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Pākehā counsellors consider their positioning: Towards postcolonial praxis

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the degree of
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The developing interests which have led to this doctoral project had their earliest beginnings when, as an adolescent, I began to notice my encounters with difference and found that my received understandings of New Zealand and its peoples did not match with the social justice principles I was wanting to commit to. I began a process of becoming Pākehā.

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Abstract

The challenges of achieving the potential, which the Treaty of Waitangi offers for a postcolonial present and future, have shaped life in Aotearoa New Zealand over the last four decades. This thesis draws on this history and challenge to consider the practice possibilities for Pākehā counsellors when they work with clients and colleagues of other cultures. It is strongly influenced by the Treaty of Waitangi but seeks not to be limited to a Māori/Pākehā binary. It has been undertaken in the hopes of informing developments in the practice of students seeking to qualify to work as counsellors and more experienced practitioners.

The first theoretical foundation for this study is poststructuralism which is considered as a braided stream of theorizing where braids divide and unite. A Foucauldian social constructionism underlies this project, which extends to a consideration of subjectification, agency and positioning theory. This study is also intentionally postcolonial drawing on Said's seminal works, *Orientalism* (1979) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) and North American and European writing about identity politics and intersectionality. It views the centring of the Treaty of Waitangi in this land as postcolonial work.

These two emphases, poststructuralism and postcolonialism, provide the theoretical base for an exploration of the context of professional counselling practice in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Five experienced counsellors constituted a research group who firstly discussed practising as a Pākehā counsellor and then acknowledged their hopes and fears for their practice with clients of other cultures. In later stages of the data generation the participants were invited to join in processes of discourse analysis and deconstruction which produced shifts in practice and practice identity.

This study identifies two forms of praxis that might inform a counselling practice which seeks to achieve a postcolonial purpose: these are named as critical discursive praxis and critical Pākehā praxis.

Chapter 1: Introducing the study.

Overview

In this study I have focussed on the intersections and interactions between several strands of personal and professional interest. I am a counsellor working in counsellor and social work education. As a practice educator and previously as a practitioner and secondary teacher I have worked to counter some negative effects of colonising and patriarchal discourses in the communities that I have worked in, always with the wish that I was better resourced for this work. I embarked on this project in order to better resource learning and practice. As the title indicates this thesis is politically and academically located in poststructuralist thinking: another motivation was to learn more about this theoretical tradition and to seek ways to apply poststructuralist ideas in practice.

My focus is on the professional practice of counsellors who like myself identify as Pākehā, which is the dominant cultural group in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and who have a commitment to practice within a Code of Ethics which calls counsellors to honour the Treaty of Waitangi and work for social justice (New Zealand Association of Counsellors, 2002). The context for this study is professional counselling practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand. While I draw extensively on poststructuralist theorising from Europe, the United Kingdom and North America I contextualise this study by examining the moral position of the Treaty of Waitangi in Aotearoa/New Zealand. As the title indicates, a particular focus has been to investigate the implications of identity when framed in terms of culture. Throughout this research project I have been concerned to shape a research project that furthers postcolonial purposes, calls on poststructuralist ways of thinking, and is consistent with academic and professional ethics. I introduce these strands here and then explore them in more detail as I develop this study in the next two chapters: Chapter 2 reviews poststructuralist and postcolonial writing in a largely western context; Chapter 3 reviews the Treaty of Waitangi as the focus for postcolonial praxis in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and also addresses the particular context of counselling practice in this land.

Poststructuralist ideas

The Oxford English dictionary defines poststructuralism as:

An extension and critique of structuralism, especially, as used in critical textual analysis, which rejects structuralist claims to objectivity and comprehensiveness, typically emphasizing instead the instability and plurality of meaning, and frequently using the techniques of deconstruction to reveal unquestioned assumptions and inconsistencies in literary and philosophical language. (Oxford University Press, 1997)

This study has called on poststructural ideas especially those which ‘flow’ within the streams described as postcolonialism and social constructionism. I see a broad overlap between these traditions, and I am emphasising the postcolonial frame because it more overtly captures the political intent of this study. My reading of postcolonialism is a poststructuralist reading. In this study I invited Pākehā counselling practitioners to turn a postcolonial lens onto their practice. Much postcolonial writing is written by, and for, persons who are identified as being materially disadvantaged by colonising practices. In this study, however, I invited counsellors who both identify with and are identified with the dominant cultural group in Aotearoa to join me in analyses that seek to inform Pākehā practice in the light of the Treaty of Waitangi and postcolonial writing. There are several reasons why this is appropriate.

Firstly, to restrict postcolonial analyses to persons and groups conventionally defined as ‘colonised’ risks perpetuating the ‘self – other’ binary central to colonising discourse. Binaries, I argue, contribute to unhelpful essentialising of identity.

Secondly, while the main thrust of postcolonial writing has been intended as liberatory for ‘colonised’ persons I argue that significant change for persons experiencing oppression ultimately involves changes on the part of those who have more apparent privilege.

Finally, colonising discourse makes position calls to both those who are seen as the beneficiaries and those disadvantaged by colonisation. Discourse analysis informed by postcolonial ideas offers new alternatives to both groups.

The Treaty of Waitangi

The repositioning of the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document of Aotearoa/New Zealand over the last 30 years has had significant political, social and ideological effects. These effects have been visible at the national level as well as in a myriad of organisations. The New Zealand Association of Counsellors has followed the calls in Aotearoa/New Zealand for social practice to be shaped by the Treaty of Waitangi. I have sought to respond to them in both my teaching practice and academic work. A significant motivation for this study was my dissatisfaction with oversimplified and divisive accounts of Treaty and cultural identity. I have been concerned that simplistically framed accounts risk creating a totalising Māori-Pākehā binary that excludes those not fitting in either group and narrows the possibilities for those who are seen as fitting. However I did not seek to step away from Māori and Pākehā as signifiers of identity. They are in general use, however I used them in a contingent fashion.

In this study I wished to focus on the practices of counsellors who are identified within the dominant cultural group in Aotearoa that is variously described as ‘Pākehā’, or from (Western) European heritages, New Zealander, Kiwi or, very rarely, as ‘white’. This is not an homogenous group and for the purposes of this project was defined by those who were prepared to claim Pākehā as an identity signifier for themselves. This group of practitioners may be seen as privileged and culturally dominant in relation to both Māori and other settler groups who are not seen as white or European.

Culturally framed identities

The politics of culturally framed identity were important for this study. I draw on work located within this country (Bell, 1996; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Larner, 1996), which has explored the development of the identities of Māori and Pākehā. I also refer to North American studies of “whiteness,” especially Frankenberg’s (1993) study. I was interested in the possibilities and limitations of Māori and Pākehā as identity signifiers. The possibilities relate to the potential for collective identities to support persons in taking particular political positions. The limitations are in the potential for such signifiers to become totalising descriptions that inhibit the ability of the persons involved to act in just and innovative ways. Identity signifiers are inevitably political devices that reflect consciously or

unconsciously held views about the place of the identified group in the broader society. The *Pākehā* and the *New Zealander* and the *Kiwi* identities may all denote the holders' memberships of the same dominant cultural group in this society. However the *Pākehā* identity may be more comfortably taken up by persons interested in addressing the social justice issues which come from a reading of the Treaty of Waitangi which sees it as legitimising settlement and safeguarding indigenous traditions, practices and rights.

Counselling practice

Initially as a practitioner and latterly as a counsellor educator I have been an active member of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors (NZAC). I have worked both within the local branch and on the National Executive and in roles undertaken on behalf of the Association. I have an ongoing interest in the potential arising within a professional community to support professional levels of practice and the development of practitioner identities. Counsellors who are members of NZAC commit to work within the framework of a set of objects and a code of ethics that challenge social injustice and frame counselling practice as actions taken in the support of clients' purposes.

Research practice

I sought a research methodology that would be honouring and respectful to the participants in the study – both those who directly responded as participants and those whose experience had informed the contributions of the participants.

In the balance of this chapter and the following two chapters I outline the theoretical and methodological traditions with which this project is aligned and demonstrate how the overall project centred on the following research question responds to, honours and speaks out of these traditions.

Research question

How do counsellors who identify as members of the dominant culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand act in response to their positioning as members of that dominant group in relation with clients of the same or different cultures?

I have already indicated that this was a politically and ethically motivated project that sought the participation of practitioners who own an identification with dominant culture. Implicit in the research question and demonstrated later in this thesis is an interest in the workings of discourse in practice contexts, the subject positions available to counsellors as they practice and the position calls they may respond to or refuse (B. Davies & Harré, 1990).

Theoretical and research traditions which inform the project

Poststructuralism, postcolonialism and social constructionism

The broad theoretical framework for this study is poststructuralism, which, following Lather, I define as “the working out of academic theory within the culture of postmodernism” (1992, p. 90). I view this working out as a braided and intersecting collectivity of streams of academic theorising which shares some common positions: that the search for objective truth is misdirected; that efforts to develop a grand narrative which will explain human individual or social behaviour in a way which enables accurate prediction are unrealisable; that knowledge is contingent and derived in relation to value positions, whether or not these positions are acknowledged (Burr, 2003).

I identify postcolonialism and social constructionism as the primary streams for this study and in the next chapter I define these streams and introduce key concepts, which underpinned this study and offered analytical tools. However I also held myself open to draw from other streams within the braids of poststructuralism. The most prominent of these streams is poststructuralist feminism, which as a series of political movements and an academic focus has been extremely influential. The metaphor of a braided river illustrates a further commonality of poststructuralist approaches, which is that the aspects of experience we choose to focus on cannot be held in isolation from the rest of experience. Braids join, and separate, and rejoin. A postcolonial analysis, which focuses only on imperial power, cannot be sustained; ethnicity and gender and class are all implicated (hooks, 1989; Lather, 1992).

A poststructuralist research method

In Chapter 4 I outline the method I designed for this project. It was my intention that it both draw from and complement the poststructuralist and postcolonial bases

of this project, and that it offered an ethical engagement with participants which invited them to contribute both to initial data collection and subsequent discourse analysis and deconstruction.

An overview of the findings of this study

I began this project seeking to discover how counsellors who took up a Pākehā identity both experienced and responded to their positioning within the context of their practice. I hoped for outcomes that had the potential to inform both practice and practice education. In Chapter five I share rich accounts of identity formation and performance shared by the (practitioner) participants and accounts of challenging position calls and the participants varying degrees of success in achieving agentic positions in the face of these calls.

In Chapter six I show how the participants and I were able to engage in processes of discourse analysis and deconstruction. These processes happened as their participation in this project became reflexively connected with their practice. Their practice had begun to inform research and then their positioning as research participants began to inform their practice. My intention to create a context for rich participation in both data generation and subsequent discourse analysis and deconstruction was well realised.

In Chapter seven I draw together the data and the theoretical grounding of this study and theorise significant insights into ways in which professional practice can be carried out with postcolonial intent. I came to understand that Pākehā counsellors can best work across cultures when they stand in, as I name it, the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring and that this moment is closely entwined with the concept of Cultural Safety. I identify two forms of praxis that might inform a Pākehā counsellor who seeks to achieve a postcolonial purpose: these are named as critical discursive praxis and critical Pākehā praxis.

I now move into two chapters that explore the academic traditions on which this study is built. Chapter two focuses on poststructuralist and postcolonial western theoretical traditions, while Chapter three considers the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi for professional practice in Aotearoa and closely engages with issues

of culturally framed identity before concluding with a survey of the New Zealand counselling literature.

Chapter 2: Western theoretical traditions which shape this project

Introduction

In this chapter I begin a detailed review of the theoretical traditions that have shaped this study. I begin with a review of postcolonial theory then move to review poststructuralist theory. These two sections address the western theoretical positions that underpin this work. The approach I take in relation to both postcolonial theory and poststructuralist theory is significantly shaped by Foucauldian ideas. I refer to the influence of Foucault in the inauguration and development of postcolonial thinking and consider Foucauldian ideas more fully as I consider poststructuralist thinking.

Postcolonial theory

In this section I locate some key foundations of postcolonial theory. Here they are located on a broad canvas. In the next chapter I consider the position of the Treaty of Waitangi as a rallying point for postcolonial work in Aotearoa New Zealand. I begin here with a consideration of some issues of representation for myself as a Pākehā researcher seeking to achieve a postcolonial purpose.

The first set of problems is concerned with ...issues like who writes or studies [the Other], in what institutional or discursive setting, for what audience, and with what ends in mind, the second set of problems [focuses on].... How the production of knowledge best serves communal, as opposed to sectarian, ends, how knowledge that is nondominative and noncoercive can be produced in a setting that is deeply inscribed with the politics, the considerations, and the strategies of power. (Said, 1991, p. 36)

Said here encapsulates issues that are central to the production of this project; that is the careful consideration of the discursive context that intellectual work arises in and the ways in which post-colonial intentions may also be realised as post-colonial in effect. In this project my concern is that my intentions as a Pākehā researcher working with Pākehā informants in relation to their work with Māori and other ethnicities are seen as serving the project of cross-cultural

understanding rather than being seen as serving the interests of the dominant culture.

With this frame established, I begin this section with a series of definitions. The foundational terms are imperialism, colonialism and postcolonialism. Said has defined imperialism and colonialism in a paired definition.

“Imperialism” means the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory; “colonialism,” which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory. (Said, 1993, p.9)

Said is naming imperialism and colonialism as discourses. I will address the concept of discourse when I consider poststructuralist theory. In Said’s definition imperialism and colonialism incorporate practice, and knowledge, and attitudes and there is an explicit relationship to power. In these definitions distance is evoked twice. Imperialism operates from a distance. The process of colonisation closes distance and brings settlers into close proximity with those who are colonised. Colonisation creates a local context for imperialism.

Postcolonialism on the other hand is concerned with articulating resistance to local colonial domination. The ‘post’ is not intended to suggest that the forces of colonisation have been neutralised or replaced, rather that there has been a critical engagement with them (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999).

In Aotearoa New Zealand part of the postcolonial reality is the working out of relations between the descendants of those groups originally colonised, who can be described as ‘postcolonised’, and the descendants of those groups who were involved in the enterprise of colonisation, who can be described as ‘postcolonisers’ (During, 1985). These distinctions are only partially helpful. They reflect a binary that is often simplistically projected onto lived experience. Both in terms of genealogy and ideology many draw from both sides of this problematic binary. Said is at pains to expose the permeability of cultures.

Partly because of empire, all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated and unmonolithic. (Said, 1993, p.xxv)

Post-colonial writing often comes from a ‘postcolonised’ position and there is some sensitivity or suspicion from persons who identify with that position about ‘postcolonisers’ seeking to write in a postcolonial frame. Smith lays a challenge to postcolonisers by suggesting that post-colonialism can be viewed as “the convenient invention of Western intellectuals which reinscribes their power to define the world” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 14). Any study, including this one, might be scrutinised from this perspective.

This project focussing as it does on the experience of Pākehā professionals working with members of other ethnic groups is open to the criticism that it does not expose itself to the scrutiny of Māori and other eyes. It is an attempt to focus on Pākehā practitioners’ stories of working to honour the Treaty of Waitangi. It has been developed with an intention of contributing to both knowledge and resource in relation to Pākehā praxis. I have sought to develop a research practice, which is honouring of the Pākehā participants, their clients and the wider communities of practice which surround the participants and who may have an interest in this research. I have presented several elements of the project publicly during the formulation phase (A. Crocket, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d). These presentations have offered opportunities for a number of Māori and non-Maori to comment on the appropriateness of the study and these comments have helped to shape both my approach and the final design of the project. A full draft of this thesis has been read by a senior Māori researcher who has affirmed that my intention to conduct research that was respectful of the practitioners and their Māori and non-Māori clients has been realised.

I acknowledge a wealth of significant post-colonial writing (for example Bhabha, 1994; Freire, 1972; Hall, 1997; Spivak, 1994), while I will focus here on one stream which starts with the writing of Fanon (1965, 1970) and then draws on the work of Said (1979, 1993), recognising that Foucault’s ideas contributed to the genesis of Said’s postcolonial work. In the next chapter I focus the postcolonial purpose of this study in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Coloniser and colonised: mutual constructions of identity

Fanon was one of the first writers to critically examine the issues of colonisation from the perspective of a colonised person. He explored the ways in which the dominant, colonising peoples influence the ways in which the colonised peoples experience the world. He sought ways to transform the consciousness of both the colonised and the coloniser, and was hopeful this could be achieved. He introduced the idea that settler and colonised were mutual constructions of colonisation who had a close understanding of each other (Fanon, 1965). This idea will be taken forward in Chapter 3 in relation to the identities Māori and Pākehā.

Orientalism and imperialism

Orientalism (Said, 1979) and imperialism (Said, 1993) are two fundamentally important post-colonial cornerstones. Both were significantly developed in Said's work. Imperialism as a concept incorporates orientalism as a foundation and significantly extends its reach. While orientalism is geographically confined part of its broader significance is as the seminal work for the field of Cultural Studies. Understandings of colonising discourse are richly informed by examination of this foundational concept. For Said, Orientalism is a three fold and interdependent process:

“Anyone who teaches, writes about the Orient ...is an Orientalist and what he or she does is Orientalism” (1979, p. 2).

“Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction between “the Orient” and (most of the time) “the Occident””(1979, p.2).

“Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (1979, p.2).

Orientalism, then, conflates a particular area of western intellectual activity: a desire to make distinctions between the 'East' and the 'West', with a form of establishing and maintaining authority over those peoples and nations described as Oriental. Its practices have been developed over hundreds of years and are exercised in Western Art, Literature and a broad cluster of intellectual or scientific studies that serve the purpose of Western domination over the East.

The first of the three definitions cited above dates back centuries. Said's tripartite re-definition shifts the meaning of orientalism from one of *interest* in the Orient to a more encompassing and powerful interest in power and control over the Orient.

Said went on to identify orientalism in Foucauldian terms as a discourse:

My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically during the post-Enlightenment period (1979, p.3).

In practice, orientalism promoted the difference between the "familiar" and the "strange" (p.43). This difference signified and increased a power differential between the Orient and the West where the Westerner had the privilege of a "certain freedom of intercourse" (p.44); the freedom to enter, investigate and define "the great Asiatic mystery" (p.44).

What the orientalist discourse creates is a means of understanding and a technology for Western control of the Orient. It conceals the understandings of the Orient by those who are subjected by this discourse. It limits the potential for the West to share an indigenous understanding of what begins to be lost through the effects of orientalism.

For Said, this orientalist discourse while empowering and legitimising Western ambition is not all powerful. He writes:

..what has, I think, been previously overlooked is the constricted vocabulary of such a privilege, and the comparative limitation of such a vision. (1979, p.44)

While the understanding of orientalism in general as a discourse is of importance to this current study, this last point is of particular importance to a study of the practice intentions and practice realities of members of the dominant culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Said argues that the vision of orientalist discourse is constricted and limited. These limitations and constrictions open space for resistance. This study attempts to move beyond the constrictions and limitations of orientalist and other colonising discourses, especially those which act on members of the dominant culture.

Orientalism then offers a powerful concept for understanding the discourses that are a constituent part of imperialism. The scope of imperialism as a conceptual term is greater than orientalism in two important respects. Firstly, imperialism directly addresses the orientalist discourse to a wider target; that is, the 85 percent of the world that was under the control of a Western power by the end of the nineteenth century. Secondly, and more importantly for this study, imperialism as an academic concept is not just focussed on the creation and maintenance of imperial authority, but equally it is focussed on that resistance to imperial authority which eventually gained critical momentum and developed into decolonisation movements and processes (Said, 1993, p.xii) which were differently configured in each location.

“Self” and “Other”

Throughout the exchange between Europeans and their “Others” that began systematically half a millennium ago, the one idea that has scarcely varied is that there is an “us” and a “them,” each quite settled, clear, unassailably self-evident. (Said, 1993, p.xxv)

Many writers have discussed the dualist notion of self and other functions as a mechanism for facilitating discrimination, arguing that dominant social groups (the self) live by an implicit standard through which the 'other' is judged, (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Said, 1993; Sampson, 1993a, 1993b; L. T. Smith, 1999) and

that for the Western world this implicit standard is educated, white, heterosexual, male. Sampson (1993a) argues that the entire Western project rests on discrimination legitimised by this standard.

To create a serviceable other, then, is to use representation in a powerful manner designed to accomplish desired qualities for one's own group by constructing a serviceable other who will be serviceable to that mission. (Sampson, 1993b. p.1226)

Serviceable is added here in front of 'other' to emphasize that the 'other' is largely a construction of the dominant group whose purpose as constructed by the dominant 'self' is to further the advantage of the dominant group. For as Spivak (1994) argued it is the dominant group which has speaking rights. It is then a fair question to ask as she did 'can the subaltern speak?' As Spivak explained later (Landry & MacLean, 1996, p.291), speaking *requires* a listener. Her question might also be: would the colonised be listened to by the colonisers? Her question has clear relevance for this study as Pākehā – postcolonisers – consider their practice with Māori and other postcolonised persons.

Sampson describes the western project (which encompasses colonialism, gender relations and employment relations) as 'self-celebratory and monologic' (1993a, p.4). His suggestion for a strategy to counter the effects of this project is the 'celebration of the other' in dialogic processes that involve conversations conducted in terms that both parties can understand. Dialogism is taken up further in the research design where I will utilise a process designed to facilitate dialogue. I will now move on to explore identity politics – a signifier for group action towards political change – and intersectionality.

Identity Politics and Intersectionality

Identity politics is a form of political movement born in resistance to a social order which denies the legitimate goals of a group whose members who are "politically marked" (Gergen, 1999, p. 1) and whose membership is not merely a matter of choice. Groups engaged in identity politics are seeking a transformation of the social structure to demonstrate recognition of the legitimacy of their identity and their political claims. The target for the group may be the society at

large or a specific power bloc within the society (Sampson, 1993b). The moves taken to foster a revival of Māori identity in the years since 1970 offer one powerful example of identity politics in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand. Other identity political movements prominent in New Zealand have championed women's rights and gay rights.

Intersectionality on the other hand is a response to the limited interest that identity politics produces towards the effects of overlaying oppressions for persons who experience these. The term arises from a metaphor and describes:

... what occurs when a woman from a minority group ... tries to navigate the main crossing in the city... . The main highway is 'Racism Road'. One cross street can be Colonialism, then Patriarchy Street. ... She has to deal not only with one form of oppression but with all forms, those named as road signs, which link together to make a double, a triple, multiple, a many layered blanket of oppression. (Crenshaw, 2001, cited in Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 196)

Intersectionality challenges the essentialising effects of identity politics, which always risked a narrowing of identity to a single frame such as gender or ethnicity, thus excluding or splitting some potential group members. Feminist projects called women to join in solidarity, Māori projects called Māori to join in solidarity: both sought to harness the power of their supporters to achieve political ends. Sampson's response to this risk is to propose the metaphor of a tightrope walker:

Accepting the dissonance and sustaining the tension between having an identity as defined by the dominant discourses and practices of one's time and simultaneously challenging that very identity by probing its history, its production, and its uses. (1993b, p. 1219)

Taking a reviled identity signifier and definition from dominant culture and turning it into a source of pride has been effective for many groups. However, for critics of identity politics there was an unease for some individuals that inclusion in such a group might be at the price of significant exclusions. The many writers (for example; Burman, 2003; Crenshaw, 2001; Nash, 2008; Ringrose, 2007;

Staunæs, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006) who have taken up intersectionality would argue that “accepting the dissonance” as proposed by Sampson was in effect denying some oppressions while seeking to address others. Yuval-Davis (2006) argues that when attempts are made to remedy this limiting effect from within identity politics: “what takes place is actually fragmentation and multiplication of the wider categorical identities rather than more dynamic, shifting and multiplex constructions of intersectionality” (p. 195).

This “fragmentation and multiplication” of categorical identities produces more and more division between peoples and, as Burman (2003, p. 299) argues, this effect renders cooperation and alliance almost impossible. Another description of the attempts to remedy identity politics is described as additive. Yuval-Davis argues that when this happens:

Such narratives often reflect hegemonic discourses of identity politics that render invisible experiences of the more marginal members of that specific social category and construct an homogenized ‘right way’ to be its member. (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 238)

This study asks if and how counsellors can work effectively with clients who may experience further marginalisation as a result of identity politics and whether counsellors are able to move into the kind of alliance with clients which will support clients towards the “more dynamic, shifting and multiplex” understanding of their identity that Yuval-Davis would prefer.

Aotearoa New Zealand has been significantly shaped by identity politics. The ‘Māori Renaissance’ from the 1970s onwards began a highly successful identity political project. A major effect of that success has been the framing of social practice in Aotearoa in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi. Even the identity of Pākehā as representing a commitment to a biculturalism defined in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi has an identity political form when it is seen as an identity taken up with a political purpose. This project rests on a social landscape shaped by identity politics. My challenge in this project is to support the positive achievements of those projects while seeking to draw on the greater degree of nuance which intersectionality promises. The participants in this study and I

became as tightrope walkers moving on a rope suspended between the poles of identity politics and intersectionality. On the one end we are supported by the achievements of identity politics through the Māori renaissance. Supported by intersectionality at the other end we seek a greater degree of nuance in the recognition of identity than arbitrary binaries of identity may allow. Some of this challenge will emerge when I later outline the Treaty of Waitangi history. Now I move from introducing postcolonialism to introduce poststructuralism.

Poststructuralist theory

In this section I introduce Social Constructionism as the key poststructural theory for this study. Once I have established this generalised definition I move to introduce the Foucauldian base for this project. Next I introduce Narrative Therapy as the social constructionist counselling theory used by the participants in this study. I will show the Foucauldian base of Narrative Therapy and will later draw on some the key theoretical ideas incorporated in it. In the balance of this chapter I review three specific areas of theory developed largely in response to Foucault's work: positioning theory and agency, the grammar of the subject, and objectivization. These are significant resources for this study.

Social Constructionism

Experience never simply speaks for itself. The language that we bring to it determines its meaning. (Giroux, 1992, p.17)

Social constructionism spans the academic disciplines of sociology and psychology. Burr (2003, pp. 3-5) suggests that there is not one single definition for this theoretical tradition but that social constructionist writing will share a 'family resemblance' to the following ideas: that a critical stance needs to be taken toward taken-for-granted knowledge; that the concepts which we use to make sense of the world are culturally and historically specific and so that all ways of understanding are culturally and historically relative; that knowledge of the world comes from social processes; that different constructions of the world are to be expected and that each construction calls forth different kinds of action.

Burr goes on to argue that social constructionism differs from traditional psychology in several respects; through its anti-essentialist stance it rejects ideas

which suggest that human experience or personality have an essential and discoverable nature; through a suspicion towards claims to objectivity; through its understanding that language is a pre-condition for thought; through seeing language as a form of social action; and finally, through its focus on interaction and social practices and the dynamics of social action (Burr, 2003, pp. 5-7).

As Burr (2003) explains, social construction has a 'macro' stream and a 'micro' stream. The micro stream focuses on interactions between persons while the macro stream addresses issues at a large scale or political level. This study is located primarily in the micro stream with its interest in moments of practice experience and their ongoing effects in the shaping of a counselling relationship, however I am also interested in the effects which occur at the practice level when effects from the macro impact on a counselling relationship.

These family characteristics of a social constructionist enquiry can be seen in this study as having a strong Foucauldian resemblance which becomes more evident as I move on to consider Foucault's work and then when I address particular developments of Foucauldian theory by other writers who, as I indicated at the start of this section, have taken Foucault's ideas further.

Discourse, power and knowledge: the influence of Foucault

Michel Foucault's writings have become extremely influential in the world of social science. Foucauldian ideas underpin both the postcolonial and social constructionist streams of this project. In postcolonial writing, Foucault's central concept of discourse underpins Said's seminal work *Orientalism* (1979) which is credited with initiating the discipline of Cultural Studies. In social constructionist writing Foucault's ideas are also very influential and will be visible here in terms of the priorities of social constructionist projects in general and specifically in relation to: Narrative Therapy, a social constructionist approach to counselling; and to a post-structuralist stream of Positioning Theory; considerations of agency; and objectivization. All of these are central to this inquiry.

In this section I will present an overview of Foucauldian thinking. While some scholars may draw on particular elements of his work, in this project I draw on

ideas from across the entire spectrum of his work. The reach of Foucauldian ideas is very broad:

[T]he task of philosophy as a critical analysis of our world is something which is more and more important. Maybe the most certain of all philosophical problems is the problem of the present time, and of what we are in this very moment.

...

Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are. We have to imagine and build up what we could be to get rid of this kind of political “double-bind,” which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structures (Foucault, 1982, p. 785).

Refusal of “what we are” speaks to the work that the counsellors in this study undertake with their clients. At the centre of a narrative approach to counselling is the search for a more satisfying identity story than the one a client brings to counselling. The latter part of the quote indicates the links between personal identity and “modern power structures”; I will go on to draw some particular conclusions about the constitutive effects of particular effects of power when considered through a Foucauldian lens.

Many writers have sought to understand and interpret the shifts and developments in Foucault’s writing over his career (for example, Besley, 2005; Bevir, 1999; Cooper & Blair, 2002; Howarth, 2000; Markula & Pringle, 2006). His early work (Foucault, 1977, 2001, 2002) appeared to destroy the possibility of there being an autonomous subject. His later work (Foucault, 1978, 1982, 1988a, 1988d, 1997) opened a possibility for agency. Bevir, however, distinguishes between an “excitable” and a “composed” Foucault.

