer to the counsellor education literature and its discussion on the importance of cultural locatedness for educators and practitioners. This enables me to make links between the conceptual tools developed within a postmodern theory and the contemporary practice issues described in the counsellor education literature.

Deconstructing Ethnic and Gender Identities

Taking a social constructionist perspective, I propose that identities are formed in relation to shifting contexts arising from fluctuating economic and social conditions and an evolving complexity of cultural and political institutions. These multiple identities are seen as intersecting, mutually determining, and sometimes contradictory. de Lauretis (1986) illustrated this position when she stated, "Difference is not only sexual or only racial, economic or cultural, but all these together which are often at odds with one another" (p.14). Although it is difficult to pry apart any one characteristic which can be used to encapsulate the description of a person, one of the dominant discourses in New Zealand society is that there are fewer differences within groups than there are between them.

Deconstructing Pakeha and Maori identities

During the fieldwork I was challenged by the research group when they posed the question, what is a Maori or a Pakeha? Based upon a variety of interactions with colleagues, students, friends, and acquaintances in Aotearoa/New Zealand, I now view Pakeha and Maori identities as socially constructed rather than phenotypically

determined. Regardless of this insight, there appears to be considerable confusion about the nature of Maori and Pakeha identity.

Sometimes I have difficulty identifying a Pacific Islander from a New Zealand Maori. The situation becomes more difficult when a person is described as a Pacific Islander yet whose Pacific Island family has lived in New Zealand for three generations and whose paternal grandparents are New Zealand Maori. If this same person has paternal grandparents who describe themselves as NZ Maori but have one or two grandparents of British or Scottish heritage, the biological relationships become more complicated. Similar issues may arise for people who describe themselves as Pakeha. In NZ it is not uncommon for people of English European ancestry to also have Maori ancestors. People describing themselves as Maori continue to produce children with people who describe themselves as Pakeha. What identities do their children have? These same kinds of complexities arise for those people describing themselves as Maori who wish to establish which *iwi* (tribe) or *hapu* (subtribe) they belong to. With a much higher frequency of intermarriage or relationship patterns forming across Maori tribes, if a person identifying Maori wanted to determine their tribal membership how do they decide whether they are predominantly *Tainui, Kahungungu, Tuhoe, or Ngati Porou* (*Maori tribal groups*). Many Maori refer to *whakapapa* (*genealogy*) to establish tribal affiliations. However, when there has been a high frequency of intermarriage what emphasis will be placed on how the genealogy will be interpreted?

It appears that establishing ethnic identities based on historical biological relationships pertaining to Maori and Pakeha is becoming more difficult. This point was well illustrated in a New Zealand TV One news item (1998) where a distinguished Maori elder said publicly that a person could be imbued with a Maori identity if they were 'brought up Maori' despite the fact that they had no genealogical relation to Maori ancestry.

Despite this viewpoint, I suggest that when people choose their ethnic membership in New Zealand in the late twentieth century, particularly for Maori, they will relate to *Whakapapa* (genealogy) and their ability to establish an authentic connection to a family, group or tribe. This process is more related to subjective positioning rather than adherence to identity based upon phenotypical characteristics. However, while people might wish to choose their ethnic identity, there is still a tendency for many people in this country to categorise others based upon stereotypical phenotypical characteristics and not on their genealogy, knowledge of cultural traditions or language

As I write about identity, I am mindful of some of my group identities. In relation to a person or group describing themselves as Maori, I am positioned as Pakeha. I am Pakeha and I identify with some genealogical links with Britain and think about my forebears in New Zealand as associated with a colonising history. When I am on a

Marae, I am conscious of being White, not having a facility with the Maori language, and not having any tribal affiliation with Maori.

In the political environment of the early and mid 1990s, Pakeha morality, ontology, and epistemology have often been defined in terms of a set of characteristics that are negatively valued such as individualism, secular materialism, and future orientation. Ritchie (1992) argued that little is known in a social science sense about Pakeha ethnicity. He described Pakeha as having a contemporary identity formed by interaction with *iwi* and a sympathy for their aspirations. Ritchie argued that it was an identity informed by an understanding of both iwi histories and an appreciation, albeit critical, of the ethnic history of Pakeha. The significance of this position according to Ritchie was that it affirmed the centrality of biculturalism and the ambition of *tino rangatiratanga* (tribal self determination) for *iwi.*

Spoonley (1995) suggested that some of the defining features of what it meant to be Pakeha in the 1980s was to acknowledge Maori as *tangata whenua* (the first settlers) and to 'share power.' The legal revolution of the 1980s reinforced a new moral and political commitment to biculturalism. New Zealand citizens who were choosing to identify themselves as Pakeha as a political statement were, according to Spoonley, actively supporting Maori *tino rangatiratanga.*

As with all forms of group identity, there are major problems with inclusion and exclusion. For example, when the differences between Maori and Pakeha are exclusively focused on, other ethnic groups can be ignored (Wilson & Yeatman 1995). Larner (1995) suggested that Pakeha has become an important marker in both nationalist and feminist politics but is a highly contested term and has generated extensive opposition particularly from some people who do not want to be labelled as such. Pakeha identity like other identity descriptions is not fixed, nor is it self evident, and it can mean different things in different contexts. Today, there is considerable uncertainty about what Pakeha means both politically and ethnically.

Spoonley (1995) has suggested the cultural content of Pakeha ethnicity has been fractured by the different histories which have produced it. Pakeha is a label that a relatively small group of New Zealanders are prepared to use in the way that Ritchie (1992) defined it but the term may well be confined to a privileged middle-class group. Nash (1990) suggested that the term Pakeha was a dubious concept. He also stated that this group rarely organised themselves as an ethnic community for economic or political purposes and that it is impossible to sustain an analysis of Pakeha culture in a materialistic sense. I agree with Nash when I consider the high degree of disinterest expressed by White-skinned people of European origin of the ethnic description Pakeha.

Deconstructing gender categories

Gender issues and women

Postmodern feminists confronted my initial essentialist analysis of gender issues. The implications of the reformulations I made around gender relationships and their relationship to counselling became crucial to how I subsequently explored gender issues in counsellor education. I discovered that over the last decade a number of academics, feminists, and counselling practitioners had been exploring the implications and meanings of gender and sexuality from a postmodern perspective (Butler, 1992a&b; Connell, 1995; Davies, 1993; de Lauretis, 1986; Enns, 1993; Flax, 1990; Flax 1992; Gavey, 1996; Grimshaw, 1986; Gunew, 1993; Haraway, 1990; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1994; Jones & Guy, 1992; Larner, 1993, 1995; Marecek, 1995; Mouffe, 1992; Real, 1995; Yeatman, 1993). As a result of the postmodern shift, gender has been reconceived as a highly variable and a historically contingent set of human practices which pervade many aspects of human experience. Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1994b) illustrated this point by suggesting

> The psychological literature on male-female difference is not a record of cumulative knowledge about the truth of what men and women are really like. Rather it is a repository of accounts of gender organised within particular assumptive frameworks reflecting various interests. (pp. 535)

There is wide consensus among postmodern writers that while the ascriptions male and female have deep social meanings, women and men are not simple, unproblematic, self-evident categories. There has been insufficient evidence to suggest that either women or men can constitute meaningful social groups categorised by biology alone. These categories may be temporarily sustainable in communities where there are few other sources of social division and difference (Curthoys, 1988). However, most contemporary societies are divided by a variety of groupings including class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, physical and mental disability, religion, and nationality. In communities such as these, neither men nor women will form a single social group. Larner (1995) speaking about the New Zealand setting stated

> ...as a pakeha feminist working on issues of globalisation, and migration and changes in women's work, it has become evident to me that any notion of a unified female experience in New Zealand must be treated extremely cautiously in the early 1990s. (pp. 85)

Confronting the diverse experiences contained within the categories "men" and "women" has led a number of theorists to reject the idea that women and men form

relatively stable or unified subjects defined by consciousness of gender oppressiveness and oppression. Grimshaw (1986) illustrated a number of these points by suggesting

> The experience of gender, of being a man or woman inflects on much if not all of people's lives....But even if one is always a man or a woman, one is never just a man or a woman. One is young or old, sick or healthy, married or unmarried, a parent or not a parent, employed or unemployed, middle-class or working-class, rich or poor, Black or White, and so forth. Gender of course inflects one's experience of these things, so that experience of any one of them may well be radically different according to whether one is a man or a woman. But it may also be radically different according to whether one is, say, Black or White, or working-class or middle-class. (pp. 84-85)

The differences and similarities between male and female experience is by no means clear since context is highly significant. For example, there might be more similarity between a man and woman who have the same love of sport and competition than between two women where one of them lives a very sedentary life and the other is a professional sports woman. A man and woman who experience poverty may have more in common than a wealthy man and a poor man. Yet giving birth, breast feeding a child, and being a primary caregiver of a young child may produce strong similarities among women.

Cultural practices and political activity may reinforce gender identities but so do class and ethnic factors (Curthoys, 1988). Butler (1990a) emphasised this point by suggesting that it was impossible to separate out gender from the political and cultural intersections including class, ethnic, sexual and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities.

Some feminist theorists have been concerned about the recent developments in postmodern theorising which critique any group's sense of a common core or cohesive unity. This concern is strongly expressed in relation to deconstructing the category women. Butler (1992) argued that while there can be no universal content to a gender category, that is not to say for example that the term "woman" should not be used. On the contrary, she suggested that the term "woman designates an undesignatory field of differences, one that can not be totalised or summarised by a descriptive identity category" (p. 16). Mouffe (1992) proposed that because the category "woman" can no longer correspond to any unified or unifying essence, there is no need to develop a set of questions to unearth the essential meaning. Far more pertinent are the questions, "How does woman become constructed as a category within different discourses?" "How is sexual difference made a pertinent distinction in social relations?" "How are relations of subordination constructed through such a distinction?" (Mouffe, 1992, p. 373).

Social constructionist view of masculinity

Social constructionist theory challenges the masculinity politics advocated by those espousing an innate or essentialist perspective of the kind proposed by Bly (1990). It explores masculinity issues as a socio-cultural phenomenon in contrast to the liberal-humanist politics emphasised by "new age" writers who emphasise an innate inborn masculinity. Social constructionism's primary emphasis on the cultural production of gender has not been without its critics.

According to Connell (1995), social constructionism has gone too far with its claims that the body is relatively unimportant and is a more or less neutral surface or landscape on which a social symbolism is imprinted. Connell has pointed out that a social constructionist perspective views the body as a "canvas to be painted, a surface to be printed, a landscape to be marked out" (p.45). Vance (1989) identified that the problem with social constructionism was that it entirely left out the body. He stated that while social construction theory grants that sexual acts, identities, and even desire are mediated by cultural and historical factors, sexuality disappears in this theory.

I accept that bodies matter. They age, get sick, feel pleasure, give birth. Connell (1995) suggested, "there is an irreducible bodily dimension in experience and practice; the sweat cannot be excluded" (p. 51). Connell (1995) suggested that male and female genders are

> ...a certain feel to the skin, certain muscular shapes and tensions, certain postures and ways of moving, certain possibilities in sex. Bodily experience is often central in memories in our own lives, and thus in our understanding of who and what we are. (pp. 52)

I think what Connell excludes from the emphasis on the body is the way people construct their interpretations of the body. Cream (1995) stated that it is our culture that demands that a sexed body corresponds to a gender rather than there being an inherent relationship. The results of research interviews conducted with transsexuals such as Bloom (1994), Cream (1995) and Seidman (1994) easily diffuses the physical boundaries which Connell (1995) draws above. Bloom (1994) quoting a person who was originally a woman and who underwent genital reconstruction stated

> Gender is slippery. I used to see it as black and white - men, women, that is it. I wanted to be perceived as male, in a male role, with male attributes. I don't hold to that any more. Male, female - I don't even understand that any more. And I find after all this (surgical intervention) it doesn't matter much. (pp. 40)

I would suggest that the body is part of the construction of masculinity and femininity and this is not fixed. The body is a part of social processes and is a subject of politics. Ultimately, the construction of masculinity and femininity has a bodily dimension but is not bodily determined.

The diversity of needs, agendas and historical injustices make it increasingly difficult to forge together groups based on biology alone. Thus, a social justice project requires a recognition of both the similarities and differences within and between groups.

A critique of a postmodernism analysis of gender issues

While postmodernists have challenged essentialist and unitary categories of persons, particularly in relation to gender and ethnic groups, there has been an objection to this analysis by what Whelehan (1995) called cultural "outgroups". She stated that some groups feel unprepared to dispense with their own totalising and unitary categories, such as those described as Black or Gay or Lesbian. Whelehan suggested that many non-White, non-male, non-heterosexuals feel that they are excluded by what she calls the postmodern mainstream. On top of these feelings of exclusion, these groups have been urged to dispense with their old fashioned ways of thinking. hooks (1991) pointed out that when ethnicity is discussed in a postmodern context, Black women are seldom acknowledged. She stated

> It is sadly ironic that the contemporary discourse which talks the most about heterogeneity, the decentered subject, declaring break throughs that allow recognition of otherness, still directs its critical voice primarily to a specialised audience that shares a common language rooted in the very master narratives it claims to challenge. (pp. 25)

This challenge from hooks (1991) that postmodernist thought has been directed at the most privileged in western society supports a number of feminists' concerns about postmodern explorations into the axes of gender, ethnicity, and sexual identity in particular (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1994b). Barrett and Phillips (1992) noted how many feminist groups view postmodern concepts such as discourse theory as ideologically suspect and undermining of the work of feminists in addressing patriarchy. Many feminists are at odds with the fragmentation of identity, a strong feature of postmodern theorising. Barrett and Phillips stated that while gender relations could potentially take an infinite number of forms, there were in actuality some widely repeated features and considerable historical continuity. They suggested that the signifiers of "women" and "men" have sufficient and historical and cross-cultural continuity, despite some variations, to warrant such terms. Whelehan (1995) stated that the luxury of female anti-essentialism is still one only accorded to the privileged. She stated that "non-White, non-heterosexual, non-bourgeois women are still finding political impetus in summoning up womanhood as identity, and femininity as a construct which excludes and punishes them most painfully of all" (p. 211).

In writing this thesis, I have challenged the viewpoints suggested above on the grounds that all political movements focusing on a particular identity presuppose that

particular properties define such groups. As Fuss (1989) suggested, there are problems with implying that there is an essence within identity which is fixed and can be unearthed through the discussion of an oppressed group's experience of subjectivity. However, I cannot challenge the notion that groups of people who are systematically marginalised by dominating cultural norms of patriarchy or Eurocentrism are strengthened by standing together and thus allowing previously silenced individuals to be heard. These political acts have been transformative in history and have advanced many communities in dealing with prejudices relating to sexual orientation, ethnicity and gender, to name just a few. However, I have argued that when these groups begin to essentialise and totalise their identity based on one dimension, a new set of problems is generated. When exploring the intimate issues that a client wishes to address in counselling, it is a gross mistake for the counsellor to see the client in unidimensional terms. It remains my view that experiences are never universal but reflect differing relationships to class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation, not to mention more localised variables.