No doubt the excitable Foucault, who sees the individual solely as a product of social power, is a more familiar figure. He uncompromisingly pronounces the subject dead, and portrays the self as a construct of an episteme, disciplinary matrix, or some such. ... Nonetheless, the

composed Foucault, who allows the subject to constitute himself within the context of a regime of power, does appear occasionally, especially in the final writings on governmentality and an ethic of care for the self. (1999, p. 68)

This distinction helps to support the perspective that I take on Foucault's ideas. The ideas which Bevir credits to the excitable Foucault where the self is seen "solely as a product of social power" are useful in considering the broad societal context for this study which I explore in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi. The ideas of the composed Foucault, "who allows the subject to constitute himself within the context of a regime of power", underlie the interpretations of counselling practice presented in this thesis. These interpretations rely on the "ethic of the care for the self" as well as on the concepts of agency, positioning and subjection, which are, supported best in Foucault's later, "composed" work. I now turn to specific Foucauldian concepts that have relevance for this study. I begin with those concepts related to the production of individuals as an effect of social power.

One foundational concept is 'discourse' which provides a way of conceptualising how social forces are active in the actions of individuals, whether or not they are aware of this.

Discursive relations ... offer it [discourse]... objects of which it can speak, or rather...they determine the group of relations that discourse must establish in order to speak of this or that object, in order to deal with them, name them, explain them, etc. These relations characterize not the language used by discourse, nor the circumstances in which it is deployed, but discourse as a practice. (Foucault, 2002, pp.50-51)

Discourse is characterised here as shaping objects which includes 'things,' 'ideas' and also persons as objects and so acting on those objects. Discourse is also described as a practice indicating that it is active and that it has instant and enduring effects on persons and their understandings of themselves as objects and other objects. Burr (2003, p. 202) writes that discourse refers to "a systematic, coherent set of images, metaphors and so on that construct an object in a

particular way.” In this study I invited research participants to consider the discourses that produced specific moments of their practice.

In developing his understandings of discourse Foucault conceptualised a radically different conception of human relations from that implicit in modernity. Central to modernity is a conceptualisation of individual autonomy that the Foucauldian concept of discourse negates. Bevir writes:

Modernity... enshrines a faith in an autonomous subject who can avoid local prejudices and who can be freed from social constraint.

Foucault, in contrast, argues that the subject cannot be autonomous, so modernity is masquerading as something that it is not. (1999, p. 69)

The subject cannot be autonomous because discourse pre-exists the individual and shapes his or her subjecthood. Individual persons have a subjectivity or subjecthood that is produced discursively. Foucault’s early works *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (1977), *Madness and civilization: A history of insanity in the age of reason* (2001) considered how discourses of punishment and madness were developed in earlier stages of history and which come into this age with the power to shape the subjectivity of people who became subjected to incarceration or treatment.

Foucault’s understandings of power and its interrelationship with knowledge are also significantly different than those championed by modernity.

We should admit rather that power produces knowledge...; that power and knowledge directly imply one another, that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. (1977, p.27)

An analysis of the workings of power and knowledge is necessary for this project that examines the positioning offered to counsellors from their identification within the dominant cultural group. The connections between power and knowledge are a key component of Said’s definition of orientalism as I have

already argued. In that context power and its relationship with knowledge is seen as part a system of western control of the Orient. However, Foucault also argues that power should not be seen simply as having a hierarchical form.

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms; it ‘excludes’, it ‘represses’, it ‘censors’, it ‘abstracts’, it ‘marks’, it ‘conceals’. In fact power produces; it produces reality, it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production. (1977, p.194)

Thus power and knowledge fold back into discourse, which creates individuals as objects and subjects; power and discourse are also recreated in that moment of creation.

Discourse and the conceptions of power and knowledge as constituent of persons as subjects or objects are the key ideas I take from the early or “excitable” Foucault. I now move to the later or “composed” Foucault.

I now consider governmentality, the description Foucault gave to an ensemble of forms of modern power (Foucault, 1991, p. 102) and the technology he described as ‘care of the self’ (Foucault, 1988b) in order to lay the foundations for the concepts ‘agency’ and ‘subject position’ which are central to this project. In order to do so I return to consider the second part of the quote that I placed at the opening of this section.

Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are. *We have to imagine and build up what we could be* to get rid of this kind of political “double-bind,” which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structures. (Foucault, 1982, p. 785 emphasis added)

The complexities opened up by ‘refusal’ rather than ‘discovery’ and imagining what ‘we could be’ also mark a shift from a societal or state view (of discourse and power shaping groups and individuals) to an individual or local view (where individuals can discover and use the agency they have to shape a preferred existence within the discipline represented by governmentality).

In describing governmentality, Foucault identified several forms of power that he traced back to their origins between one and four hundred years ago. Foucault described governmentality as:

[t]he ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. (1991, p. 102)

Governmentality is an ensemble of several forms of power which act in combination to effect “simultaneous individualized and totalized” control of a population. Foucault identifies sovereign power as an original form of power. It is the power of life and death that the king or sovereign has over his subjects, but it was largely limited to large and rare events. I will go on to argue that a version of sovereign power can have particular constitutive effects for counsellors and their clients in particular situations. Bio-power refers to the “techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations” (Foucault, 1984b, p. 262) which supplemented sovereign power’s focus on life and death. Bio-power works through the action of:

.. continuous regulatory and corrective mechanisms. It is no longer a matter of bringing death into play in the field of sovereignty, but of distributing the living in the domain of value and utility. Such a power has to qualify, measure, appraise, and hierarchize, rather than display itself in its hierarchical splendor; it does not have to draw the line that separates the enemies of the sovereign from his obedient subjects; it effects distributions around the norm. (Foucault, 1984b, p. 266)

Bio-power works by showing us what is expected and demanding that we constitute ourselves in relation to “continuous regulatory and corrective mechanisms”, in particular, the norm. The norm began to be more effective a way of governing people’s lives than the law because norms provoked disciplinary action on the self, both by that person and by those in contact with them. To approach the norm is to be a more worthy citizen of the state. Foucault also

described governmentality as the “contact between the technologies of the domination of others and those of the self” (1988a, p. 19). So while sovereign power ultimately offers the ruler the power of life and death over his subjects, bio-power has the effect producing of norms that encourage the same subjects to conform to the values and standards of their society.

The final element of governmentality is ‘pastoral power’, which describes the expectation that we give a truthful account of our lives. Pastoral power was a development from the Christian practice of confession.

The obligation to confess is now relayed through so many points, is so deeply ingrained in us, that we no longer perceive it as the effect of a power that constrains us; on the contrary, it seems to us that truth, lodged in our most secret nature, demands only to surface. (Foucault, 1978, p. 60)

Each of these forms of power (sovereign power, bio-power, pastoral power) is constituent of governmentality. The overall effect of these forms of power is to produce subjects who are cooperative in regulating themselves through confession or measuring themselves against various norms. Persons are also subject to sovereign power, which directs external impositions onto lives. These elements of governmentality interact. In some situations it may be sovereign power that is to the fore. In other situations bio-power or pastoral power are to the fore.

It is the totality of governmentality that Foucault is inviting us to resist when he suggests that the goal is to “refuse what we are”, saying “We have to imagine and build up what we could be to get rid of this kind of political “double-bind,” which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structures (Foucault, 1982, p. 785). His writings on the care of the self (Foucault, 1988a, 1988b) mark his steps towards this refusal.

Foucault argued that the ideal of ethical care of self which had developed in Ancient Greece had become supplanted over time by the Christian doctrine of renunciation of the self (Foucault, 1988a). The New Testament command to ‘love your neighbour as yourself’ became understood as love your neighbour *more* than yourself. This renunciation combined with the compulsion to confess inherent in pastoral power increased persons’ subjugation to power.

Foucault characterised the potential for the exploration of agency, the capacity to act within discursive restraints, as one of four technologies of the self (1988a) or as the care of the self(1988b). (I more fully explore agency in a later section.) Technologies of the self, he wrote:

...permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and a way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (1988a, p. 18)

Foucault is suggesting that by these actions it is possible for a person to change some aspects of their life by the application of agency. He argued that it was possible to choose an ethical purpose for oneself and shape life on the basis of that.

Foucault argued that resistance against the discourses which produce us is an ethical problem and process and framed this in four stages as succinctly outlined by Cooper and Blair (2002, pp. 513-514).

Beginning with a definition of ethics as “that relationship that you ought to have with yourself,” Foucault (1984a) elaborated four questions that could guide studies of ethics across time and culture:

Ethical substance: Which is the aspect or part of myself or my behaviour that is concerned with moral conduct?

Mode of subjection: What is the way in which people are invited or incited to recognize their moral obligations?

Self-forming activities: What are the means by which we can change ourselves to become ethical subjects?

Telos: Which is the kind of being to which we aspire when we behave in a moral way?

This four staged process begins with a focus on a particular aspect of behaviour, invites recognition of how external or moral obligations act on the individual and then moves to an exploration of means of changing self to a preferred 'ethical' subject. Finally, and perhaps throughout there is a focus on the preferred 'kind of being we might aspire to' through particular moral action.

It begins to become clear how discursive mechanisms and processes constitute the subject of the counsellor and the subject of the client. Both these subjectivities are constituted both within and by the action of discourse and are both subject to the power relations that act both locally and on a larger scale through the action of the institutions of government and the actions of mechanisms such as the norm. Normative judgements arise as an effect of the discourses that constitute the subjectivities of the counsellor and client and so constantly and directly produce them and restrict them. The technologies of the self offer a framework for action for counsellors in relation to their own subjectivity as a counsellor through which they can seek the greatest possible agency in their practice. Through their ethical relationship with their clients they will be able to support them to take up an agentic position as well.

At this point I return to the extract from Foucault's writing which I used to introduce discourse in order to consider the question of the 'object'.

Discursive relations ... offer it [discourse]... objects of which it can speak, or rather...they determine the group of relations that discourse must establish in order to speak of this or that object, in order to deal with them, name them, explain them, etc. (Foucault, 2002, pp.50-51)

One stream of Foucauldian influenced scholarship that I will follow further emphasises the discursive production of individual subjectivity. I now explore the possibility that Foucault's writing opens space to consider the individual being produced as an object of discourse or simultaneously as object and subject. In 'The Subject and Power' (1982) Foucault described "three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects" (p. 777). The first "is the modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences" (p. 777), the second is "the objectivising of the subject in ... "dividing practices"" (p. 777)

and the third is “ the way a human being turns himself into a subject” (p. 778). The third mode refers to the technologies of the self. However here it is the second mode that I wish to focus on. Foucault writes about the second mode:

The subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectivises him. Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the “good boys” (1982, pp. 777-778).

I wish to argue this as a Foucauldian base for considering that individuals can be produced as objects or “objectivised” at the same time that they can be produced as subjects and within the same discourse or group of discourses. These examples might be expanded to include a wider range than Foucault offers here where they cover both objects/subjects conventionally viewed as normal and abnormal.

Objectivization, or classification as object offers significantly less agency than subjectification. Foucault¹ also wrote:

... power relations characterize the way human beings “govern” one another, and their analysis shows how, through certain patterns of “governance” with madmen, sick people, criminals and so on, the mad, the ill, the delinquent subject is objectivized. Such an analysis does not mean, therefore, that the abuse of one sort of power or another has created madmen, sick people, or criminals where there none before, but that the various and particular forms of “governing” individuals were determining factors in the various modes of the subject’s objectivization. (Florence, 1994, pp. 318-319)

The contexts where I wish to address objectivization are those where an objectified person is in a significant manner ‘governed’ by the workings of hegemonic discourse. In particular I suggest that this is an effect of sovereign power rather than bio-power or pastoral power.

¹ The quote that follows first appeared in a brief summary of Foucault’s work published in the *Dictionnaire des Philosophes* (Huisman & Braunstein, 1984) which was attributed to “Maurice Florence”. Gutting, the editor of the volume in which this translation appears, writes: “There is good reason to think that “Maurice Florence is a pseudonym and that Michel Foucault was himself the author (or involved in the authorship)... (Gutting, 1994, p. viii)

To fully consider the effects of objectivization I follow Howarth (2000, pp. 83-84) who suggests that Foucault has an inadequate account of the “formation and dissolution of systems of domination” (p. 84). For Howarth this can be addressed by a “post-Marxist conception of hegemony and subjectivity” (p. 84) as proposed by Laclau and Mouffe (see for example Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). I will employ Laclau and Mouffe’s concept of “hegemony” in relation to the overarching structures which shape and constrain social relations in Aotearoa. Howarth offers this definition for hegemony in Laclau and Mouffe’s terms.

Hegemonic practices are...an exemplary form of political practice, which involves the linking together of different identities and political forces into a common project, and the creation of new social orders from a variety of dispersed elements. (2000, p. 109)

The major aim of hegemonic projects is to construct and stabilise systems of meaning or ‘hegemonic formations’. (2000, p. 110)

In the terms of this definition both the colonial system and the post-colonialism represented by the revival of the status of the Treaty of Waitangi represent hegemony. Hegemony does not imply a value judgement on the project, merely to its success in dominating or shaping aspects of life in a nation. It is quite compatible with a Foucauldian approach signifying a particular status for certain discourses and their close relation to power. I am arguing that hegemonic discourse can take effect through the working of sovereign power.

The Foucauldian ideas that build this project are: Discourse, power relations, governmentality – especially sovereign power – and care of the self. This Foucauldian framework will be returned to throughout this study and will be enriched, complicated and problematised by considerations of positioning, agency, subjectivity and objectivization which I explore later in this chapter as further foundations for this study.

The Foucauldian frame of this study will also become visible in the practice accounts which figure in the data generated for this study. I close this section with a conclusion reached by Foucault:

... the political, ethical, social, philosophical problem of our days is not to try to liberate the individual from the state, and the state's institutions, but to liberate us both from the state and from the type of individualization which is linked to the state. We have to promote new forms of subjectivity through refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries. (Foucault, 1982, p. 785)

The discourses which Foucault refers to here which produce both the state and “the type of individualization which is linked to the state” are manifold, some are hegemonic – making them powerfully effective – some have more local effects. In relation to the postcolonial focus of this study and particularly later references to the Treaty of Waitangi this statement invites consideration of the idea that in this country not just Māori have been colonised, but that all in Aotearoa have been subject to discourses and processes which are both productive and restrictive.

Deconstruction

Deconstruction is a central concept from Derrida's (1997) work that I am utilising as a further poststructuralist resource for this study. I have understood deconstruction through the work of Lather (1992, 2007), Spivak (1998), Sampson (1989), Pryor (2008) and as a practice within narrative therapy (White, 2007; White & Epston, 1990).

Within the context of Derrida's broader project of deconstructing Western metaphysics, Sampson suggests that:

Deconstruction sets his task and poses the dilemma. To deconstruct is to undo, not to destroy: to undo what Derrida sees to be a tradition that has dominated Western thought since early Greek philosophy and which lies at the very roots of our commonsense understanding. The dilemma is that the tools used to deconstruct this tradition come from that very tradition. (1989, p. 7)

This then well represents the central purpose of deconstruction: the challenging of a broad group of received and commonsense understandings and the location of this practice both within a broad Western philosophical tradition and with that tradition as its target. Lather writes:

The goal of deconstruction is to keep things in process, to disrupt, to keep the system in play, to set up procedures to continually demystify the realities we create, to fight the tendency for our categories to congeal. (1992, p.96)

Deconstruction implies a challenge to the apparent permanence of institutions, structures and texts through examining and identifying the unacknowledged effects of powerful discourses on both groups and individuals.

Derrida has reminded us to say ... anew, ... that a certain view of the world, of consciousness, and of language has been accepted as the correct one, and, if the minute particulars of that view are examined a rather different picture (that is also a non-picture...) emerges. (Spivak, 1998, p. xiii)

At its simplest deconstruction holds that each statement or text has within it what it is not. Any definition is formed in relation to what it is not. Derrida (1997, p. 9) argues that his deconstructive approach is one of “respect” for the texts he is deconstructing since deconstruction happens within a text:

Deconstruction is something which happens and which happens inside; there is a deconstruction at work within Plato’s work, for instance. (p. 9)

Derrida argues that he brings forth the deconstruction already present within a text.

Derrida describes two major devices to assist deconstructive purposes. The first is *sous rature*, which translates as under erasure. This device requires that a word be crossed out in order to demonstrate that cannot be used and also it is written without being crossed out to indicate that it is needed (Sampson, 1989). In this study I could choose to express the Māori/Pākehā binary as: Māori/Pākehā and ~~Māori/Pākehā~~. Doing this would signal that this binary is limiting and yet also inescapable. This will be further explored in Chapter three. *Sous rature* is resonant with ‘troubling’, which is a term used in some feminist poststructuralist writing (For example, B Davies, 2004; Lather, 2007). Davies writes about research which is “troubling of those knowledges that have been taken to be certain and secure”

(B Davies, 2004, p. 4). Knowledges which have been ‘troubled’ are treated in a similar manner as those placed under erasure: their certainty is challenged although they also persist.

Derrida’s second major device is *différance*. This concept stands in for ‘difference’ and ‘deferral’.

Derrida argues that in whatever we take to be immediate and present there is always absence, difference and deferral. If presence always contains absence there cannot be a neatly drawn line of opposition between these two notions. It is not that presence and absence are opposites, not that there is *either* presence *or* absence, but rather that there is an inevitable defining of the one through the other: there is both presence and absence; absence inhabits and interpenetrates with presence. (Sampson, 1989, p. 12)

For Derrida, any meaning is established through a process of comparison or establishment of the difference between this meaning and another. Meanings thus emerge from a basis in difference rather from an essence (Sampson, 1989, p. 11). Each word or concept thus contains a trace of what it is not, or which is not present.

Derrida argues that what we presume to be present (speech and the voice) is constituted through something that is a not-present difference. (Sampson, 1989, p. 10)

Taken out to the discursive focus of this study, I suggest that each meaning which is produced evokes in some way one of more other meanings: the relation between the meaning focussed on and the other(s) which it evokes is one of difference. Thus a discourse of postcolonialism draws meaning from other discourses, especially colonising discourse. To take a postcolonial stance is to take a stance that is defined with reference to a colonising stance. In Chapter three I will draw from Pryor’s (2008) deconstruction of the Treaty of Waitangi. In this discussion I refer to her focus on ‘absence’ and ‘trace’: that a written document which relates to a spoken discussion both carries traces of that conversation and does not and cannot fully represent that conversation.

Derrida suggests that there is an inherent lag between presence and the absence which constitutes that presence so that: “whatever is consciously perceived ‘may be read only in the past’” (Derrida, 1978, p.224 cited in Sampson, 1989, p. 11).

Deconstruction has a strong resonance with Foucauldian notions of discourse. Both make references to undecidability or impossibility as preconditions for meaning. Deconstruction offers a critical although not destructive approach to the consideration of experience.

Spivak (1999, cited in Lather, 2007 p. 156-7) argues that deconstruction, along with poststructuralism, has moved through several generations. My use of deconstruction in this thesis is drawn more from writers who have followed Derrida. Lather (2007), as a later theoriser of deconstruction, emphasises that she approaches deconstruction as an exercise of responsibility, writing that:

..while often assumed to be a nihilistic undercutting of ethical practice, the primary interest of deconstruction is in ‘awakening us to the demands made by the other’ [Caputo, 1997c, p.15]. (2007, pp. 146-147)

This responsibility is extended both towards the participants in her research and the possibility that their story may also have a valid expression in terms which are not familiar to those participants.

This has entailed risking that the testimonial subject can give us what we need instead of what we think we want: not her truth delivered to us in a familiar framework but the truth of the play of frames and dynamics of presences, absences and traces as all we have in the undecidability of history (2007, p. 148).

In this study the five participants are the ‘testimonial subjects’ who I invited in to both share their stories and join me in deconstructing those stories. The outcomes of this project include references to the stories, which the practitioners offered, as well as reflections on the plays of meaning (presences, absences and traces) in those stories and which they joined with me to deconstruct, and which I later continued to deconstruct.

So in this study, deconstruction is primarily used as a research practice. It is also one of the practices of Narrative Therapy and so was familiar to the participants because of their grounding in this approach to counselling practice.

Narrative Therapy

The listing earlier of the characteristics of Social Constructionist inquiry and the ways that it can be distinguished from conventional psychological inquiry and practice strongly inform Narrative Therapy (White & Epston 1990; White, 2007). Michael White and David Epston (1990) also directly drew on Foucauldian conceptualisations of power as constitutive:

Foucault argues that we predominantly experience the positive or constitutive effects of power, that we are subject to power through normalising ‘truths’ that shape our lives and relationships. These ‘truths’, in turn, are constructed or produced in the operation of power. (p. 19)

Using social constructionist and Foucauldian bases White and Epston developed practices of enquiry and support that a counsellor may use to activate the potential of social constructionism for therapeutic practice. Building from the anti-essentialism of social construction, Narrative Therapy holds that identity is a performance not an essential quality and is understood through stories that are partly shaped by the person and partly by those around them. White (1990) in a synthesis of the ideas of Bruner (1986) and Geertz (1986) argues:

If we accept that persons organise and give meaning to their experience through the storying of experience, and that in the performance of these stories they express selected aspects of their lived experience, then it follows that these stories are constitutive – shaping lives and relationships. (1990, p. 12)

These stories White refers to are the selected accumulation of moments of becoming a subject and here he is articulating the ideas of Bruner and Geertz to Foucauldian ideas of discourse, power and the subject. Identity is the meaning that comes from the storying of a person’s experience that is described here.

As experience is storied, themes of perception and experience are drawn into a narrative through which identity is constituted. Not all of a person's experience is mapped into these narratives so it is always likely that problem based story lines will exclude positive experiences, which may be drawn into an alternative and now preferred story with the potential to counter the problem based stories. Experiences that are not 'storied' into an identity narrative are described as being in the 'Landscape of Action.' "The landscape of action is the material of the story and is composed of the sequence of events that make up the plot ... and the underlying theme" (White, 2007, p. 78) In order for experiences to be part of an identity story they need to be understood within the 'Landscape of Identity'(2007). White describes this process as of incorporating experiences into a narrative of identity a re-authoring conversation. It is a key practice within narrative therapy to support clients to identify exceptions to the dominance of the problem story in their life and re-story these exceptions into an alternative narrative, which has the potential to be constitutive of the person's identity. This process can be applied likewise to the practice identity of a counsellor and I will use it later to offer an understanding of a transformation of practice experienced by one of the participants in this study.

I have indicated that deconstruction is also a practice associated narrative therapy. White notes that as a therapist he has perhaps taken liberties with Derrida's definition. He writes:

...deconstruction has to do with procedures that subvert taken-for-granted realities and practices; these 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 relationship that are subjugating of person's lives. Many of the methods of deconstruction render strange these familiar and everyday taken-for-granted realities and practices by objectifying them. (1992, p. 121)

For White, deconstruction is a component of the trafficking between the landscapes of action and identity, which as I have explained are central to a

narrative re-storying of identity. Subversion of the 'taken-for-granted' contributes to broader opportunities for re-storying.

I draw again on both deconstruction and a narrative reading of identity further ahead in this theoretical base. I move now to explore positioning, then to expand on the grammar of the subject and finally to consider objectivization.

Positioning Theory, Agency and Position Calls

Following from the earlier discussion of discourse in Foucauldian terms I now move on to review the literature about positioning and agency. Firstly, I outline streams of Positioning Theory beginning with the original theorising of positioning and the applications of this theory in narrative therapy. This theorising is shaped by writings about agency and the development of the concept of the position call (Drewery & Winslade, 1997), which is central to this study.

Positioning Theory (Willig, 1999 cited in B. Davies & Harré, 1999) which arose as a contribution to cognitive psychology (Harré, Moghaddam, Cairnie, & Sabat, 2009) has one stream which follows a conventional cognitive psychological direction and another stream which builds on the foundations of the cognitive stream, but takes a post-structural, more fluid and complex discursive approach (B. Davies & Harré, 1999). This second stream provides the theoretical understandings of positioning used in this study.

As defined by Davies, Harré and Langenhove (B. Davies & Harré, 1990; Van Langenhoven & Harré, 1991), Positioning Theory offers an alternative to the concept of role in analyzing the ways in which personhood shapes and is shaped in human interactions. Positioning theory offers a way to understand the interface between discourse and person in the moment-by-moment performance of relational subjectivity (Drewery 2005).

Positioning is a discursive effect. That is to say that it occurs in the context of discourse (of course) and its effects are in relation to those discourses invoked within and productive of a particular conversation. Van Langenhoven and Harré (1991) identify several varieties of positioning effects that routinely occur in conversations. Positioning for these authors is always relational. "Whenever

somebody positions him/herself, this discursive act always implies a positioning of the one who is addressed” (1991, p. 398).

Van Langenhoven and Harré write:

It is within conversation that the social world is created. ... Within conversations, social acts and societal icons are generated and reproduced. This is achieved by two discursive processes, one of which is positioning and the other is rhetorical redescription. (1999, p. 15)

They make a distinction between various forms of positioning. First order positioning happens when an utterance by one person in a conversation positions one or both persons. If the response of the second person challenges this positioning and the first order positioning has to be renegotiated then this response is second order positioning. When positioning in one conversation is reported elsewhere this is both third order positioning and rhetorical redescription. Since the conversations reported in this research study are centred on recollections of practice they involve both third order positioning and rhetorical redescription. They will involve the participants reporting positioning in earlier conversations and contextualising the earlier conversation in a broader discursive framework.

Any interaction involves each speaker offering the other a subject position in terms of at least one discourse. This position may or may not be taken up by the other speaker, indeed the positioning call that is made may not be recognised as intended by either speaker (B. Davies & Harré, 1999). This supposition may be challenged in relation to counselling conversations where the counsellor seeks a positioning for themselves that enables them to offer to work therapeutically with their client and so positions their client in a space to be able to engage in a therapeutic relationship. Counselling practice involves the careful deployment of conversation where one party assists the other to identify and achieve desired means in an ethical manner. Each moment of counselling practice is produced by the operation of one or more discourses. This project investigated whether a discourse aware counsellor would be able to recognise position calls made on them in their practice and be able to accept or refuse this positioning. I was also interested to investigate discursive effects that arose outside of face-to-face

conversation. It is also relevant to inquire whether significant discursive positionings or position calls are recognisably attributable to either speaker.

The more discursively based stream of Positioning theory (B. Davies & Harré, 1990, 1999) takes an immanentist view of language and the production of meaning which holds that conversations are based on the ways that earlier conversations are evoked in them. This contrasts significantly with transcendentalist traditions of language which hold that notions of grammar, or rules and conventions also shape meaning. Conversations develop meaning through the joint action of participants rather than the intention of one of the participants.

To take this discussion of positioning theory further I now need to introduce the concept of agency.

The concept of agency, as defined by Davies (1991), underlies what I have identified as the ‘fluid, discursive stream’ of positioning theory. In this context agency is seen in a feminist poststructural light, which Davies carefully distinguishes from a humanistic reading. Thus, rather than agency being seen as synonymous with being a person and “used interchangeably with such concepts as freedom, autonomy, rationality and moral authority,” (1991, p. 42) in a post-structural sense agency is:

...spoken into existence at any one moment. It is fragmented, transitory, a discursive position that can be occupied in one discourse simultaneously with its non-occupation in another. Within current ways of speaking it is readily obtainable for some and an almost inaccessible positioning for others. (1991, p. 52)

This reading of agency offers an agency which steps beyond a structured definition. Davies’ feminist reading brings the recognition that women along with non-white, non-middle class others might not be seeking the ‘moral authority’ that white middle class males may assume in humanistic discourse, if that is, in effect, authority over someone else. She quotes Maria Lugones on implications of racism for agency within humanistic thinking when she speaks of:

... the difficulty of forming intentions that are not formed in the mind of the racist; the difficulty of carrying out one's intentions within hostile meaning systems, some of which do not even countenance such intentions; the difficulty of trusting the success of one's intentions within hostile meaning systems (given that some of the time, 'success' just may amount to not being taken seriously). (Lugones quoted in B. Davies, 1991, p. 45)

Lugones makes clear how difficult it could be to experience agency when a racist 'other' negatively defines so much of a person's experience.

These readings of agency from feminist and non-dominant culture positions add an appropriately critical dimension to this study where counsellors who identify as part of the dominant Pākehā culture of Aotearoa New Zealand reflected on practice and where the potential existed for their clients (who did not identify as Pākehā) to see them as representing a racist hegemony.

In the post-structuralist reading that Davies has given agency it is inextricably linked with positioning. Positionings will offer various degrees of agency to a subject at a particular discursive intersection. The degree of agency offered might vary from none, through limited agency to what I refer to as agency or as an agentive position (Burr, 2003).

In counselling conversations the counsellor has the task of supporting their client to bring forth meaning and recognise and shape desired change in their lives. Davies and Harré argue for a "productive interrelationship between 'position' and 'illocutionary' force"(1999, p. 34). The position a counsellor needs to be able to occupy in order to support a client must also offer the counsellor at least some degree of agency; the client also needs to be in an agentive position to be able to function as a client in counselling. Without agency a client cannot work to change aspects of their life.

Several writers have specifically linked the concept of positioning to counselling practice (Drewery 2005; Drewery & Winslade, 1997; Sinclair, 2007; Sinclair & Monk, 2004, 2005; Winslade, 2005). Drewery and Winslade introduced the term 'position call' in moving from a comment that: "Discourses offer subject positions in many socially defined ways," (1997, p. 39) to state: "We show that we 'know

how to go on,' in Wittgenstein's phrase, when we respond appropriately to these position calls" (p. 39). Here the subject position is the same as the position call.

Separately they have taken this concept of the position call further. Winslade wrote an outline for 'utilising discursive positioning in counselling' (2005) where he focused on how a counsellor could work with a client.

A counsellor can assist a person to negotiate a positioning shift within a discursive field of play to significantly re-shape the negative effects of a problem and to open up new possibilities for living based on positions of resistance. (p. 357)

In this article he has not problematised the discursive positioning of the counsellor. Winslade is not addressing the counsellor's awareness or lack of awareness of their positioning. He only considers positioning as a resource the counsellor may use in working with clients. He does not consider those problematic position calls that counsellors may experience, particularly in cross-cultural counselling conversations.

Drewery (2005) has explored position calls and the production of relational subjectivity in both 'everyday speech' and in the context of narrative therapy. She writes:

Viewing subjectivity as a product of discursive interaction opens a variety of possibilities for the ways one can receive the call, give the call, resist the call, change the call. (p. 316)

She goes on to consider what she terms the 'importance of the practitioner's stance'. Here she notes the potential for "coercive control through language by some professionals" (p. 318), and then argues that therapists can by "[f]ocusing on the constitutive effects of discourse [open] potent possibilities for psychological theory and practice" (p. 318). Therapists can be:

...discourse users whose sensitivity to language is brought into service to invite their clients into an agentic position in relation to the problem with which they are concerned. The expertise of the therapist is no longer

related to knowledge of essentialised or problematized selves and diagnoses, but instead relates to positions taken up and the ongoing production of relational subjectivity in the complex narratives of our lives. (p. 318)

In this description, which is consistent with the intentions of Narrative Therapy, Drewery provides some of the theoretical grounding for this study which seeks to understand how possible it is for counsellors to bring their sensitivity to language to the service of their client through an attention to discursive positioning.

The approach which Drewery offered towards an investigation of counsellors' experience of positioning and position calls was developed further by Sinclair and Monk (2004). Unlike Drewery and Winslade (1997) or Winslade (2005) here Sinclair and Monk identify the centrality of the practitioner in the discursive context of couple mediation.

The therapist, like the parties, cannot avoid being positioned discursively in the conflict which they are mediating. The question is from which discursive position will the therapist work?

For example, will the therapist be positioned by a patriarchal discourse or an equity discourse? ... [F]inding a way forward with these difficult moral challenges is to position oneself from a declared moral stance. (2004, p. 341)

Sinclair and Monk's recognition that the therapist will be discursively positioned in their practice contexts is accompanied by optimism that taking a moral stance and still displaying an openness while in that position will offer a practitioner a way to move. The value of this assertion may be able to be examined in the light of the research conversations in this study.

Sinclair (2007) has published further in relation to positioning in an article which drew attention to earlier work by Hare-Mustin where she writes:

The therapy room is like a room lined with mirrors. It reflects back only what is voiced within it....

If the therapist and family are unaware of marginalised discourses, such as those associated with members of subordinate gender, race and class groups those discourses remain outside the mirrored room. (Hare-Mustin, 1994, p. 22)

Sinclair joins with Hare-Mustin in calling for practitioner sensitivity to discourses that enter the room. However, I suggest that the original metaphor of the mirrored room (which is powerfully evocative) is limited in its reference to that which is voiced within it. I have already referred to Davies and Harré's suggestion that positionings may arise which are not intended by either party and now suggest that positioning needs to more broadly understood than only that which is "voiced". A limitation of the conversational base of positioning theory is that it may seem to exclude other sources of positioning than that which arises from 'conversation' between participants. I will show in Chapter six that counsellors can experience positionings directly from discourse without these being produced in a live conversation.

What Sinclair offers to extend Hare-Mustin's thesis is

[the] tool of positioning [which] encourages the self-reflexivity which Hare-Mustin advocated whereby the therapist considers her responses on a moment by moment basis. It renders our interactions in therapy visible, contestable, and amenable to change, allowing room for therapists to actively engage with discourses in a way that is liberating for clients. (2007, p. 160)

This suggestion requires a high level of reflexivity and I suggest a lightning fast reading of the discourses and the associated position calls as they ripple and break across a counselling conversation.

What is common to all these articles by Drewery, Winslade, Monk and Sinclair is the introduction of theory without strong connection to practice or research data.

Davies (1998) does offer an account of an interaction she had with a student in a course she was teaching where she supported this young woman to identify all the discourses "she was caught up in" (p. 121) as the student faced a complex of

issues related to a traumatic family experience. Davies describes the conversation as a deconstruction which “produce[d] very powerful effects” (p. 121) as the young woman made decisions about which discursive positions she could refuse, and which positions she needed to take up. Davies then went on to that the young woman then experienced some other positions as less problematic because they were unavoidable. This quite dramatic example demonstrates the potential for deconstruction of experience to offer a person awareness in relation to their positioning and then arising from that awareness may come a greater sense of agency.

As the title of this thesis indicates, positioning is central to this study. I will go on to show how counsellors considered various position calls that they had experienced. I will also show that practitioner attention to their discursive positioning lead to significant developments in their practice

I now consider other discursive effects namely the creation of the discursive subject, subjectivity and subjectification. These effects are closely related to positioning as they are events that occur in the same moment. I will also describe how the constructionist concept of identity draws from and links to this group of concepts.

The grammar of the subject and its connections to identity.

Foucault drew attention to the discursive formation of the subject. I described earlier how his earlier work appeared to deny the subject any significant potential for agency while his later work indicated some ways in which agency was possible. Butler is one writer who has taken Foucault's ideas further.

As a form of power, subjection is paradoxical. To be dominated by a power external to oneself is a familiar and agonising form power takes. To find, however, that what “one” is, one’s very formation as a subject, is in some sense dependent on that power is quite another. ..

[I]f following Foucault, we understand power as *forming* the subject as well, as providing the very condition of its existence and the trajectory of its desire, the power is not simply what we oppose but also, in a strong

sense, what we depend on for our existence and what we harbor and preserve in the beings that we are. (Butler, 1997, pp. 1-2)

In this section I view the Foucauldian base of the grammar of the subject through the collaborative and individual writings of Bronwyn Davies (Claiborne, Cornforth, Davies, Milligan, & White, 2009; B. Davies, 1998, 2003, 2006; B. Davies et al., 1996; B. Davies et al., 2004; B. Davies et al., 2006; B. Davies, Flemmen, Gannon, Lewis, & Watson, 2002) and especially Davies' reflections on the work of Butler (1995, 1997, 2004). I also articulate the grammar of the subject to the concept of identity.

I refer to the grammar of the subject because in this area of theorising, the word subject and its derivatives are used as noun and verb, adjective and adverb. This emphasis on the subject is part of a Foucauldian move away from:

..the self as a noun (and thus stable and relatively fixed) to the self as a verb, always in process, taking its shape in and through the discursive possibilities through which selves are made. (B. Davies et al., 2004, p. 368)

The humanistic idea(l) of the autonomous self is undermined in the Foucauldian shift to discourse (Bevir, 1999) and the 'self as a verb' is more usually described as being a subject, or a person or individual as experiencing subjection or subjectification (B. Davies, 2006). Butler argues that subjection involves both "subordination to power" and the "process of becoming a subject" (1997, p. 2). While the 'self as a noun' evokes relative stability the identity of the 'self as a verb' is more fluid. It is more fluid too than the notion of personality, which is the psychological corollary of the 'relatively stable' self. When 'subject' is viewed as a verb all of the possible conjugations imply action (e.g. I was subjected, I am being subjectified) and because this is a Foucauldian subject there is a focus on discourse.

What the encounter with poststructuralism does is to enable the subject to see itself in all its shifting, contradictory multiplicity and fragility and also to see the ongoing and constitutive force of the multiple discourses and

practices through which it takes up its existence. (B. Davies et al., 2004, p. 363)

The poststructuralist subject shifts and changes due to the constitutive power of relations of power and relations of discourse. But now I need to delineate the scope of the poststructuralist subject by identifying my preferences for use in this thesis within the range of common uses.

There is not a consistent use of terms such as self and subject in social constructionist writing. One social constructionist alternative for self is identity (Burr, 2003) although subjectivity is also offered (Willig, 1999 cited in Burr, 2003), and so is relational subjectivity (Drewery 2005), while Davies et al., (2004) prefer subject. The subject in this latter sense has a view over time yet subjection is also seen in the work of Butler and Davies and her collaborators, as happening in moments.

The subject does not have an existence that lies outside of or prior to those [discursive] acts of formation. (B. Davies, 2006, p. 426)

Davies is here looking backwards in arguing that the subject cannot be understood outside of discourse, which both brings it into being and sustains it. Thus “subject” is a linguistic category not simply interchangeable with the individual or the person (Butler, 1997, p. 10). Rather, Butler argues that

[t]he subject is the linguistic occasion for the individual to achieve and receive intelligibility, the linguistic condition of its existence and agency. (1997, p. 11)

The subject when understood as linguistically as “the occasion” and “the condition” is a momentary discursive production.

However Davies also uses subject with a sense of a continuing ‘subjectivity’ as when she and her collaborators write that “poststructuralism [enables the subject to] see the ongoing and constitutive force of the multiple discourses and practices through which it takes up its existence” (B. Davies et al., 2004, p. 363). Once the subject is given the capacity to “see” “ongoing force” it can be seen as more than

momentary. I argue that it is confusing to use 'subject' to refer to the moments of subjection/subjectification and also to refer a sense of 'self' which shifts and changes over time. The ongoing acts of creation of the (momentary) subject can be visualised like the individual frames in a movie film which display similarity through subtle shifts within a scene and then marked change in a new scene begins. The individual images, which in this analogy represent moments of subjection, are constitutive of the moving image. However the complete moving image represents something more than the sum of the images; it is better described I believe as subjectivity or identity.

I also note Wetherell's stance where she prioritises identity over subjectivity. She sees these two terms as having different qualities that produce different directions for analysis. Her main concern with:

taking subjectivity as our analytic starting point is that once again we may end up over-emphasizing interiority and privacy. "Subjectivity", when contrasted to publicly available "identity", risks becoming privatized and individualized. (2008, p. 78)

She argues that identity is a more social descriptor than subjectivity. This position also enables Wetherell to avoid the psychoanalytic turn in discursive work taken by Butler and others.

In this thesis I use identity to refer to the idea of a persistence of subjectivity or selfhood over time. In doing this I am arguing that a simple extension from a moment of subjection to a sustained 'subjectivity' misses some significant issues about identity formation that are central in Narrative Therapy. I have already outlined these issues in discussing re-authoring practices as involving a trafficking between the landscapes of action and identity (White, 2007). Where White's position is different from that of Davies is in his arguing that a person's identity derives from a mapping of selected moments of subjection which a person experiences into an identity narrative (White, 2007). Davies does not address the distinction between the subject in the moment and the subject over time. This identity narrative will shift and change through life and not always in ways that are under the control of that identity's 'owner'.

I have made a distinction between ‘subject’ and ‘identity’ for this project and with that in mind I now return to consider the processes of subjection/subjectivation further.

Davies (Claiborne et al., 2009; B. Davies, 2006) has built on Butler’s ideas about subjectification and mastery and submission. She writes:

Whereas Foucault’s interest is primarily on those larger discursive shifts over time through which different kinds of subjecthood become possible – or impossible – Butler’s interest is in how subjection works and in the psychic life of the subject. (2006, pp. 427-428)

Davies and Butler are interested in the moments in which subjection occurs and how and when we become subjects. They have separately explored this in the context of the achievement of mastery with Davies drawing on aspects of Butler’s work, including her considerations of mastery and submission.

The more a practice is mastered, the more fully subjection is achieved. Submission and mastery take place simultaneously, and it is this paradoxical simultaneity that constitutes the ambivalence of submission. Where one might expect submission to consist in a yielding to an externally imposed dominant order, and to be marked by a loss of control and mastery, it is paradoxically marked by mastery itself... neither submission nor mastery is *performed by a subject*; the lived simultaneity of submission as mastery, and mastery as submission, is the condition of possibility for the subject itself. (Butler, 1995, pp. 45-46)

The achievement of mastery requires simultaneous submission to discourse. Thus to achieve ‘mastery’ as a counsellor, a person needs to become subject(ed) to counselling discourse. Butler argues that this subjection creates the ‘possibility’ for the subject through an effect of power; power that the subject can then take up through agency. The achievement of mastery creates the ‘possibility’ for the subject to act as a counsellor. Subjection and positioning occur simultaneously. The counsellor subject can now take up the agency available in that position. This subject position makes available “a particular, limited set of concepts, images, metaphors, ways of speaking, self-narratives that we take on as our own” (Burr,

2003, p. 119). In chapters five and six I will show how this theoretical position is reflected in the practice accounts brought forward by the participants and how awareness of this dynamic was used to develop practice.

Subject positions are not achieved in isolation. Often they come through “mutual acts of recognition” (B. Davies, 2006, p. 427) between subjects. However, as I will show later, moments of subjection also come from an interaction between identity and discourse. A moment brings an intersection of discourses and person(s). Butler (1997) writes

Subjection consists precisely in this fundamental dependency on a discourse we never chose but that, paradoxically, initiates and sustains our agency. (p. 2)

Equally, a discourse ‘we never chose’ may deny agency just as a different one ‘initiates and sustains’ agency. Davies has developed Butler’s ideas in examining this paradox that an unchosen discourse makes agency possible. She argues that

The agentic subject disavows this dependency, not out of a flawed capacity for reflexivity, but because the achievement of autonomy, however illusory it might be, is necessary for the accomplishment of oneself as a recognizable and thus viable subject. (2006, p. 427)

What Davies is suggesting here is that dependency on discourse is ‘disavowed’ because the subject needs to see herself as autonomous. I argue from this principle and will demonstrate later (*Chapter six. Ann: challenging a disabling position arising from postcolonial discourse*) that an individual in a non-agentic position may also disavow their subjection within particular discourses in the production of this limiting position. The individual’s ‘illusory autonomy’ may require them to accept that their lack of agency is because of their personal deficiency in some manner or other. In chapter 6 Ann initially attributes her lack of agency in a particular context to being the ‘wrong’ gender and/or ethnicity, a view which she later modifies. Davies has also invoked the concept of reflexivity here and this will later provide support for an argument that a commitment to a determined and nuanced reflexivity offers individuals access to a subjectivity which can make some moves beyond an ‘illusory autonomy’. Whether autonomy is more than an

illusion is open to question, however Davies and her New Zealand collaborators (Claiborne et al., 2009) also point to a reflexivity that would support a “transgressive mastery that involves a subtle, complex and fleeting freedom from the constraints of dominant discourses and expectations” (pp. 59-60).

Ideas of reflexivity and transgression against dominant discourse will permeate as I move on to outline the particular political, social and cultural context of counselling in Aotearoa New Zealand, which is widely described in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi. However before I move to the Treaty of Waitangi I need to consider objectivization in the context of hegemonic discourse.

Objectivization

While I will rely strongly on positioning theory, a poststructuralist agency and the grammar of the subject I also need to consider objectivization in the context of Laclau and Mouffe’s (Howarth, 2000) conception of a post-Marxist hegemonic discourse. I have argued that Foucault while more closely discussing ‘the subject’ also leaves space to consider the individual as the object of discourse. This view is supported by Hollway (1984) in a discussion of gender relations as produced by gender discourse where she asks:

Why do men choose to position themselves as subjects of the discourse of male sex drive? Why do women continue to position themselves as its objects? (pp. 236-237)

This example situated in the discourses of gender may need some articulation to illustrate objectivization in the context of culture. Hollway’s questions invoke choice, which is not fully consistent with the language of agency and positioning which I introduced earlier. Positioning theory suggests that subject positions become available and that subjects receive position calls that they may or may not be aware of. Awareness of a position call may still not make choice available to the subject. Whether or not the subject is able to experience choice depends on the agency if any that is available in that position. Awareness of a range of subject positions and position calls declining the non-agentic ones and taking up an agentic one may make choice possible. Keeping these reservations in mind I ask

what would it mean to translate them into the realm of discourses of culture, of colonisation? Replacing choice with agency might be one step.

Recasting Hollway I ask: Why do Pākehā *choose* to position themselves as *subjects* of the discourse of cultural privilege? Why do Māori continue to position themselves as its *objects*? I suggest that this is immediately more problematic than the gender discourse/gender relations example which inspired it. Many Pākehā would deny that they *choose* to position themselves as subject in a discourse of cultural privilege. Many Māori would deny that they *choose* to position themselves as objects in the same discourse. However many observers would affirm that both positionings occur. While the question of whether *choice* was deliberate or conscious remains, is it possible to see persons as subjects or objects? Away from the specifics of the previous example Hollway's theorising translates more easily from gender to culture as she writes:

Discourses make available positions for subjects to take up. These positions are in relation to other people. Like the subject and object of a sentence (and indeed expressed through such a grammar), women and men are placed in relation to each other through the meanings which a particular discourse makes available. (1984, p. 236)

The grammar here referred to allows one, the *subject*, to act upon the other, the *object*. Hollway concludes saying that: “[s]ubjects occupy both positions [that is: grammatical subject and grammatical object] in discourses” (p. 261). In this study I introduce this grammar of the object alongside the earlier grammar of the subject. I particularly need to do this in relation to the position calls arising out of hegemonic discourse where I need to consider the positioning of “the counsellor” and “the client” in relation to hegemonic discourse. The objectivization of a subject as “the counsellor” or “the client” indicates placement within a particularly restricted and restrictive discursive category. For example, a client may be produced as the object of hegemonic discourse when a body such as a court mandates their attendance. They are positioned with limited agency. They can choose whether or not to attend the mandated counselling and they can choose whether or not to engage. Their choices will have consequences in terms of the mandate that directed their presence.

I am not arguing that subjectification and objectivization are mutually exclusive processes. Indeed, it may be useful to see them as occupying a range. I am arguing that objectivization produces more obviously limited possibilities for agency than subjectification does. Counsellors and clients who take up are produced as subject and object under state mandate experience very strong position calls and consequently experience very constrained possibilities for agency. The objectivization they experience is an effect of sovereign power. This is developed further in Chapter 5 (especially; *Janet: 'How hard it was for her and for me'*, and *Marie: 'I just want to know that you can go the distance'*).

This concludes my survey of the postcolonial and poststructural theory relevant to this study. In the next chapter I review the Treaty of Waitangi literature and the New Zealand counselling literature that focuses on issues of cross-cultural counselling.

Chapter 3: Aotearoa New Zealand research traditions and literature

Introduction

In this chapter I continue to review research traditions and literature which are significant underpinnings of this project. The focus shifts into the Aotearoa New Zealand context with an overview of Treaty of Waitangi history and literature. I then move to address issues of culture and identity with reference to Aotearoa as well as reviewing significant concepts from western theory in relation to culture. The final focus in this chapter is a review of the New Zealand counselling context and literature with specific relevance to Pākehā counsellors' cross-cultural practice.

The Treaty of Waitangi becomes a social practice metaphor

I now reintroduce identity politics as a frame to understand some of the social effects of the (re)construction of the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand and subsequently as the primary social practice metaphor. I also reintroduce intersectionality to this discussion and explore the tensions that exist between this concept and identity politics. I begin with a historical overview of political and social responses to the Treaty of Waitangi. I conclude this overview with reference to a Derridian deconstruction of the Treaty of Waitangi (Pryor, 2008) thus presenting a poststructuralist view of the Treaty.

Since the mid-1970s when the Treaty of Waitangi Act was passed, the Treaty of Waitangi has become central to debate and discussion about both the national identity of Aotearoa New Zealand, and the culturally based identities of individuals and groups. This debate has generally had an agonistic (Norval, 2007) character; although it has been at times “angry talk” (Sharp, 1997), it has still been talk that took place in conditions:

... in which there was enough division and dissension among people to make talk of justice necessary, but conditions too where there was enough of a sense of common membership of a political society to render such talk more than the empty rhetoric of enemies. (p. 21)

These Treaty debates although frequently heated have generally been positively carried on within and between groups in a national context of connected identities.

Biculturalism

Invocations of biculturalism have been central to these discussions and debates. Following Sharp (1997) I distinguish two forms of biculturalism: “distributive biculturalism” and “individual biculturalism”.

Distributive biculturalism refers to the proposition that rights should be fairly distributed between parties in a way consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi. This means that the protections guaranteed to Māori in the Treaty need to be re-interpreted in the light of current circumstances, honoured and implemented. The Treaty settlement process has been a process of distributive biculturalism as historic injustices have been carefully recognised and a settlement is quantified, agreed upon and reparations made. In the arena of social practice the landmark government report *Puao-o-te-ata-tu* (Department of Social Welfare, 1988) also represented distributive biculturalism with its recommendations that Māori clients be able to access services which were culturally appropriate and which were delivered by staff competent in tikanga Māori. Distributive biculturalism is often expressed in terms of Māori rights and Pākehā responsibilities, however at the national level this is better phrased as Iwi rights and Crown responsibilities (A. Crocket, 2009a).

When the Treaty relationship is described as being constituted by Māori and Pākehā what is evoked is a product of identity politics and essentialised identities are constructed for both parties. I will later go on to explore the shape of these identities more fully. For now I make these points briefly. This Māori/Pākehā binary produces numerous exclusions if these identities are viewed normatively and viewed as if ‘Māoriness’ and ‘Pākehāness’ represent fully realisable identities. Various forms of identity effect then occur. While for some who have a combined Māori/Pākehā heritage this may produce an affirmation of identity, for others this binary produces shame, confusion or a sense and experience of exclusion (Webber, 2008). Non-Pākehā and non-Māori individuals can also feel excluded from the scope of this binary.

Individual biculturalism refers to the calls that non-Māori need particular skills and understandings that allow them to engage with Māori (who are generally recognised as being more bi-cultural than Pākehā): it is a call to develop a sufficient minimum level of skills in ‘te ao Māori’ (the Maori world) to be able to engage appropriately with Māori clients and colleagues. In the social service arena calls for individual biculturalism follow the Puao-o-te-ata-tu recommendations that services be culturally appropriate, although those recommendations were more explicitly distributive since they did not recommend all staff be bicultural. These calls have produced individual responsibilities for social practitioners as well as organisational responsibilities. Within the social services the call for practitioners to demonstrate individual bicultural skills has come from a grappling with the realities of providing more culturally appropriate services for Māori by publicly funded services and from professional associations and others that have adopted an individual bicultural awareness or competency approach in response to the Treaty of Waitangi’s elevation to hegemonic status. Non-Māori are called to become (individually) biculturally skilled to some degree. At the same time agencies are called to become more bicultural which might involve both non-Māori becoming more biculturally skilled and the agency employing Māori staff. Thus both an individual’s and an agency’s moves towards biculturalism can be seen as responses to calls for distributive biculturalism. However it is still useful to distinguish between individual and distributive biculturalism because this distinction helps elucidate the social debate and the expectations on workers that have been evolving. The first calls towards biculturalism were for organisational or distributive biculturalism (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; M. Durie, 1995; Sharp, 1995) and suggested that a range of levels of biculturalism were acceptable. Currently the New Zealand Association of Counsellors requires new members to demonstrate an acceptable minimum degree of bicultural knowledge and practice and have “an ongoing relationship with a cultural advisor/consultant/supervisor from the rohe” (McGill, 2009, p. 13). As requirements become more specific they also appear to become less clear. It is hard to define an acceptable minimum level of cultural knowledge and skill. In a later section I will review the Nursing Council of New Zealand concept of cultural safety (Nursing Council of New Zealand, 2009; Ramsden, 2003; Wepa, 2005) as a possible practice resource to help resolve this difficulty.

The emergence of Treaty discourse

During New Zealand's history the Treaty has taken on a range of meanings. For a relatively brief time from 1840 to 1852 it was a marker of an agreement between two peoples who approached each other in some degree of equality. Then, as the Treaty began to be disregarded by successive settler governments it became a symbol for Māori of their unrelenting resistance to colonial domination. Since the 1970s it has come to be seen as a guide to reconciliation between Crown and Māori (M. Durie, 1998). As I have indicated the Treaty has also become the primary metaphor for social service practice. To be able to understand the value of knowledge of the Treaty for counselling practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand it is important to consider the beliefs and motivations which led to its writing and signing, and the meanings which developed around it subsequently.

Today the Treaty of Waitangi is generally seen as the founding document (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001; The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988) or central to the constitutional framework (Brookfield, 1999; Te Puni Kokiri, 2001) of Aotearoa/New Zealand. This position has been hard won and was only achieved through a series of moves over the last four decades. For the largest part of the preceding Treaty history the Crown, as the institution of Government, and Pākehā, as the increasingly dominant cultural group, largely ignored the Treaty.

1840-1852 The time of co-operation

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed within days of the arrival of the Crown's emissary Lieutenant Hobson in February 1840.

Haste and inadequate consultation were the hallmarks of the Treaty process and there was the added complication of linguistic and cultural misunderstanding. (M. Durie, 1998, p. 176)

The first two of the three articles of the Treaty presented by Hobson contain significant differences of meaning between the originally drafted English version and the subsequently translated Māori version. Henry Williams was the missionary who translated Hobson's draft Treaty into Māori.

Williams chose to translate sovereignty as *kawanatanga* rather than *mana*, which had been used in the 1835 Declaration of Independence, which he had also

translated. Kawanatanga is a missionary invented word used previously in translations of the Bible into Māori, but for Māori it had a lesser meaning than sovereignty. Mana more closely translates as Sovereignty (Biggs, 1989). It has been argued that if mana had been used in place of kawanatanga, Māori would not have signed the Treaty; it was inconceivable that Māori could agree to sign away their mana (Jackson, 1989, p. 2).

In article two, full and undisturbed possession was translated as tino rangatiratanga. Tino rangatiratanga also implies sovereignty in addition to possession because it refers to 'chieftainship', the basis of Māori sovereignty (Biggs, 1989). Today tino rangatiratanga is generally translated either as Māori sovereignty or self-determination.

Māori Rangatira at Waitangi did sign the Treaty after extensive debate. One prominent Māori leader, Hone Heke, proclaimed that "the native mind cannot comprehend these things, they must trust to the advice of the missionaries" (Walker, 1990, p.95). However, the missionary advice had a strong element of self-interest. Walker (1990), among the more conservative of Māori commentators, argues that Williams was anxious to secure sovereignty for the British at least in part to secure the extensive land holdings he had obtained to support his eleven children; his choice of Māori words encouraged Māori rangatira towards agreement without their full understanding of the Crown's intentions.

With undercurrents of haste, of missionary manipulation, of Māori misunderstanding of the purpose and the confusion caused by inaccurate translation it might be asked why or how the Treaty has any significant status today. Former Chief Judge of the Māori Land Court, Eddie Durie, has indicated that this is in part because at least New Zealand does have a Treaty (E. Durie, 1990, p.2). The existence of the Treaty has provided a focal point for relationships between Crown and Māori with the potential to develop a "justice-based rhetoric". Durie writes that the Crown saw it as a Treaty of cession (of sovereignty), but that Māori:

...saw themselves as entering into an alliance with the Queen in which the Queen would govern for the maintenance of peace and the control of unruly settlers, while Māori would continue as before to govern themselves. (1990, p. 2)

After an initial period where settlers and Māori cooperated for mutual benefit (M. Durie, 1998), the political landscape changed radically in the late 1850s.

After 1852: Division and disparity

In the 1850s a second period of Treaty history began which was marked by “division and disparity” (M. Durie, 1998). A rapid decline of the Māori population as a result of introduced diseases appeared to threaten Māori survival (Walker, 1990), while simultaneously the settler population was rapidly increasing, bringing an attendant clamour from settlers seeking land to farm. The transfer of Crown sovereignty from Britain to a settler government in 1852 gave settlers the opportunity to repudiate the Treaty under the mantle of legitimate government (Ward, 1999). This transfer of power from an imperial colonial authority to a local colonial authority completed a “revolution” in which greater authority was taken by the Crown than Māori understood to be inherent in the Treaty that had legitimated the Crown claim to either sovereignty or kawanatanga (Brookfield, 1999). These moves by the settler government reached a nadir with the judgement by Chief Justice Prendergast in 1877 that the Treaty “was a mere nullity” (quoted in Dawson, 2001, p. 78). For nearly a century Prendergast’s judgement acted as a block to attempts by Māori to have the Treaty recognised as a legitimate guide to the resolution of grievances (Cooke, 1994). However, equally, if not more devastating, were the material outcomes of assimilationist Crown policies: war, confiscation of large tracts of land, disease, an insidious pressure to sell land, consequent poverty and racism (Department of Social Welfare, 1988; Ward, 1995) which marked the period between 1859 and 1975. Most of the land in Māori ownership in 1859 was no longer owned by their descendants by 1975 (Ward, 1999) despite strenuous efforts by Māori to resist the sale of land (Walker, 2001). These material outcomes of assimilation demonstrated growing divisions between Pākehā and Māori and an ever-widening disparity between the living conditions of Māori and Pākehā. Eddie Durie writes that the Treaty has only survived because of the persistence of Māori in holding it

up as a reality and he also maintains that Māori opinion about the Treaty changed over time.