Rather than merely acknowledge the interrogative power of a postmodern or social constructionist analysis of gender, I would like to expound upon this orientation and indicate how it expands the notion of gender with respect to identity. Davies (1990) suggested that to move away from the unitary self, the essential "I" toward an "I" which could be recognised as multiple could be profoundly liberating. Advocating for a poststructural or postmodern perspective she stated

> It gave me, for the first time, a clear voice, a sense of myself as a speaking subject with authority rather than one who was in error for presuming to speak and required to cover up and deny those gaps and contradictions that have now become the central focus of my gaze. I could now speak from my embodied knowledges, contradictory as they were, and could see how I could mobilise existing discourses to say what I wanted to say. (pp. 506)

Davies (1990) said that her desire to speak and her competency in doing so came from her entry into a postmodern understanding of the world. Unlike hooks (1991) who commented that postmodernism can deny some groups a voice, Davies suggested that postmodernism gives access to a range of new discourses which enable many women to present the multiplicity of their experiencing selves. She added

> Such discourses locate us not as halves of a metaphysical dualism, not as dividing off from each other according to the genitals we happen to have, each half taking its meaning in opposition to the other, each needing/desiring the other to fill its own lack, but rather as beings capable of developing new storylines, new metaphors, new images through which we can live our lives. (pp. 506)

Congruent with this argument, Cixous (1986) rejected the notion of masculine and feminine identities as well as the limitations of being one or the other. She argued,

instead, for a multiplicity of difference where people can be something other than their sex or gender. While I accept the spirit in which these views are offered, I am not convinced that gender as binary will ever disappear. Yet, by moving away from binarised constructions of the gendered self, people could reconstruct their identities and patterns of desire (Davies, 1990). In order to do this, people would have to move away from dualisms and binary logic. I believe these views illustrate the liberating potential of a postmodern and social constructionist orientation.

Multiculturalism and counsellor education

Thus far, I have made a case for recognising the complexity, diversity, and multiplicity of identities on gender and ethnic axes. While I have consistently acknowledged that gender and ethnicity are sites where systematic patterns of oppression occur, I have also cautioned against making assumptions about the homogeneity of gender and ethnicity issues in counsellor training and counselling practice. Homogenous and distinct identities which congeal unproblematically across gender and ethnicity encouraged me to critique the multicultural counsellor education literature on multiple and intersecting identities. This discussion frames the second part of this chapter.

Biculturalism has been an important metaphor in the counselling field in Aotearoa/New Zealand over the last decade, yet it has not featured at all in the majority culture literature relating to ethnicity and counsellor education. Most literature in North American counsellor education journals and texts associated with ethnicity are discussed under multiculturalism. Transculturalism seems to be a more favoured term in the British literature emphasising 'across cultures' rather than many cultures (d'Ardenne and Mahanti, 1989). Multiculturalism in the North American literature generally refers to different ethnic and minority groups and includes subcultures that relate to gender, sexual orientation, and to a lessor extent, socio-economic factors and age (Atkinson, Morton & Sue, 1989). Some authors, however, continue to argue that multiculturalism should be exclusive in its use and focuses primarily on race and ethnicity.

Exclusive and inclusive definitions of multiculturalism

Most exclusive definitions of multicultural counselling in the North American literature focus on situations where the client and counsellor represent different racial/ethnic groupings. Authors wishing to limit the scope of multicultural counselling to ethnic counselling argue that over-inclusive definitions destroy the use of the construct because they fail to denote anything beyond individual differences. Vontress (1988), for example, defined multicultural counselling as "counselling in which the

counsellor and the client are culturally different because of socialisation acquired in distinct cultural, sub-cultural, race-ethnic...environments" (p.74). His use of culture here is synonymous with ethnicity. Other writers have emphasised their concerns about broadening the definitions of multiculturalism because this may dilute the focus on racial/ethnic concerns, particularly the concerns of the four visible minority groups in America: African, Asian, Latin, and Native-Americans (Locke, 1990). Sue (1993) suggested that when White researchers define culture broadly to include class, affectional orientation, religion, sex, and age, racial prejudice is avoided.

Some counsellor educators clearly privilege ethnicity as the proper focus of multicultural counselling. There has, however, been a strong backlash to this proposal in recent literature. A number of writers have criticised those who are requesting that limitations should be placed on the definitions of multicultural counselling to ethnicity issues only (Axelson, 1994; Ivey, 1986; Ivey, et al., 1993; Midgett & Meggert, 1991; Pedersen, 1991; 1993; Pope, 1995; Savickas, 1992; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). They suggested that all counselling is, to some extent, multicultural, a stance that would be congruent with social constructionist epistemology. The inclusive definition of multiculturalism considers lifestyle, gender, and socioeconomic factors in addition to ethnic and nationality differences. From this perspective it becomes quickly apparent that there is a multicultural dimension in every counselling relationship.

I favour Das's (1995) definition of multicultural counselling which includes all cultures or groups who find meaningful ways of coping with the problems that life presents. He suggested that all counselling can be regarded as multicultural if one defines culture broadly to include not only nationality or ethnicity, but also social class, gender, sexual orientation, and disability. I would extend this definition to embrace all other groups that might include the significance of religion, being a rural or urban dweller, persons who have survived major traumas, and any other group that can be distinguished by some collective shared experiences. Das went on to suggest that multicultural counselling considers the socio-cultural conditions responsible for the problems for which people seek counselling. He described counselling as a particular form of cultural invention developed in the West to deal with psychological distress while acknowledging that every culture has some formal or informal way of dealing with human misery.

Salad bowl and melting pot metaphors

Pedersen (1991) suggested that his multicultural perspective combined the extremes of universalism and relativism by explaining behaviour both in terms of those culturally learned perspectives that are unique to a particular culture as well as linking into some universal human experience. Savickas (1992) suggested that the "salad

bowl" and "melting pot" metaphors were analogous for American multiculturalism in the 1990s. Those advocating for universal commonalities across cultures have been considerably influenced by the Melting Pot metaphor which has emphasised the fact that we are all human beings whose genetics are all mixed up together and our differences are being merged into one cultural group. In the melting pot, each distinct group loses its characteristics and melts together into one homogeneous amalgam. However, the critics of this theory state that there has been an overemphasis on the universal or common- ground generalisations that are shared across cultures. Subsequently, culturally unique perspectives have been ignored. Describing the salad bowl metaphor, Savickas (1992) suggested that every culture is mixed together into a heterogeneous abundance of interests, beliefs, traditions, and rituals, but each still retains its own specific character.

These two metaphors, to some extent, illustrate the debate about the different definitions of multiculturalism in relation to counselling and counsellor education. The melting pot metaphor corresponds with what the multicultural literature termed the etic approach to counsellor training. The etic approach adapts traditional counselling theories to reflect the cultural values of the clients. Despite this adaptation, it targets the universal aspects of human existence which are seen to transcend all cultural variations.

The emic approach to counselling is congruent with the salad bowl metaphor. From this standpoint, it has been suggested that counsellor education should be culturally specific and embedded in a cultural context. It should not be expected to be universally applicable or transferable to counselling members of other groups. These models attempt to address or circumvent the problems associated with Western models of helping which might otherwise be imposed upon others who share non-Western perspectives. Both emic and etic approaches to counselling seek to acknowledge and respect the values of collective and indigenous cultures who are in danger of being colonised and negatively affected by individualistic, material, and secular values. It is of interest to note that New Zealand counsellor educators in this study did not discuss their favoured approaches to multicultural or bicultural counselling in emic or etic terms. Rather, research participants tended to be more interested in the role of parallel services based upon ethnic matching. In part, this emphasis may have been a function of the questions put to the participants. However, I would also like to propose that their comments might be considered in the light of the prominence given to the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural emphasis promoted in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Advantages and disadvantages of Emic and Etic approaches to counsellor education

Culturally specific (Emic) approaches to counselling and counsellor training

When I began this study, I actively promoted an emic approach. Because I had essentialised differences between Maori and Pakeha, I was advocating for parallel development of counselling within the bicultural partnership. Emic approaches have been used to design counselling strategies which have incorporated the use of shamanic ceremonialism in counselling Indians in British Columbia (Oakes, 1987) and in an indigenous mode of counselling Hawaiian clients called ho ponopono (Cohen, 1995). The emic approach has been promoted as more relevant and familiar to clients and therefore expected to better facilitate communication and produce outcomes that support adaptation within the client's culture. An emic approach has been seen as a way of reducing the likelihood of counsellors imposing Eurocentric discourse onto clients. The purpose here is to find ways of working from within the client's cultural value system in order to avoid perpetuating the cultural oppression associated with the use of traditional counselling approaches. Ridley (1994) suggested that an emic training approach is helpful where students are working with homogenous groups. He stated that specialised cultural training will increase the effectiveness of local services. Some counsellor training programmes in North America include emic training which focuses on the largest racial minority groups. This decision is based on the high probability that programme graduates will provide services to members of these cultural groups in future settings. It has been proposed that the methodology of an emic orientation could become generalisable across other cultural groups. Ridley (1994) suggested that counsellor educators could learn about indigenous methods of helping and healing styles and adapt these methods into culturally specific strategies. He argued that trainees can attain specialised competency with a particular cultural group and may internalise a general process for gathering and integrating culturally-specific information in counselling.

The work of Nwachuku and Ivey (1991) is an illustration of an emic approach to training. This study focused on the African-Igbo culture using a culture specific approach and micro-skills orientation. The researchers involved started from the targeted culture's frame of reference. They examined the natural helping style of the African-Igbo culture using a cultural insider who was a supportive informant from that culture. This examination focused on key values and aspects of the culture. Special attention focused on traditional helping styles to view how the culture solves problems. These authors explored some new approaches based on the host culture in order to develop training materials. Nwachuku and Ivey (1991) stated

> ...culture-specific counselling provides us with a new way to think about the helping process. It seems likely that current Euro-North American systems and theories of helping may be strengthened as we learn to derive helping behaviours specific to other cultures, and we hope to complement existing individualistic approaches, family approaches or both. (pp. 108)

A number of researchers, commentators, and practitioners have argued for a culturally specific training programme for educators and practitioners who work with Maori (Durie & Hermansson, 1990; Smith, 1992; Tamesese & Waldegrave, 1993). These authors outlined a set of procedures similar to Nwachuku and Ivey (1991). Nwachuku and Ivey introduced a systematic framework for teaching counselling specifics and behaviours and then built training about culture into counselling using established technologies of micro-skills and workshop design.

Problems with an emic approach

Despite clear advantages, there are problems with a culture specific counselling orientation. Some emically oriented counsellor educators have admitted that their own counselling and psychotherapy theory might still be culturally encapsulated despite their best attempts to avoid placing their own ideas of helping on to the client. An emic approach does not guarantee cultural sensitivity. For example, Nwachuku and Ivey (1991) acknowledged the power and influence of the counsellor in the way that their study was established. While these researchers have pointed out that the most important contribution of this method was a recognition of culturally encapsulated preconceptions, the observer does impact on the observed. They also admit to the problem of framing the problem, which affects results. This, of course, is true of all counselling and therapy theory and research.

Speight et al (1991) and Lloyd (1987) criticised the emic approach for using a multicultural cook book approach to training where recipes are provided for each cultural group after the group's normative characteristics had been identified. Yet, Lambert (1981) argued that a problem occurs when the cultural element is under emphasised and the counsellor might be insensitive to the client's values. If it is overemphasised the counsellor is in danger of stereotyping clients.

Much of the current counselling literature on cross-cultural counselling presents a static view of the world in which cultures exist in more or less stable form where people are seen to be socialised by one culture. This view of the multicultural world misses some important points. For example, Das (1995) suggested that in any multicultural society, cultures do not exist in isolation but influence one another. There is diffusion of ideas, values, and technology and this cross-cultural contact leads to cultural change. Rosaldo (1993) suggested that culture " can arguably be conceived as a more porous array of intersections where distinct processes cris-cross from within

and beyond its borders" (p. 20). In fact people are likely to have problems which relate directly to their inter-cultural interactions.

To try and develop a separate orientation for each distinct cultural group raises many practical problems. I have already outlined some of the complexities associated with the definition of cultural boundaries. Referring to the United States, Ho (1995) suggested that following this line of argument, there would need to be a series of culturally specific programmes developed for Asian-Americans which might include Chinese-Americans, Philippine-Americans, Indian-Americans, and so forth. The final result would be an unmanageable multiplicity of approaches to counselling. Ho suggested that a misguided multiculturalism could lead "into the blind alley of particularism" (p.17). Writing about this phenomenon, Weinrach and Thomas (1998) noted that students are asking for Black Therapy and Hispanic Therapy but commented that nobody really knows what these are.

A culturally universal (etic) approach

An etic or culturally universal approach to counselling holds that traditional counselling theories may be considered valid if principles and techniques are adapted to reflect the cultural values of the clients being served. The etic approach is regarded as a departure from a full acceptance of generic counsellor education because it suggests that considerable changes in general counselling practice are required. It is based on the assumption that it is possible to develop counselling theories that target the universal aspects of human existence which transcend all cultural variations - a position closely aligned to liberal-humanism.

One of the major contributors to multicultural counselling over the last decade, Pedersen (1991a), has continued to advocate for an etic approach, suggesting that multicultural counselling differs from the generic approach because etic theorists make conscious efforts to guard against cultural encapsulation and ethnocentrism while deliberately considering cultural factors in theory development. A number of other counselling theorists, counsellor educators, and counselling practitioners have promoted a more universal approach (Ho, 1995; Ibrahim, 1991; Lloyd, 1987; Speight, Myers, Cox & Highland, 1991). Speight, Myers, Cox, and Highland (1991) suggested that it was possible to extract the universal aspects from traditional counselling theories and techniques and create modified versions of these for multicultural counselling. This argument suggests that it is possible to package and adapt counselling tools to specific cultural audiences.

Problems with the etic approach

There is considerable evidence to suggest that members of what appears to be a homogenous group differ greatly from one another in the degree to which they reflect a modal pattern in behaviour (Triandis, 1994). Using modernistic classifications, Das (1995) said that individual differences within a group exist because they are moderated by temperament, social class membership, family structure, and socialisation demands. From a social constructionist perspective, individual variation can be explained by the complexity of competing and interacting discourses which position people with a variety of identities or subjectivities. As I identified in chapter four, different discursive contexts call forth a variety of different identities that defy stable, homogenous categorisation.

One of the criticisms of the etic position is that although it marks an improvement over the generic position, it is still heavily influenced by Eurocentric discourse. The universality of etic theory is often assumed, just as it was assumed by the culturally encapsulated creators of traditional theories. Etic theories are in danger of being cultural centric and impositional because of the relationship between the dominant counselling models and Eurocentric influence.

Das (1995) concluded from his research that neither one of the two approaches (emic nor etic) can be used exclusively. He said the emic approach accentuates the differences among groups and makes multicultural counselling look like a foreboding task while the etic approach tends to overlook important cultural differences and may fail because of cultural insensitivity. Das's solution to this problem was a blend of the emic and etic approaches but identifying what this would look like has not been explained.