The Treaty became over the course of the struggle a sacred covenant equating the promises of God and a taonga; a treasure passed down from revered forebears. (E. Durie, 1990, p.2)

It is quite possible and even likely that those of their forebears that signed it did not hold the meanings ascribed to the Treaty by Māori today. Each act of resistance by Māori and each experience of colonising disadvantage for Māori contributed to those meanings, which I refer to as a developing Treaty of Waitangi discourse. As Durie writes:

If neither the Queen's judges nor her cabinet ministers could bring themselves to uphold the solemn promise undertaken on the Queen's behalf, they diminished not Māori honour but their own. Every petition and court case that failed, also succeeded in driving that point home. (E. Durie, 1990, p.2)

As Māori persisted with their calls for adherence to the Treaty their own values became infused in an emerging (largely Māori) Treaty discourse. I choose to identify late 19th and early 20th century Treaty discourse as 'largely Māori' not only because I am seeking to show that most reference to the Treaty at this time was by Māori, but more particularly that this discourse drew more extensively on Māori beliefs and values than British beliefs and values simply because it was mainly present in a Māori world. It was likely to be accessed best in the Māori language.

This period lasted for over a century. For most of this time there seemed little likelihood that the colonising effects of Crown policy and Crown and Pākehā action could be successfully challenged. However significant changes did begin to occur in the 1970s.

The 1970s: Negotiation and restitution and the Māori Renaissance

At the start of this period significant Crown action returned the Treaty to view for Pākehā, the dominant group, although it had never been invisible for Māori (The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988; Walker, 1990). The 1975 Treaty of

Waitangi Act is the Crown response that appropriately marks the beginning of a period of “negotiation and restitution” (M. Durie, 1998), characteristic of the current phase of Treaty history. The central provision of the Act was the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal which was able to hear Treaty grievances, although initially only those which occurred after 1975. It wasn’t until 1985 that this time limitation was rolled back to 1840. Following this, Iwi and other Māori groups began what has become a familiar process of lodging Treaty claims, researching, waiting, attending hearings, receiving the tribunal’s report, negotiating with government and eventually settlement. Significant as this act was, and is, it does represent a structuralist view of social change. The shift into “negotiation and restitution” can also be seen as a series of discursive effects across the broad society as Treaty of Waitangi discourses gained more dominance. Part of this shift produced and was reproduced in the Māori renaissance (King, 1985), a flowering of Māori activism and redevelopment of marae communities both rural and urban. There were also many strands of developing awareness of the Treaty among Pākehā as individuals and groups within a broader society that were also produced by and reproduced Treaty of Waitangi discourses.

One prominent social experiment was the establishment of a commune popularly known as Jerusalem in close proximity to the Māori village of Hiruharama on the Whanganui River, which was established by the poet James K Baxter. He argued that Pākehā needed to learn from Māori and this commune provided that opportunity to Nga Mokai which was Baxter’s descriptor for the young people who joined the commune. He wrote:

‘Ko te Māori te tuakana. Ko te Pākehā te teina...’ The Maori is indeed the elder brother and the Pākehā the younger brother, But the teina has refused to learn from the tuakana. He has sat sullenly among his machines and account books and wondered why his soul was full of bitter dust. (James K Baxter quoted in Newton, 2009, p. 11)

Newton (2009) records the broad impact that this experiment in community living in close relationship with Ngati Hau, the Maori hapū at Hiruharama, had on Ngati Hau, on Nga Mokai, and the national community, because of the wide media

coverage of the community's formation, temporary closure and Baxter's tangi (funeral).

In a further development, in the late 1980s the 'principles' of the Treaty of Waitangi were first sought (Kelsey, 1989). The concept of Treaty principles offered a way for the Crown to articulate the intentions of the Treaty without needing to establish the legal meaning of each word in each version. Brookfield (1999) argues that the search for the 'principles' of the Treaty of Waitangi was an integral part of the "constitutional revolution", which has characterised this period of negotiation and restitution. Whatever else the principles achieved they denied any articulation of a Māori sovereignty which would have the potential to challenge Crown hegemony. However Pryor (2008) argues that the concept of Treaty principles enabled the Crown agents who were empowered to define them to move beyond the restrictions of the actual words of the Treaty as they were recognised as insufficient to contain the meaning of the Treaty.

Since 1975, when the Treaty of Waitangi Act was passed, there have been waves of publicly expressed opinion, debate, demonstration, policy development, legislation and court cases which have helped define how the Treaty of Waitangi is understood now. It is beyond dispute that many nineteenth and twentieth century Crown actions were unjust (Brookfield, 1999), in breach of the Treaty (Ward, 1999; Dawson, 2001) and racist (Department of Social Welfare, 1988). However, it is evident that the positive intentions of both the British Crown and those Māori who signed the Treaty have left with us a document which can now be seen as aspirational (Yensen, Hague, & McCreanor, 1989), which legitimised both Pākehā (and later Taiuiwi) settlement and protected the maintenance of Māori customs and practices (M. Durie, 1995, 1998, 2001; Orange, 1987; Ward, 1999).

The undecidability of the Treaty

These interpretations of the Treaty can be seen as projecting that the meaning of the Treaty can be finally determined. Alongside these (now) conventional interpretations of the Treaty I juxtapose Pryor's (2008) Derridian deconstruction of the Treaty. She comments that "[t]o ask what the Treaty means supposes that there is a final 'true' meaning to be ascertained, if only the reader were skilled enough to determine it" (p. 100). Her work draws on the conventional data and

interpretations and also emphasises some of Derrida's key deconstructive strategies. Pryor outlines her deconstructive work as examining:

...how the Treaty both constitutes and contests a unified definition of the nation, one that is not easily comprehended in contemporary arrangements. The state interpellates its citizens, discursively producing them as always already split into the binarised 'Treaty partners' of Māori and Pākehā, eliding other ethnic configurations that do not fall within this division. (2008, p. 87)

The Treaty "constitutes and contests" because the language of sovereignty and *tino rangatiratanga* both suggest two nations while it is also seen as the foundational document for Aotearoa New Zealand, a single nation. The carrying forward to the present of the "binarised 'Treaty partners'" brings focus to an aspect of cultural relations in this land that I wished to address in this project: that the centrality of the 'Treaty partnership' both masks the existence of other cultures and at least in part unhelpfully simplifies the complexity of Māori-Pākehā relationships. These are both aspects that I wished to address in this project especially since Pākehā are dominant both in relation to their 'Treaty partner' and to the elided 'other' cultures in Aotearoa. Rather than seeking the meaning of the Treaty she asks a fundamentally different question. "[W]hat does it mean to ask what the Treaty means, or rather, how does it mean?" (p. 99).

As well as having an interest in what the Treaty means, Pryor is interested in how the Treaty's meaning is constructed. While conventional accounts tend to seek definitive clarity in relation to the Treaty, Pryor's deconstruction emphasises the "undecidability of the Treaty" (p. 97) and the contribution this undecidability makes to political tension. She argues that: "the tension between unity (one nation, one people) and difference (two nations, two – or more – peoples) is fostered by the undecidability of the Treaty itself" (p. 97). The Treaty is "undecidable" because it now encompasses an event, the 1840 Treaty debate and signing, and a series of contradictory documents in both English and Māori generated and signed at that time, and because of the ongoing interpretations of the Treaty since that time. The text of the Treaty does not, nor cannot contain all the meaning of the Treaty. This argument draws on key Derridean concepts which

I introduced in chapter two: *différance* (with its association of difference and deferral) and the supplement.

Pryor reviews the authority of elements of the Treaty: its text in English and Māori, the signatures, and the verbal agreement, which the signatures refer to.

The written text is not enough to guarantee the cession of sovereignty. Conventional analyses point to the Maori text as being that one that does not guarantee this cession of sovereignty, but the English text also implies that cession is not guaranteed until the meaning of the Treaty is made clear in its plenitude. By making this a condition of the Treaty's validity, however the text is caught in a double bind: if the 'full' meaning of the text exceeds its frame, then its true meaning is deferred because it cannot be contained within the written document.

...

This paradox suggests that the Treaty contradicts its own terms and is thus differed from itself. In order for the written text to be valid it must be verbally agreed, and in order for the verbal agreement to carry the force of law it must be witnessed in a signature or mark. The mark must supplement the agreement in order to guarantee it. (p. 104)

Here Pryor argues that the treaty is not wholly contained in its text, as the text is insufficient, the meaning of the Treaty is deferred and reliant on the supplement offered by signatures. This argument that the full meaning of the Treaty exceeds the words on the various documents offers Pryor a path away from limiting arguments about which version is to predominate:

The relationship of Māori and English versions of the Treaty, then, is not that of a 'translation' to an 'original' but of 'translation' to 'translation; the idea of an 'original' represents the full meaning that both translations strive to attain. This 'true' text is the horizon that can be imagined but never reached: it is unrepresentable. (p. 108)

The "Treaty" can only ever be partly comprehended. A meaning that is 'unrepresentable' can only be "represented" and this presents challenges when "the idea of the nation somehow exceeds representation but at the same time, can only

ever be represented and never present to itself' (p. 117). An undecidable Treaty will dissatisfy anyone looking for a contained definition of that Treaty.

Pryor's deconstruction of the Treaty of Waitangi usefully introduces poststructuralist complexity into the search for the meaning of the Treaty and also illustrates the contribution that deconstruction can make to understanding the complexity of meaning. At the least this deconstruction challenges any view of the Treaty that is limited to literal interpretations. The Treaty is not destroyed by this deconstruction, rather the reader of the Treaty is invited to seek a more rich and complex understanding of it.

In the next section I consider some links between the Treaty of Waitangi and counselling practice through the medium of culturally framed identity when I will return to introduce Pryor's deconstruction of the Māori-Pākehā binary.

Linking Treaty discourse to practice

In the introduction to this chapter I indicated that I intended to employ the identity politics/intersectionality continuum as an analytic device as I considered the applicability of the Treaty to counselling practice. I begin this task by returning to the concept of the principles of the Treaty.

The most common representations of the Treaty linked to counselling are the three principles of partnership, participation and protection that were articulated by the Royal Commission on Social Policy (The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). As I have argued elsewhere (A. Crocket, 2009a) the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi are better suited to linking the Treaty to organisational practice at the local or the national level and not necessarily to practice with clients. Briefly this is because the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi were developed to guide the Crown in its relationships with iwi and hapu (The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). A process of articulation is required to identify the applicability of Treaty principles to professional practice. The Treaty principles are descriptive of Crown responsibilities towards iwi and hapu. Treaty principles are therefore most applicable between collective entities, for example an agency and an iwi or hapu. An agency can be seen to be in a relationship that involves partnership, protection and participation with iwi or hapu. However, I

suggest that this is much less applicable to an individual counselling relationship, which is a relationship characterised by fiduciary trust rather than partnership. Some articulations of the connections between the Treaty of Waitangi and counselling practice confuse the nature of the counselling relationship and draw attention away from the primary purpose of the Treaty, which is to frame relations between the people of the land – the tangata whenua – and the Crown. When a counsellor does seek to apply the Treaty to practice this is done at some remove from the Treaty's primary purpose. Counsellors might find it better describes their intentions to seek to apply the 'spirit' of the Treaty in their practice. One purpose of this project was to investigate some ways in which counsellors might work in their practice to honour the 'spirit' of the Treaty. Treaty honouring practice is not however the sole purpose of this study which invited Pākehā counsellors to consider their positioning as part of the dominant culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Many of their cross-cultural counselling relationships would be with Māori; some would be with members of other cultures for whom a Pākehā is also a member of the dominant culture. This project investigated counselling practice where the practitioner is from the dominant cultural group and is practising with clients and colleagues from other cultural groups.

It is inescapable that Pākehā form the dominant cultural group of Aotearoa/New Zealand in terms of language, numbers, material wealth and dominance of the institutions of government and of professional practice. This is simply the outcome of the working out of colonising discourse. Pākehā culture remains dominant despite a series of commitments to a distributive biculturalism over the last 30 years. Pākehā counsellors are thus part of the cultural group that is dominant in relation to Māori and also in relation to other Tauīwi who are not Pākehā. While there is an acceptance that the Treaty of Waitangi informs a Pākehā counsellor's practice with individual Māori, I suggest that this position is much less persuasive in relation to non-Māori, non-Pākehā clients. While the argument can be made that the counsellor should act in the 'spirit' of the Treaty my interest is in the practices that might support this 'spirit'. So this study investigates how Pākehā counsellors view their positioning and act in relation to this positioning with clients who are not from the dominant cultural group. 'Cultural dominance' is affected by the intersectional positioning of any

individual Pākehā and the intersectional positioning of members of any other cultural groups that they interact with. In the terms used here Pākehā women may also experience their relationship to dominant culture differently than Pākehā men.

In the section that follows I begin an examination of some relationships between culture and identity.

Culturally framed identity

This study is framed as an exploration of the positioning of counsellors who are part of the dominant cultural group. The definition of culture I will follow in this study is that culture provides a dynamic and rich array of resources for living. Any individual is likely to take up only a portion of these resources. Some resources are used unevenly over a life span, some are held closely, some are viewed ironically, some are rejected (Swidler, 2001). Cultural identities tend to be expressed in generalities, which have the potential to become reified as realities, and so become essentialised and totalising descriptions. It is inescapable that cultural identity is commonly described in generalised or stereotypical ways. Any person may experience dissonance between aspects of their (moment to moment) subjectivity and their identity vis-a-vis their ascribed cultural group identity.

In this section I explore some issues around the potentials created by the development and acceptance, or refusal, of identity signifiers. There is an inherent tension in this exploration. The identification and exploration of identity signifiers risks the evocation of totalising description, but at this time do we have any alternative? Within this country I refer to myself as a Pākehā, overseas I am likely to describe myself as a Pākehā New Zealander. What I do not intend by this self-description is that I am seen as being identical to all those who adopt the description or entirely different to all those who may refuse it. What I do intend is that I am seen as identifying with a particular framing of culture. I will also return to Pryor's (2008) work to further trouble the Māori/Pākehā binary.

The identity signifiers Māori and Pākehā are both artefacts of the early contact period of colonisation in New Zealand. These signifiers or labels can be understood as a consequence of encounters with 'others.'

In Māori terms, the missionaries, settlers and colonists came to Aotearoa as manuhiri or visitors. As visitors they became defined in relation to the tangata whenua – the people of the land, through protocols and responsibilities of hospitality which suggest re-positioning of non-indigenous people as guests in order to encounter cultural difference positively and ethically. (Martin, 2000, p. 90)

The ‘Māori People’ did not exist in at least one sense before the arrival of European settlers. There was no need of a word such as ‘Māori’ to describe the people of Aotearoa as distinct from people from elsewhere because in their world there was no one from elsewhere. Nor was there any need for a collective word to describe the totality of the inhabitants. The largest group identities were Iwi, which united broad kinship groups and were a basis of distinction between groups. The first recorded use of ‘Māori’ is in the Treaty of Waitangi. Before then it meant normal or ordinary (Bell, 1996).

In effect arrival of the visitors called Tangata Whenua into a new identity, one defined at least partly in relation to the visitors (Fanon, 1965). The visitors (explorers, whalers, missionaries, traders and then settlers) had little interest in the subtly distinct identities of Tangata Whenua from different iwi and at first called them ‘New Zealanders’ and only later ‘Māori’. Nor did they have any ongoing interest in the continuance of manuhiri status for themselves; being considered as guests conflicted with colonising discourse.

In the later nineteenth and twentieth century Tangata Whenua began to see themselves differently and develop an identity which encompassed all iwi rather than differentiated between iwi. Māori, which meant ‘ordinary,’ (Bell, 1996) eventually came to be descriptive and constitutive of the identity of Tangata Whenua. Today Tangata Whenua is often chosen as a preferred identity signifier in place of Māori. The word Pākehā was a Tangata Whenua description of the (colonising) visitors.

The cultural identities, ‘Māori’ and ‘Pākehā’ have continued to develop through the time of colonisation and into this postcolonial time. ‘Pākehā’ has become along the way both a contested and politicised description of colonial settler identity. The visitors who first arrived in the early 19th Century remained and

became the dominant cultural group by the 1860s (Bell, 1996; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; King, 1999). Fleras and Spoonley argue that in the last 30 years the adoption of 'Pākehā' as a personal identity signifier has become representative of a commitment to biculturalism. Significantly however, a significant number of New Zealanders of European ancestry refuse the identity signifier Pākehā for themselves. As Bell, Fleras and Spoonley, and King record (and I have experienced in my teaching) a significant number believe the word is a coded insult, although this appears to be becoming less common. One study showed only 25% of Pākehā accepted that identity while 43% preferred NZ European (Liu, Wilson, McClure, & Higgins, 1999). Interestingly 60% of Māori in the same survey preferred the identity signifier Pākehā (for Pākehā).

Tauiwi is an alternate and more recent identity signifier open to those who are not Tangata Whenua. Tauiwi translates as 'many iwi' and so encompasses Pākehā as well as those who cannot claim a settler identity with ancestral links to Britain.

Many choose New Zealander as a preferred identity. I find this problematic as a description of identity because it implicitly excludes Tangata Whenua as being 'New Zealanders' and lacks the relational implications of 'Pākehā'. New Zealander may be a useful signifier when we describe ourselves overseas, but for Tauiwi to use it in New Zealand is implicitly homogenising and assimilationist. Ironically it also appropriates the first colonial identity bestowed on Tangata Whenua by the British settlers.

In this study, I prefer and privilege the identity Pākehā because it describes an identity that has arisen in relation to Tangata Whenua, the indigenous people of this land. Pākehā today is generally taken to encompass settlers or the descendents of settlers, usually British. People of Asian or Pacific descent are unlikely to see themselves or be seen as Pākehā. This is an identity signifier particular to people who live in Aotearoa.

Nor do I accept the argument that Pākehā are the second indigenous people of New Zealand (King, 1999). This definition disturbs the meaning of the word 'indigenous'. However I am clear that my Pākehā identity firmly locates me in New Zealand with the ability to seek my familial links elsewhere and with the

Treaty based invocation to develop relationships with Tangata Whenua. Marilyn Waring further politicises this argument.

There's something privileged and arrogant about refusing to embrace Pākehā, and a cowardice too. I cannot avoid the conclusion that if generations of your family have been born in Aotearoa/New Zealand, to choose to call yourself European is so deliberately and consciously to choose to continue the process of colonisation, not only of the Tangata Whenua, but of all the others here, too. (quoted in Fleras and Spoonley, 1999, p.105)

This is a strong call for those with a heritage which connects them to colonisers and who may still benefit from colonising discourse to take up the locally available identity and accept the political effects of that identity. This position is strongly resonant with the stances taken up by the participants in this study.

The question of identities and relationships between groups within Aotearoa/New Zealand is never as simple as the defining of two or three categories may make it seem. The refusal of identity noted above is one issue. Another is the multiplicity of ethnic identities possible and experienced in this country. "The binary of coloniser/colonised does not take into account ... the different layerings which have occurred within each group and across the two groups" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p.27). Almost no one in Aotearoa could or perhaps would claim to be totally encompassed by one identity signifier. A number of writers emphasise the importance of avoiding essentialist assignments of identity (Johnston & Pihama, 1995; Larner, 1996).

Webber (2008) has explored the identity decisions made by research informants who had both Māori and Pākehā heritages. Interestingly all the participants in her study had chosen to take up a Māori identity. In an acknowledgment of multiplicity Larner argues:

Those of us in New Zealand making arguments about socially constructed and multiply organised subjects ... need to acknowledge that others may not understand their subjectivity in this way. Further these situated

knowledges will not necessarily be reconcilable with each other. (Larner, 1996, p.172).

I distinguish between those like myself and the participants in this study who make the political choice to describe ourselves as Pākehā and those who are settlers or the descendants of settlers from the UK and Europe who do decline this identity tag. We all share a similar heritage even though we differ in our orientation to that heritage and our understandings of our subjectivities may not be fully reconcilable. However in this study I use Pākehā both for those who choose this identity (the participants in this study and myself) and for those who belong in the same cultural group as myself (a colonising heritage) even if they refuse this identity.

I return to Pryor's deconstruction of the Treaty of Waitangi because this has connections to Māori and Pākehā identities. She writes:

I contend that the tension between unity (one nation, one people) and difference (two nations, two – or more – peoples) is fostered by the undecidability of the Treaty itself. The text, while positioned as a founding document from which all New Zealanders can trace a shared line of descent, rather binarises Māori and Pākehā into two separate and discrete entities. Rhetoric of 'partnership' further heightens this sense of separation, as it presumes two equal but opposing parties coming together for the common good. (2008, p. 97)

Pryor problematises the Treaty's effect of creating the Māori-Pākehā binary which I wish to take forward as being potentially problematic and potentially valuable both at the personal level and the group or societal level. At the personal level I argue that the binary has some value for those who easily fit its distinctions and can be problematic for those who don't. Both Māori and Pākehā can be used to describe an individual or a collective. At the group or societal level it is problematic when Pākehā is equated with the Crown and when Māori is used to homogenise iwi; for both groups it can be a positive signifier. Pryor also suggests that by "binarising 'Māori' and 'Pākehā', the Treaty helps to constitute a fixed Māori identity that is positioned as being pre-contact and subject to tribal groupings" (p. 95). One specific effect that she notes is that Māori collective

identity is centred on iwi thus potentially leaving urban Māori sitting outside this “fixed Māori identity”. I would suggest that a further effect is that the Pākehā collective identity is also fixed in a similar way frequently to refer to the Crown or the government when even the collective Pākehā is only the largest and dominant constituent group in those groups. Both these culturally framed identities have effects for those who either apply them to self or other and to those who experience their application.

I now move to consider the effects for individual Pākehā of being part of the dominant cultural group.

The position of dominant culture; privilege, supremacy, cultural safety

Issues of ‘white’ privilege, dominance and cultural supremacy have been widely canvassed albeit generally from the perspective of those who do not ‘benefit’ from these statuses (Helms, 2008; Leonardo, 2004). I write ‘white’ here in inverted commas to emphasise that this is not a term used widely in Aotearoa. As I examine some of the writing related to cultural dominance and consequent attendant privilege I use Foucauldian and intersectional lenses to consider the applicability of this writing for this study. The Foucauldian lens enables an examination of the applicability of the ideas in the literature to inform considerations of the practice of counsellors and the constitution of society; the intersectional lens helps me to ask how uniformly available privilege is among the Pākehā section of Aotearoa New Zealand’s population.

Classic white authors writing about white privilege include McIntosh and Frankenberg. Frankenberg (1993, p. 59) examined the social construction of whiteness based on interviews with white women. In the epilogue to this she writes:

Analysis of the place of whiteness in the racial order can and should be, rather than an end in itself, only one part of a much broader process of social change levelled both at the material relations of race and at discursive repertoires. It is not, in any case, realistic or meaningful to reconceptualise whiteness outside of racial domination when, in practical terms, whiteness still confers race privilege. It would be similarly naïve to

imagine that political will alone might bring about the kinds of shifts necessary to challenge those discourses that most effectively stabilize the racial order. (p. 243)

Frankenberg links whiteness, privilege and racial domination. The reference to 'material relations' evokes a Marxist analysis of relationships within a social structure, which she has combined with an awareness of discourse. The project she has established with this book is a social change agenda focused on the effects of white privilege which called for action from both whites and non-whites; political will alone was not going to be sufficient. Attention to the discursive context of experience was also needed.

The most significant contribution that Frankenberg offers this study is her analysis of whiteness or a white identity in terms of three "moments" (1993, pp. 14-16), which she also calls "discursive repertoires". The first moment is the moment of essentialised, biologically based racism. White persons who take up this moment act in racist ways towards a racial other who has a fixed and limited identity. The second moment is " a double move toward "color evasiveness" and "power evasiveness" (1993, p. 14), this moment denies or rejects the racism of the first moment but does not address the power relations central to the first moment and so those power relations persist in the second moment. The white person who takes up this moment either rejects or is uncomfortable with the racism and essentialism of the first moment. However without bringing an awareness of the power relations between races (in the terms Frankenberg uses) the white person does not contribute to the dismantling of racist discourse and structures and so contributes to the assimilation of minority cultures and the persistence of discrimination. The third moment is the moment of race cognizance. In this moment difference is again central but now "people of color" articulate the difference. This means that the white person who takes up the third moment does so with a recognition of the rights and wishes of "people of color" and with an understanding of the injustice of the power relations inherent in the first two moments. They seek to enter and maintain a dialogue with the non-whites they encounter with the terms of the conversation being negotiated on terms that each of them can accept.

Frankenberg then argues that these discursive repertoires are not sealed off from each other. Clearly the second moment is informed by the first moment and the third moment is informed by the two preceding moments. It follows that any conversation or relationship could exhibit more than one moment:

Because race has been made into a difference, later discursive repertoires cannot simply abolish it, but must engage it. And because race difference was produced in essentialist rather than any other terms, it is to those essentialist terms that later critique remains accountable. (1993, p. 189)

So if a white person can take up a position in Frankenberg's third moment they may hope for the reshaping of the power relations produced by racial or colonising discourse while at the same time receiving calls to take up a position in either or both of the earlier moments.

I employ Frankenberg's three moments in this study by recasting them in a form that I believe is more closely resonant with the politics of culture in Aotearoa New Zealand. I introduce and use the following three moments: the moment of colonisation, the moment of indifference and assimilation and finally the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring.

"The invisible knapsack of power" (McIntosh, 1988) is widely cited as a foundational work on privilege by a white author. McIntosh identifies a range of privileges that 'white' people carry as invisible benefits. These range from "never having to teach her children about racism" to "being confident that media representations will generally represent her cultural group" (rather than other groups). The list of privileges that she compiled have become basic resources in analyses of privilege. Her work has been critiqued however by Leonardo (2004) as employing a passive voice in relation to the way in which privilege is transmitted to 'whites' and knowledge of discrimination is concealed. He writes of McIntosh's paper:

White racist thoughts are disembodied, omnipresent but belonging to no one. White racist teachings, life lessons, and values are depicted as actions done or passed on to a white subject, almost unbeknownst to him, rather than something in which he invests. (p. 143)

Here Leonardo is criticizing McIntosh's writing as allowing 'whites' to avoid responsibility for the privilege they experience. From a Foucauldian perspective the absence of any reference to discourse in this statement may be seen as problematic. A discursive analysis would allow both for position calls to arise from racist/colonising or assimilation discourses, which would correspond to Frankenberg's first and second moments. The white person could then take up a position within these discourses either unknowingly *or* in his terms as a deliberate 'investment'. Whether either of these positions is taken up unknowingly or as an investment the effects on a person of colour will still be negative. However, such a discursive analysis does offer some hope of shift towards social justice. I will return to Leonardo's writing soon.

Taking Frankenberg's and McIntosh's ideas further, white North American, feminist family therapist Nocona Pewewardy (2004) argues that the classic feminist cry that 'the personal is political' needs to be reversed to become 'the political is the personal'. She argues that if white family therapists base their political stance in relation to client issues only on their personal experience then they may fall well short of understanding their clients' experiences of racism and how their own privilege can impact on that. She writes:

It is imperative for white practitioners to critically examine their own racial identity and how their interpretations of clients' problems fluctuate based on how they perceive clients' racial identities. (p. 56)

Attention to the discursive context of a conversation, both the white practitioner's positioning and their client's positioning will help the practitioner to be more effectively responsive to their client. However, she suggests that examination of identity while important will not be sufficient, she is critical of social practitioners who "operate on the misguided assumption that empowerment of oppressed groups can occur within unjust hierarchical structures" (p. 55). What is needed, she argues, is for whites to stand alongside people of colour who face discrimination in the recognition that privilege and racism are closely implicated and that "to be effective allies in efforts to expose white privilege, white practitioners must engage in continual personal introspection and take risks" (p. 59). These practices require a considerable commitment from social practitioners.

They are consistent with a Foucauldian ‘care of the self’ approach where the practitioner chooses to focus on their relationship with privilege.

Levine-Rasky (2008) writes of white privilege from a Jewish viewpoint. She seeks to make clear “the limitations in equating whiteness with privilege” (p. 53) as she documents the ways in which in North America Jews have been variably seen as white or having access to white privilege because of the effects of anti-Semitism. Thus she creates space for an intersectional lens to be introduced into considerations of whiteness and privilege. She does not use the word intersectionality here however which may be in recognition that there is debate about the legitimacy of using a concept developed to analyse multiple oppressions in a context of privilege. Here I follow Staunæs (2003) where she argues that ‘social categories’ must be seen as inclusive of the majority as well as minorities. We need to be able to consider the degrees of privilege that (in this context) different white people benefit from as well as degrees of oppression that they have to endure.

I turn back to Leonardo (2004) who produces a powerful argument about that the addressing of white supremacy or domination is equally as important as addressing white privilege.

[A] critical look at white privilege, or the analysis of white racial hegemony, must be complemented by an equally rigorous examination of white supremacy, or the analysis of white racial domination. This is a necessary departure because, although the two processes are related, the conditions of white supremacy make white privilege possible. In order for white racial hegemony to saturate everyday life, it has to be secured by a process of domination, or those acts, decisions, and policies that white subjects perpetrate on people of color. As such, a critical pedagogy of white racial supremacy revolves less around the issue of unearned advantages, or the state of being dominant, and more around direct processes that secure domination and the privileges associated with it. (p. 137)

Here Leonardo’s analysis is a structuralist one based around an analysis of the video ‘The Color of Fear’ (Mun Wah, 1994) and the work by McIntosh (1988)

which I have previously discussed. His argument is problematic for the purposes of this study for several reasons. From a Foucauldian perspective it is problematic in appearing to assign a deliberate and conscious agency equally to (all) whites whom Leonardo sees as both benefitting from and recreating privilege and dominance. So in this sense Leonardo's argument is inconsistent with the earlier or excitable Foucault who would deny individual autonomy and see subjects as produced by discourse. It also seems inconsistent with the later Foucault who, while allowing a degree of agency, might not support the idea that all whites may use their agency to reinscribe domination. This is because Leonardo's structuralist approach groups all whites together and assigns them all equal agency and responsibility whereas a Foucauldian approach may be more open to identifying individual difference. Leonardo's argument could be seen as broadly compatible with the operations of dominant discourse in creating and recreating privilege and dominance, but he doesn't cast his argument that way. Perhaps he is objecting to a Foucauldian analysis which might argue that because the effects of dominant discourse do appear in large part to create the idea of a social "domination without agents" which he goes on to attack when he writes that:

...the theme of privilege obscures the subject of domination, or the agent of actions, because the situation is described as happening almost without the knowledge of whites. It conjures up images of domination happening behind the backs of whites, rather than on the backs of people of color. The study of white privilege begins to take on an image of domination without agents. (2004, p. 138)

I do not deny the power of the argument that he makes, however as a structural argument it has limits in relation to this study where the structural effects of hegemonic discourse are taken as a given and the participants are considering how they work within that and seek to subvert its effects with particular clients at particular times and by using particular practices. His argument does illustrate a conundrum both for those experiencing oppression and those seeking to work against it. Clearly (in his terms) white supremacy or dominance on a social scale is hegemonic and directly contributes to discourses that produce oppression. This hegemony cannot be directly displaced. Even if there were an alternate hegemonic

discourse available to displace white hegemony, a direct challenge would produce massive resistance.