While there is value in assembling arguments that reflect common themes in the relationship between theoretical orientations and their relevance to identifiable client groups, there are crucial issues missing from the culturally specific - culturally universal debate. For example, discussing etic approaches, there is a lack of specificity about which counselling theories are being referenced and how theory is being constructed. There is also little discussion about the counsellor who is using a particular counselling theory and how this impacts upon the counselling relationship. Also absent is discussion about which aspects of the counselling theory are being developed and which are being ignored during a counselling interaction. In addition, discourses associated with counselling theory, counselling practice, and their cumulative effect on positioning both client and counsellor is unknown. The evolution of general principles by etic or emic practitioners fail to take account of the uniqueness of issues being explored and the context within which they are expressed.

Critiquing Emic and Etic approaches from a social constructionist perspective

From a social constructionist perspective, because of the complexity of interlocking, overlapping, and competing discursive frameworks operating at any one time, it is difficult to justify culturally specific knowledges and approaches for any one identifiable group. I have already made a case for challenging the notion that any ethnic group is uniquely homogeneous and internally consistent. I have by implication identified how within-group differences may be greater than the between-group differences. Citing the literature on the multiplicity of selves, I have critiqued the stability of essentialist categories such as for example, Pakeha and Maori. From this background, it appears highly problematic to produce a culturally specific counselling approach in communities where ethnic and gender groups are multiply positioned in discourse as Ho (1995) and Ibrahim (1991) have suggested. As our communities become more complex and diverse, separating out important cultural characteristics or determinants will be increasingly difficult to do.

However, in communities where the ethnic groups are clearly identified and there is little interaction across cultures, particularly in isolated rural communities, establishing culturally specific counselling does seem on first glance viable. Yet new culturally diverse experiences arise when an urban-rural cultural dynamic is included. Using a social constructionist analysis, it makes little sense to divide up counselling approaches to be culturally specific when clients from diverse ethnic communities walk through the door of the counselling room representing a multiplicity of identities. If one is to consider the ramifications of the multiply positioned self, it is difficult to consider seriously the viability of a culturally specific counselling model. One of the counsellor educators in this study acknowledged the complexity of culture and demonstrated faith that cross-cultural work was viable.

> ... I believe that counselling can be very successfully done across cultures, not just ethnic, across ethnic boundaries, but our interpretation of culture is very broad, too, and it encompasses gender and sexual identity, and disability issues, and all those sorts of things.

I do not want to simply dismiss an emic approach. Doing so would leave out some important issues. For instance, not all positionings in discourse are of equal value to people when they seek to develop some coherency and meaning in their lives. Some discourse clusters have more significance than others. Problematic positioning in discourses associated with gender and ethnicity can be central to the problems that arise for people in counselling. There is considerable value for counsellors to be aware of the dominant discourses that position clients due to their membership in ethnic or gender groups while recognising that other discourses are operating simultaneously. By concentrating on the discourse clusters that produce problem positionings for

clients, a counsellor is more likely to avoid stereotyping and creating in their interactions an identity for the client based on phenotypical characteristics such as skin colour and other biological features. This may occur because the counsellor is invited to consider the significance of the discursive context in shaping identity rather than biological processes where identity can easily be fused with phenotypical features. It enables discussion of the problem to be inscribed by the discourses creating the problem, rather than working "inwards" as if it were a cultural definition.

A discourse analysis of problem positionings for clients circumvents the need to determine what category a person has been assigned to before they can be assisted. While outward characteristics will invite certain discourse clusters to be active in a person's life because of phenotypical characteristics, many people choose multiple descriptions of themselves. This is certainly the case in relation to ethnic membership and in a few cases to gender membership. There are numerous examples of people in New Zealand who have obvious Polynesian phenotypical characteristics but do not identify Polynesian or Maori. External features are enormously unreliable in making predictions about the kind of issues that might concern such an individual. Furthermore, it is unwise to match phenotypical characteristics of counsellor and client as the best way of building a therapeutic bond. When the counsellor is attuned to the discourses present in the life of the client, discourse analysis becomes a more useful tool for the client than knowing one or two culturally specific counselling practices. This point does not deny the fact that if a counsellor is familiar with the dominant discourses impacting on a person, discourses which may be producing problematic positioning for them, then they can more rapidly move toward deconstructing the discursive context. Thus a client who identifies as Maori and is strongly positioned by traditional indigenous discourses, would be benefited enormously by a counsellor who also has an intimate knowledge of traditional indigenous discourses.

In New Zealand, culturally specific counselling continues to be strongly advocated for by some groups who endorse a radical social justice agenda. It is for this reason that I have elaborated more fully on emic approaches to counselling. The calls for emic approaches to counselling do not come solely from those concerned with ethnic and gender matching. There are numerous other groups who advocate for cultural matching on other dimensions. For example, some church groups believe that counsellors must have the same church affiliations in order to counsel their parishioners. Lesbian and gay cultures have also argued for culturally specific counselling approaches.

I have argued that to maintain essentialised categories of people who belong to an oppressed group or an oppressor group rigidify and simplify ethnic meanings. The retreat to categories which compartmentalise relations between peoples in this country builds walls which artificially segregate people. Points of difference become emphasised and commonalities diminished. We begin to think that there are particular

kinds of persons that can be served by particular kinds of counsellors. When we think of people as being of a particular breed, we may be invited to focus on choosing counsellors who have identical specific characteristics. If the physical dimensions of the person are not privileged, some other characteristic can be easily identified as the common denominator uniting a group of people. Some radical social philosophies can easily become caught up in dividing people into groups on the basis of one characteristic or another which reduces people to the socially constructed meanings attributed to a visible characteristic.

Additional problems with ethnic matching

Many majority culture counsellors have become self-conscious and defensive as a result of the push for ethnic matching and have been scared off, so to speak, from racially diverse contact (Lloyd, 1987; Ponteroto & Bensch, 1988; Smith, 1990). Smith (1990) referring to Aotearoa/New Zealand has picked up on this theme by stating

> The first strategy in the search of being culturally sensitive is the strategy of avoidance. I hear quite frequently the statements by individuals that they or their organisations do not deal with Maori clients specifically, but they have no expertise in that area, or that they do not feel it appropriate to do so. It is a statement which always catches my attention, not because I think the person concerned is necessarily a positive example of cultural sensitivity but because I am usually thinking about the options available to the Maori client if this one is not available. (pp. 49)

The arguments about ethnic matching have contributed toward some White or Pakeha mental health professionals opting out of working with clients who are perceived to represent a different ethnic grouping from themselves. One of the participants in this study was concerned that all the talk of ethnic and gender matching in counselling in New Zealand was disempowering counsellors from working across cultures and addressing difficult cultural dilemmas

> ...what we must not do in our counsellor education programmes is disempower our students by making them feel that the whole thing is just too big, that it's just too complex, it's in the too hard basket, so they say I don't want to have anything to do with Asian clients or Maori clients or Pacific Island clients. And that's how they were beginning to come out feeling...

There have been a number of empirical studies over the last two decades in the United States which have raised major doubts about ethnic matching in the counselling relationship. In contrast to previous discussions concerning the suitability for Black male clients working with Black counsellors, Helms and Carter (1991) found that

Black men were more receptive to White male counsellors than, for example, Black women.

Atkinson and Schein (1986) suggested that research on this subject often emphasised outward characteristics rather than the unique circumstances of individual clients. In an earlier study, Atkinson (1983) cited 12 studies on a variety of ethnic groups that reported no client preferences for the race or ethnicity of the counsellor. Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1983) argued that active intervention styles for positive change through counselling were more important than ethnic similarity in building rapport. Atkinson, Maruyama, and Matsui (1978) suggested that client preference for counselling style may be more important than ethnic or class matching.

Some researchers have identified possible difficulties that could arise when client-counsellor matching was done purely on the basis of ethnicity and colour because it could imprison both the counsellor and client in their own ethnic identity. In fact, Hill (1992) stated that it could be an advantage for a counsellor to have quite different cultural experiences from clients and that when these are made explicit, clients may gain a much clearer sense of the culturally based assumptions that influence client difficulties. d'Ardenne (1993) noted that the single biggest factor affecting the outcome between a White therapist and Black clients is the positive attitude of the therapist. One of the participants in this present study responded in kind and challenged the idea of a formal policy of ethnic matching in the New Zealand context.

> ...this business of hard demarcation lines is just ridiculous because there are thousands of Maori people who move between both worlds and who don't want to be counselled within the one, don't want to be forced into the one kind of bracket. Just as there are Pakehas who will be perfectly happy to be counselled by a Maori counsellor. It's irrelevant some of the time.... They want a skilled counsellor...But I think part of the respect and part of what I teach... is ..whoever the client is that you're working with, whatever their cultural background, or background in terms of orientation in terms of sexuality, sexual identity, gender, whatever, we must equip ourselves with reliable and up-to-date background knowledge...part of that essential responsibility is to consult and get supervision..

There was a strong consensus among counsellor educators in this study for training and practice of cross-cultural counselling. Here is another example from the same counsellor educator

> All I know is that we have a variety of cultures and complexity of cultures within the community, and we need to be training counsellors to be not just aware of that but equipped to work with that complexity, their own and others' complexities.

One counsellor educator explicitly challenged the concept of ethnic matching in relation to fulfilling a bicultural partnership and instead was committed to increasing the choices available to clients

> I think we're also getting too rigid about who should work with who. I think the only 'should' I have is that the client should choose...The real issue is about training and making available Maori counsellors so that the choice is really out there.

The majority of participants in this study identified the limitations of dividing up the counselling profession into discrete sections based upon one or two cultural dimensions. Yet they also supported, as this last comment suggests, having a more equitable representation of counsellors available to increase client choices in regards to counsellor selection. Once again I have been compelled to return to the theme of the multiplicity of selves and the problems with unitary descriptions of groups. Facundo (1990) argued that using ethnicity alone to automatically facilitate understanding between the client and the counsellor in therapy is problematic. Facundo like a number of other authors I have cited re-emphasised the importance of socio-economic factors. He stated: "...if the families are low income or poor and the therapist is middle-class ... the commonality of language or race does not necessarily help" (p.15).

Ridley and Lingle (forthcoming) stated that cultural similarity between counsellors and clients was helpful because counsellors from backgrounds similar to their clients could more easily decode cultural messages than counsellors from other cultures. They also stated that counsellors working with culturally similar clients do not always achieve adequate understanding of their clients and may over-emphasise similarities to the point of developing an insensitivity to within-cultural differences.

When naming problems with over-emphasising similarities and identifying the problems with matching identities I am not diminishing the value of encouraging people with a variety of ethnic backgrounds, sexual orientations, religious backgrounds, and the like to train as counsellors. A wide variety of counsellor backgrounds increases the likelihood of a match in needs and interests between client and counsellor. In addition, identifying the dominant problem-producing discourses can be enhanced by lived experiences. However, I argue that the central concern of both the counsellor and counsellor educator is to identify and name the problem discourses. These discourses position people in less preferred ways and impact on the degree of agency that clients have available to them. In addition, I suggest that counsellors and counsellor educators need to be sensitive to the nature of the identities called forth from the discursive contexts in which people find themselves. The conceptual tools developed by a social constructionist analysis seem to provide the counsellor and counsellor educator with options about how to address the complexities of ethnicity issues rather than sliding into a simplistic analysis of matching on the basis of outward characteristics. Using a discourse analysis, oppressive behaviours of counsellors towards clients can be identified and hopefully addressed when counsellors carefully review the discursive positions that they occupy. The

introduction of discourse analysis to the multicultural counselling literature is, in my view, an important and unique contribution. The application of a discursive framework within both counsellor education and counselling practice can be integrated into other major developments that have taken place in multicultural theory and therapy over the last couple of years. I explore this prospect below.

Multicultural therapy

With the 1996 publication of 'A Theory of Multicultural Therapy' by Derald Wing Sue, Allen Ivey and Paul Pedersen, there has been significant advancement in addressing some of the complexities of educating counsellors in multicultural therapy, not attended to earlier by a number of North American multicultural researchers. The contributions of this work are highly congruent with many of the social constructionist ideas developed within this study that focus on dealing with social justice within heterogenous communities.

Sue, et al. (1996) presented six major propositions on multicultural therapy (MCT). I present them in brief to illustrate the contributions of these ideas to the multicultural counselling literature. In doing so, I make links between some of these propositions and the social constructionist contributions I have discussed in chapter four.

The first proposition of MCT is that it is a metatheory of counselling and rests on the premise that all counselling theories are culturally bound and their underpinning philosophies must be named. I find this first proposition to be consistent with what I have articulated in the body of the thesis although I have used a social constructionist framework to engage with the cultural boundedness of knowledge. The significance of acknowledging the cultural locatedness of any counselling theory from which a counsellor works fits with the notion of discursive presence - the act of clearly articulating within a discursive context the position from which one is engaging with the other. As well, temporary essentialism adds a more dynamic quality to the theoretical positioning the counsellor espouses. Temporary essentialism provides a philosophical analysis as to how counsellors can reposition themselves in their interactions with others. This can alert counsellors to the possibility that their clients may provide them with new knowledge and meanings in their work.

The second proposition of MCT is that people's identities are formed by multiple levels of experience within diverse contexts. The totality of these experiences and contexts is of primary focus in this metatheory. I have discussed at length in chapter four the significance of context in how this impacts upon the discursive arrangements in human interaction. I think there is value in exploring further the relationship between the contextual effects on discursive content and how this might be integrated into a MCT model.

The third proposition of MCT is that it recognises how cultural identity is vital in understanding attitudes of the client and counsellor and determines what might be appropriate counselling goals and processes. Racial identity development which has featured so prominently in the multi-cultural counselling and counsellor education literature is not discussed in this present study. However, there is considerable value in exploring racial identity development using a discursive perspective. A discursive analysis may provide an alternative means to review cultural encapsulation and for example, White racial identity (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1990b; 1993; Ponterotto, 1988; Sabnani, Ponterotto and Borodovsky, 1991; Pope-Davis and Ottavi, 1994) while avoiding the linearity and rigidities of a staged model. Discursive analysis might also be helpful in giving a systematic account of the fluctuations and changes in notions of identity development as this relates to context. However, this task exceeds the parameters of the present study although this would be a worthy future project.

The fourth proposition suggests that MCT is more effective when the counselling approaches and counselling goals are consistent and congruent with the experiences of the client. In this study, I emphasise determining the discursive location of the parties in the counselling encounter to avoid, on the one hand, disrespectful therapeutic engagement while on the other avoiding being trapped in a rigid binary of ethnic or racial matching of counsellor and client. Sue et al. (1996) are concerned with the trend of simplistic matching of identities based on ethnicity, race, and gender. Developing counselling approaches and counselling goals which are congruent with client needs is an area that could be examined more closely through a social constructionist lens, an area that has not been explored in this study.