The question then is: What actions and what level of actions is needed to produce sufficient change to reduce oppression? Considerations of the extent to which the participants in this study recreate 'white' or Pākehā domination in their role as social practitioners I will consider as I review Jeffery's work on paradoxes in anti-racist social work.

Jeffrey (2005) identifies a paradox in social work education in Canada where she argues that:

the modern Western moral subject...[is] a free and rational individual, possessing a sense of self and entitlement to authority over others who do not share the same autonomous subjectivity—the dangerous classes comprised of prostitutes, criminals, the poor, the sexually 'deviant' and the racial Other. (2005, pp. 410-411)

She goes on to characterize the social worker in the same light, possessing qualities of rationality and autonomy and entitled to a benevolent authority over others. This produces a paradox for her because anti-racist social work education appears to challenge this basis for the white social worker's being or subjectivity.

Pedagogy about race and racism within social work education is structured to fit within the accepted parameters of how practice is defined. Yet the day-to-day practices on which the profession rests, and which sustain the profession, reproduce whiteness. Thus 'doing race' following this same formula functions to reproduce whiteness and race as one more skill at which to be competent. As long as social work practice is synonymous with benign notions of diversity management and the development of competencies, we remain unable to reconcile being a 'good' social worker with anti-racist practice. (2005, p. 411)

This appears to be a problematic argument if considered in relation to counselling or indeed other forms of social practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. Counselling should never be seen as "synonymous with benign notions of diversity management" and the philosophical base for counselling needs to be examined to

ensure that neither does it reduce the agency of clients nor that it reproduces the privilege of the counsellor in ways that do not enhance practice and support the client towards outcomes that they would desire.

I acknowledge that the changes that clients seek may need to be achieved within limitations set by state agencies and legislation, and this is something that I address in the results chapters 5 and 6 as well as in the discussion chapter, chapter 7 (*Making meaning, Making theory*). While some of what it is problematic about Jeffrey's argument relates to pedagogical challenges in social work education (in Canada), the core of what is problematic is the challenge of supporting new practitioners to translate awarenesses about racism into practices. This then is of relevance to this study and I suggest that the analytical tools that Jeffrey chose did not support her to construct practice both in ways that made 'anti-racist' practice compatible with an anti-racist whiteness and that did not require her social worker subjects to renounce either whiteness or privilege to be effective. I further suggest that a Foucauldian analysis based on the later Foucault's ideas about the care of the self, involving care for others may have produced a significantly more useful analysis.

I turn now to an article from the New Zealand counselling literature that I will address here before I later survey this literature more fully. This is because it directly addresses as its title indicates "White Privilege and Cultural Racism" (Addy, 2008) and their "effects on the counselling process". Addy provides a précis of the North American literature on white privilege and this has some value for counsellors in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although she does caution the reader that the ideas may not have complete relevance for the New Zealand context she appears to take little notice herself of this caveat. The ideas are directly imported with little questioning whether they may not fit in this context. She does however reference a range of New Zealand authors.

The particular concern I have in relation to this article is the superficial way that she constructs identity. She refers to 'white' privilege even though this term is not in regular use in New Zealand. She does refer to Pākehā as an identity but dismisses the potential of this identity signifier in two sentences.

It could be argued that in New Zealand, the wide adoption of the Māori term Pākehā to represent New Zealanders of European descent could serve to “make visible” the invisibility of the whiteness and “race” of white New Zealanders in a way that is uncommon in mainstream US or UK society. However, one does not need to scratch too deeply to reveal inequities and oppression present in Aotearoa. (Addy, 2008, pp. 12-13)

I find this problematic because Addy does not address the different ways in which the Pākehā identity can be used in Aotearoa. I have argued that the adoption and development of a Pākehā identity (as the participants in this study and I have worked towards) denotes a postcolonial commitment. It appears that Addy has concluded that since “inequities and oppression” exist in Aotearoa that the adoption of a Pākehā identity has no value. She conflates societal issues with the individual practice level actions that counsellors can take. I find that this conclusion limits the value of this article.

Nylund (2006) brings forward a different and I find more hopeful view of anti-racist practice and education. He critiques multicultural practice education that does not take a critical view of privilege, arguing for both critical multiculturalism and oppositional whiteness. Oppositional whiteness (H. A. Giroux, 2002 cited in Nylund, 2006, p. 34) requires acknowledgement of white privilege as a prelude to addressing issues of dominance and oppression. Nylund cites an example presented by Stephen Madigan in a conference presentation (Carlson & Kjos, 1999, cited in Nylund, 2006, pp.37-38). In this presentation, Madigan interviewed an African-American mother and her son, Ollie, about an assault by Ollie on a white pupil that led to his suspension from school and mandatory counselling. Madigan discovered the family’s sense of injustice that a prior assault by the white pupil had not been addressed by the school and he followed up the interview with letters to the school principal and psychologist. The psychologist then worked with the mother and son to support the Ollie’s preferred story of how he sought to avoid trouble.

Instead of the classic intervention of privatising the problem by labelling Ollie as “conduct disorder” and teaching him anger management skills, Madigan contextualises the problems and creates a safe space for Ollie and

his mother to discuss issues of racism. Madigan, by inserting race and whiteness (including situating his own white identity) into the conversation makes important connections between what is happening in the micro-aspects of Ollie and his mother's life and its link to the macro systems of a racist culture. (Nylund, 2006, pp. 39-40)

This is hopeful practice that offers a more positive view of 'white' practice than Jeffrey does. Madigan achieved this by acknowledging his whiteness and using the privilege he had to address the injustice experienced by Ollie and his mother. In relation to Addy's writing on white privilege it demonstrates how the critical or 'oppositional' use of whiteness (and in Aotearoa New Zealand a Pākehā identity) can open a path into practice, which deconstructs and works against racist discourse. In relation to Leonardo's critique, which I discussed earlier, Madigan's practice as described by Nylund offers a way to challenge white supremacy "one relationship at a time" (Public conversations project, nd).

Augusta-Scott (2007) makes a very useful contribution in relation to anti-oppressive practice when he argues that essentialised and dichotomised modes of anti-oppressive practice may dangerously over-simplify issues in relation to oppression.

Essentialist anti-oppressive discourse often thwarts people from different social locations in sharing their different experiences and helping each other. The self-help therapy movement has had numerous influences on anti-oppressive practice. One influence has been the idea that only people with similar experiences can help each other. Within anti-oppressive discourse, there is a hopelessness that closes down possibilities that people from different social locations can help each other to address issues of social injustice. When we occupy different social locations, differences are often thought to preclude the possibility of helping each other. (p. 220)

This argument resonates strongly with the critique of identity politics that I made earlier. Systems of grouping people by particular characteristics or shared experience have advantages and with those advantages also the significant disadvantage that they exclude some who seek to so identify and also some who seek to relate but are excluded by not being able to claim the defining

characteristics. This position is important for understanding some experiences shared by the participants in this study and so I will return to it again in later chapters.

This section where I review the position of dominant culture has focused largely on North American writing and concepts. I conclude the chapter by reviewing an indigenous practice concept, cultural safety (Nursing Council of New Zealand, 2009; Ramsden, 2003; Wepa, 2005), which I presaged earlier. After a heavily contested introduction (Ramsden, 2003) cultural safety has become a central concept in nursing education and practice in Aotearoa. Ramsden, who led the development of this concept, explained that it was developed to move beyond what were seen as deficits in other models of education about culture, particularly the North American concept of cultural competence. Cultural safety is intended to move nursing practice beyond cultural awareness and cultural sensitivity neither of which are seen as addressing the power relations inherent in nursing practice (Nursing Council of New Zealand, 2009, p. 5). The Nursing council defines four principles for cultural safety (2009, pp. 5-8). The first principle emphasises health gains and the acknowledgement of the beliefs and practices of others. The second principle focuses on the power relationship between service provider and service user, calls the nurse to empower users to express safety concerns and to respond to needs in ways that service users can define as safe. The third principle addresses nursing within a broad social context. The final principle requires nurses to address the impact of their culture, history and life experiences on others; address the power relationships in the practice of nursing, and; negotiate and change power imbalances in order to provide “equitable, effective, efficient and acceptable service delivery” (2009, p. 8).

It is this emphasis on the experience of the service user that distinguishes cultural safety from cultural competence as a practice approach. There is an inherent risk in a cultural competence approach that the skills taught may not match the diversity of experience of the service user or client (Monk, Winslade, & Sinclair, 2008). Cultural competence as a construct is structuralist in nature; it assumes that competencies can be adequately learned for each cultural group. Cultural safety focusing as it does on client experience rather than taxonomies of competence, is

more fluid than cultural competence. I suggest that it is more readily articulated into a poststructuralist project such as this and I see no reason why this concept developed in nursing education cannot be easily translated into counselling practice. Indeed as I will show later it emerged in the research conversations as a discourse that at least one participant experienced impacting on her counselling practice. The cultural safety discourse's high profile in nursing education and practice has been translated into other social practice spheres. I would suggest that it has a hegemonic status in health and social service arenas in Aotearoa.

I now move to a closer examination of the Aotearoa counselling literature and professional community context.

Cultural relationships, professional community and the New Zealand counselling literature

I record some history of counselling in Aotearoa/New Zealand in order to trace the changing understandings about practice within the professional counselling community about culturally appropriate practice.

The growth of a professional counselling community in Aotearoa

Since 1974 there has been a national professional association representing counselling. What was initially called the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association (NZCGA) was renamed the New Zealand Association of Counsellors (NZAC) in 1990. The establishment of NZCGA followed a series of informal gatherings and periodic newsletters for school counsellors. Since 1974 there has been a newsletter published several times a year and since 1976 a journal has been published at least once a year (Hermansson, 1999). NZCGA/NZAC and the publications that it has produced are key signs and sources of both a professional counselling community and, within that community, of the development of professional identity.

Throughout its history, the membership of NZCGA/NZAC has been predominantly Pākehā. Though formal statistics recording the ethnicity of members were not kept before the mid-1990's, I remember that several requests of members in the early 1990s to identify as Māori only brought forward 10-20 responses out of a membership of between 500-700. Māori members have become

more visible recently. Lang (2005, p. 562) cites NZAC membership statistics from 2003 that indicate that 4.5% of members chose to identify as Māori.

NZCGA/NZAC has not been insulated from the social and political currents in the broader society that I have referred to in reviewing the Treaty of Waitangi literature. A series of significant events and publications are evidence both of calls for the organisation and its members to shift from a Pākehā mono-cultural position and also responses to this call.

Calls to counsellors to move towards biculturalism

1985 was the first year in which the organisation gave significant attention to “raising the consciousness of members to Taha Māori” (Hermansson, 1999, p.75). In that year the annual conference was held on a Marae for the first time, being hosted by Rangitane and Te Atiawa at Tu Tangata Whanau marae, Palmerston North. The conference theme was ‘Guidance and Counselling in a Multi-cultural society’. A presentation by Mason Durie urged that counselling be reshaped to meet the needs of Māori (M. Durie, 1989).

Prior to that date there had been several journal articles published indicating some level of interest in the cultural issues and perhaps contributing to the shape of the 1985 conference. The titles of these articles indicate the framing of counsellor interest at that time: “Value conflicts in cross-cultural counselling” (Gibbs, 1983); “Family circumstances and cultural affiliations of fourth form Māori and Pākehā pupils” (Hay & McManus, 1983); “The cross-cultural context: some issues for counsellors in New Zealand” (Ross, 1985); “Thoughts from overseas: Multi-culturalism” (Madger, 1985).

Following the 1985 conference two similar articles were published: “Consultation in a multi-cultural context: Organising a culturally appropriate school parent evening” (L. Smith & Robinson, 1986); and “The New Zealand challenge to developmental group work: Māori young people as a minority culture” (Wadsworth, 1987).

A common theme of these articles was that the counsellor would be from mainstream culture and that they needed to prepare to work effectively with people from different cultural backgrounds. With the exception of Mason Durie,

the authors appeared to be from within mainstream culture. It is also significant that the articles as a group were calling for ‘multi-’ or ‘cross-’ cultural sensitivity which distinguishes them from more political calls in the broader Treaty of Waitangi literature for biculturalism, tino rangatiratanga, Māori sovereignty.

At the 1987 national conference a paper titled: “The current state of counselling in a multi-cultural society,” (Hermansson, 1999, p. 89) was presented. An outcome of this presentation was a specific recommendation “that time be provided at each Conference for ongoing consideration of bi-cultural and multi-cultural issues”. This was supported by the association’s AGM (Hermansson, 1999, p.89). Cultural issues were becoming more prominent in the organisation’s national meetings. This paper put the question of appropriately framing bi-cultural and multi-cultural counselling on the organisation’s formal agenda.

This move to a more political focus was furthered by a journal article: “Taha Māori in counsellor and psychotherapy university training programmes” (Abbott & Durie, 1987), which called into question the content of training programmes. The authors analysed the content of counselling, psychotherapy, psychology and social work programmes and recommended that a Māori dimension be included in all training programmes and that Māori staff be available to teach these aspects. The authors noted the questions posed by some educators about the need to respond to a broad range of cultures and recommended the approach taken in Puaoteata-tu, the recently published report into racism in the Department of Social Welfare (Department of Social Welfare, 1988), that multiculturalism be approached through biculturalism. It was suggested that counsellors who could not respond appropriately to Māori clients would not be able to respond appropriately to other cultural groups. A later journal article argued that Māori counselling needed to be seen in an historical, political, socio-economic and cultural framework (Tutua-Nathan, 1989). This was an advancement of the Treaty of Waitangi agenda which argued that it would be insufficient to recognise a Māori dimension without also recognising the effects of colonisation on Māori society, and especially the subordinate place Māori were assigned in this society by nineteenth and twentieth century governments. Tutua-Nathan argued it would be inappropriate to work with Māori without the ability to see and respond

appropriately in terms of these frameworks. This increased politicisation of bicultural issues was to continue in the next decade.

1990 was a significant year for Aotearoa New Zealand marking 150 years since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Waikato branch of NZCGA had been asked to organise the 1990 conference and decided that the conference needed to address the significance of this sesqui-centenary. Tuti Aranui, the only Māori member active in the Waikato branch, and a committee from the branch organised a conference at Papa o te Aroha marae in Tokoroa. I convened the organising committee as the National Executive member representing the region. The conference had as a theme a Māori whakatauki or proverb: “Nau te rourou, naku te rourou, ka ora te iwi – From your basket and my basket flows the wellspring for all”. A secondary theme described it as “a conference for counsellors exploring partnership”. Some of the presentations in the conference and some responses to them were recorded in the 1990 issue of the “New Zealand Association of Counsellors’ Journal,” retitled to mark the change of name indicated above. In the editorial of that issue the editor wrote very powerfully and politically about the work ahead for counsellors and the society in general:

It is clear now that those of us who are placed in the mainstream of the dominant social group in Aotearoa – Pākehā men- are the ones for whom the issues addressed here are the most fundamentally developmental. They are about our holding power – often unconsciously; about the ways in which we lock out and constrain the opportunities and energies of those who have minority status. Many of these are women and many are Māori. Pākehā men must, therefore, do most work. (Wadsworth, 1990, p. 2)

The tone is one of challenge from a senior male member of the association who is determined to put his message in front of his colleagues. He goes on:

Power can demean those who hold it. We as Pākehā men must acknowledge the rights of others to their uniqueness and learn to recognise and where possible remove obstacles before them. Those not in the mainstream need to be acknowledged, asked, heard, valued, and thus empowered. We need to be changed, to change ourselves, and thus to change the mainstream. (1990, p. 2)

Wadsworth is writing in a humanist voice. He suggests that power is a commodity held by the Pākehā males who must relinquish it if social justice is to be achieved. The suggestion is that if Pākehā men change sufficiently the problems he is outlining will be solved.

The first requirement of those who seek this sort of moral growth is to perceive that it is an issue for us. We must accept the challenge to grow. We must pay attention to how we apprehend our experiences: delaying long enough to examine the perspectives of those who see things differently. We must reflect on what it is that we are dimly hearing. We must actively examine the new meanings that this has for us, and intensify our moral commitment, to become different and act more morally. Empathy is not enough – there is that further process. The work cannot be done for us and we cannot ask more of those who are already giving. A commitment to change by Pākehā men is the prime requirement for progress towards biculturalism. We must be able to say “We have heard, we have examined ourselves, we will be different, and we will be more human”. (Wadsworth, 1990, p.2)

In this editorial Wadsworth gives a stronger commitment to honouring cultural difference and the responsibility of Pākehā or mainstream counsellors than many published at about that time. The 1990 conference had stimulated action. The organisation’s AGM was held during the conference. At this AGM significant steps were taken in an attempt to ensure Māori representation on the National Executive. A resolution was passed stating: “The Executive is entrusted to reflect the Māori perspective by ensuring Māori membership of two or more members of the Executive” (1990 AGM minutes quoted in Hermansson, 1999, p.103). This meeting was perhaps a high water mark in terms of inclusiveness by NZAC for some years. In the next five years no Māori members were co-opted onto the National Executive. In 1995 the 1990 resolution was amended to the effect that National Executive was entrusted to “reflect Māori perspective by encouraging or promoting dialogue with Māori, in particular Māori counsellors” (1995 AGM Minutes quoted in Hermansson, 1999, p.135). Unfortunately, the attempts in 1990 to bring forward a Māori voice onto the National Executive were not honoured

until 2003 when Vi Woolf became the first Māori Roopu representative on National Executive.

Despite the lack of follow through in terms of Māori representation on the Association's National Executive, the 1990's did bring positive developments.

In 1992 Tuti Aranui was elected as a life member of the Association, nominated by the Waikato branch both in recognition of her advocacy on behalf of Māori and the generosity of her commitment to offer her knowledge and wisdom to non-Māori counsellors.

In 1993 the Association held its conference in conjunction with the International Roundtable for the Advancement of Counselling (IRTAC). Pita Sharples, a nationally prominent leader of an urban marae in WestAuckland, who had addressed the 1990 conference returned to this conference as the leader of the Te Roopu Manutaki Cultural Group who led a very moving powhiri process during which three kete were called into the auditorium. The kete were gifted to IRTAC at the conclusion of the conference but were subsequently gifted back to NZAC and have become a significant taonga (treasure) of the Association. Since 1995 they have travelled to each NZAC national conference.

At the 1993 AGM the association committed itself to support Tuti Aranui's intention to convene a group of Māori healers. This group later became Te Whariki Tautoko, an organisation for Māori counsellors.

The 1993NZAC/IRTAC conference offered a total of 35 papers. Of these ten were culturally focussed. One indicated that it was specifically descriptive of a New Zealand context (Rich, 1993), however it presented culture as a generic concept quite unconnected from ethnicity.

A model for counselling Māori called Putangitangi (S. Davies, Elkington, & Winslade, 1993) which acknowledged different forms of cultural identification was published following the IRTAC/NZAC conference. This paper is significant because it is one of a relatively small number of indigenous models of counselling formally published in Aotearoa. The authors argued:

Assumptions that a Western model of counselling is inappropriate for Māori or assumptions that a traditional Māori model is appropriate for Māori both seem to ignore the complexity of cultural identification indicated by Putangitangi". (1993, p. 3)

This model offered a way to address Māori client issues which attended to the possibility that individual Māori may have significantly different ways or levels of cultural identification and that these need to be discerned and addressed

Bicultural and Treaty honouring responses.

Some of the most significant responses to the calls for biculturalism came not from the membership of NZAC itself but from allied professions such as Family Therapy.

The work of the Lower Hutt Family Centre has been very influential on this study. Beginning in the 1980s they gained an international profile for their work, publications and conference presentations. Their writing has been collected into a volume titled "Just Therapy" (Waldegrave, Tamasese, Tuhaka, & Campbell, 2003) and this is also the name by which they are known internationally.

Just Therapy charts the work of a trailblazing family therapy agency that became committed to working in a spirit of partnership between Māori, Pasifika and Pākehā staff where men were accountable for their work with men to the women staff and Pākehā were accountable to Māori and Pasifika staff (Tamasese & Waldegrave, 2003). The chapters in Just Therapy demonstrate how they worked to achieve their vision for a therapy that began from a position of close connection with its community and was committed to supporting clients in a quest for therapeutic outcomes which achieved social justice and which framed this in specifically cultural terms.

A question that Kiwi Tamasese and Charles Waldegrave framed about accountability closely matches my research question.

How do workers, women and men and people of different cultures in an agency or institution, protect against gender and cultural bias in their work on a day-to-day basis? Furthermore, how do they do this in societies where sexist and racist assumptions are an integral part of the upbringing and

way of life as they are in most modern industrial states? (Tamasese & Waldegrave, 2003, p. 82)

For the Just Therapy team this accountability was achieved both by the measures noted above and by the employment of staff able to work with the specific cultural group of the client. The issues are somewhat different in my study which focuses on Pākehā who may not have colleagues to refer clients of different ethnicity to and whose access to a means of cultural accountability may be less direct than that possible with clients.

In a paper written while she was National President of NZAC, Sue Webb (2000) surveyed the recent history and possible future of the counselling profession in Aotearoa and NZAC, its professional body. Noting that western models of counselling may not be appropriate for Māori especially in relation to a lack of fit between western individually focussed therapies and Māori belief systems. She writes:

Addressing this problem requires more than encouraging cultural sensitivities amongst existing counsellors. Pākehā counsellors need an available analysis of the broader political context in which their work sits. ... Help that is relevant to Māori clients and that does not contribute to social and cultural oppression requires a re-thinking of what we mean by counselling for Māori. (p. 307)

In these comments she echoes both Wadsworth (1990) and the Just Therapy team (Waldegrave et al., 2003), although she does not go as far as the latter have in terms of defining a culturally centred counselling practice.

Professor Mason Durie is renowned as a senior advocate for Māori mental health needs. He has published three times in the NZAC journal (Abbott & Durie, 1987; M. Durie, 1989, 2007) and has given keynote addresses at the 1987 and 1999 conferences. The 1999 keynote was published in the NZAC newsletter (M. Durie, 1999). His wider publishing history addresses Māori therapeutic and social needs in broad contexts (M. Durie, 1994, 1998, 2001). *Te Whare Tapa Wha* (M. Durie, 1994) has become a widely recognised assessment and intervention tool in

counsellor education and in practice. He followed Te Whare Tapa Wha with Paiheretia (M. Durie, 2001).

Paiheretia is an amalgam of several Māori approaches to counselling. It identifies cultural identity as an important element of mental health and using cultural pathways, suggests interventions that simultaneously facilitate access (to whānau, services, facilities), guide encounters (especially those that are linked to te ao Māori – the Māori world) and promote understanding. (M. Durie, 2005, p.7)

This presents counselling in a different mode than that produced by Western counselling. The work will not just be with an individual, but will involve the wider family, access to services and the initiation of relationships in the Māori world

In his most recent publication in the NZAC journal he describes how ‘marae encounters’ can assist counsellors to work therapeutically with Māori clients (M. Durie, 2007).

Essentially a marae is structured around an open space. At one end can be found the host group, at the other, the visitors. The physical space is necessary in order to explore relationships and establish boundaries, usually through the process of whaikōrero. According to the convention adopted at a particular marae, a series of speakers will use the space to variously challenge, inquire, connect and inform. If all goes well and there is mutual acceptance of the terms laid down on the marae, the space will be crossed so that both parties can assume close physical proximity. In effect the space has been necessary to clarify the terms under which the parties will come together, and to identify both the differences and the similarities between the groups. (M. Durie, 2007, pp. 2-3)

Durie describes nine elements or domains of marae encounters. These are: te marae ātea (domain of space), ngā manu kōrero (domain of time), koha (domain of the circle), Tangata Whenua (domains of mind and earth), tapu and noa (domain of safety), whaikōrero (metaphorical domains), mana and manaakitanga (domains of authority and generosity) tauparapara and karakia (domain of

interconnectedness) and tūhonohono (domain of synchronicity). The events in a formal marae process can be understood in the terms of what is understood as appropriate in relation to each of these domains. He contends that such encounters are “primarily about negotiating relationships within a context of kawa, a way of doing things that has both historic and contemporary significance” (2007, p. 2). Durie’s explanation of marae encounters supports pōwhiri as a metaphor for encounter and change through collaborative action.

Nick Drury (2007) has drawn on elements of Durie’s ‘marae encounters’ and Huata’s Pōwhiri Poutama model (cited in Drury, 2007, p. 12) to develop a sophisticated dialogue between the marae encounters as described by Huata and a range of western ideas about successful counselling engagements. The Pōwhiri Poutama model has seven steps. These are: mihi (establishment of a relationship), karakia (opening to the divine), whakapuaki (revealing), whakatangi (emotional shift or expression), whakarata (moment of physical contact or hongi), whakaora (restoring wholeness), whakaotinga (preparation for return). Drury discusses these concepts in the terms of western counselling theories. In so doing he draws together these ideas from two cultures in a rich dialogue that has relevance for the considerations of practice, which I was inviting the participants in this study to engage in.

Mason Durie also raises an important consideration for approaching marae based encounters with Māori when he cautions:

The fact that most Māori are not regularly involved in marae activities may reduce the extent to which observations can be generalised and applied to all Māori. At the same time it is also likely that within the wider whānau other members of the family may be more regularly involved, so that the marae cultural ethos is not entirely removed from the conscious and unconscious minds of less involved relatives. (M. Durie, 2007, p. 2).

This is a caution, which may need to be borne in mind if the principles of marae encounters or Pōwhiri Poutama, are applied by practitioners in marae, home or office settings. At the least there will be a variation in the degree of familiarity with “marae cultural ethos” between clients.

Both “marae encounters” and “Pōwhiri Poutama” can be viewed discursively. Clients who identify as Māori may be thinking in terms of these and experiencing position calls from these discourses as they seek to engage with a Pākehā counsellor. As Durie cautions, the counsellor needs to consider the extent to which their client lives in the terms of these discourses. A Pākehā counsellor seeking to work with Māori in the spirit of Treaty partnership would need some openness to these discursive resources.

Two books have been published with a focus on counselling issues among Pacific Island communities. They are ‘Counselling issues and South Pacific communities’ (Culbertson, 1997) and ‘Penina Uliuli: Contemporary challenges in Mental Health of Pacific Peoples’ (Culbertson, Agee, & Makasiale, 2007). Each offers a rich resource of insights into Pasifika communities, which would provide valuable foundational knowledge for counsellors engaging with these communities. Culbertson is a theologian and the first of these volumes has a strong Christian pastoral care flavour. In a diverse way, because of the breadth of the areas covered in them, the two Culbertson books also offer insights into the discursive frameworks of Pacific cultures. In addition, the Pasifika authors in *Penina Uliuli*, offer some deconstructions of aspects of their cultural experience post migration to Aotearoa which they have found problematic. For example being ‘afakasi – half caste – has varying effects ranging from being associated with privilege in Samoa to not quite fitting in the New Zealand Samoan communities, or to having to put away their Samoan side when engaging in the Pākehā world (Berking, Salumalo Fatialofa, Lupe, Skippis-Paterson, & Agee, 2007).

Te Wiata (2006), who acknowledges both Māori and Pākehā identities, joined with a group of Pākehā colleagues to research the impact of Māori cultural knowledge on their identity and counselling practice. She investigated an area of identity formation and its interconnection with practice closely adjacent to this project. Her participants spoke of the shifts that they had experienced in relations between Māori and Pākehā over time. Pākehā had become more open to incorporating Māori knowledge and elements of language into their life. Māori had moved through stages of challenging Pākehā use of language and other cultural elements as misappropriation to appreciation that these were being

valued. The participants in the study also reported that engagement in the study also produced changes in their practice which both they and their Māori clients appreciated. For Te Wiata, her exploration of the impact of the impact of Māori knowledges on Pākehā identity was conducted in parallel with an account of a growing enrichment of her Māori identity.

Harkness (2008) has researched her counselling practice with three Māori women. She records that she became interested in this investigation as she sought to understand why she had a relatively high proportion of Māori among her clientele. This research was the culmination of a Masters of Counselling degree completed at the University of Waikato. Her work both as counsellor and researcher is informed by social constructionist ideas as this project, so her work has a high degree of resonance with it. This is a very fine grained piece of work which focuses closely on one research interview with each of the clients and subsequent written and face to face follow up. A particular value of Harkness's work is that it contains reflections by her clients as well as by her. This contrasts with my project that focuses on counsellor accounts of practice. Her research shows one way in which Pākehā counselling practice with Māori that holds awareness of ethno-cultural difference as a central matter to be recognised by both counsellor and client can be effective practice and is thus resonant with this project.

One statement from one of Harkness's clients, Mihi, is very significant for this study. Mihi had experienced significant effects when Harkness had asked about her culture and identity in the course of their counselling relationship.

“Culture shock” was the term Mihi used to account for the “strangeness” of experiencing her culture and identity included and inquired about within the counselling discussions that we had engaged in together. Mihi had previously experienced counselling where her cultural identity was taken to be irrelevant. (Harkness, 2008, p. 108)

Mihi did not expect her Pākehā counsellor to enquire about culture both because other Pākehā counsellors had not enquired and because she did not always share these parts of herself in everyday life. That a Māori client was shocked about being asked about her culture and identity by a Pākehā counsellor, and that she

accepted and expected not to be so asked, illustrates one aspect of the challenges that I was interested in investigating with Pākehā counsellors. How can Pākehā counsellors work successfully with clients who might feel constrained about bringing significant aspects of their identity into counselling conversations?

Waters (2008) researched connections between home and school for a group of Tongan students in a Pākehā dominant girls secondary school. Through this research she learned the value of working with a consultant who was strongly connected into the Tongan community where the girls came from and became more aware of her positioning as Palangi, aspects of which she had been invisibly influenced by. She also learned from the ideas that the parents and students had about ways of bridging between the Tongan community and the school. An initiative from the consultation of creating a newsletter in Tongan was highly significant. Copies were sent back to Tonga and one parent decided to frame the newsletter and hang it on a wall. Again in the terms used by the Public Conversations Project, she researched and developed her practice as a school counsellor one relationship at a time.

In contrast to the rich guidance for culturally aware practice offered by Durie, the Just Therapy team, the two Culbertson volumes and Drury there have been some contributions which I have found less helpful. I have already commented on Addy's unproblematised importation of the North American concept of whiteness (Addy, 2008) and draw attention back to those comments. Lang (2005) suggests that all residents of New Zealand are either colonizers or colonized without allowing either for descent from both heritages or for the possibility that those with a 'colonizing' heritage may also have experienced forms of colonization. Secondly he takes a literal reading of postcolonial, seeking to limit this concept to an imagined future where colonialism has been fully defeated. This is both at odds with general understandings of postcolonialism and with understandings of the pervasiveness of discourse. More problematically Lang (2007, p. 33) has since written about what he describes as a "dialogical encounter of two cultures". I find this problematic because he describes a dialogue between himself, a Pākehā, and a Māori colleague where she shares cultural knowledge and he claims authorship while she is named as consultant. The relationship between them has been

problematized to some degree, however this problematisation has not in my opinion been sufficiently critical. In addition there is little guidance offered to a Pākehā reader about how to conduct cross-cultural relationships.

Hokowhitu (2007), writing in the *New Zealand Journal of Counselling*, invited counsellors to address a Treaty concern. His argument is that colonisation has significantly narrowed the range of ways in which Māori masculinity is able to be expressed. The centre of his argument is that two imaginary pillars namely “the humble Māoriman” and the “violent Māori man” have been “central to the construction of the narrow space from which the diversity of Māori masculinities has struggled to be liberated” (2007, p.63). His answer is to call Pākehā counsellors to understand Māori tikanga and be able to practice mihimhi with clients if they are to be effective in supporting Māori males to develop alternatives to identities contained in the ‘narrow space’ he has mapped. In effect he has restated the now well-established call to Pākehā counsellors to develop some competence in Tikanga and Te Reo (Abbot & Durie, 1987; Durie, 1989). He then goes on to ask that Pākehā counsellors offer Māori males space take up a broader and more satisfying range of identities. For my project I will re-interpret his geographic metaphor of a ‘narrow space’ as an effect of colonizing discourse. In Chapter 6 I will draw on this as one resource to assist in understanding the significance of shifts in practice which one participant, Ann, experienced through the time of her involvement in the research project.

Finally in this survey of the counselling literature I refer to a study that used a social constructionist frame to review counsellor education in Aotearoa New Zealand (Monk, 1988). Monk, concluded:

We need to be vigilant as a [counsellor educator] team as to how Eurocentric discourses impact on counselling participants regardless of what ethnic background. We also need to put more effort into teaching participants about multiplicity of identities including the negotiability of ethnic membership. (1998, p.151)

Following Monk’s argument, counsellor education and, by implication, counselling practice become increasingly complex enterprises. Monk’s thesis approaches the area of interest that I am defining here: the examination of

discursive relations in counselling practice. This was the conclusion of his thesis. He did not go on to examine practice as I am proposing here. One possible outcome of this study may be the offering of some understandings of the workings of discourse at the site of counselling practice to the practice community. This study on positioning is intended to develop understandings of the ways in which practitioners can seek to practice in away which might be described as post-colonial or perhaps as Treaty honouring.

Chapter 4: Preparing and describing a research method

A post-colonial research methodology

In exploring the traditions within which this project is located I have identified post-colonial and social constructionist theoretical positioning, a setting within the particular politics of the counselling profession in Aotearoa/New Zealand and an interest in the effects on the practice of a small group of counsellors of their positioning within dominant culture.

Educational researcher and theorist Patti Lather's work has informed all of the stages of this project. Here she provides a focus for this chapter where I outline method.

Given the inescapable incursion of values into human activity, Freire's dictum that there can be no neutral education is extended to practices of social inquiry. The inescapable political content of theories and methodologies becomes increasingly apparent. (Lather, 1992, p.90)

This is an avowedly political project. It was not intended to be neutral. I was seeking to use poststructural and postcolonial theory to inform an investigation into an area of practice and intended from the beginning that both methodology and method would support me to engage with this challenging area of social theory and professional practice with the intention of contributing to professional praxis.

The methodology for this project called upon both emancipatory and deconstructive research traditions that can be seen to sit closely within the post-colonial and social constructionist interests already discussed. It was constructed with an awareness of the constant risk that post-colonial projects will be seen simply in essentialised and binary terms. One significant stream of post-colonial practice focuses on the freeing of colonised peoples from an essentialised identity in terms chosen by the imperial power or from being the serviceable other of the privileged groups (Sampson, 1993b). This project is situated in another stream of post-colonial writing as it explores the possibilities open to persons who are

positioned as part of dominant culture and who seek to disrupt the effects of colonising discourse in their practice. But before I go further I consider the ways in which research has been implicated in practices of imperialism and colonisation. Then, I explore both emancipatory and deconstructive traditions to identify their contributions to this project.

Can a research methodology work against discourses of domination?

Indigenous writers (e.g. L. T. Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008) have extended the critique of imperial and colonial practices to critique the practices of research. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) write that research “is one of colonialism’s most sordid legacies” (p. 1). Referring to qualitative research’s anthropological stream these authors go on to state: “From the very beginning, qualitative research was implicated in a racist project” (p. 2). In writing this they are taking forward Said’s (1979) argument that the practices of colonisation, as I have previously noted, depend(ed) on the gathering and holding of knowledge of the ‘Orient’. In the face of this critique it is reasonable to ask if this research project can produce knowledge that works against colonial domination. Smith (1999) argues both for Kaupapa Māori research methods, that is methods grounded in Māori values and frameworks, and for research which respects Māori beliefs and values. There are also powerful arguments that researchers who seek to produce knowledge which impacts on Māori need to be accountable to Māori (L. T. Smith, 1999). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) while exposing the “sordid legacy” of research also asked contributors to that volume to offer suggestions about:

How do we move the current generation of critical, interpretive thought and inquiry beyond rage to progressive political action, to theory and method that connect politics, pedagogy and ethics to action in the world?
(p. x)

My answer to the question - “can a research methodology work against discourses of domination?” – is that it *can* insofar as the researcher is able to establish a clear ethical stance to take in to the research and is able to identify the practices and effects of dominant discourse and reduce the effects of these in their work.

An emancipatory tradition.

Post-colonial work takes an unashamed political, emancipatory position. Emancipation as a concept is strongly linked with the work of Friere (1972) who writes:

To surmount the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognise its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one that makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity. But the struggle to be more fully human has already begun in the authentic struggle to transform the situation. (p. 29)

Emancipation is not, I suggest, simply about the production of expanded possibilities for minority, marginalised or oppressed groups, important as these would be. Rather, 'emancipatory' projects involve complex interactions in the investigation of the conditions that produce colonial practices (and which reproduce them in postcolonial settings), along with the production of new possibilities. On these terms, this project might be seen as positioned within the emancipatory framework of postcolonial projects. This is not to suggest that the participants themselves are seen as in need of emancipation. Nor would I claim that their purpose is emancipatory for others. Rather that the project to which they are lending their efforts is conceived as part of that broad emancipatory framework. Indeed, Said suggested that:

Opposition to a dominant structure arises out of a perceived, perhaps even militant awareness on the part of individuals and groups outside and inside it that, for example, certain of its policies are wrong. (Said, 1993, p.240)

I also draw on Foucault who writes: "Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are but to refuse what we are" (Foucault, 1982, p.785). Pākehā counsellors can in their work resist the effects of dominant structure or discourse. The challenge from Wadsworth (1990) quoted earlier emphasised the need for male Pākehā counsellors in particular to be willing to change. Other references from the New Zealand counselling literature further established this challenge or have offered guidance for Pākehā counsellors as they seek to develop a Treaty of Waitangi honouring practice. This study highlighted ways in which counsellors

can work for change within their counselling practice through a focus on the discursive context of practice, an awareness of successive moments of subjectification and the navigation of position calls.

A deconstructive tradition

I have explored deconstruction in Chapter two as one of the philosophical traditions which shape this project. There I wrote that deconstruction implies a challenge to the apparent permanence of institutions, structures and texts as deconstructive practices are taken up in order to examine and identify unacknowledged effects of powerful discourses on both groups and individuals. In Chapter three I discussed a deconstruction of the Treaty of Waitangi. Thus deconstruction both informed the overall project and became an element of my research methodology. As I go on to outline I invited participants to both identify and deconstruct discourses that produced the research conversations. In that earlier exploration of deconstruction I noted that I read Derrida through Lather and Spivak's work. Lather writes:

Deconstruction is both a method to interrupt binary logic through practices of reversal and displacement, and an anti-method that is more than an ontological claim. (Lather, 2007, p. 5)

When the research participants and I sought to deconstruct discursive effects it was partly with the intention of being suspicious of the binary alternatives that position calls offer us. This suspicious intent was productive of new positionings coming forward that were not restrained by the dominant binary positionings that some participants experienced. The invitation to participants to deconstruct practice accounts was also a broader call to examine meaning as produced discursively and in relation to practice. The participants each had a familiarity with deconstruction as a practice of Narrative Therapy. In my invitation to them to join with me in engaging in deconstruction I did not offer any particular interpretation of this term. They brought their understandings of deconstruction to this task. As well as there being examples of personal, reflective deconstruction, which emerged, there were also examples of 'conversational' deconstruction. In the second face-to-face meeting in particular, they teased out meanings in relation to contexts, trafficking between their different work contexts in the interest of

greater understanding. The intentional shaping of the data generation activities that I designed invited an initial focus on explorations of practice identity and experience and then a shift into both discursive analysis and deconstruction.

Theorising a methodology

A methodology should match the chosen research question (Dodds & Hart, 2000; Kvale, 1996; Schostalk, 2002) and facilitate the search for the answers to that question. The methodology that I propose draws upon the broad social constructionist frame that I outlined earlier and which is constitutive the three methodologies which I now introduce: appreciative inquiry, praxis and discourse analysis. I will outline how each informed a methodology which was respectful of participants and was consciously located in a political context.

Appreciative Inquiry

Appreciative Inquiry (Bushe, 1998; Cooperrider & Srivasta, 1999; Ludema & Fry, 2008; Zandee & Cooperrider, 2008) is an attractive stance for discovering successful practices which already exist but which have not been fully valued. It has been used widely in community development and business settings. Bushe (1998, p.1) writes:

Appreciative inquiry is a form of action research that attempts to create new theories/ideas/images that aid in the developmental change of a system. The key data collection innovation of appreciative inquiry is the collection of people's stories of something at its best.

While Bushe (1998) locates appreciative inquiry as a form of action research what I bring of this methodology into this project is its particular focus is on noticing and emphasising successful practices. One motivation for this project was to seek stories which would exemplify the practice wisdom of senior practitioners and which might have value for students of counselling and social work.

Appreciative Inquiry is closely linked with social constructionism. Zandee and Cooperrider describe it as: "an answer to Gergen's daring invitation to heighten the 'generative capacity' of social science research" (2008, p. 192). For some

years my colleagues and I used Appreciative Inquiry as a pedagogical tool to encourage students to approach investigations of our teaching programme's Treaty-based practices by seeking first to identify worth rather than find deficit. We found Appreciative Inquiry a useful part of our pedagogy because it helps students to focus on positive developments rather than deficits, when a more familiar position for them when analysing practice situations was one of criticism and fault finding (A. Crocket, 2001). Zandee and Cooperrider (2008) state that: "An important premise of appreciative inquiry is that high quality inquiry depends of the presence of all participants in full voice" (p. 193). In this project an appreciative approach to enquiry does not seek to problematise practice of the participants nor the dilemmas brought by their clients. Rather, the critical focus is on the effects of discourse and positions on practice.

Research as Praxis;

Praxis-oriented research implies a commitment to critiquing the status quo and building a more just society (Lather, 1992, p.258). The use of praxis as a concept which provides a bridge between theory or ideology and practice can be traced back to Marxist teaching (Lather, 2007). The concept is also strongly associated with Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' (Freire, 1972; Kamberelis & Dimitraidis, 2005).

Freire's literacy programs were designed not so much to teach functional literacy as to raise people's critical consciousness (or *conscientization*) and to encourage them to engage in "praxis" or critical reflection inextricably linked to political action in the real world. Freire underscored the fact that praxis is never easy and always involves power struggles – often violent ones. (Kamberelis & Dimitraidis, 2005, p. 890)

In the context of this research the struggles can be expected to be those undertaken by counsellors with their clients to challenge the effects of colonising discourse both on moments of practice, but also to support those clients to be able to better challenge these effects in their own lives.

In the context of action research Denzin and Lincoln (2005) write:

Action researchers literally transform inquiry into praxis, or action. Research subjects become co-participants in the process of inquiry. Research becomes praxis – practical reflective, pragmatic action – directed to solving problems in the world. (p. 34).

Patti Lather has had a commitment to praxis through her academic career (Lather, 1986, 1992, 2007), but she has reviewed her reading of this concept over that time. In 1992 she was arguing that praxis implied the development of ‘emancipatory knowledge’ which as Lather writes: “increases awareness of the contradictions hidden or distorted by everyday assumptions” (1992, p. 259) and “directs attention to the possibilities for social transformation inherent in the present configuration of social processes” (p.259). Then and earlier she was also arguing that a significant issue in the framing of a praxis oriented project is the creation of the opportunity for the research process to allow participants to change by coming to know their situation in new ways (Lather, 1986, p.253). For Lather at this time, praxis research must involve a high level of reciprocity in which the research participants are able to engage in reflective exploration and in which the researcher is also self-disclosing (p.268).

In her more recent writing, Lather (2007) has problematised praxis. It was closely linked with Marxist ideas which she can no longer support: “salvation narratives, consciousness-raising, and a romance of the humanist subject and agency” (p. 107). The outcomes of her praxis work will no longer make such definitive claims. She mourns the “remainders and irremediable losses” (p. 107) of the Marxist reading of praxis. She seeks to place praxis under erasure and concludes:

This is a non-reductive praxis that calls out a promise, not of a new concept but of practice on a shifting ground that foregrounds the limits of the fixing, locating, defining and confining that is the work of the concept. This is a praxis that can survive the critique of Marxism, a praxis immanent in practices that helps us think not only *with* but *in* our actions. (p. 111)

Praxis now refers to an intention rather than a completed action. This is a post-Marxist praxis and it is partnered with an awareness of Derrida’s deconstruction

(Derrida, 1997; Lather, 2007; Spivak, 1998) and especially his idea of *différance*, of deferring any final definition of meaning and seeing how it differs from other words and their meanings. White writes:

Derrida's basic contention was that the meaning of a word, phrase or sentence is contingent on the words, phrases, or sentences surrounding it – that one can only attribute meaning to something by distinguishing the difference between it and everything else in its context. (2007, p. 210)

Deconstruction and *différance* challenge the binary effects of discourse (Lather, 2007) opening possibilities of both richer and finally indefinable meaning.

In this project, praxis, as shaped here by Lather, might work differently for the participants than for myself. As the participants attend to the shifting ground that is the discursive context of their practice in the research context there is the possibility of professional development and developments in their practice. For me as researcher the “shifting ground” is multi-layered. It includes this project and my practice within it, and in broader contexts my communication of the understandings that emerge from this project both to the students that I teach and into counsellor professional development.

Discourse analysis: seeking critical awareness of discourse?

[Discourse analysis] is a form of analysis that addresses the ways in which language is so structured as to produce sets of meanings, discourses, that operate independently of the intentions of speakers, or writers. (Parker, 1994, p.92)

Discourse analysis looks beyond the meanings intended by speakers in seeking to identify discursive effects that might otherwise remain concealed. In a research process, discourse analysis can happen at several stages. It can inform the various stages of preparation for research; it can be a task attempted in the data gathering and also a major focus in the data analysis. The approach I brought to discourse analysis was informed by ideas about deconstruction.

Mills (2004) offers three categories of discourse analysis which I describe next. The work planned in this project while it was intended to draw on elements of

these three approaches also differed significantly from them. The three approaches Mills describes are: firstly, a discourse analysis which is situated within linguistics; secondly a discourse analysis which is located in social psychology; and finally a discourse analysis situated in critical linguistics.

Discourse analytic linguists focus on language in use with an interest “in the function of particular items within the ongoing speech or text as a whole, rather than their meaning or interpretation in isolation from each other” (Mills, 2004, p. 139). Mills notes that this approach has been criticised for not attending to power relations between participants (2004, p. 141).

Mills cites Wetherell and Potter’s (1992) study of racist discourse in New Zealand as an example of discourse analytic work grounded in social psychology which attempted to identify the ways in which racist discourse insinuates itself into conversations where the speaker would not regard themselves as racist. For Mills, Wetherell and Potter’s approach is problematic because it “simply seeks to rephrase at a more general level elements of rhetorical structure which consistently appear within a discourse and which seem to define that discourse” (2004, p. 146).

Critical linguistic discourse analysis draws on Foucault more directly than the two previous approaches:

These linguists have therefore been concerned with inflecting Foucault’s analysis of discourse with a political concern with the effects of discourse; for example, the way that people are positioned into roles through discursive structures, the way that certain peoples’ knowledge is disqualified or is not taken seriously in contrast to authorised knowledge, and so on. In this way, critical linguists such as Fairclough can be seen to be providing working models and forms of practice from Foucault’s theoretical interventions, together with a description of the effects of discursive structures on individuals. (Mills, 2004, p. 149)

A strong resonance can be seen between this critical linguistic approach and the project I am describing here. However this project attempted active analysis of discourse by the participants in the project so I took some of Fairclough’s

methods and invited participants to apply them, if not live, then in reflexive response to the practice examples they brought into the research meetings.

In Wetherell and Potter's (1992) research of discourses of racism it appears that the interview subjects were not told the full intention of that research project. The data were generated in a manner that runs counter to the relational ethic that the project I proposed was to have at its centre. Such a practice of representation is one that has troubled post-modern researchers. Who gets to do the deconstruction? Is it the researcher, the participant in the research, or both the researcher and the participant? Waikato Counsellor Education programme staff offer this suggestion.

A deconstructive approach to this task in research ... invites us to engage with and interrogate the discursive context as part of the construction of knowledge. If this principle is held in mind then our research practice would not treat those who participate with us in the production of knowledge in a functional way as providers of data who have no voice worth hearing in making sense of the data. Rather we accord participants' agentive status in the research conversation as commentators, or even theorists through inviting them to make comment on the data. (K. Crocket, Drewery, McKenzie, Smith, & Winslade, 2004, p.64)

The collaborative deconstructive process I invoked was modelled on social constructionist counselling approaches which employ deconstruction as a key part of therapeutic conversations (Drewery & Winslade, 1997). The focus was to explore and deconstruct discourses that may have been calling participants into positions which were either helpful or unhelpful in their practice. At the same time as my focus was on the counsellor participants' practice the underlying concern for me as researcher was to enquire how Pākehā counselling practice might be shaped to support clients who identified as Māori or another ethnicity to achieve purposes of their choosing.

Hollway (1984) describes aspects of her doctoral research into 'gender difference and the production of subjectivity' which focussed on the degree to which three discourses, which she identifies as 'the male sexual drive discourse', 'the

have/hold discourse' and 'the permissive discourse', shaped the subjectivity of her research participants. She employed a Foucauldian discourse analysis approach. Extracts from her research data, which she included in the chapter referenced above, are conversations between individual participants and her as participant and researcher. Participants discussed their experience of sexuality and relationships in relation to the discourses that Hollway proposed. It would appear that as an outcome her participants came to know their experience in new discursive terms and in this her research offered direction to this study. This account of her research does not indicate whether she hoped or intended that her subjects would become able to consider later experience in discursive terms. She does not address reflexivity in this account of her work.

As I planned this project I decided to place a considerable emphasis on a collaborative deconstruction at the initial data analysis phase, asking participants to participate in naming discourses that we might identify as producing particular texts in the transcripts of the initial group interview and offering the counsellors particular subject positions. I also intended that once the participants were no longer actively involved that the collaborative relationship I set in place in the research meetings would continue to inform the analysis.

Evaluating methodology: Issues

We will never totally "get it right". Perfection is not a requisite for social science research, and the post-modernist doubt which we share leads us to believe that "getting it right" is a project best abandoned. (Lincoln, 1997, p.52)

In this section I will consider issues that directly affect the acceptance of the study in both academic and professional communities.

A purposive sample

This was a purposive sample. Kvale (1996) warns potential researchers repeatedly that in order to make their projects manageable they should not interview too many informants. I approached six potential participants, five accepted the invitation to join the project. The sixth declined because he was leaving to travel overseas during the research period. I approached graduates of the Waikato

Master in Counselling degree who identified as Pākehā. All had significant professional experience.

Ethical considerations

Whatever benefits the interpretive (qualitative) turn has brought, an ethically simpler life for researchers is not among them. (Howe & Moses, 1999, p.44)

A poststructuralist emancipatory purpose both derives from and calls for a relational ethic. At the very least the ethical stance taken in a research project needs to ensure that the potential benefits outweigh any possible harm that may result.

A relational view of ethics (Howe & Moses, 1999) begins with “a concern for sustaining human relationships” (Brickhouse, 1992, p. 98). Other ethical principles are secondary to the relational ethic.

Applying a relational ethical stance in my research project I considered the positions that my participants would occupy before, during and after the research process. I gained informed consent using a document that had been approved as part of the University’s ethical approval of this project. Informed consent and privacy have been primary considerations throughout the project. From the outset I knew that issues of informed consent would need ongoing attention. At the end of the second online reflection process I proposed the ways I wished to act to protect the identity of the participants and those of their clients whose stories were in some way represented in this thesis.

Each participant was invited to choose a pseudonym for him or herself. Where it seemed important to the narrative to name a client a pseudonym was also chosen for the client. Precise locations were not identified for the participants’ places of work. Employing organisations were not identified although there was a broad indication of type of organisation. Each participant approved this final set of anonymising strategies.

The theoretical and methodological traditions that inform and locate this project have been introduced and explored. I now move to outline the proposed method

for this postcolonial project; a method which is consistent with the post-colonial focus and ethical stance that I have outlined above

Describing methods

The project has a clear research question and has been situated within research traditions. I will now describe the specific methods employed for data collection and analysis.

Structured conversations: a data generation and analysis tool

I did not find it easy to identify a data generation strategy that fit best with the aims of this project. I wanted an approach that in Narrative Therapy terms decentred me as researcher and centred the participants. I came to the realisation that a structured conversations pedagogy that I was developing experience with had significant potential for research as well as teaching. The primary data generation and analysis method that I adopted is based closely on the Public Conversations model (Becker, Chasin, Chasin, Herzig, & Roth, 1995).

This model was developed by a group of family therapists in North America who sought to apply their therapeutic skills in seeking to increase dialogue between groups involved in contentious issues. Since 1989 they have been known as the Public Conversations Project. Their approach involves a careful structuring of conversations conducted in order to promote openness to dialogue within a group gathered to discuss a contentious issue. Although the name of the approach suggests a conversation held in public, the original intention of the project was to structure conversations first held in private in an endeavour to change the nature of public debate about contentious issues from acrimony to dialogue. They have had an active commitment to maintaining and developing this approach by as evidenced by a regularly updated website (Public conversations project, nd).

Roth has noted they have not engaged in research.

We haven't done any formal research, nor do we plan to. We hope that somebody else will. (Roth, 1993)

The research that Roth was hoping might happen was most likely research into the efficacy of their approach to developing community dialogue. While that research

has still not happened or been published the approach has been widely acclaimed. Hunzer (2008), writes of the value of the model in formal educational settings for encouraging dialogue. The Public Conversations model has been termed a “touchstone resource” (Gergen, McNamee, & Barrett, 2001, p. 686) in the development of transformative dialogue. However, both Hunzer and Gergen et al treat this as a strategy rather than a research method. I have not found evidence of other authors considering the application of a Public Conversations framework in research settings. I have not found published evidence of its use in research.

My interest in drawing on the Public Conversations approach arose from my experience of significant increases in cross-cultural understanding between students once my colleagues and I introduced this into our pedagogy for Treaty of Waitangi classes with counselling and social work students. My changed teaching experience led me to realise that this approach was highly successful in generating thoughtful, open conversations where disclosure, listening and dialogue were shaped by an already disclosed meeting structure.

Structured conversations based on the Public Conversations model bear similarities to interviewing as a data collection tool insofar as the participants respond to planned questions. Where this tool differed significantly from traditional interviewing was that my focus would be to facilitate a conversation that would flow between the participants without my direct intervention apart from framing the questions, introducing the discussion process and ensuring that the proposed process is adhered to. Writing about interviewing, Kvale states that “the interviewer is the instrument” (1996, p.105). In this project the data collection and shared analysis frameworks that I developed were the means of inquiry and I was instrumental in setting the process in motion. Taking a poststructuralist reading of Kvale I understood that my subjectivity would shape the research. I intended that this process would put the participants at the centre of the data gathering process.

This approach closely fits the appellation of focus group. Kamberelis and Dimitriadis argue that:

..focus groups offer unique insights into the possibilities of or for critical inquiry as a deliberative, dialogic, and democratic practice that is always already engaged in and with real-world problems and asymmetries in the distribution of economic and social capital. (2005, p. 887)

Kamberelis and Dimitriadis consider focus groups in three contexts, pedagogical, political and research and examples they offer display strong resonance with this project. The first context is Friereian pedagogy (Freire, 1972), the second is feminist consciousness raising and the third context is research where one of the examples is Lather and Smithies' (1997) work with a group of HIV positive women. The echoes of Friereian liberation pedagogy and feminist consciousness raising could be heard in the data generation phases. Anti-racist training, or 'Treaty work' as it has become known latterly in Aotearoa New Zealand, is strongly influenced by Friereian pedagogy; my involvement in Treaty education was a motivation for this project. Four participants were to describe personal experiences of this engaging in Treaty work. Three of the four women participants spoke of their involvements in second wave feminism and the male participant also spoke of the influence of feminism on his adult identity development.

I knew as I entered the data generation phase that I had a method that centred the participants, and offered a group of previously unconnected professional colleagues a foundation for significant exploratory conversations. I expected that the public conversations/focus group format would produce rich conversations. Like Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2005) I expected benefits to come from the flow of conversation:

...because of their synergistic potentials, focus groups often produce data that are seldom produced through individual interviewing and that result in especially powerful interpretive insights. "Real-world" problems cannot be solved by individuals alone; instead they require rich and complex funds of communal knowledge and practice. (p. 903)

However, I did not appreciate until I began a more reflective consideration of the texts, which were produced in these meetings, that these focus group/public conversations provided an ideal context for observing particular discursive

effects. I am referring to the ways that what I later discuss as discourses of silencing could be seen as sprinkled through the texts voiced by several participants, something that would not have been so easily evident if I had adopted an interview approach.

Online reflections

I wanted to create a research process that would invite the maximum participation from the participants with the least disruption to their busy lives. I have familiarity with online teaching systems both as student and teacher. I knew that the counsellors I would invite were likely to have had experience as online learners. Thus I decided to follow each meeting with an online reflection process. While the questions used in the face-to-face meetings were included in my proposal, only the intention of the online reflections was described in my proposal. The questions that shaped the online reflections were shaped as I responded to specific themes that emerged in the meetings that preceded them.

Producing a data analysis.

I planned that this project would incorporate a shared analysis process in the data generation stages and further analysis conducted only by myself as researcher. In describing “method” as a series of elements I may be inviting the separation of elements of the research process into ‘parts’. This separation for the purpose of demonstrating that the method addresses all relevant factors opens the possibility that each part may appear to have an existence that is separate within the whole project. This is not my intention. Each element of the research project needs to be considered as part of the overall design and may not occur only in a separate stage.

One form of analysis was planned to occur in the face-to-face meetings where I invited participants to focus on particular aspects of the research conversations as they emerged. I was inviting exploration of “those areas where [a participant] perceives gaps, contradictions and difficulties” (Burman, 1994, p.51). For Burman, this is one strength of an interviewing process that I wanted to bring forward in the research meeting context. This invitation was present throughout the research meetings both face-to face and online.