The fifth proposition emphasises the importance of multiple helping roles developed in many different ways in many different communities. This is another important contribution to the multicultural counselling literature as it critiques the Eurocentric emphasis on privileging individualism and the favouring of one-to-one problem solving by an expert to an unknowing client. Concern is voiced about the uni-directional fascination with self advancement and feeling good. Social constructionist theory is highly sensitive to dominant cultural knowledges and their potential to eclipse indigenous or alternative approaches to helping. This concern is voiced in chapter one of this study.

Finally, the sixth proposition emphasises the importance of attending to the wider relationships that exist between individuals rather than exclusively upon the individual. Again MCT places prominence on the relationship between contextual factors and the needs of clients. By sensitising counsellors to the cultural needs of the client, counsellors are implored to follow appropriate ethical standards to avoid culturally oppressive or socially unjust interactions. There are numerous other contributions made by these authors that honour both the complexity, plurality, and multiplicity of

human identities and the need for diverse counselling theories to accommodate the needs of counsellors and their clients.

I would argue that there is value in including a discursive framework into MCT. There is not the space here to engage extensively in an exploration of what the inclusion of social constructionist theory with MCT might look like. However, in brief, a discourse analysis using the tools of deconstruction to track discursive positioning, the capillary effects of power, and the implications for agentic action would offer a systematic way of monitoring and improving respectful and effective counselling in a multicultural context. MCT is a comprehensive theory which could accommodate a discursive analysis. I have presented enough details in the last chapter on the potential contribution of a social constructionist perspective to multicultural counselling. I believe there is merit in researching in some depth the interrelationships between social constructionism and MCT in advancing just practice. Indeed one of the corollaries underlying MCT theory is the emphasis upon working with and learning from clients in such a way as to minimise potential problems with oppression. MCT and social constructionist perspectives on counsellor education and practice are both interested in social justice.

Ethical Positioning for Counsellor Educators

Below I explore the significance of identifying the cultural locatedness of the educator in attending to social justice and the importance of taking an ethical stance is discussed. As a researcher, a counsellor educator, and counsellor, I have outlined the significance of situating myself. When taking an ethical position on social justice, I recognise that such a position is situated, partial, yet invested with certain social, political, and personal interests.

I have named my position as a form of temporary or located essentialism. In doing so, I drew upon Spivak's (1990) critique of postmodernism where she suggested that it is impossible to not be an essentialist. Despite the fact that I may challenge the notion that there is a fixed immutable truth, I am still left having to stand for something in order to take up an ethical position. Taking a relativist position which is defined as an unwillingness to commit to any moral stance on any matter, seems morally indefensible. Indeed, deconstructing discourse is done from a particular position within a discursive framework. Adopting a temporary essentialism leaves me in the position of taking an ethical position while recognising the foundation is not necessary fixed. This ethical stance has the potential to encourage people to avoid a fundamentalist, pretentious, and self important stand, and to be prepared to be changed by different or opposing viewpoints. My desire has been to reflect this attitude in my writing. The extent of my success or failure will lie with the reader and their interpretation of the tone and content of the writing. When taking up a located and

partial position on advancing social justice, there is an implicit readiness to engage in reflexive processes.

Cultural locatedness in the counsellor education literature

Numerous researchers in counsellor education stress the importance of culturally locating oneself when working both as a practitioner and as an educator with students (Kelly, 1990; La Fromboise & Foster, 1992; Lokare, 1993; McGill, 1992; McRae & Johnstone, 1991; Preli & Bernard, 1993). Fortunately, in recent years, researchers have developed multicultural theory and competencies to address this issue (Ivey, et al., 1993; Suzuki, Meller & Ponterotto, 1996; Sue et al., 1996). Many counsellor education programmes are said to be deficient because they do not pay attention to culturally specific incidents and the skills culturally competent counsellors and counsellor educators must possess.

Because issues about ethnicity seem to refer to non-Whites, White students are often confused about how their respective ethnic cultures (e.g., English, Scottish, Irish, Italian, and Polish) get reflected in their counselling work. When these students are confronted with ethnic minorities, they mistake their discomfort as an inability to connect with minorities. This potentially discourages any future interactions. Loganbill, Hardy and Delworth (1982) noted that identifying with a majority culture becomes an additional impediment to exploring the impact of Eurocentric culture on self and others. Most White students are vaguely aware of this. There is also the problem of treating the majority culture as one homogeneous group which disallows any serious investigation of unequal membership within the mainstream. In speaking about the North American context, Preli and Bernard (1993) contended that the training literature must be broadened to include addressing the trainees' own ethnic and cultural heritage as a necessary foundation for the important training activities.

> Because our majority culture students have been, by and large, spoon fed from the melting pot, the implications of their (student's) own ethnic and cultural heritage are often beyond their awareness. A sizeable number of students have a strong sense of national culture... But their ethnic heritage is far in the background of their consciousness. In fact, students are unaware of the extent to which they live with multiple cultural identities...The therapist who is multiculturally sensitive is aware that the therapeutic relationship involves the joining of world views and cultural lenses. Most students enter training programmes not only unaware of others' cultural lens, but unaware of their own. (pp. 8)

A variety of researchers and counsellor educators have reported that trainees are rarely challenged to examine how their respective cultural identities influence understanding and acceptance of those who are culturally similar or dissimilar (Hardy & Laszloffy, 1995; Ho, 1995; Katz, 1985; McRae & Johnstone, 1991; Ridley & Lingle,

forthcoming). What many of these studies ignore are the systematic processes produced by dominant Western culture which promote a kind of cultural myopia and encapsulation (Wrenn, 1962). This shortsightedness places considerable restraints on the quality of interaction and meaning making between people of diverse cultural groups. Some of the work on White identity development is an attempt to wrestle with the complexities of Eurocentric and colonising processes by identifying attitudes, cognitions and behaviours that represent different stages of development. The implications for counsellor education are significant in that research suggests an inverse relationship between stages identified as espousing racist practices and multicultural competencies (Helms, 1990b). The ongoing legacy of the melting pot myth encourages counsellors' denial of their own ethnicity and cultural identity because of the emphasis on homogeneity.

Counsellors who are unaware of the dominant discursive frameworks impacting on themselves and their clients can encounter certain difficulties. First, they are more prone, due to their inability to locate themselves first within a discursive framework, to impose their viewpoints onto clients. This process may be unconscious and amount to simply an uncritical adoption of dominant perspectives. Second, they may ignore, distort, or under emphasise incoming cultural information to the client's detriment. Counsellor education from a social constructionist perspective helps students to see how they are positioned by certain discourses while becoming aware that their prospective clients might be positioned differently. Thus, a social constructionist agenda can be promoted when counsellors are able to identify discourses that adversely impact upon their clients.

A number of multicultural writers have proposed that counsellor training start with the study of students' own ethnic origins so as to make the training within a multicultural dynamic relevant for all of their students. This development means that minority students should not be asked to take centre stage in the training activity as they often are when the majority culture is seen as one group. Loganbill, Hardy, and Delworth (1982) stated

> If we allow majority culture students to glide over their own backgrounds in order to address the cultures of minority groups, we are doing nothing to increase their own personal sensitivity to race-ethnic issues... By moving too quickly towards cross-cultural phenomena we put our students in the position of being the culturally insensitive attempting to conduct therapy with the culturally sensitive. This indeed is a disservice to all involved. (pp. 10)

Culturally self-aware counsellors are more likely to facilitate clients' self-exploration particularly as this may relate to their cultural identities. Ridley and Lingle (forthcoming) explained that culturally unaware counsellors would be less effective in exploring their clients' multiple cultural identities.

There are a number of ethical issues that arise in relation to challenging a trainee's attitudes and beliefs. First, how does a counsellor educator decide on the required qualities that a trainee must display? In discussing personal development issues for trainees, Ridley, et al. (1994) stated, "the central issue here is one of defining a set of values, motivations, expectations and beliefs concerning culture that are facilitative of effective functioning as multi-cultural counsellors in a variety of professional roles" (p.247). The difficulty with this proposal is that there are numerous difficulties in producing grand rules about ethical practice, particularly when different cultural identities are activated in various contexts.

Whether counsellor educators should espouse particular value systems is currently being debated in the multicultural counselling literature. Some counsellor educators claim that trainees should demonstrate an appropriate ethical base which should be the required prerequisite for professional employment. Others argue that it should be left to the discretion of trainees as to whether or not they wish to adopt or reject particular values. Recently, Pedersen (1997) argued that current ethical guidelines reflect dominant cultural values. He encouraged counsellors to be aware of this inherent bias and to question the relevance of ethical guidelines in cross-cultural contexts. For instance, current guidelines discourage dual relationships. However, in certain contexts, a counsellor may also be a neighbour, colleague, or even an employer.

One of the serious ethical dilemmas facing counsellor educators is how far they should go in attempting to reorientate students' values and beliefs and how the effects of such an reorientation are to be assessed. The ramifications for failing to use appropriate ethical values given the diversity of humanity are far reaching. Indeed, while the educator may insist on a particular value system which is perceived to promote ethical responsibility, there is a concurrent risk of violating a trainees' rights to her or his own beliefs. In chapter six, I explore in more detail the ethical implications for counsellor educators when their choices can no longer appeal to a grand narrative of socially just practice.

Overview of chapter

In this chapter, I have deconstructed some of the conventional and widely accepted or taken-for-granted meanings around identity associated with gender and ethnicity. Particular focus has been given to Pakeha and Maori identity. The critique of stable and unified categories challenges the viability of discrete and separate services based purely upon gender and ethnic categorisation.

In the second part of this chapter, I considered the value of social constructionist theory in avoiding the limitations of the culturally specific or emic counselling models which rely upon homogenous categorisation of clients. I also showed how this perspective avoids the universalising tendencies of etic approaches to counselling. Etic

approaches conform to universal principles of liberal-humanism without taking into account the uniqueness of socio-cultural and socio-historical contexts in shaping the experiences of participants in counselling.

Finally, this chapter identified counsellor education literature and social . constructionist theory that returns the focus to the importance of reviewing cultural locatedness in the lives of educators, practitioners, students, and clients.

Chapter 6
A Social Constructionist Approach to Social Justice

Introduction

Advocates of radical feminism and critical theory during the late 1970s and into the 1990s produced sufficient disturbance in the helping community to expose the domination of Eurocentric values and androcentrism. These researchers, activists, and practitioners showed us how systematic the processes of marginalisation, alienation and colonisation are in isolating people from the resources which are available to other more privileged members of the community. They revealed to the counselling profession how these processes contribute to producing a privileged status for the beneficiaries of social injustice. Despite the limitations I have identified in previous chapters, these frameworks have given prominence to a social justice agenda in counsellor education in New Zealand that otherwise would not have occurred. Adherents to a radical social justice agenda have demonstrated the importance of understanding the discourses of colonisation, Eurocentrism, and androcentrism and their effects on specific social groups and ostensibly everyone.

As I have previously suggested, hegemonic practice tends to position a group defined as oppressed as the unfortunate in comparison to the transformative intellectuals with privileged knowledge. These theoretical positions have researchers with liberatory intentions become the "we" who know better, the "we" who are the privileged holders of objective knowledge. Postmodernism views this form of critique as based on a binary logic in its moral denunciation of some Other. It points out the profound dangers in attempting to speak for others, to say what others want or need, of performing as the Grand Master of truth and justice. In this chapter, I propose a social constructionist approach to social justice in counsellor education. In doing so, I introduce its relevance for and applicability to the University of Waikato.

Limitations of a radical social justice agenda

Writing this dissertation has enabled me to abandon the search for the most oppressed person or group. Following down this road, one gets caught up in determining who is ultimately the most oppressed with efforts made in identifying on which axis the greatest level of oppression occurs. Some writers I have cited indicated that the ethnic and racial axis is the most oppressive domain when exploring social justice issues (hooks, 1989; Sue, 1990). Others have explicitly stated that gender issues are the most salient when investigating oppression (Te Awekotuku, 1984).

Even others have insisted upon class as the most significant axis for the identification of unequal practices in counselling and counsellor training (Facundo, 1990). While all of these writers have alerted us to injustices operating within these domains, to establish the most oppressive axis does not take us anywhere. It does not take into account context or the nature of our multiple identities, or that at any one time, we are members of multiple groups. As I have argued, within these groups we have varying degrees of agency and authority over our ability to move from these groups or re-position ourselves within them. Thus, I have proposed that power as having a capillary action is a much more useful metaphor for this discussion in that power is context dependent and not owned by persons per se. Viewing power in this way undermines the extent of blame and guilt that parties can load upon themselves and others because they have taken the power from others. Rather, it is preferable to look at the discourses that embody the extent to which power is available. The extent to which we oppress or are oppressed shifts according to our changing group memberships and places within these groups. I now know my analysis of the nature of groups in 1993 was simple. Yet, a more complex analysis can raise other difficulties.

The problem in critiquing the effects of discourse emerging from a radical social justice agenda is that I could appear to be reverting to the essentialist universal perspective. This suggests (a) there are really no fundamental differences between people, (b) "underneath we are really all the same", (c) people should be treated as human beings rather than as one category of people or another. Colonising discourses blur the distinctions between persons who are favoured by Eurocentrism and those persons who are not. It is a very easy next step to suggest that people who are not making progress in an androcentrically and Eurocentrically dominated culture and who are marginalised and silenced are not trying hard enough. As a result of their lack of ambition or motivation, they are not worthy enough to attain the benefits of those favourably positioned. This view is invoked by liberal-humanism. I am neither advocating for a liberal-humanistic discourse with its accompanying patriarchal and Eurocentric values nor am I promoting a radical social justice position. I have explained how the essentialist nature of social justice that emerges out of all these traditions creates new difficulties while attempting to resolve others.

Ellsworth (1989) put the argument cogently

> To assert multiple perspectives ...is not to draw attention away from the distinctive realities and effects of the oppression of any particular group. It is not to excuse or relativize oppression by simply claiming we are all oppressed. Rather it is to clarify oppression by preventing oppressive simplifications, and insisting that it be understood and struggled against contextually. One could think that group members tended to draw alliances and assume shared commitments because of the social positions we presumed others to occupy, for example, heterosexual, radical, antiracist persons of color and so on. Not only can these assumptions often be wrong at times they deny ideological and

> personal commitments to various struggles by people who appear outwardly to fit the mythical norm. (pp. 114)

I want to challenge the focus on individuals as being either oppressive or oppressed because of their ethnicity, gender, class, or sexual orientation. Such a challenge could result in my being charged with abandoning a commitment to social justice and being labelled as an advocate of individualism located in a Eurocentric tradition. This is not so. I now think of social justice in some very different ways from when I began this study.

At the start of this dissertation, I viewed the quest for social justice as a relatively straight forward activity. Following the principles of a critical theory discourse, I identified the groups that were perpetrating injustice as those people who fitted what I now consider to be a norm based on evaluative criteria; White, middle-class, heterosexual, and male (Robinson, forthcoming). Critical theory activists and radical feminists use the theory of hegemony to focus on assisting those disadvantaged by the groups who held the power, and show them how they had been ensnared by the cultural devices of the privileged. While I believe there are aspects of this argument that can be played out in the counselling room and in counsellor training, I believe my analysis of social injustice and how this could occur was far too simplistic. Writing this thesis has invited me to reconsider what I now mean by social justice and what promoting it might look like.

A social constructionist approach to social justice

The task of striving for social justice is a much more complex process than the one I first envisaged. To begin with, my challenge continually is to recognise the situatedness of my own knowledge and to engage ethically with the knowledge of others. This requires me to pay close attention to the location where knowledges are named and how the person or group is positioned when making particular statements. Taking a stance of social justice from a constructionist perspective involves entering into dialogues which acknowledge differences as well as exploring the commonalities between those knowledges and experiences. I need to acknowledge the confusion and difficulty people sometimes have in communicating when they are called into multiple and contradictory social positions simultaneously. As I have suggested, there is not a discrete group or individual unaffected by the multiple and contradictory discourses operating in diverse settings which constantly call persons into different social positions. Each context has a bearing upon a person's experiences with agency. In counsellor education, the challenge is to find mutually meaningful experiences between counsellor and client, counsellor educator and trainee without compromising the distinctive realities and effects felt by the various parties involved.

To stay engaged with another requires persistent openness, respect, and the ability to live with the contradictions and ambiguities within people's actions. In conveying the extent of ambiguity and lack of predictability, Ellsworth (1989) stated

> ...moving about between the positions of privileged speaking subject and disadvantaged other cannot be predicted, prescribed or understood beforehand by any theoretical framework or methodological practice. It is in this sense that a practice grounded in the unknowable is profoundly contextual, historical and interdependent. (pp. 114)

This statement invites me to consistently focus on the contextual content as a counsellor educator in working with trainees and counselling clients. It also encourages me to be prepared to consistently examine my own "theory in use" or epistemological assumptions I am espousing at the time. In my view, a counsellor educator using a social constructionist framework must be able to convey to students that any knowledge of a person, reality, life and truth will always be partial and potentially oppressive. In a heterogenous society like Aotearoa/New Zealand, every voice is not discretely separate from other voices. Just as it is impossible to speak from all voices at once, so is it impossible to speak with only one single voice without traces of others. This is the nature of intertextuality.

My argument in this thesis has been that discourse is central to the expression of injustice and oppression. The implications this has for power, agency, and the positioning of human identities are substantial. I suggest that if it is possible for all people to know oppression within some discourse cluster or another, the possibilities of them developing a first-hand understanding of social injustices increases the ability to understand the effects of injustice within another domain.

There are some significant other differences in studying social injustice from a postmodern perspective rather than a radical social justice perspective. Critical theorists have tended to argue for working with the systems that created injustice. This point was illustrated by one counsellor educator who commented "*if you want to change individual people you have to change social structures..*" Working with individuals was seen as suspect for the reasons I have previously suggested. This was conveyed by another participant in the study who said

> Where counselling is one of those things which is kind of given by the people who've got things to the people who haven't got things to try to ameliorate their living conditions, then I've got a lot of reservations about the perpetuation of the status quo through counselling being the hand maiden of an unjust system.

A social constructionist analysis avoids the polarised debate of the critical theorists who suggest structural change as the true site of liberation. Liberal-humanists suggest that the site where change needs to take place is at the individual level. From a postmodernist perspective, the notion of the individual breaks down as the attention

focuses on discourse. The social structures are the discourses that are intimately expressed in people's lives. One counsellor educator put it like this

> In a sense, what the post structural theory gives me is an opportunity to think of that (helping people to identify pain and name it and give voice to who they are) as quite a political activity always. Like, it's not insignificant, ...for people to feel listened to, to have someone else listen to them. That, in itself, is kind of something that brings about a change in people's relationships with other people, and when relationships are changed through people adopting different kind of ways of speaking, different kinds of ways of being, different kinds of... positions in a relationship, ... things have impact, and reverberations that alter the... structure of relationships on the local level, and if they happen frequently enough, on larger scale levels as well.

Counselling is revisioned from a social constructionist perspective by avoiding the dualism of focusing on intrapsychic processes independent of the social context. From a postmodern perspective, there is no way one can separate personal issues from the wider social context. The person is the site where the social context is expressed and in this expression it shapes our language and emotion. Even the body is influenced by dominant societal discourses which prescribe how an attractive body should look and be.

Despite my attempts to present a more complex picture of the attainment and implementation of social justice by deconstructing fundamentalist discourses about oppression, I am still confronted with the problems that arise for those individuals who are systematically discredited when their preferred identity conflicts with dominant cultural norms. For example, I refer to the insidious nature of colonising discourses which continue to marginalise, discredit, and harm those whose phenotypical characteristics are demeaned by these pervasive societal norms. I have already referred to how societies dominated by Eurocentricism, and I include New Zealand, continue to associate brown skin with being deficient, submissive, and inferior. There is a converse subset of discourses about people with white skin which can be equated with arrogance, ignorance, materialism, selfishness, mistrust, and bigotry.

Power relations infused in discursive fields related to colonisation often limit entry and forbid access to client experiences. This is of particular relevance when a counsellor and client are both positioned in colonising discourses. Despite border identities, different discourse positioning between the client and counsellor raises serious questions about the counsellor's ability to attend to social justice issues. Knowledge of social constructionist theory does not automatically help counsellors recognise how they might be actively positioned in colonising discourses. When a multiplicity of cultural norms position the counsellor and client, differently and similarly, the question remains as to what constraints act upon counsellors in their efforts to "really know" the dominating discourses featuring in their client's world or even their own. I am thus brought back to the original dilemma: can counsellors treat

their clients with respect, understanding, and positive regard in a climate where androcentric and Eurocentric discourses are pervasive? I am left with the task of exploring further how the redefinition of empathy might assist me to make more progress with the limitations I have raised here.

Empathy

I do not think that the liberal-humanist definition of empathy has served the community of counsellors well in attending to social justice for their clients. In this study, I have documented the problems of an over-reliance on an idea of a universality in human experience. The principle of understanding the intimate world of another through counsellors' ability to "know" themselves is limited.

There have been efforts made in the multicultural literature to develop alternate models of empathetic engagement which might assist counsellors to bridge significant cultural differences between themselves and their client. Cultural empathy is one model which has been gaining increasing attention in the multicultural counselling literature (Cui & Van Den Berg, 1991; David & Erickson, 1990; Ridley and Lingle, forthcoming). Cui and Van Den Berg (1991) defined cultural empathy as "the mental capacity to be flexible in dealing with ambiguity and unfamiliarity" (p. 231). Ridley and Lingle (forthcoming) described cultural empathy as a general skill or attitude that bridges the cultural gap between the therapist and client through the therapist engaging part of the self in understanding, accepting, and feeling with the client, while simultaneously retaining a sense of self as a separate identity. They operationalised cultural empathy as

> ... the ability of counsellors to accurately gain an understanding of the self-experience of clients from other cultures - an understanding informed by the counsellors' interpretation of cultural data. Cultural empathy also involves the ability of counsellors to effectively communicate this understanding with an attitude of concern for culturally different clients. (Ridley & Lingle, forthcoming)

The counsellor demonstrating cultural empathy is believed to have a tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity, empathy for cultural norms, and an awareness of cultural differences. Ridley and Lingle (forthcoming) suggested that a higher level of cultural empathy may exist within cultures between counsellor and client due to the similarities in processing information and self-expression. Ham (1993) stated that the specific behaviours involved in expressing an interaction of understanding and being understood are culturally dominated. This view has both inspired feminists to promote gender matching and some Maori to argue for ethnic matching for clients seeking counselling.

One counsellor educator was in favour of adopting a transcultural perspective on empathy to address issues of culture rather than using a culturally specific or bicultural orientation.

> I take more of a transcultural view...I think there are some universals. I think empathy.. by definition,.. requires the kind of understanding that working cross-culturally insists upon any way. If you have high levels of empathy, by definition requires you to understand different world views, and to understand as much as you can some of the kind of different domains of living... whether its spiritual emphasis or whether it's extended family frameworks.
>
> And in another part of the interview it was stated
>
> ..empathy is what the issue is, and I think that's the linch pin for me... empathy ..by definition requires you to understand the individual and to push your understanding in the context of where they [clients] are, and that's the transcultural dimension....If you give that away,... then what you have is a culturally specific framework without empathy, and that's not counselling, it's something else.

As this participant suggested, to empathise suggests that the counsellor has developed enough understanding of the Others' experience to transcend any cultural divisions. Certainly some researchers who uphold a radical social justice agenda within the multicultural field believe that it is not enough to search for common ground universals shared across cultures in order to develop the kind of empathy discussed above. I have argued against the use of shared cultural experiences as an indicator of empathic efficacy. Because multiple, competing, and overlapping discourses commonly position clients and counsellors differently in greater or lesser degrees, I suggest that every counselling interaction becomes a culturally laden interaction.

Discursive empathy

In part, this study has been one of reconceptualising cultural empathy in social constructionist terms where I pry empathy apart from its humanist embeddedness to present this relational posture in postmodern terms. This requires me to challenge the notion of the universal human experience as the basis for demonstrating the quality of empathy. Instead, I have identified the significance of sharing some similar positionings in discourse or what I call discursive empathy to make necessary cross-cultural links. From a social constructionist perspective, not unlike the universal solutions of humanism, the challenge in working with cross-cultural interaction is to successfully assist individuals of different traditions to express their understanding in ways that each one recognises. Working cross-culturally involves both the therapist and the client searching for shared points of connection that can become a vehicle of understanding. However, unlike the universalising notions of the human experience emanating from liberal-humanist philosophy, there are domains of human experience

that cannot be reached in the cross-cultural encounter or perhaps any encounter. Thus, there are discourses that position the client that cannot be known, shared, or understood. Sharing the same gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, class or whatever variable will not be automatically sufficient to know, experience, or walk around in the client's world. The best the counsellor can do is to develop a tentative and respectfully open posture when exploring the unknown discourses and the client's position within them.

Many authors in the multicultural literature write as though counsellors ought to down-play their cultural differences. On the contrary, as introduced in chapter five, the task of the counsellor educator working from a constructionist perspective is to train the counsellor to continually surface the dominant cultural discourses that have bearing on and may be in contrast to the position from which the counsellor works. Counsellors need to know and be mindful of dominant cultural practices that impact on their work so they are then more likely to avoid inappropriate cultural impositions on their clients. In addition, the counsellor's task is to gain as much information as possible about the discursive fields from which the client speaks. Empathy is about the recognition of the Other and finding ways of conversing with that Other - a desirable move in establishing an ethical position. This quality requires the counsellor or counsellor educator to make a connection with the client to convey to them that the counsellor has understood the client's experience in their terms. While the counsellor is unlikely to understand or convey complete understanding of the client's experience, empathy has to be sufficiently strong to maintain a meaningful client-counsellor conversation. To attain this position, the counsellor must be respectfully and genuinely curious about the client's experience and not assume that because of outward characteristics, the client will have a particular range of experiences based on a common attribute they share with others (Robinson, 1998, forthcoming). However, some of these markers will act as cues to a territory that may or may not be appropriate to explore. For example, it is likely that someone with a gay or lesbian orientation will share some common experiences with some others with a gay and lesbian focus. To assume that this is always the case, or indeed always relevant, without checking is not a mark of cultural empathy.

Empathy is not sufficiently explained by the adage that having empathy is having the ability to walk in another's shoes. Cultural sensitivity and responsiveness involves the ability to find shared points of connection or find discursive fields that both client and counsellor share. In addition, this sensitivity includes the recognition that there may be domains of experience that will be very difficult to bridge. For example, it would be a challenge to a counsellor who has spent much of their life positioned in discourses that are predominantly racist, classist, or sexist to be empathetic with clients who have been directly targeted by those very discourses. In addition, those counsellors who have lived life with many unearned privileges based upon their

alliance with dominant cultural norms may find it difficult to empathise with the experiences of clients whose lived experiences have denied them fewer unearned privileges. Johnson and Nadirshaw (1993) commented that for a counsellor to engage in successful cross-cultural work with a client, the counsellor needed to develop credibility in the client's mind. This involved being able to convince the client that he or she is understood and to show empathy and respect for the client's cultural frame of reference.

Because of the prevalence of patriarchal and racist discourses, empathy is likely to be promoted when the counsellor identifies the impact of these discourses upon his or her own life. Within social constructionism, empathy can be facilitated when counsellors are able to deconstruct the dominating discourses related to, for example, racial prejudice, sexism, homophobia and to explore their effects on themselves. However, in doing so educators and practitioners alike, need to guard against the tendency to engage in discourse analysis from within a completely unconsidered and unexamined framework. I suggest that any theoretical or ethical framework opens up possibilities for discursive identification in some instances and in other instances seals this identification or exploration off. I argue that gaining a greater degree of empathy depends on the ability of the counsellor to both identify their own positioning within discourses and name the extent to which their ethical and theoretical framework impinges on their discursive analysis.

I suggest that discursive empathy, also involves understanding how power is infused within discourse and systematically dictates the terms of subjectivity available to both counsellor and client. It requires an understanding of how the power inherent within language gives authority to those who speak within the terms of preferred discourses. It also requires a recognition of the constraints acting upon individuals who can only speak in terms dictated to them by dominant cultural norms which are not in alignment with their preferred account of themselves. Consequently, empathy is not achievable when the dominating discourses available in the counsellor's setting do not provide a speaking position to the client. Thus, counsellors not only have to be acquainted with the discourses present within counsellor-client interaction, they also have to be aware of their position within these discourses and the power inherent in conversations that either open up or close down space for the person with whom they are engaged. This awareness provides the opportunity for the educator and practitioner to not only review their conduct but modify it if necessary. Ignorance of these processes or failure to act on the knowledge of discursive arrangements which constrain a client's subjectivity diminishes understanding and any real possibility of entering into a client's intimate world.

Closely associated with the understanding of the operation of power and its importance for demonstrating empathy in counselling interactions is the understanding of agency in client-counsellor conversation. In relation to empathy, acknowledgment

of agency requires the counsellor to listen for acts of resistance to oppressive discourses thereby respecting and valuing the client's ability to act despite perhaps the constraining impact of the discourses currently available for the client. Empathetic responding in relation to agency involves the counsellor viewing the client as a vibrant social actor, independent of whether their preferred action may be different from the dominating societal norms that the counsellor may value and espouse.

As such, the recognition of the multiplicity of identities of persons is essential when considering how oppressive practices occur and are resisted. Thus, the process of acknowledging the heterogeneity of identity and the multiplicity and diversity in people's lives is facilitated by one's comfort with differences. From a counsellor education perspective, this opens up a significant amount of therapeutic space and offers a potent challenge to arguments advocating separatist development. Thought of in this way, the heterogeneity of selves provides a way of moving toward empathy by recognising there is no separate unitary identity. As Young (1990) pointed out

> The varying and contradictory social contexts in which we live and interact, along with the multiplicity of our own group memberships and the multiple identities of others with whom we interact, make the heterogeneity of the subject inevitable. (pp. 153)

From this perspective, people are inextricably linked at the nexus of a number of different identity discourses. This linkage could provide the basis on which two apparently very "different" participants, based on gender and ethnicity, in a counsellor-client interaction could make a strong connection invoking a high degree of understanding.