In relation to the later analysis stage the first question would be: *what was to be analysed?* The face-to-face meetings would be transcribed already, checked for accuracy and already subject to a shared analysis. The online reflections would become transcriptions that were immediately available for analysis. It would largely be the transcriptions from these two face-to-face meetings and two online reflections that would be analysed although my impressions would also contribute to the overall analysis. Burman asserts that transcripts represent “a key stopping point on the road of progressive removal from encounter, to aural representation (on tape), to written representation; and.. [are]. therefore a selective/constructive representation” (Burman, 1994, p.57). The data for analysis is different than the face-to-face meeting. It is simply not possible to capture all of a research meeting.

The shift to the later data analysis phase would be without the embodied presence of the participants. However this does not mean they would be fully excluded; respondent checking on transcripts, requests for specific clarification and requests for feedback on analyses would keep them involved. However it is clear that the final responsibility for the project including the final analyses would be mine.

The post interview analysis would involve several stages informed by Kvale’s work (1996, pp. 190-201). Firstly the data would need to be prepared and clarified through the transcribing process. Secondly, analysis would involve developing the meaning of the data through condensation, categorisation, narrative structuring (or seeking to bring out a coherent story from the interviews), and interpretation of meaning and a critical focus on discursive effects, especially position calls and the deconstruction of discourses.

The research method in action

In this section I describe how the process that I had planned worked in practice. My involvement in the Doctor in Education programme has spanned a decade. I entered this programme seeking to both resource myself as a teacher in social practice education and to produce resources for students who are seeking to enter fields of social practice. In order to support a long term goal of creating resources to support student learning I had decided to seek the involvement of senior counselling practitioners as participants in this research project which bring this Doctor in Education programme to completion. I completed part one of the

programme by the end of 2004 with the proposal for this research project being the final paper. Once I had completed part one I decided I needed to reconsider my commitment to this project within the context of my work life. I then decided to put this project on hold and explored new work possibilities. Three years later I decided the time was right to re-engage with the project. The award of a doctoral scholarship by the University of Waikato offered me the privilege of full-time study; my employer supported me reducing my hours of work to make my study goals realistic. I had met the School of Education's requirements for ethical approval before I put my enrolment on hold so when I met with my supervisors in early 2008 we were in the unusual position of me needing to acquaint them with this project and needing to reacquaint myself with it too - and plan to begin data generation as soon as possible.

I had a reasonable degree of confidence that the research plan would support an ethos of reciprocity because it was based on a group facilitation approach I was familiar with. Meeting with all the participants together was designed to generate rich data for the research project and offer participants a professionally relevant contribution to their own lives. The following chapters will show that both of these objectives were achieved successfully.

Invitations to participants

I consulted with staff who teach in the University of Waikato Counsellor Education Programme to identify possible participants. With their assistance I identified six Masters in Counselling graduates to approach. I contacted each by phone six weeks before the proposed date of the initial meeting to begin a process of invitation before moving towards informed consent. Five were interested to consider involvement in the project. The sixth declined only because he was leaving to travel overseas. As each invitee agreed to engage in the process of seeking information with a view to consent I sent them a copy of the document "Information for participants" which formed part of the application for ethical approval for this project. All the remaining five invitees chose to participate in the programme.

Preparatory phone calls

Once each potential participant had been able to consider the information pack that I had sent them I initiated a second phone conversation in which I could answer any questions they had. All the five potential participants were happy to commit to being involved. The date for the first meeting was negotiated to be in a week where the secondary school holidays and a university mid-semester break coincided. This would be a time when I had no teaching commitments, two of the participants who worked as school counsellors would have fewer constraints on their time and the audiovisual resources of the university would not be in demand.

First research group meeting

The data generation process began with the first focus group meeting. This was a three-hour meeting and was audio and videotaped. One participant, John, was unable to attend this meeting so I met with him prior to the meeting where I videoed his responses to the structuring questions. At the appropriate point in the first two stages of the meeting we paused to watch and listen to John's responses. Following this meeting I again met with John and we viewed a video of the group meeting and he was able to respond to the discussion among the four participants who were present. John's responses were made available to the group when I sent them the transcript of the first meeting. John found this introduction to the process somewhat challenging. He would have preferred to join with the group in discussion rather than being interviewed and subsequently watching the first meeting without the possibility of joining in.

This first group meeting generated the initial data that was to be offered for group analysis in both the subsequent online reflection and the second group meeting. It was my intention to participate in this group only as researcher and facilitator. Particularly in this first meeting I did not want to position myself as participant. There were a number of reasons for this. As I mentioned above I wanted access to experience beyond my own and as a matter of research design I did not want to be imposing my ideas on the group. In practical terms I also knew that I would have enough to attend to as facilitator and recording technician.

I used a structured group dialogue process closely based on the Public Conversations model (Becker et al., 1995). This process has three phases. The

first two phases operated within a very controlled structure. In these phases each participant was invited to respond to questions that invited them to explore their experiences as counsellors who are identified with dominant culture in counselling relationships with clients who are not so identified. This occurred in two uninterrupted rounds of the group. As the group gathered for the first meeting I realised that I needed to provide an opportunity for the participants to introduce themselves so I allowed more time in the first round to accommodate this. The effect of a personal introduction combined with the first question, which focused on life experience and identity, was to enrich the personal identity accounts that each participant offered. Data from these introductions form the first part of Chapter two. As I had anticipated the participants were quickly drawn in to a spirit of respectful listening. The first two phases offered the participants the opportunity to speak without interruption and as listeners to be free from calls to respond to others' comments. The third phase offered the opportunity for a more spontaneous conversation where participants drew connections between the matters introduced in the first two rounds. The participants who had all chosen to participate with a clear understanding of the purpose and process also appreciated the rare opportunity which participation offered them as Pākehā practitioners to discuss interests and concerns about practising with a Pākehā identity within the cultural politics of current practice.

This meeting generated a significant amount of very valuable data. Selected identity and practice accounts from this meeting comprise the greater part of the data discussed in chapter 5 '*What does it mean to be Pākehā and a counsellor?*' which immediately follows this chapter.

The questions that structured the first meeting follow.

Table 1: Questions that structured the first meeting

Question for the first round.

Purpose: To invite participants to connect their response to the current situation with their own personal experience

Can you tell us something about your life experience or current situation that will help us to understand why you might be willing to signify yourself as Pakeha or from a similar dominant cultural position?

Question for the second round

Purposes: To encourage participants to:

- reflect on aspects of their own views that they may not express as readily as their usual views; and
- reveal fresh information about complex thinking that may be fodder for connections across different views and new perspectives.

What are your views, hopes, and fears regarding practising with an awareness of your 'dominant cultural identity'? What is the "heart of the matter" for you?

A connected conversation

Now we will contribute to a connected conversation:

We are now at the point in our time together when you can talk more freely. As we move into this less structured time, it's important to remember why we are here: not to debate or persuade but to speak with sincerity, to listen with open heartedness and resilience, to reflect on our own views, and to seek understanding of other views.

○ **Note a point of learning.**

Have you learned something that stirred fresh thoughts or feelings?

○ **Pick up and weave a thread**

Has an interesting theme or idea emerged that you'd like to add to?

○ **Clarify differences**

Have you heard something you disagreed with? If so, first check to see if you understood it correctly. Then say what was unsettling to you about what you heard and why

○ **Ask a question**

Is there something someone said that you would like to understand better? If you ask a question be sure that it reflects genuine curiosity and is not a challenge in disguise.

Producing transcripts

I was conscious of the need to ensure the content of the face-to-face meetings was recorded in a fail-safe process. Following discussions with the Information Technology Service of the University I decided to create both audio and video recordings of these meetings. The digital audio files were sent to a transcription service, which produced a tabulated transcript, that: numbered each 'speech', identified each speaker and separated each speech. Examples drawn from the transcripts can be seen in the appendices.

Once I received the transcript I checked it firstly against the sound file and then parts, which I still could not decipher, I checked against the video recordings. Once I had a transcript that I was confident was as accurate as I could make it I sent each participant a paper copy of the transcript asking them to confirm accuracy. Each participant sent me a small number of minor editorial amendments that I then incorporated to create a final transcript. There were perhaps 30 words out of the 21,000 words spoken in each group meeting that I was not able to resolve.

Shared analysis and deconstruction of data

Approximately two months after the first meeting at about the time that the transcripts were sent out for checking a secure website was opened for the participants to access for three purposes: firstly, to offer edits to the transcript and confirm accuracy of the transcript; secondly to invite reflection on aspects of the first meeting; thirdly to maintain this research community.

On the next page is the invitation to join the online discussion. I was able to use this phase to begin the intended shift of focus from practice accounts to the discourses that produce practice. This discussion also invited the participants to reflect more on the discursive context of their practice, particularly the aspects that they had shared in the first meeting.

Without exception the data generated here was highly valuable. However, I was initially a little disappointed with the online process, as the potential for discussion between participants was not realised to the extent I had hoped for. I came to realise that all of the participants are busy professionals. It was easier for them to gift their time in the two face-to-face meetings than in the online

environment, which had to compete with their day-to-day life. The contributions here were shorter however they were also very valuable and contributed to the reflexive experience that participants had with the research process, and as I will show later, which reflexivity contributed both to the richness of the research data we generated but also to developments in practice and practitioner identity. Extracts from these postings are included in the practice accounts in Chapter 5 and 6. Appendix 5 contains the complete data set for the account '*Janet: How hard it was for her and for me*' which is in Chapter 5. This appendix clearly identifies where each transcript used in this account came in the sequence of data – in this case the first meeting and then both online reflections.

This online discussion both linked the first and second research group meetings and encouraged participants to respond reflexively to the issues that had been raised in the first meeting. For example, Marie raised an issue about 'being silenced' in the first meeting and in the online discussion responded to my invitation to reflect on "discourse and discursive positioning in specific instances of your practice" by reflecting on this and then her ongoing reflexivity in relation to this was also a significant focus for her in the second research meeting (Chapter 6: *Marie: analysing the discursive context of 'silencing'*).

The invitation to the online discussion follows.

Table 2: Invitation to join an online discussion

I find the idea of discourse inviting, but also elusive and slippery. From your your understanding of discourse I'm inviting your comments on discourses which shape counselling practice.

It might be useful to acknowledge discourses which shape counselling relationships with clients of any ethnicity and then seek to identify others specific to working with Māori and other clients who are not part of any dominant group.

* For example we might agree that discourses which shape counselling practice include:

- Personal responsibility
- Professional responsibility
- Gender expectations
- Counselling theories
- Psychology
- Organisational discourse , etc

* And each discourse offers us or calls us into positions which may conflict with other discursive position calls

Ann spoke about her concerns for working with young Māori male and I think to a lesser extent young Māori female students.

I would be interested for each of you to consider discourse and discursive positioning in specific instances of your practice.

Second research group meeting

The second meeting was 11 weeks after the first meeting and followed on from the first online discussion. This meeting was also structured by questions framed with reference to the Public Conversations model. My intention for this meeting was to focus on the data gathered both in the first meeting and via the project website and to critically examine the discursive context of the meeting and the identity and practice stories that were shared in that meeting.

By the time of the second meeting I had begun to position myself differently as the facilitator of this research project. I still wished to be decentred, largely relying on the previously notified questions as the structure for the meeting. I was now more comfortable intervening in the process with some supplementary questions that I had developed in conversations with my supervisors. I had begun

to develop greater confidence as a researcher as the high quality of the research data began to become apparent.

As the second meeting began it appeared that the participants found the task of considering discourse more challenging than sharing identity and practice accounts. I include here some comments to illustrate the way the second meeting began in order to indicate the significantly greater sense of challenge that the participants experienced in engaging with the purpose of this meeting in comparison with the first meeting.

Whereas in the first meeting there was no hesitation in offering to speak of about identity, in the first round of the second meeting there was a long pause before Ann offered a response to the first question. In this pause one participant indicated that she was not going to speak first, there was general laughter and then when Ann started to speak she wanted to link her comments to this silence. I relate this difference to the significant shift in purpose between the first and second meetings; identity stories and hopes and fears for practice were more easily accessible than beginning to consider the discursive context of their practice. Another possible reading of this reluctance to start the conversation might be that the questions could also be read as an invitation to critique the research process or me as researcher. However this reading is not supported by the responses once the conversation was underway. Ann opened by saying:

You know I think the reluctance to even start I think is probably what I want to comment on. To be involved in this [research] has .. really stimulated a lot of thinking which has been good - and - hard. You know hard to go back to...thinking...underneath what's happening I try but I don't often get there.

For Ann, discourse and the Foucauldian ideas about discourse are part of what lies “underneath” her practice as a narrative therapist. Narrative therapy has a theoretical base in a Foucauldian view of discourse as well as social constructionist understandings about identity as being inscribed in stories of and about persons’ lives. The therapeutic practices that Michael White and David Epston (White & Epston, 1990) developed are based on these theoretical bases. Though all of these practitioners had learned both the practice and the theory of

Narrative Therapy, four of the five had graduated between seven and 15 years earlier and so now had less regular contact engagement in discussions about the theory base. Their day-to-day work involved the practices of narrative therapy more than the Foucauldian and social constructionist theory on which it is founded.

Janet said:

One of the useful things has been just to raise the questions again of: “What is a discourse?” You know I’ve forgotten. “What are we talking about here?” and to take it to it to supervision ...

Janet also mentioned a sense of ‘loss’ at no longer being closely involved in thinking about the theoretical building blocks of narrative therapy; her involvement in this research reminded her of the value of a theoretical focus.

In response to the second question, which invited reflection about the discourses that shaped the first meeting and the positionings associated with those, Janet noted that it asked her to think outside her normal way of thinking, whether in her work, family or community. She considered that it was positioning her “to be reflective and thoughtful in a way that I don’t normally have time for”.

John noted that he had been open to the invitation to join the research and had found responding to questions about his identity and its influence on practice harder than he had anticipated.

[I]n terms of position call, part of that might be that a place of uncertainty, a sense of standing in a place that where there is some vulnerability .. and part of that being aware of...being a part of, [or] being positioned within a dominant culture whatever that means, the normative culture. And...being presented with these questions - in some ways they’re intellectually quite challenging, but in other ways they’re also quite emotionally challenging I s’pose, because they .. unsettl[e]. That there is a sense of challenge in there for me as well about: “What [am I] doing you know? How [am I] responding to these important issues?”- in the work that I do.

John is indicating that the questions invited him into reflexivity while he is also identifying the ‘challenging’ experience of his engagement in the research process as a positioning and in doing so is engaging with the theory of discursive positioning. The structuring questions for this second meeting invited participant re-examinations of the data from the first meeting in ways which brought forward greater richness and complexity.

This meeting also generated significantly valuable data. Most of the data in Chapter 6 ‘*Conversations about discourse, positioning and narrative therapy*’ originated in this meeting with some of these accounts also incorporating material from the online phases. These themes or accounts developed a greater richness as participants reflected on aspects that they had shared in an earlier phase and some of these reflections were evidence of developments in their practice. Some other practice accounts, which were shared in this meeting, are discussed in Chapter 5.

In this second research meeting the five participants and I began a process of discourse analysis and deconstruction of accounts of practice. Some of this work was more fully realised in the final online phase, however this meeting also generated discussions that were cooperative deconstructions of practice concerns shared by the participants.

The questions which structured the second meeting follow.

Table 3: Questions that structured the second meeting

Question for the first round.

*Purpose:*To invite participants to connect their response to the current situation with their own personal experience

Can you tell us something about your responses to the research process?
What has it meant to you to participate in this process so far?

Question for the second round

*Purposes:*To encourage participants to: reflect on aspects of their own views that they may not express as readily as their usual views; and reveal fresh information about complex thinking that may be fodder for connections across different views and new perspectives.

What are your thoughts about the discourses which produced the conversation in the first meeting? How do you respond to any position calls you experience as coming from these discourses?

A connected conversation

Now we will contribute to a connected conversation:

We are now at the point in our time together when you can talk more freely. As we move into this less structured time, it's important to remember why we are here: not to debate or persuade but to speak with sincerity, to listen with open heartedness and resilience, to reflect on our own views, and to seek understanding of other views.

Producing transcripts

The second meeting was transcribed and made available to participants in the same way as happened after the first meeting.

Final online discussion/reflection

As I prepared for the final reflection I had accepted that this was more likely to be a personal reflection which was shared in the space open to the participants rather than a discussion. However I also realised that this was the only opportunity that I had to seek clarification about accounts in the transcripts that I recognised as having significant potential within the thesis or to invite further reflection about an issue which a particular participant had brought forward and problematised. So in the final reflection I offered each participant a specific focus drawn from their input to the whole process for their consideration. These were invitations to consider discourse and positioning in relation to one practice account that the participant had shared. Appendix 5 contains one of these invitations, which was directed to “Janet” to invite her to reflect further on her work with “Maraea”. In this second online phase I also received edits and affirmations of accuracy of the transcript. Finally I shared my proposals for protecting the identity of the participants, their agencies and their clients. The most obvious step for disguising the identity of participants was to use a pseudonym that they were able to choose. I have also used pseudonyms for two clients to make the telling of those practice accounts easier. There were some specific proposals for each participant designed to protect identities in the context of the accounts that they had shared. All the participants agreed to these proposals. In this final reflection I recognised that for two participants a face-to-face interview was more likely to happen than seeking to persist with the online process.

Further discourse analysis and deconstruction

Once the on-line process was completed we had reached the stage where the participants were no longer actively involved, although I have had further email contact about some issues. I have kept in contact with the participants to let them know how the research has progressed and I have shared conference presentations that drew on aspects of the research data.

Once I had farewelled the participants I continued to seek to understand the data and progressively identified more and more examples of discourse aware practice.

Closing reflection on this research method

I was both warmly appreciative of the commitment that the participants offered this project and delighted with the way that the process that I had planned several years earlier had worked in practice. I have come to see that the particular research process that I designed contributed significantly to success of this project, and while inspired by the work of the Public Conversations Project, was significantly shaped as I developed a four stage process to draw participants into engagement with the discourses which both produced them as counsellor subjects and which produced their practice. In Chapter 7, I discuss in more depth the potential that this method offers for realising an ambitious research goal in a compact and effective process.

In the next chapter I turn to consider the accounts of identity and practice which were largely produced in response to the shaping questions for the first meeting and then in the following chapter I describe the work which participants engaged in to understand the discursive context of their practice.

Chapter 5: What does it mean to be Pākehā and a counsellor?

Stories of developing a Pākehā identity

Pākehā identity stories.

The five participants in this study were invited into the study as counsellors who acknowledged an identity as Pākehā – or as a member of the dominant culture in Aotearoa New Zealand and who were prepared to explore the implications of this identity for their practice. Counsellors who are members of NZAC also make an ethical commitment to understand “the meaning and implications of the Treaty of Waitangi for their work” (NZAC, 2002, p. 25). I have argued that adoption of a Pākehā identity is a political act that involves an awareness of New Zealand’s colonial history and a commitment to act in ways that address the negative effects of that history. I have also argued following Butler (1997), Davies (2006) and White (1990) that identity develops over time as individual moments of subjectification are gathered into a narrative.

The two questions in the first research meeting invited participants to explore the implications for their practice of their acknowledgement of a Pākehā identity. These questions are on p115.

Here I am going to trace the stories shared by each participant in turn as accounts of ongoing identity development. Following that I will discuss their responses to the second question that asked how they practiced in view of their dominant cultural identity. John, Lesley, Marie, Ann and Janet while sharing similar values and commitments had each come to take up their own Pākehā identity in quite different ways. Each of the five told stories which indicated that they had been taking up the responsibilities of ‘partnership’ in the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi.

John

John is a school guidance counsellor who had previously worked as a counsellor in private practice for at least a decade. He charted the beginnings of his assumption of a Pākehā identity to an epiphany that came as a result of extensive overseas travel in his early 20s.

I'd grown up in the country, ... and had quite a protected, quite a conservative upbringing and when I went overseas it was a real eye opener for me. I had some experiences there that really got me thinking...and...to question a lot of the taken for granted stuff that I had grown up with.

On his return to New Zealand he began a process of action and learning which shaped his life – and his Pākehā identity. He initially worked as a community worker in an agency with a commitment to its neighbourhood. He enrolled in a social science degree and became involved in a Men's group. John was exposed to a process of consciousness raising about a range of social justice issues:

...and as part of that .. being quite challenged .. about myself as [a] middle class Pākehā male. At the same time I was thinking about gender stuff being male and...that was at times very personal in my relationship with my partner who has quite strong feminist ideas and also through the involvement with the men in the men's group and so that those ideas were there alongside these ones around my position as Pākehā .

In the 1980's John consciously involved himself in activities which supported him in developing his thinking about a range of social justice ideas as noted above and from this thinking and experience came commitments which shaped his personal life and his career – and his identity as Pākehā .

Lesley

Lesley works in two settings. She is a family therapist in a community agency and also works as a counsellor in a rehabilitation agency. In contrast to John's experience, Lesley remembered growing up in a family which had strong relationships with Māori and accompanying that an awareness of the significance that those Māori placed on their identity within Tainui². She remembered stories about challenges her mother had faced when her 'Pākehā' friends had told her that she should not publicly display friendship with Māori.

Lesley later came to face similar challenges herself. She described the cultural shock of entering nursing training and for the first time finding herself in a totally 'Pākehā' environment. She said:

² Tainui is the name for a major tribal grouping in the central North Island

...every single nurse was 'Pākehā' and I was the only one who identified herself as Pākehā. Everybody else said they were New Zealanders and I said yeah I was a New Zealander too but I was Pākehā New Zealander and I was seen as somebody who was trying to pull other people down by talking about the word Pākehā. This was in the late 60s.

Lesley's public stance as a Pākehā was not common in the 1960s. She found that the identity she had taken up positioned her outside the mainstream both in her nursing training and later.

Once she left nursing, had married and had young children she received anonymous phone calls warning her of the 'danger' of having Māori and Indian children visiting her home. This motivated her to work to understand New Zealand's colonial history which she did with a combination of study and reading authors such as Claudia Orange (1987) and Donna Awatere-Huata (1984).

Lesley worked as part of a team de-institutionalising long-term residents of Tokanui Mental Hospital and through that came to advocate for the establishment of a separate Māori Mental Health provider. As a result of her work at that time Lesley has strong relationships with two Māori women she described in Māori terms as both Whaea³ and Kuia⁴ who have supported and challenged her work alongside Māori for two decades. Lesley reported that one of these Whaea had said to her:

'I wear two pairs of shoes very comfortably, you wear one pair of shoes comfortably and you've got your foot in one another and you're groping around for the other. Don't stop groping to try and find that shoe.'

This metaphor enabled Lesley to think about her own efforts to be more bicultural. She continued:

And I thought: 'Ah it's okay to be groping for that other shoe, it's quite natural.' I haven't walked her walk for several generations. [S]he and her family and her tupuna have had to try and walk the walk in two totally different cultures: one within your own culture and observing and

³ Whaea is a term of respect for an older woman, generally translated as Aunty.

⁴ Kuia is a term recognizing the leadership status of an (older) woman within her community.

honouring the kawa and tikanga within their own culture, not to mention Te Reo; but also having to meet these rules and regulations and alienations within another culture. So...I'm not likely to be able to feel absolutely at ease...in...my lifetime within two cultures.

But feeling comfortable that I'm in a not knowing state and it's okay to not know everything...

This encouragement to keep groping for the second pair of shoes offered Lesley an effective metaphor for the challenges of understanding a culture other than her own and through this metaphor she appreciated the journeying of her Whaea and her Whaea's whanau as they sought to uphold Māori values while living among 'Pākehā' imperatives. While she is not going to give up trying to feel comfortable in a second pair of shoes she has an acceptance that she will never feel "absolutely at ease" in Māori contexts.

Marie

At the time of the research meetings Marie worked as a manager in a social service agency. She has a background in counselling and social work. Like Lesley, Marie also recounted significant childhood contact with Māori during her primary school years. This began once her family shifted north to a central North Island city. Against local 'Pākehā' advice her family settled in a suburb with a high proportion of Māori residents. Marie experienced both inclusion and exclusion in this environment. She recounted that the switch between these two positions was starkly obvious but not something she could act against. Often she was part of a freewheeling group of Māori and Pākehā kids after school. Sometimes she was subject to bullying. At school she wanted to join the Māori culture group, but it "was not OK to do that" for a "little white girl". Later, when she dated a Māori boy a neighbour warned her father against "lowering the tone of the neighbourhood". Racism, inclusion and exclusion mingle in the childhood memories she shared. The advice that Marie's parents were offered in relation to real estate and cross-cultural dating locate this part of her story between the moments of colonisation and indifference and assimilation.

Once Marie shifted away from home to attend Teachers' College she began to take the opportunity to analyse those early experiences in the context of her study

and events of that time, especially the demonstrations against sporting contact with South Africa.

I started studying South African history, and started to hear a history of colonization being talked about. There was quite a sense of outrage for me about that but also certain smugness around New Zealand isn't like that. We are so much better than that...we are all okay, and it's all okay here.

The widespread activism in opposition to New Zealand's sporting relationships with South Africa because of its Apartheid regime gave a focus to Marie's developing awareness of the perpetuation of colonial injustice. Many Pākehā of her generation would recognise their experience in Marie's steps towards a political understanding of racism as being present not just overseas but in Aotearoa New Zealand as well. Marie continued:

So the protest movements were starting to happen then. I was starting to get a little unsettled in my smugness and wondered why people were so upset about things. But I really didn't have a handle on what was going on. But also studying feminism helped me to get a sense of myself as a woman in a world where patriarchy is dominant, and having a sense of being 'other' and being slightly marginalized although not completely. Noticing privileges of being white but also noticing the gender story going on and the kind of marginalization that went with that.

Marie described how she had come to experience significant discomfort as she learned the history of New Zealand's colonising past. Beginning to take up a feminist analysis and through that to recognise the effects of patriarchy in her life helped her to identify with the racism and disadvantage experienced by both Black South Africans and Māori. As a feminist exploring the effects of racism she was beginning to articulate an understanding that can now be described as intersectional. Once she was working as a probation officer she could see the way in which young Māori were not able to buy their way out of the system in the way that young Pākehā could.

She described how she had come to a place of greater comfort by learning more of her family history and then described how further learning offered her new concepts to help her understand the dissonances she had described earlier:

...going on to study at Waikato and learning about things like eurocentricity (I love that word) and noticing how available that is to me when I use the word "we" and when I mean "we" I am saying everybody like me and how exclusive that can be.

She was beginning to identify minute and local practices of cultural dominance as available to her if she should want to take them up, but also able to be refused by her.

So starting to notice those subtle practices of exclusion and becoming more aware of those. And more aware of the privileged life I've had...I just go home some days and I just think how lucky I am to have the life that I've got and that comes from in part from being part of the dominant culture. I had the access to that and that feels like such an advantage.

By the end of this account Marie had described how she had come to accommodate childhood experiences of cultural inclusion and exclusion, had entered adulthood without a clear understanding of her cultural identity and how through an ongoing engagement with politics, practice and academic learning had come to claim a Pākehā identity committed to a social justice agenda framed by the Treaty of Waitangi and with an awareness of her own privileges as a Pākehā woman. While her childhood had been dominated by the first and second moments of Pākehā identity she had chosen to situate her adult identity in the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring.

Ann

When Ann came to the research meetings she was in her second year as a secondary school guidance counsellor. Her earlier professional experience had been initially as a teacher and more recently as a counsellor in a child and adolescent mental health agency. Ann described her family heritage as white, Anglo-Saxon and protestant. Ann's story shared a similarity with Marie's in that their families had both shifted north to cities where there was a more visible Māori population. While Marie's shift had happened during her primary school

years, Ann's family had shifted from the South Island to Hamilton when she was 16.

And I can remember when we moved here, the shock that how my grandparents found it very difficult to visit Hamilton, because of the cultural differences that were so apparent here. It was just so different to Dunedin and my grandmother said to me: "never bring a Māori home". That was the direct message that she said so... it was right in my face.

Ann was shocked when her grandmother said this and on hearing this Ann realised that she had never seen anyone as 'different' before. The part of the South Island she had lived in before moving north was apparently very monocultural. Before moving north Ann's position evoked the indifference of the second moment of Pākehā identity, while her Grandmother's comment evokes the first moment of colonisation.

I think for me growing up in the 60s I just assumed that everybody was like me, because everybody was and that was what it was. And...there was never any anything different in my upbringing. Everyone was very Pākehā, very Pākehā; very much the middle class white society that all my friends and... [I shared]... and that was it.

The effect of her grandmother's comment was to call Ann to see her new environment as marked by cultural difference in a way that her former home in the South Island had not appeared to be. That this comment was remembered marks Ann's awareness dissonance between her received position and her wishes for her life.

As she contemplated the shifts both in her life, and in the society around her, from this time in her mid-adolescence to the present she reflected:

And so to be for me to be a Pākehā New Zealander has been a quite a learning process as to what that actually means and ...I am really proud to say that I am.

Ann then went on to describe how another really significant phase in her identity development came when she moved north again with her husband after they had

worked for some years in the South Island. She took a job in a rural school with a very high Māori population.

I taught out at [rural school name] which was even more amazing. You know just listening to kids sing in the school and hear that and see that and suddenly I am now in a very bi-cultural community, it's very bi-cultural, it's not multi-cultural in [name of provincial town] at all.

I mean there are other cultures as well, but the community is bi-cultural and learning how to fit in there and how to adapt and notice what happens there... It's a really exciting place to be at times and very challenging. I think it's the challenges that I'm still working through - being part of that.