Contextuality is another means by which discursive empathy operates since the context is very likely to influence which aspect of our multiplicity of identity is displayed. As different contexts invite the promotion of different identities, it is likely that the quality of empathy will vary according to context perhaps as much as it will vary according to any other factors. Thus when and where the counsellor and client meet will have some influence upon the quality of relationship, the degree of respect shown, and will shape clients' feelings of being understood and "seen". The impact of context on understanding must not be overstated either. When a high degree of understanding is cultivated between counsellor and client, this quality of connection is very likely to remain intact in the face of unfavourable contextual factors. Yet, the contextual field remains important for identifying the kinds of discourses invoked by the social setting in which counsellor-client interaction takes place.

When I bring these various analytical tools together, I describe discursive empathy as a way of understanding, respecting, and valuing selves of one person to another. This results from the recognition of personal agency of others shaped by the capillary action of power that is infused within multiple discourses across settings and time.

My purpose in reconceptualising my ideas of empathy and social justice from a social constructionist perspective was to find a way of attending to the problems of patriarchal practices creeping into counsellor education, and avoiding the imposition of Eurocentric values upon the counselling process. When I advocated a radical social justice agenda, the imposition of fundamentalism and essentialism undermined the quality of empathic engagement and the possibility of a more comprehensive way of understanding the mechanisms of social injustice.

The introduction of social constructionist theory into the Waikato Counsellor Education programme

In 1994 the counselling team and I slowly began to introduce social constructionist theory into the Waikato counsellor education programme. While it is difficult to know how successful we have been in attending to justice issues utilising a postmodern orientation, it is valuable for me to consider how I might implement the learnings gained from this present research. During this five-year thesis writing period, the understandings gained from this process are already reflected in my practice.
For instance, the counselling team comprised of two women and three men focused on discourse, positioning, and deconstruction as important conceptual tools to address gender issues in counsellor education (Winslade, Monk, & Drewery, 1997). Because of the development of this thesis, I propose to explore multiplicity of the self, context, power, and agency as other significant conceptual tools to attend to social justice and the striving for empathy grounded in a social constructionist framework.

Discourse revisited

Our emphasis in the programme during the last few years has been on how personal problems are constructed in a socio-cultural context and how these difficulties become descriptive of people's lives (Winslade, Monk & Drewery, 1997). In order to do this well, we have offered the students a grounding in social constructionist theory and focused on showing how discourses are constitutive of the counsellor in the same way as they are of the client. In one of our courses, students write an autobiographical essay which emphasises the impact of discourses that offered them subject positions in their lives. Discourses they have chosen as preferable accounts of themselves are also identified as are dominant discourses which relate to gender, class, sexual orientation, religion, abledness, ethnicity, and the like. Students have an opportunity to workshop these biographies and name common themes featuring in their life experiences. Re-examining the influences of dominant professional and personal discourses that pervade the counsellor education process has been an important element in our programme to help address the overarching effects of Eurocentrism and patriarchy.

Students in the programme consider how dominating discourses position them as professionals and the opportunities that these events open up and close down in their counselling interactions. For students, knowing the discourses they are located in is a step toward understanding the discursive frameworks of their clients - a step towards respect and understanding.

Deconstruction revisited

We introduce the term deconstruction in the early part of the programme. As discussed in chapter three, deconstruction covers a range of different methods but is essentially a process which undermines taken for granted assumptions (White, 1991). Bourdieu (1988) described this as "exoticizing the domestic."

In our Discourse and Counselling Psychologies course introduced in 1996, we began by exposing students to a social constructionist epistemology. We presented students with newspaper articles, fairy tales, magazine covers, video or movie clips, poems, and personal anecdotes on which to practise discourse analysis in relation to text examples. These activities helped the course participants to become sensitised to how language constructs, for example, who is being spoken or written to, who is spoken or written about; who is excluded, and who is heard or seen only if they speak in terms which are proposed by others (Parker, 1994; Fairclough, 1992; Sampson, 1993). Students gain considerable experience in identifying subject positions and processes by which people are objectified and marginalised. We note how people are recruited into self evaluation and judgement both within and outside of the counselling room.

We review counselling sessions, identifying the discourses operating and how the counsellor and client are positioned by the discourses that emerge. We then move to identifying the discourses operating during the student's counselling work with peers and the lecturers' 'modelling sessions.' This practice is necessary to deconstruct the effects of dominant discourses on counsellor educators, counsellors, and their clients.

A social constructionist approach to counsellor education has prompted us to theorise about personal and social change in ways which identify the operations of power across gender relationships. We have argued that the social rather than the individual is the direction from which counselling should proceed. This orientation encourages us and our students to notice possibilities for changes in power relations happening in the counselling interview (Winslade, Monk & Drewery, 1997).

Addressing gender issues in the Waikato Counsellor Education programme

Participants in the programme explore some of the mainstream counselling theories and consider how each of the developers of the models, along with their adherents, attend to issues that relate to gender. Typically, we have students research a range of counselling approaches and examine how these models understand problems and how they are solved. We use a social constructionist analysis to identify how discourses might position counsellors in relation to their work with clients. For example, counselling models which tend to emphasise an individualistic or intrapsychic focus will tend to position the counsellor in a helping direction that focuses away from the socio-cultural context. Depending on our own positioning in regards to the helping process, this may or may not be seen as a problem. Drewery (1986), using a structuralist analysis at the time, emphasised the importance of showing how patriarchy and socially unjust practices contributed to unacceptable conditions in people's lives. She suggested that the immense burden of individual guilt and self deprecation which many women suffer was likely to be relieved when their experiences were located within the socio-cultural practices from which their private experiences were developed.

Problem related concerns that clients present in counselling are reviewed from a discourse based perspective. For example, Boers (1994) described how a single woman seeking counselling because she is unmarried or childless could be asked deconstructing questions like, "Where has the idea come from that 'being coupled' is the best, the ideal, the most fulfilling way to live?" Or "What difference do you think it would have made to your life if remaining single at some stage had been available as a positive choice?"

Students critique many of the contemporary theories about the aetiology of problem related issues that arise in counselling. For example, aetiology which views the treatment of sexual abuse as a pathological or dysfunctional family problem independent of the effects of discourses of patriarchy, will be reviewed. Notions of a shattered ego that requires rebuilding after abuse are not seen as useful ideas from a postmodern orientation. Instead of utilising an analysis which focuses on individual and family dysfunction, clients are seen as experts on their own lives who are oppressed and struggling with the effects of the abuse. This is a resource model where the goal of therapy is to have the client view her/himself as competent and as having control over the influence of the effects of the abuse (Earl, 1994).

In our Family and Couples course, we introduce discussions on helpful or unhelpful images and models that students learned about womanhood or manhood in their growing up. Students are asked to consider how these experiences will inform their counselling practice. Given that many of us learn a considerable amount about our work and about ourselves from our clients, we ask students to identify how their

counselling work assists them to understand gender issues and how this informs them about their understandings of their development as men and women. When teaching strategies of deconstruction, we ask students to think about their views on the ideal heterosexual partnership and to ask one another about where their ideas have come from. Together, we deconstruct the discourses which contribute to the formation of what is "right" or "good" about relationships between men and women. Apart from giving them practice in deconstructing gender discourses, this activity more fully acquaints the students with the kind of expectations, hopes, and dreams that their clients may be attached to in regards to a relationship problem.

Gender discourse and the University of Waikato Counsellor Education Staff

So far this discussion has focused on the students in the counselling programme and the curriculum. The way we deal with gender issues which arise among the staff in the programme is of equal importance to the way gender discourses are addressed and attended to with students and with the content of the counsellor education curriculum. Perhaps this area is the most challenging of all. At the time of writing this study, the counsellor education team is made up of two Pakeha men who teach full time on the programme and two Pakeha women and one Pakeha man and two Maori men who work part time in the programme. This becomes particularly problematic when only a tenth or less of the student group are male at any one time.

Patriarchal discourses are challenged among the staff frequently in the running of the programme. I think it would be fair to say that as a staff we are sensitised to how androcentric discourse impacts upon the male and female staff. The gender discourses become most visible during times of difficulty either between staff and students or among staff. Typical issues that arise relate to the unequal formalised status between teacher-student and the gender issues interwoven into the day to day interactions. As the students become more sensitised to the effects of dominant gender discourse, they typically become acutely aware of how the staff conduct themselves. There have been a number of occasions where the female staff have challenged male staff when patriarchal discourses feature prominently in their interactions with female students.

An additional challenge relates to the fact that some of the male staff have a more senior ranking and thus greater entitlement within the university than part-time staff, which adds to the complexity of negotiating gender issues as a team. It is, however, not surprising that these structural issues have been recreated as they reflect dominant societal patterns in the workplace.

As a staff we are still in a transition moving from a radical feminist and critical theory analysis of power and gender relations to a postmodern orientation. From time to time we can be caught by an essentialist agenda where the categories male and female become reified. As students become sensitised to the potency of gender

discourse clusters, it is very easy to start locating the source of discourse as emanating from the biology of the person (e.g., those who belong to male and female categories rather than from the social interactions from which discourse emerges). Consistently throughout this study, I have distinguished between persons who become sites where discourse is active due to their physical dimensions and the notion that there are specific people who, because of their phenotypical characteristics, follow through with particular actions or ways of behaving. These distinctions need to be consistently drawn when students become sensitised to the powerful and sometimes debilitating effects of gender discourse.

One of the other difficulties of focusing primarily on gender discourse is the tendency to privilege this discourse cluster to the extent that other discourse clusters associated with other social axes are diminished and not acknowledged. For example discourses associated with ethnicity may be lost when the majority of course participants and staff come from largely White European or Pakeha ancestry. Similarly, discourses associated with socio-economic background may be overlooked in the day to day work of counsellor training.

In many respects, I feel we have made a small beginning in attending to gender discourse in our counsellor education programme at Waikato University. While we still have a long way to go in attending to the powerful effects of discourse associated with the gender domain, as a team we seek to be mindful of the ongoing challenges that stand before us.

Addressing Ethnicity issues in the Waikato Counsellor Education programme

The largest majority of participants in our counselling programme over the last few years tend to be White, middle-class and represent varying degrees of knowledge about ethnic differences in working with clients. While the counselling staff at the University of Waikato have worked hard over the last few years to identify the cultural locatedness of the information we impart to our students, including the influences of Eurocentric culture, we may at times have fallen short of identifying and bringing forward the complex discourse clusters that accompany any interaction between parties where ethnic difference features prominently. We are less skilled at giving appropriate attention to the indigenous knowledges which are significant to some of the participants in the programme. In this regard we have increased our involvement in studying tikanga Maori and are looking to build stronger ties with Maori staff who have affiliation with the programme.

Identity politics is on the rise in Aotearoa as a result of the Maori renaissance which gained momentum during the 1980s. This has had a significant effect upon students who identify Maori. These students are keenly interested in discovering and bringing forth indigenous Maori knowledge and are often ready to dismiss but certainly critique

Eurocentric discourse or what some Maori call 'Pakeha knowledge'. This is a difficult and challenging time for the full time team members who are promoting a social constructionist analysis of the multiplicity of identity to students who have recently claimed a unitary Maori identity. This presents us with a challenging situation which requires careful and respectful teaching. In order to engage with those students who take up a unitary position, we introduce them to literature on identity development for both minority and majority cultures. White identity development models and indigenous or minority models of development can highlight some issues that confront students during a time of ethnic polarisation. In addition it is necessary to explore more closely the effects of colonising discourses on people who identify Pakeha and Maori.

These issues are reflected within teaching situations on occasions when some students who identify Maori name internal conflict when asked to disclose personal aspects about themselves or to speak about themselves in ways that call upon them to appreciate themselves publicly. While this has also been an issue for other participants from a variety of other ethnic backgrounds, it has been a noticeable issue for those claiming a Maori identity. In the Group Work course a few years ago, one of the Maori participants stated that they would not set personal goals neither would they speak about their particular talents and abilities. They recited the proverb, " A kumara does not speak of its own sweetness", meaning a person should not speak on their own behalf about their greatness. That is for a family member to do on their behalf. Challenges like this arise when working with any heterogeneous group in a training programme. Eurocentric discourse continues to be pervasive in most teaching activities that take place in counsellor training. We must continually look at the cultural imperatives acting upon us as trainers when we invite counselling students to participate in a variety of activities. Rather than concentrate only upon a student's unwillingness to meet a task or challenge, we come back to ourselves, asking ourselves as a team why we are doing what we are doing. We are looking toward minimising the extent that we impose Eurocentric discourse upon students, and exploring the effects of doing or not doing this. We monitor Eurocentric imposition by regularly eliciting from the students and fellow staff members feedback on curriculum content. Students do give the staff feedback about directions in curriculum development. We have student committees which contribute toward programme development and I have invited students to make comment on the extent to which Eurocentric discourse is imposed on educator-student interactions.

In the past, some Maori people have challenged programmes like ours for their failure to attend to the whole person. I discussed in chapter one the challenges put forward by Durie and Hermansson (1990) about the failure of Western models of helping to attend to *Whanaungatanga* (relations with wider family), *Whakamanawa* (encouragement) and *Manaakitanga* (encouraging others). Elsewhere, Abbott and

Durie (1987c) talked about the failure of university programmes to address the *Taha Wairua* (the spiritual side of life). While there is considerable debate about how well we as a programme at Waikato University deal with these issues, for now we are painfully aware of the gaps that might occur for people brought up in an ethnic tradition which they find is not catered for in their counsellor training. I think it is our responsibility to educate participants about some of the important social justice issues arising from colonising discourse that need to be addressed in counsellor education.

Each year in our programme we begin by meeting for a weekend on a *Marae* (Maori sacred meeting place). While considerable doubt has been cast on programmes which claim they offer training in bicultural issues by students attending a weekend *hui* (gathering) on a Marae, it is my belief that such a *hui* does signal from the outset an acknowledgment for *tikanga* Maori (Maori customs). The significance is added to by having two additional part-time members of our counselling team who are *Kaumatua* (Maori elders) who from time to time present some of their perspectives in the counsellor training programme and who participate in selection processes.

In general, there seems to be a strong recognition among the research participants of the importance of bicultural content in their counsellor education programmes. I believe the prominence of bicultural responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi, has invited greater sensitivity to Maori needs in particular. For example, one counsellor educator stated

> We have a marae weekend at the beginning of the course, so that it creates a climate, a validation for however many Maori students might be on the course... It is making a statement to other counsellors in the course...because we are counsellors in New Zealand and that is vitally important.

We need to be vigilant as a team as to how Eurocentric discourses impact on counselling participants irrespective of what ethnic background. We also need to put more effort into teaching participants about multiplicity of identities including the negotiability of ethnic membership. Limited staff and programme resources may be an impediment to this goal. What we do believe we are offering is a theory that can assist counsellors to work cross culturally, including working with counsellor-client ethnic differences. However, I believe we need to develop further practical activities that illustrate Eurocentric discourse at work while at the same time assist students to identify discourses associated with other ethnic groups whether they be Pakeha, Maori, Pacific Island, or Asian. Again this requires a sensitivity to the enormous variation among these group categories.

Limitations

I have identified at least five limitations in this study. The first limitation is related to the small number of stakeholders. For example, I would have welcomed focus group discussion on social justice issues with past and present students who participated in the university counsellor education programmes. Assembling numbers of students around New Zealand in addition to the university counsellor education staff was beyond the scale and resources of this study. Yet, students would have added to the richness of the discussion in the hermeneutic process by introducing perspectives on training that could not have been presented by the educators themselves.

The second limitation is a function of this study's methodology. Some participants in the study found that the hermeneutic rounds were increasingly demanding upon their time. Tersine and Riggs (1976) noted that there can be problems with interactive methodologies of this kind when respondents are asked to record their responses in writing and then asked to respond two to four times amidst differences in reactions and viewpoints. There were difficulties resulting from this process which placed constraints on some of the participants' contribution level. Thus, gaining access to comprehensive data was restricted in some instances. In future research, I would be more cautious about introducing this methodology if reliance on written feedback from research participants was necessary. I would avoid using this methodology when working under tight financial constraints because of the time consuming nature of the data gathering phase. This is particularly problematic when participants in the research activity are widely scattered.

The third limitation refers to the absence of people of Maori and Pacific Island descent. At the time of the fieldwork phase of the study, there were no Maori and Pacific Island university counsellor educators in the five university counsellor education programmes. The part-time Maori staff in the University of Waikato programme were unavailable at crucial stages of the research process. To make further progress in exploring social justice issues in counsellor education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, it is crucial to have significant dialogue and collaboration with indigenous representatives. This requires of the researcher the time to develop effective networks and improved quality of communication among diverse groups.

Perhaps the greatest vulnerability of this study that I am referring to as the fourth limitation occurred because some of the data generated during the fieldwork phase did not feature in the body of this thesis writing. I have identified three reasons for this. First, the grounded theory approach to research typically invites the researcher into an open ended interaction with research participants within the early phase of the research. Material generated during this phase can in some instances become redundant to the final shape of the research task. It became clear to me during the middle stages of the study that some emerging issues, perhaps relevant and of interest to the counsellor

educators was no longer congruent with the emerging thesis. In this instance, material that was not directly related to the major thrust of the study but may have been of interest to the participants was presented in report form as I outlined in chapter two. The second major reason for the exclusion of some of the fieldwork data was due to the reflexive shift I presented in chapter two. As I have described in earlier chapters, some of the penetrating insights offered by the participants caused me to reposition the entire project. As a result, a major part of the research task focused on the theoretical moves that led to a social constructionist analysis of social justice. Thus some of the fieldwork data became less central to the argument than it would have been in the original proposal. The third reason for the absence of the fieldwork material was due to the sheer amount of data generated. There was a total of 660 pages of transcripted material. In the interests of the successful manageability of the task, significant amounts of commentary that finally appeared peripheral to the counsellor educators concerns was excluded.

The fifth limitation of this work is related to social constructionism. I have argued thus far that a social constructionist approach to counsellor education provides a variety of options for advancing social justice when working with difference. Yet any explanatory metaphor has the potential to be treated as yet another grand narrative asserting its own truth claims. While I have to admit to academic fervour about the social constructionist metaphor I don't want to be guilty of presenting this perspective as a new dogma.

Any theoretical construction has the potential to simultaneously offer a significant contribution to one area of inquiry while in another limit what can be achieved. I want to acknowledge a territory which the social constructionist metaphor does not inform in relation to counsellor education. An area of inquiry that has not yet been surveyed is the interface between human biology and the social world (Tomm, 1996). In my experience, many social constructionist theorists keep the interrelationships between biological and social processes at arms length. A large number of mental health commentators would suggest that there is a strong link between biological and psychological functioning. For example, the amount of sleep people have, the quality of nutrition, dietary intake, and neurological activity are important to consider when examining human functioning. Postmodern researchers Parker, Georgaca, Harper, McLaughlin and Stowell-Smith (1996) suggest that the emphasis on language should not mean that biology does not have a central part to play in the way we speak and behave. There would be considerable value in seeing a bridging between a social constructionist metaphor and biological functioning while recognising that socially constructed knowledge plays an intimate role in the constructs produced to "understand" the body. This area warrants investigation.

Reflections

This study has been a multifaceted one. First and foremost, it has been a reflexive research piece where I have tried to give a full account of my own theoretical and philosophical changes, inspired by the participants in the field-work phase of this study. My experience has been one which in Gouldner's (1970) words has not only transformed my outlook on counsellor education practices in some very fundamental ways but has "penetrated deeply" the way I think about issues of sameness, difference, justice, empathy, limitations, and possibilities. For this profound learning experience I have to thank the participants who put many thoughtful hours into the hermeneutic rounds. Their responses were pivotal in producing refreshingly new insights into my learning process.

This study has also been an account of a significant change in social politics where I have shifted from espousing a grand theory of the social world to a more partial temporary essentialism. It is a temporary essentialism which produces sufficient heuristic value to follow a line of argument while recognising that the assumptions that underpin any account are discursively produced.

I have placed considerable emphasis on how the social context constructs human experience while recognising that any human experience is simultaneously constructed by contradictory, ambiguous, changeable, and fluid social processes. I have identified the key role that discourse plays in the construction of what is commonly experienced as the personal, intimate and individual encounter. I have argued that the discursive fields springing from the social and interactional contexts position persons within multiple subjectivities or multiple overlapping identities. I have given a social constructionist account of human identity which challenges the liberal-humanist notion of the unitary, cohesive, essentialised self. I have depicted a self that is multifaceted, changeable, and diverse. I have found this way of thinking about human identity as offering some liberating alternatives toward bridging cultural difference and building discursive empathy. Rather than drawing on the unitary and universal descriptions of the self as a uniting feature, I have emphasised how common ground can be found between divergent identities as they relate to particular social contexts. I have reconceptualised the notion of empathy in counsellor interactions which show the possibilities and limitations of understanding the intimate world of the other. The discussion has addressed the possibility of engaging in a spirit of dialogue between social actors in the presence of difference in order to create common meanings.

In arguing this case, I cannot deny the value of the establishment of separatist services on ethnic, gender, or any other continuum in counsellor training as a developmental step towards exploring identity within the context of social justice. When I began this study I was a staunch supporter of separatist politics as a means by which the colonising tendencies of the majority culture could be disrupted. I have

witnessed the strength gained for people who share a common form of oppression in joining together to express their outrage, challenge, and attack on oppressive societal norms. Under these circumstances, adherents to majority culture norms have been dared to take note. The outrage expressed by marginalised groups is heard at some level by those benefitting from mainstream cultural practices. On occasions there is an alteration in the way a community is organised to cater for an identified group's unique requirements which had been previously disregarded. However, separatist politics can produce dogmatism and fundamentalism. When dogmatism and fundamentalism characterise the way in which a group continues to present its concerns to the community at large, the voices strengthened by standing together are ultimately dissipated into a vacuum or void. My own experience of advancing a theoretical position with fundamentalist characteristics did not open up dialogue to attend to socially unjust causes for the participants in this study. At least in relation to counsellor educators, I am now convinced that a dogmatic posture on any front is likely to shut down meaningful dialogue and undermine change in both student and educator alike. The problem with fundamentalism that is associated with a radical social justice agenda is that it positions the believer or advocate of these politics in an authoritative "knowing" position. Individuals are then encouraged to express or display an expert view of how society actually works and are prompted to educate the unknowing individuals about their ignorance. This form of arrogance did not serve me well in my engagement with participants. Neither did it serve me as a counsellor educator nor my students. I am now wanting to eradicate as much as possible from my interactions with others the desire to take a fixed position and argue rigidly in favour of a viewpoint to convince others to change. This kind of conversation does not contribute towards creative teaching practice. I am wanting to bring more fully into my work the stance of limited essentialism where through dialogue with students we can generate new possibilities in attending to just practices with a collaborative spirit.

To demonstrate how this study has transformed my own practice, I return to some of my original questions. I now want to rewrite my research questions in such a way as to open up more possibilities to dialogue about the meanings of a social justice agenda in counsellor education. I began with questions that focused on "structures" in society which produced social injustice. I invited participants to consider the importance of educating clients about social injustice and hegemony and asked for their comments on whether counsellors (and by implication counsellor educators) were blind to power differentials and gender histories. I looked for differences between men and women and in one instance identified men as having linear views and women as having more rounded views and looked for confirmation of this. As I finish this study, I trust I have left such simplistic analyses behind. I now have many more questions than answers. Yet my hope is that the quality of my questions illustrates the progress I have made in wanting to understand how we as a nation and as a world

might do better with ourselves and one another in our quest for social justice. My questions are more open ended and hopefully leave more space for the potential participants to bring their thoughts and experiences to the fore without the implied judgement that so characterised my interactions emanating from the earlier theories I espoused. I now want to start again and in doing so start with questions that open up more possibilities for participant interaction. Below I compare the questions presented to participants in an early hermeneutic round with the ones I would now like to ask. I must acknowledge that these latter questions are imbued with my new biases.

I juxtapose the original questions with the ones I have developed here. I number the original questions with a 1] and the more recently developed questions with a 2].

1] How do patriarchal arrangements impact on our work as counsellor educators?

2] What are your ideas about how we can speak with one another and support each person's perspective when discussing topics of inequity and discrimination?

1] Should we actively encourage Maori students to train in counsellor education programmes run almost exclusively by Pakeha? In addition, what else can we do to enable Maori to gain the most from the kind of programmes that we, as Pakeha offer?

2] In what ways are our counsellor education programmes open to those who identify Maori and in what ways do they preclude Maori from participating?

1] In what ways does our counsellor training history blinker us from addressing many of the challenges which emerge from the socio-cultural contexts from which "problems" are generated?

2] How do you promote equity across gender and ethnicity in the training of counsellor educators?

I haven't wanted to shy away from acknowledging and then attending to troublesome practices that can undermine our best intentions when training counsellors in a world that continues to be troubled by racial hatred and gender related abuse. The analysis required to understand and deal with these oppressive processes has turned out to be much more complex than I had imagined when this study began five years ago. This research task is an extension of my conversation with those courageous radical feminists and critical theorists who more than 10 years ago started me on this perilous journey.

I hope that in the writing of this thesis I have given an account of the complexities and limitations of what is achievable in advancing social justice. Ultimately, it is desirable to curb any sense of sureness about truly knowing another's experience and what must be done. An arrogant knowing diminishes curiosity, tentativeness, humility, and uncertainty. Perhaps these are the very attributes that ultimately promote

ethical and just practice in dealing with the complexities, ambiguities, incongruities, and paradoxes that inhabit the world of the counsellor educator as the twentieth century draws to a close.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide Sheet.

Interview Guide Sheet

Questions on Your Personal Views on Counsellor Education.

How did you get attracted to the field of Counsellor Education in the first place?

What have been some of the main influences that have shaped your ideas about the important training issues in counsellor education?

Who would you describe as your three main theorists/practitioners that have influenced your work as a counsellor educator?

In what ways have these individuals influenced your thinking and your practice in relation to counsellor education?

Over your career as a counsellor educator what are some of the major and perhaps most intense challenges you have faced? For example how have you dealt with some of the challenges to the field that relate to biculturalism, feminism, poverty, spirituality and other controversial social issues?

How have you decided what to include and what to exclude in your programme given that there is only limited time and resources to train your students? This question may touch on issues that relate to eclecticism, ethics, course content and training priorities.

What do you feel most passionate about in relation to your work as a counsellor educator?

Questions on your Counsellor Education Programme in Practice

What kinds of things have you actioned in your programme that may have related to some of the personal and professional challenges you have faced in the profession?

How do you know when you have succeeded with what you are aiming to achieve in this work?
I would like to know how you deal with issues such as: selection procedures, accreditation and standards, ethical practices,

I would be happy to include any other topics which you think would be pertinent to add to this list in order to better understand what it is we are aiming to accomplish in counsellor education in this country. Please make a note of them and we can discuss these issues when we meet.

Thanks for your help!

Appendix B: Letter to all participants.

Dear

I hope this letter finds you well and in good spirits.

I have now reached the stage in my D Phil project where I would like to arrange a time to interview you. You will recall that I am wanting to interview you about your work in relation to: **Counsellor Education: What are we aiming to achieve?**
I am keen to talk to you about your personal views on counsellor education and discuss with you how this gets expressed within your Counsellor Education Programme.
I am anticipating that this project will contribute towards some positive developments within the field as we reflect on our current practices as counsellor educators and consider in a more systematic manner, how we are grappling with the complex issues that face us in this profession.

For those of you who would like to have some more information about the interview and would like to prepare yourself for some of the questions, I have enclosed on the accompanying sheet some questions and topics that I would like to cover.
This is by no means a definitive list and if there are other topics and questions that you think would be good to ask yourself and other counsellor educators, by all means we can include these.

I am particularly interested in how the counselling profession is addressing the many challenges it faces in relation to social justice issues. For example, how do we defend what we are "doing" as counsellor educators in relation to that age old challenge about being social agents that "help adjust" oppressed groups by gender, race, and class to service the needs of those strata in society who are privileged by unjust socio-political systems?

I have been concerned about many of these issues for some time. I feel we in the Waikato Programme have a great deal more to do to adequately address some of these long standing concerns. I am keen to survey your own views on these issues and explore other pertinent concerns you may have about the aims of counsellor education.

To aid me with this task, I would be grateful if you could make available to me your CV and any papers, publications and other material you have within easy access which would assist me to develop a greater understanding of your perspectives. Could I also have copies of your course outlines?

If possible I would like to be able to interview you in a room that is convenient to you where we would not be disturbed by the telephone or visitors. I think the interview will take about two hours. I am anticipating that our interview will take on a conversational and open ended form, rather than following a highly structured format.

In a previous communication, I mentioned I would like to tape and transcribe the interview, summarise the content of the interview into what I think are some of your key points and include verbatim which illustrate your ideas. I would like to return this written account to you within a month for your verification and for any other additional comments you would like to make.

I propose to subsequently circulate this document among our counsellor educator colleagues to respond to and further explore the issues that are raised.

I will call you in the next few days to confirm your availability and arrange a time that is convenient to you.

With kind regards

Gerald Monk

Appendix C: Report One

Counsellor Education: What are we aiming to achieve? [D Phil. Gerald Monk]

Thanks for the opportunity to present back to you some of your views and my commentary on counsellor education.

While this meeting will assist me with my own research interests I hope this exercise will generate ideas which will help us as the UCEN to find ways of addressing some of the difficult issues that challenge us as counsellor educators.

I have chosen **three** fields of interest which specifically relate to my topic that I would like to report back on and gain more information from you. I will be circulating to you a full report regarding your views under a number of major headings for your comment.

For my purposes in this meeting, my specific field of interest relates to:

i] the importance of the socio-cultural context in counsellor education.

ii] the place of biculturalism/multiculturalism in our counsellor education programmes.

iii] how do our early theoretical influences shape our way of working.

You may recall I wish to investigate these domains in response to the critiques presented to our field over the last few decades. In the present climate, the most challenging critiques of counselling and counsellor education for me are to do with addressing social justice issues around culture, class, gender and sexuality and how our views of this are affected by liberal/humanistic traditions.

So it is this focus I would like to have in our meeting.

What I would like from you before our meeting

1. I would specifically like you to read the sections that follow.

2. I would like you to react to both my commentary on these sections and your points of view already presented and recorded on the topic.

I plan to record our discussion of your reactions to this material at our meeting and use this material for the final component in my field work phase of the study. Please let me know if you have any concerns regarding the audiotape recording of the discussion at our meeting.

The socio-cultural context in counsellor education.

There were 11 counsellor educators participating in this project. I believe we are all Pakeha, made up of six women and five men. I suspect that we would all belong to the middle to upper socio-economic grouping.

<u>*Attractions to the field*</u>

In exploring this domain, I have considered how you became involved in the counsellor education field as I believed that this might assist me to understand your motivations and the things that you count as important in our field. I was also considering the wider socio-cultural context and how it has influenced and shaped us in our work.
I noted that peoples motivations to become counsellor educators fell into what I would call four domains.

1. Career choices or circumstances
2. Transformative experiences with counselling
3. Damaging experiences with counselling
4. Attraction to teaching

Four out of the five men interviewed who spoke about the causes of their attraction to counsellor education reported being involved predominantly due to an attraction to teaching and writing or a promising career focus.

Of the six women, three either directly or indirectly described major personal struggles that helped influence their decision to be involved in counselling and counsellor education. If personal struggles did not necessarily feature in their decision to be counsellor educators, these accounts did feature at some stage in the interview. One woman identified the damaging effects of poor counselling which became a catalyst to becoming a counsellor educator.

Interestingly, there were no men in the interview setting that disclosed a personal struggle as part of their preparation to become counsellor educators. Because of the small numbers involved in the interviews it may be reading too much into the exercise to make statements about the effects of gender in this section.

In each of the five Counsellor Educator programmes, four are predominantly coordinated by the men. The level of academic qualification is unquestionably higher amongst the men in comparison to the women. I raise this issue to see whether these circumstances relate to some of the wider structural issues occurring in our society as a whole and how these structural issues affect us. I believe we are all pakeha and have a middle-class lifestyle. I have chosen to highlight these features to explore some of the issues that may arise for us which relate to culture, class and gender.
I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN YOUR RESPONSES TO THESE QUESTIONS AND ANY OTHER INFORMATION WHICH THIS COMMENTARY RAISES FOR YOU.

1. Would it be reasonable to assume that the men in this exercise have not experienced the degree of personal turbulence that some of the women have referred to?

2. How do patriarchal arrangements impact on our work as counsellor educators?

3. Might there be differences in say teaching styles, assessment of students work, the role of personal development in training which relate to gender issues?

<u>Biculturalism/multiculturalism in our counsellor education programmes</u>

This was a subject that stirred us. I am aware as I reflect on this section, I as a pakeha have been asking you as pakeha on your views on the issues that relate

to partnership and biculturalism. What is absent of course are views from Maori on this subject and on our comments as pakeha.

I have often been confused, challenged, blamed, experienced guilt and paralysis when attempting to find an adequate response to the many training issues that arise for me as a Pakeha in catering for Maori in our Counsellor Education Programme at Waikato. Additional challenging issues arise for me that relate to the Treaty of Waitangi and tino rangatiratanga. I believe these issues remain particularly pertinent for us in the counsellor education field.

At the recent NZ Family Therapy Conference 1994, a Pakeha caucus were wrestling with a response to Maori caucus from the 1993 conference who insisted that Pakeha therapists should not work with Maori clients. To address the issues of biculturalism and partnership as pakeha educators can be challenging but at times disheartening. Consider this response for example.

"We've had situations where students have not been satisfied [re bicultural component], and we've moved into that kind of framework which I think we all get into at times of being quite guilty about the whole business, and feeling the liberal guilt, sort of notion. We've continued to try and be honest and recognise the importance and to address the needs, and only recently have we recognised that we're doomed to fail no matter what, that inevitably we were not going to be able to do it, that was partly because we weren't resourced, we didn't have Maori people on the staff, but also I think we kind of led students into the expectations that we couldn't live up to, and we didn't confront their expectations in a way that was realistic." 5]

I have been interested in exploring your own views and experiences in relation to biculturalism and its implication for counsellor education and counselling in general. This section is introduced with reference as to whether we should be working from a bicultural framework at all.

How important is biculturalism

Some of us believe that there should be a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi to guide our practice when attending to Maori/Pakeha issues in counselling. For others the overemphasis on the Treaty of Waitangi clouded many of the social justice issues. For example,

"I realise that increasingly a radical stance doesn't fit me, because it has to do sometimes with replacing one wrong with another wrong....if you like, with the ethnic politicking that says, not only must the Treaty of Waitangi be put up there, but it precedes other forms of social justice that you mustn't attend, you shouldn't attend to the existence of other cultures, and the rights of other races here, until you are fully on board with the Treaty of Waitangi."8]

Political Correctness

Some of you identified the problem with political correctness and the absence of some critical exploration of many of the issues that arise around biculturalism. The fear of being labelled racist was identified as stifling a healthy discussion on biculturalism.

Cultural Matching in Counselling.

I surveyed some of your views in relation to cultural matching in counselling. Most of you would have been in sympathy with the following view. "I think we're also getting too rigid about who should work with who. I think the only 'should' I have is that the client should choose...The real issue is about training

and making available Maori counsellors so that the choice is really out there."
1]

However, another view referred to the problem of Pakeha working with Maori. "few pakeha counsellors would be equipped to work on cultural identity issues when they came up and might well not even recognise them ..Maori and Pacific Islanders for that matter have become so used to having to separate off and ignore that part of themselves when they enter pakeha institutions that they may well take that for granted when they go and see a pakeha counsellor and therefore obediently leave that part outside the door."1]

The Place of Parallel Development

Since there has been a proposal put forward at the 1993 NZAC AGM for the development of a parallel counsellor training and accrediting process for Maori, alongside Pakeha, I was interested in your views on this plan.

My understanding of this proposal was to enable Maori to draw on their own cultural knowledges to train their own people. Some people who commented on parallel development were against this proposal.

I identified two major points of disagreement.

1. Maori could become isolated and insular and may become out of touch with other perspectives and world views.

2. With the development of a two tier system, funding bodies might favour more traditional mainstream [North American-Pakeha] training.

One person pointed out the advantages of the diversity of choice for clients resulting from parallel training while raising other potential difficulties.
"... that's diversity, and if the Association can actually accept what they [Maori] come up with, and how they do it, and treat them as equal partners, it will be a positive outcome. It will actually result in greater diversity for clients... It's not just a matter of racial grouping, it's a matter of alternative views of the world. For example, the Chinese counsellors could say "here's our way of accrediting our own people; You took theirs, take ours. There will be some real strains and tensions in all of that. And if NZAC can cope with that, well, all very well." 7]

Catering for Maori in Our Counsellor Education Programmes

A number of you were committed to working with Maori in your respective programmes. Some of you identified the need for particular kinds of support for Maori.

It was suggested that it is unwise to take only one Maori person as that experience can be isolating and alienating.

".. One of my things in doing that was actually to create a safe opportunity for the Maori and Pacific Island students, particularly within the course, to get together if they wanted to, but in a way that didn't single them out or make them embarrassed, because sometimes they can feel embarrassed, you know, it depends on how much they identify with their own culture... But I think those sorts of structures are important to provide to validate, that its important to get support, that we want you to get support, and there's a place for you here. "3]

Another example follows this same theme. "..we have to 'we' being the trainers, have to be much clearer about using our power to mentor. So, if we

can identify Maori who are, sort of, even half way,..interested, and its possible for us to work with them, that we should go out of our way to do that, and to even favour them... in the sense of watching their careers, giving them advice..being a proper mentor for them, to bring them through. But it can't be done from a pakeha perspective, but its a very difficult thing because it has to be done from both a pakeha and a Maori perspective." 9]

While there is recognition of the need for support there was a suggestion that Maori training in a predominantly pakeha system may experience some discomfort and pain. "knowing that even bringing them [Maori] into here [into the counselling programme] we are inevitably defining who is going to come in and also how we are going to work with them. And I guess, eventually, we'll just have to say well that's a piece of the discomfort you're going to have to live with, and sometimes it's painful and sometimes we ignore it, [bicultural issues] sometimes we move away from it... but we've always had to come back to it." 5]

It was identified that as counsellor educators we need to be more transparent about where we are positioned in relation to knowledge to avoid the affects of colonising Maori experience.. For example, "I think we have..to make plain..to stand out ourselves..as sort of embedded in the western frames of thinking, and as educators within the university system we can show how that knowledge colonises or not, interfaces with anyway, other kinds of knowledge. And if you've embedded it well enough then you can, you've got a way of sort of coming at some of the more intractable problems." 9]
As counsellor educators it was suggested that there are some things that can be done to prepare pakeha for working alongside Maori. " I want to sensitise pakeha students to the issues around saying, we when we're actually excluding Maori and that whole business about we've been trying to share the power." 9]

By way of conclusion to this section there were these words of challenge.

"..And there are multiple levels of oppressions, and what we must not do in our counsellor education programmes is disempower our students by making them feel that the whole thing is just too big, that its just too complex, its in the too hard basket, so I don't want to have anything to do with Asian clients or Maori clients or Pacific Island clients. And that's how they were beginning to come out feeling, you know, feeling disempowered, Oh, I wouldn't, I wouldn't. Tough! because you may be it, you've got to be resourced. So its a matter of realities. Its the pragmatics of it, I think." 3]

I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN YOUR RESPONSES TO THESE QUESTIONS AND ANY OTHER INFORMATION WHICH THIS COMMENTARY RAISES FOR YOU.

.
How much weight should we give to the Treaty of Waitangi in our respective programmes and should we adhere to tino rangatiratanga?

Should we abandon biculturalism and embrace multiculturalism?

Can we avoid the politics of political correctness getting in the way of working more usefully or productively?

Should we actively encourage Maori students to train in counsellor education programmes run almost exclusively by Pakeha?

What else can we do to enable Maori to gain the most from the kind of programmes that we, as Pakeha offer?

Early theoretical influences

I explored with you some of the early counselling and psychology theorists who had an influence on your development as I felt this might reflect some of the important theoretical underpinnings which shape what you do and what you care about. Particularly,
I have been interested in how much of our training history is embedded in the liberal/humanistic tradition and how this influences what we deem important in our work.

For many of us, the client centred model comes through strongly in the early part of our training as does the influence of Gestalt Therapy. From my own understanding, I see these counselling models as being strongly located in the liberal-humanist tradition which in my understanding tends to accentuate the "intrapersonal" dimension.

Certainly, the psychodynamic therapies are focused on this domain. Rogers and his colleagues I think emphasised the innate potentiality and goodness of the person and through the development of the "right" relationship this would enable an inner goodness to unfold. I'm wondering for instance whether many of us still find the "self actualising concepts" helpful in understanding the counselling process.

For me, I think there are difficulties with many of our humanistic therapies which emphasise the investigation of internal individual processes, and sometimes ignore the contextual arrangements within which client problems develop. I'm thinking here of the effects of the cultural characteristics relating for example, to ethnicity, class, and gender.

A few of you made reference to the scientist -practitioner model as a guide for training. From my own training, my understanding of this model was that through a systematic process of investigation, we, as practitioners could determine the value of a particular kind of intervention in assisting our clients. I believed that by following a particular research methodology, I would gain some objective knowledge on whether the methods I employed worked. Over the last few years the notion of objectivity has become worrisome to me. Presently, I consider objectivity to be a culturally constructed phenomena. If this is the case, can we be at risk of failing to attend to issues arising in our work because our notion of objectivity is not able to embrace cultural knowledges and practices which stand outside of our own.

I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN YOUR RESPONSES TO THESE QUESTIONS AND ANY OTHER INFORMATION WHICH THIS COMMENTARY RAISES FOR YOU.

Does our counsellor training history blinker us from addressing many of the challenges which emerge from the socio-cultural contexts from which "problems" are generated? If so how can a narrowness of focus be addressed?

Do our cultural practices stop us from addressing social justice issues in our counsellor education programmes?

Does the idea of the attainability of "objectivity" [which I'm using here as being synonymous with truth] leave us with a degree of overconfidence in the correctness of what we are doing?

If we let go of the scientific - practitioner model [of course some of us never had it] what do we replace it with. Is there enough evaluation of what we do and how we do it?

Appendix D: Letter Accompanying Report Two

Dear

I am in the last stage of the research cycle where I am exploring your views on
what are we aiming to achieve
in counsellor education in our respective programmes.

I was thrilled to have the opportunity to work with you in our the focus group during the UCEN meeting. It was a shame that we missed out on hearing the input from some of us who weren't able to be there.

In this last round, everyone will have a further opportunity to contribute your thoughts and ideas on a selected range of topics which relate to my study. Some of the material that was presented to you in the UCEN meeting is contained in this report as other members of the UCEN did not see this.

What is included in this accompanying report is material that I did not present to you in the focus group and some of your responses from the focus group itself.

I want to be sure that the range of views presented under the various headings is representative of your own understandings, particularly those of you who didn't get the space to express your thoughts or did not present your ideas for any other reason.

As a way of completing this research round I would like to be able to send you the material in two postings. This report is the largest and deals with your views that are particularly pertinent to my study. The second posting will contain your views on a range of other subjects. I have in fact gathered together a range of your view points under about twenty major subject headings which include issues such as counselling models, spirituality, personal development, ethical considerations, gender/cultural appropriate counselling and student/counsellor educator boundaries.

Please don't be put off with the size of this first report. Most of what is contained here are your [as a collective group] thoughts, beliefs, values and theories about some aspects of counsellor education. This is an opportunity to find out more about what the UCEN group think and to further reflect on your own ideas.

As I have already stated, I wish to investigate the aspects of counselling and counsellor education which relate to the consideration of social justice issues to do with culture and gender and the broader socio-political issues.
In the sections of the report enclosed I have only some of your statements under the respective headings. In other instances your views may not feature at all as that specific content did not emerge from our interview.

<u>What I would like you to do</u>

1. Would you please read the report. React to both my commentary on these sections and your various points of view already recorded on the topic. I have left spaces for you to make some notes. Please by all means add further comments on other paper.

2. I have allocated you a number next to your transcripted verbatim. Your number is .....
You can check through these sections in particular to be sure that I have reflected your ideas as faithfully as possible in both intention and accuracy. Please make accompanying notes in the margin next to your verbatim suggesting alterations and changes. In the final stages I want to ensure that I have articulated your ideas as correctly as possible.

I would like to have this report back with your accompanying notes by the 20th of December so that I can begin my write up for the doctoral study.

Thanks once again for all of your help in participating in this project.

Warmest Regards

Gerald