In this community where she has now lived for 20 years Ann experiences being Pākehā in relationship with, and in close proximity to a significant community of Māori. Working as a teacher then as a counsellor Ann has developed strong networks in the Māori community. She describes how establishing these whanaungatanga⁵ connections with clients can be helpful to the establishment of effective counselling relationships. Here is her account of a beginning with a young Māori woman. Ann asked her:

...who else she was seeing and what else was happening for her and then she says: "And do you know my Grandma?" And I just said: "Oh yeah, I know your Grandma. Oh and I know so and so". So we made this lovely link and then later in the session she said: "Oh it's funny, I feel comfortable talking with you..."

These connections offer direct support for Marie's practice. More than that there is a strong personal element:

And so for me too ... the more I know or experience Māori culture, the more comfortable I am. Not that I'm very comfortable but I'm stepping towards more comfort from a position of huge discomfort and not knowing at all to becoming more [comfortable], and I don't mean complacent either. I mean, this is okay and I can do this... And it's nice to

⁵ Family-like connections

kiss a Nanny.... and I never did that before ... It's personally satisfying as well as informing my professional work.

This statement demonstrates some significant elements of the shifts that have been involved in taking up a Pākehā identity – an identity performed here in close relationship to a Māori community. This is a community with significant levels of poverty and Ann is aware of the privilege she lives with and the intersectional elements of her own life. Ann now occupies the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring.

So for me it's not just about being Pākehā. It's also about being middle class Pākehā, and educated Pākehā, and being a woman and I don't know how you can separate them out.

Janet

Like Ann, Janet has also worked in a rural centre for 20 years. She is a counsellor in the local office of a national agency. Janet described a settler family history:

Growing up in [rural location, Waikato], it's a small farming community. It is very much post war. People getting on with life, growing families and... very much a rural community identity with the values of hard work and don't make a fuss. ... Definitely don't make a fuss just get on with life...

Janet moved away firstly to university and then after she married, she and her husband worked in a developing country for two years where she began to discover that the local people responded differently than she would have expected and this encouraged her to re-examine her ideas about culture.

...for the first time I was faced with ... the thought that the way that I was, [I] was not just born that way, it was very cultural. Because people there laugh and talk and cry; you know different things provoke them. [So what] I thought was [a] normal, biological sort of function ... I found that it was actually cultural.

They returned to New Zealand at a time she described as the start of the Māori renaissance. She worked as a secondary teacher in South Auckland in a school facing many cultural challenges sitting as it did in a community with a large

recently arrived Pasifika population living side by side with a significant Māori population.

What was going on there [was] a struggle with: “Are we growing a multi-cultural society or a bi-cultural society?” .. [A]nd I think the school was .. often getting in the news in a troublesome sort of way. I think it was because they were really, really struggling with those issues and how to bring forward something that was best for the group of people there and is it placed in a bi-cultural setting or is it multi-cultural?

So that was quite an exciting time really, of going on Marae for the first time, doing papers through Massey University that were aligned with those issues, and at that time Donna Awatere had [published] Māori Sovereignty...

Where both Ann and Marie had described significant dislocation at the time when they first became aware of Aotearoa’s significant cultural divisions, for Janet these experiences are remembered as being exciting, a word she also applies to current developments in cross-cultural relationships. The marker in Janet’s life for the shift to the postcolonial moment was engaging with a community in a developing country.

Janet also talked about her organisation’s recent commitment to a bicultural journey, which had particular implications for her. She had been invited to join a bicultural reference group and for the last three years had shared in the process of reviewing all policy from a bicultural perspective. She was recognised as having a contribution to this journey.

Pākehā Identities in practice

Hopes and fears about their cross-cultural practice

In this section I introduce and comment on the participant’s responses to the question which asked them to talk about their hopes and fears about practising in the awareness of holding an identity within dominant culture. Their description of hopes and fears tended to be almost opposites of each other.

Ann began with a comment that her initial response was a 'fear' rather than a 'hope'. This fear was that she would not 'see things' and that she needed to 'see' to be an effective practitioner.

Lesley recalled her Kuia's advice to act on her feelings and not 'intellectualise' and then expressed the hope that she practiced 'in ways that are not paternalistic'.

Marie's fear was that she would unconsciously bring in 'oppressive practices from her culture'. She felt sure that she had done this on occasion.

For Janet the hopes and fears were accompanied by a sense of commitment.

[M]y fear is that it is not easy, this process of walking a bi-cultural journey. My hope is that we can do it with some kind of grace and humility and maybe that I've put myself in this position so I am going to have to keep walking it and it isn't going to be easy and I'm just going to have to keep doing it.

Later, Janet offered us more detail about the intersection of her personal bicultural journey with her organisation's bicultural journey, aspects of this intersection are discussed in the next section.

John began by focussing on the latter part of the question, which asked about practising in awareness of a dominant cultural position. He said that he worked to take into his practice:

...awareness that I am positioned within a dominant culture – as male and middle class; privileged positions, and .. dominant in our society.

For John the fears related to what might happen if or when he let that awareness slip:

... that I might just slip into becoming part of that dominant culture and that those kind of power relations and ways of being might come with me into my practice inadvertently.

In discussing hopes and fears the participants shifted from talking about the development of their Pākehā identity to an exploration of how each of them performed their identity and their practice was shaped by that performance. Their

discussion of hopes and fears also began a process of bringing forward some practice dilemmas and memories of challenging beginnings to counselling relationships as well as of stories about cultural challenges that they experienced within the organisations that they worked within. Many of these stories are incorporated in the next part of this chapter. These stories offer examples of the participants practising in awareness of their cultural identity and are the sites where they and I investigate discursive positioning in cross-cultural practice.

Reading the data with an eye for counsellor positioning

As the participants gave an account of how they developed a Pākehā identity they also began to explore the implications of this identity for their practice. Janet, John, Ann, Marie and Lesley are all experienced counsellors and all of them work within organisations. A significant portion of this exploration involved the counsellors considering their positioning firstly within their own organisation and also in relation to other groups that they worked alongside external to their organisation. Initially I was surprised by how much of these accounts focussed on the politics of organisational life, then I came to recognise the significance of their various organisational contexts for their practice. The organisations that each of these five counsellors worked within both shaped their individual practice and were in turn shaped by the contributions that each made to their workplace. While most of the research conversations focused specifically on issues of cross cultural practice, some of the examples also relate to aspects of practice which are less specifically, or perhaps less obviously related to cross cultural work.

Taking a Pākehā stance in an organisation.

Here I share some of the stories that emerged in the research process about positioning within organisational contexts.

Janet: contributing to a bi-cultural journey

Once Janet had shared some history of her Pākehā identity she began to reflect on how this was being worked out in her work context. Janet has worked as a counsellor for her large multi-site agency for 20 years. She had relatively recently been invited to be one of three Pākehā and three Māori who would comprise a national bi-cultural reference group ‘to look within our organisation’. This group would advise ‘how we do a bi-cultural journey’ within her large mainstream

organisation that is Pākehā dominant, but with both Māori workers and clients. It appeared to me that Janet was called into this work as a result of having a strongly articulated Pākehā identity which was well recognised by her colleagues and managers. The invitation to participate in the reference group further positioned her as someone whom her organisation both respects and calls upon as a leader on their 'bi-cultural journey'. Janet's very public commitment as a Pākehā and the organisation's response to her commitment and the consequent positioning it offered Janet was evident throughout the research process. She demonstrated a commitment to working with Māori in partnerships which reflect the spirit of the Treaty.

For example she later referred to the calls on her as a clinical leader to locate and inaugurate cultural supervision for counsellors. She described this as:

An overwhelming task for a Pākehā organisation to do it in a way that is respectful, not colonizing again, and not using up resources of local Māori who are busy trying to set up their own organizations.

While Janet says this is an overwhelming task for an organisation, locally it had become her task as clinical leader. It called on her to take her Pākehā commitment, bicultural skills and relationships into the local community. Her comment suggests that she does not experience herself well positioned for this task. I would understand that the challenge for Janet would be to stay in the postcolonial moment to negotiate a cultural supervision contract that is not exploitative of local Māori initiatives.

As the first research meeting continued Janet also reflected on the value for her as a Pākehā practitioner with clinical leadership responsibilities of the research meeting. She found the structuring questions useful and with others remarked on the rare opportunity the research meeting presented for a group of counsellors who identify as Pākehā to discuss what this identification meant for their practice. In discussion with others she considered the trajectory of Treaty responsive social practice over that last two decades. She referred to a time where many Māori had chosen to work separately from Pākehā and how some organisations had divided to facilitate that. The current emphasis on biculturalism both within her organisation and elsewhere raised questions for her about how Pākehā

practitioners and Pākehā dominant organisations could now act in the spirit of partnership. She suggested:

There's a lot of work for Pākehā to do.... but now how do we sit alongside? How do we walk this journey together and not just leave it over [to Māori]?

Because while Māori are doing it for Māori ... now are we starting to think: 'Okay we've got to pick up the ball again ... and meet Māori organizations (as you know I'm coming from a predominantly Pākehā organisation, monocultural organization which also has Māori working for it) and work with Māori to actually do the work of being an equal partner?'

... I think Māori have done their work and I think it's just...the pathway that we're on now of being able to be alongside and I think it's the work that we do ... in our organization with the Pākehā counsellors, Pākehā workers in the organization to say: 'Are you are you ready to be alongside? Can you pick up the ball ... and be an equal partner?' Or is it just as it was in the past? Like tossed over and we just get on with our work?

Janet's comments here also provide a view of shifts in the social practice landscape where earlier calls for tino rangatiratanga in the shape of separate Māori for Māori services are being augmented by opportunities for bicultural partnerships which respect the self determination inherent in tino rangatiratanga and offer supportive relationships instead of the potential isolation of separate or parallel development.

At the same time these questions from Janet while focussed into the discussion referred back into her workplace and her own roles in her organisation. In contributing to the bi-cultural journey reference group she contributed to the policy decision that counsellors in her organisation engage in cultural supervision. In this action in the reference group Janet was effectively contributing to her own positioning in relation to the establishment of cultural supervision: a positioning that she had earlier indicated was uncomfortable while at the same time as she saw the whole situation and the possibility of change as 'exciting'. This illustrates

another aspect of the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring. Janet's sense of responsibility as a Pākehā drew her into a process that produced both discomfort and excitement. Following this path will not be easy for Janet and her Pākehā colleagues, but offers her and them the chance to keep standing in the postcolonial moment.

Ann: conflicting position calls for a counsellor in a school

Ann had an early career as a teacher then retrained as a counsellor and worked for about a decade in a community agency working mostly with children and adolescents. At the time of the first research meeting she had been working as a secondary school guidance counsellor for just over a year. She told the group that she was still challenged by the different issues in relation to power present in the school than she had experienced in her previous workplace. As Ann said:

Because being a counsellor in a mental health agency has obvious implications of power as well but in a school it's much more overt and that's the difference between being a counsellor and a teacher.

She was acutely aware of the positions that she was called into by both teachers and the school management largely around discipline issues such as uniform enforcement as in this next example.

It's a huge battle whether kids have got pink socks and I think: 'what does it matter?' But it's crucially important and teachers notice kids coming in and out of my room not wearing the right uniform and I'm not telling them to change their uniform. You know I might say: "if so and so sees you, you're gonna be asked to take that off".

As a former school counsellor I identify with the issue Ann is raising here. She declines to actively enforce uniform standards and is aware that 'teachers notice kids coming in and out of her room.' This awareness creates a position call even when unspoken. Ann is called to join other (teaching) staff in chasing up uniform issues. In seeking to dissent from that position call she still feels called to advise students that particular staff will pull them up for not wearing the prescribed uniform; in effect she warns students of the hegemonic nature of the uniform policy. Her agency in relation to school uniform issues is limited.

Initially, the uniform issue may appear non-cultural but Ann identifies that it has cultural implications because:

...it's the 'Pākehā' staff and the 'Pākehā' senior management team who are trying to put the school in one particular way.

In a provincial school, in an area with a high Māori population and poverty widespread among that group, an issue like uniform enforcement impacts more negatively on Māori students and their families. It may be that the 'Pākehā' senior management's endeavours to establish dress standards work to reinforce 'Pākehā' monoculturalism and invite Pākehā staff to stand in the moment of indifference and assimilation.

Ann also described another positioning issue for her in the educational environment. Even after a year working as counsellor in this school she was still declining calls to act as an object of student management discourse. She described a request to intervene with a year nine Māori student; a story that is explored extensively in the next chapter. At this point I want to note her firm clarification to the pastoral team that she would not engage in behaviour management. She felt that for her to agree to such an expectation would be to undermine her integrity as a counsellor.

Requests by senior managers in schools to their counsellors, which call the counsellors into positions not compatible with a counselling ethic, potentially have negative effects on the counselling practice that ensues while the counsellor is so positioned. In a later section I explore a practice story offered by John who experienced a meeting with some students as problematic. I argue that the positioning that John was called into as a result of that request by senior management rendered the meeting problematic.

Janet: whose performance was reviewed?

Not all of the organisations that participants described working within were their place of paid work. Janet and Marie also spoke of voluntary work in governance roles for community agencies. The agency Janet volunteers for is an organisation which provides services to women and which has a wholly female staff and management committee. This organisation has a strong Treaty based partnership

where the management committee is on occasion divided into Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi caucuses⁶.

In this example Janet described some discomfort and some learning that arose out of her participation in the performance review of the agency's manager. Janet had agreed to join with a Māori colleague from the management committee to complete the performance review of the agency manager (who was also Māori). It could be seen that the organisation's commitment to work in the spirit of partnership was to be enacted in the performance of this significant governance role. Māori and Pākehā were to complete this task together. Subsequently the other reviewer then advised Janet she was not available at the agreed time and urged Janet to go ahead with the interview, which she did. Janet planned and conducted the review as an appreciative inquiry, focussing on the things that the manager did well. When Janet presented the review at a subsequent committee meeting the Māori caucus then challenged the work practices of the (Māori) manager very directly and then also affirmed her. This can be seen as an expression of Māori practice that challenge happens openly and is accompanied by support. However this additional process was not what Janet had expected. Janet said that she felt "like she had missed the boat" with her review process and decided that was why Māori and Pākehā needed to work together.

In considering this account with a focus on positioning I suggest that Janet experienced three significant position calls, two before she completed the review and the third when she presented her review to the management committee.

The first was a call to a partnership that affirmed her contribution to the organisation in jointly facilitating the review.

A second call was to complete the review without her Māori colleague present. The task needed to be completed and it was implied that her Māori colleague had confidence in her ability to go ahead and complete the review without Māori input. I will go on to suggest that in taking up this call Janet risked a subsequent

⁶ The practice of dividing a group into Tangata whenua and Tauwiwi caucuses is a characteristic of some models of Treaty education and organizational practice. The intention is that each group needs to deal with cultural issues in their own way without being limited by the presence of the other group.

judgment from her colleagues on the management committee that she had acted in a culturally unsafe manner. That this did not happen speaks to the positive nature of the relationships Janet has with the others in this agency.

The third call was an invitation to view herself as being deficient in the task of performance review in an organisation with a strong Māori component. This she responded to with a reframe that:

I thought: 'Well that's why you need Māori and Pākehā together in the interview'. Because I felt like they were better able ... to challenge the things that they felt weren't being done [by the manager], in a way that I wasn't and so it made me think that actually you do have to do this - the more eyes and ears the better from all world views.

In this reflection Janet acknowledged the contribution made to the review process from a Māori perspective, valuing that more what I am suggesting was an offered deficit positioning of her. I also recall the comments that Janet made about her family of origin when she introduced herself to the research group: "don't make a fuss just get on with life", which was almost a family motto. This attitude seemed to be echoed in the response above.

This story drew other participants into response. Janet was asked if she it would have been able to challenge in the same way as the Māori caucus members did. She gave two responses.

I couldn't have, I couldn't even from the way that I was brought up. I couldn't have challenged.

This response demonstrates the discursive restraints for Janet in this setting. She attributes these restraints to her upbringing but it is also clear that she does not see herself as being in an agentic position in the committee meeting. She did not find herself able to engage in the more public revisiting of the review in the committee. In the give and take of the committee in this community organisation Janet's particular Pākehā manner of conducting a performance review did not dominate. She valued her Māori colleagues way of working even though she did not experience an agency that would allow her to join it. She reflected:

Yes, somehow they had a way of both challenging and nurturing. That was not available to me.

Public challenge and nurturing in a Māori context would uphold the mana of the manager in a way that challenge alone would not (Professor Ted Glynn, personal communication). Neither challenging, nor challenging *and* nurturing, was available to her in that environment. She attributed this to her upbringing. Janet acknowledges membership of the dominant cultural group and yet in this situation particular discourses of Pākehā personhood and the ways in which these had shaped Janet's identity meant that she was not positioned to be able to challenge. However, this occurred in a deliberately bicultural context where Janet's Māori colleagues had put her contribution to the management of the organisation to one side; an event which occurred after Janet had been encouraged to complete the review without the support of a Māori co-facilitator.

I suggest that the combination of the withdrawal of the colleague and the encouragement to complete the performance review without a Māori 'partner' present placed Janet in a potentially culturally unsafe position. This risk becomes more evident as we read her account of the subsequent committee meeting. The possibility of being culturally unsafe may not be generally considered in relation to Pākehā. The general trajectory of cultural safety discourse is that members of non-dominant groups are more likely to be at risk from the acts of members of the dominant group. However, engagement in partnership activities can also present risks and rewards to Pākehā. Seeking to stand in the postcolonial moment offers Pākehā both risks and benefits. This is a point that I will return to in chapter seven.

I now move on to consider some practice stories related to culture and positioning which can be seen as illustrative of the wide range of work which may be encompassed in a counsellor's workload.

Positioning effects identified in different locations and modes of practice.

Here, as in the previous section I will outline some practice stories with a focus on the positioning that the counsellor was offered in each.

Lesley: in different practice locations, 'who owns the cup?'

Lesley works in two practice organisations and these have quite different requirements of her. In one organisation she works as a family therapist, in the other as a part time counsellor in a rehabilitation agency. In the latter organisation her work is office based while her work for the former has an emphasis of working with individuals and families who she meets in their homes. In the second research meeting Lesley came to reflect on the significantly different positioning that she was offered in clients' homes than in the rehabilitation office setting.

I'm thinking very much of how differently I am when I'm doing counselling for one area - for the Rehabilitative Services - when I'm in an office and I feel that it takes me a session to get to the point where I just about start at when I'm working as I normally work in people's own homes with their families present. 'Cause I start off obviously tentatively, I'm obviously on someone else's turf. I'm not the Pākehā expert. ... Expertness is not so evident [when you take] your shoes off at the door, [check] out ... what is appropriate and what's not appropriate. I'm involved in somebody else's home, somebody else's life and it's making it very evident to me and to them, that they have the ability, they could tell me to go at any point. I'm there as their guest and I feel I start off so differently and I'm not saying I'm more respectful but it feels I have a lot less to sort of cut through in terms of negotiating who we are and how we are, than I do when I'm sitting in the office with somebody who's basically been sent along to see me because this is going to be helpful to them.

Lesley's experience as the counsellor is significantly different in these two situations. She feels that she is not 'the Pākehā expert' when she meets the family in their home. Being positioned as 'guest' has important effects for Lesley. She

responds to the tikanga⁷ of the household and shows respect in a number of ways, including taking off her shoes at the door. Lesley's positioning and consequent behaviour as a guest can be assumed to position the individuals and families that she meets in their own homes as hosts (Van Langenhoven & Harré, 1991). So when Lesley visits clients in their homes they are able to take up the agentic position as host while Lesley is offered the position as guest. These two positions invite reciprocity; the guest is both honoured and positioned for deference to her hosts. While being a guest positions Lesley for a reciprocal relationship, as a practitioner in an office she takes longer to get 'started' working with her client. Lesley implies that in this environment she is more likely to be seen as expert with, I suggest, consequent effects for the positioning of her clients. The positioning calls to both counsellor and client have effects for the development of a counselling relationship. She concluded:

...thinking about how I'm positioned has to do not only with ..., who I am, but where I am, and who owns the cup, and who offers the drink and, ... this is making me think more about that and I'm looking forward to having some more .. thoughts about that.

Lesley was using the image of offering hospitality as a way to consider different position calls for her and her clients in these significantly different situations. I have already suggested that positioning and subjection or subjectification occur simultaneously. While this account is able to be read productively in relation to positioning, it can also be read in relation to subjectification. Lesley describes two moments of subjectification. In the first she is subjectified as a counsellor who is a guest of the client or clients. In the second she is a counsellor who invites a client to meet in her counselling office. Lesley prefers working in a client's home where in her experience she is able to develop an effective counselling relationship sooner. This practice account then offers valuable insights about positioning while also being able to be read as showing moments of subjectification. Lesley appreciates her subjectification as guest/counsellor more than as expert/counsellor. Again Lesley's practice in client's homes can be seen as located in the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring.

⁷ In this context the protocol or practices of this family in their home.

Lesley's insight about positioning as influenced by location was responded to by two others in the research group. John began to think about the different positionings that he had as counsellor, and that the secondary students in his workplace had when they came to his office as clients. He wondered:

‘...what would it be like for me if I was sitting in my counselling room, just having that sort of awareness that this is very different from that other situation and might there be some ways in which I can at least for me bring some of that, that difference of being in someone else's patch on their turf and the different kind of power relations and things that go with that kind of relationship.

For Janet this example drew her back to a professional development day that had recently been held by her organisation which focused on the pōwhiri as a model for practice engagement built around the rituals of encounter which are implicit in Māori pōwhiri. Later Janet offered insights from this professional development, which had suggested that attention to the practices of pōwhiri could help obviate difficulties later in a counselling relationship.

.. it was something [the course leader] was saying about the Pōwhiri model. If you don't negotiate [the difference between your respective positions] at the beginning, of not being familiar right at first, but of negotiating where you come from and what's the kaupapa of our meeting and so on, then you're going to get into trouble down the track.

This description is consistent with the linking of Māori protocol with counselling practice described by Durie (2007) and Drury (2007).

John: was an arranged meeting mediation or discipline?

John works in a secondary school and is from time to time invited to take up roles allied to but different than traditional 'one-to one' counselling. He briefly referred to a meeting with some senior Māori and Pasifika students that did not go as he had hoped.

I can think of examples in my counselling practice where I have worked with people of other cultures who clearly experienced a subordinate positioning in my counselling room despite my best efforts to minimise

this ...and on the other hand I can think of a time when I was asked to meet with some senior male Māori and Pacific Island students who had been violent to another student and who to greater or lesser extents claimed to be justified in their violent actions due to what they saw as this person's "racist attitude". My openness to exploring the racism of the situation allowed (interesting word) the conversation to turn to the racism of the world more generally and then their assertions that violence was justified to combat that with little consideration of the power dynamics at work in that specific situation where they clearly took up a dominant and oppressive position.

John writes with an awareness of the potential of his Pākehā cultural identity to offer clients a subordinate position while also recalling a situation where a meeting with "some senior male Māori and Pacific students" where they appear to have taken a dominant position. In considering this latter comment I also draw attention to John's comment, which I quoted earlier in this chapter, about his fear he "might just slip into becoming part of that dominant culture and that those kind of power relations and ways of being might come with me into my practice inadvertently". Here it is clear that he did not engage in the power relations which he characterised as being linked to dominant culture. However nor did he find himself to take a position of (immediate) influence in relation to the violence of these young men's retribution against their verbal aggressor. If we consider this interaction in John's office as an example of discursive positioning, it is clearer that individual intentions are not the sole factors operating here. A series of discourses have produced this meeting and from these discourses both John and these senior male students have had a range of positions open to them: some more obvious than others and each position offering different degrees of agency. Discourses of racism, cultural dominance and subordination, retribution and injustice shaped this conversation along with discourses of problem management, reconciliation, accountability and fairness. John, the school's senior management team and the students were each positioned differently in relation to each of the discourses.

In this situation John was invited by a member of the senior management team to become involved as an adjunct to the discipline system. Did his involvement as an

adjunct to the discipline system influence the young men's response? John would have preferred to characterise his meeting as having a pastoral intent, but agreed for these young men it would have arisen from the discipline system. This may have presented the young men with the incentive to try to talk their way out of consequences, which they might have anticipated could come from such a meeting. How does a counsellor in that situation take up a position as counsellor rather than the discipline position, which ultimately a deputy principal might be expected to take? If the young men saw John as being within the discipline system when they met rather than the pastoral care system how might they be positioned?

I suggest that students who are subject to school discipline are positioned to engage in bargaining and justification. If they can convince their interlocutor of the reasonableness of their actions in the circumstances they may be able to reduce the consequences for them of this action. The bargaining and justification positions would offer these young men some agency in a conversation with a deputy principal. Ultimately the deputy principal would have agency to overrule their arguments.

How then is a counsellor positioned in such a conversation where the young men see this as a discipline related meeting? What positioning becomes available – or unavailable - if the counsellor wants to avoid taking up the power relations open to the deputy principal or within the broader society for middle class Pākehā men in relation to Māori and Pasifika young men?

John reflected on the effect for him of having a commitment to a social justice opposed to the racism, which appeared to have precipitated the violent incident that led to the meeting. Perhaps the young men picked up on John's commitment to social justice as they invited him to agree with their rationale for their actions. He comments that his openness to exploring the racism of the situation "allowed" the conversation to turn to the racism of the world. He momentarily focused on "allowed" saying "interesting word". From this I take it as new information for him in that reflection that his openness may have contributed to such an outcome. From a positioning theory perspective it might be seen that John taking a position "open" to exploring their concerns about the unacceptability of racism opened for the young men a position within an essentialist anti-racist discourse which

enabled them to speak in justification of their acts of violence. I have earlier argued that a counsellor needs access to an agentic position so that the client(s) can be called into a position of agency in relation to the issues that they face, which may more easily be understood in relation to a voluntary client. In this situation the young men took up agency available to them and the obvious agency for John, a power position within Pākehā dominance, was not one he wanted to take up.

Reflecting later, John thought that if he were to engage in a similar meeting again he would seek to meet the young men separately. However this intention might also be problematised as shifting the power relations that each of the young men in turn would not have the support of his peers in the discussion.

He concluded this reflection:

I wondered afterwards whether my seeming ineffectiveness in questioning this response was in part due to my reluctance to take up a power position when I was already a member and 'representative' of the dominant Pākehā group being problematised...How differently might a Māori person have dealt with this?

This comment points to his Pākehā identity contributing to his positioning in a way that produced 'seeming ineffectiveness'. This account also offers rich possibility for the exploration of the moments of subjectification that occurred. In Chapter Two I have shown that both Butler and Davies argue that the production of the subject occurs in moments. Davies writes:

The subject does not have an existence that lies outside of or prior to those [discursive] acts of formation (B. Davies, 2006, p. 426).

This may seem at odds with John describing himself as having a Pākehā identity which makes his life meaningful. However individual moments of subjectification may not align with a person's preferred identity. We can be produced in the moment in ways that we would eschew if we were able. Butler writes:

The subject is the linguistic occasion for the individual to achieve and receive intelligibility, the linguistic condition of its existence and agency (1997, p. 11).

Taking Butler's description of the subject as the linguistic occasion for an individual to achieve intelligibility, I suggest that this provides a way to understand this account as an example of a moment of subject formation. For John the subject position that became available was not a preferred one. His Pākehā identity contributed in some way to this moment of subjectification, but at the same time this moment did not enable him to 'achieve intelligibility'. This moment while partially produced by his Pākehā identity stood outside his preferred storying of that identity. In order to understand this account and to be able to use it to build theory I need to look towards some issues of cultural politics.

John has an overriding interest in questions of power in relation to counselling practice. He refers to power frequently throughout the research. He does not want the authoritative positioning of a school senior manager. He is sensitive to "people of other cultures who clearly experienced a subordinate positioning in [his] counselling room". To have seen the young men individually may have changed their response. It would have positioned him more powerfully. It may also have been that a differently shaped referral from the senior management in the school could have offered John more satisfactory positioning (a point I will return to).

However, cultural safety is again an issue here. John asked. "How differently might a Māori person have dealt with this?" It is fair to ask why the senior management did not include a Māori staff member in the referral. This could have provided a culturally safe place to challenge violence. It is also fair to ask why racism might not be seen by senior management as an equally valid issue to address as violence in a secondary school (Nylund, 2006). If the young men believed that the racist provocation to their violence would be addressed they may have been more open to addressing the unacceptability of violence. John's senior management apparently did not take up these two possibilities. In consequence John had a compromised range of positions available to him and he became produced as a subject in a way that he was uncomfortable with. Counsellors'

positions within organisations do produce significant effects on their practice. In an earlier section in this chapter Ann described positioning issues for her as a relatively new counsellor in a school. In the next section I explore Janet's experience of constraints for counsellor and client when she is working within the Justice system in relation to family violence.

Janet: 'how hard that was for her and for me'

Glynos and Howarth (2007) argue that theorising needs to come from the consideration of "exemplary cases". In this study of counsellor positioning it is useful to consider some of the greatest challenges that a counsellor may work with. Here I focus on an example where the difficulty arose from the nature of the work Janet's agency was contracted to provide. In this example Janet describes her positioning in her initial meeting with someone I will call Maraea who was required to meet with Janet by an order from the Family Court. This story is one which Janet introduced in the first meeting and which we returned to in other phases of the research. The complete data set for this story is included as Appendix 5.

The diversity of counsellor's practice in community agencies is significantly shaped by the contracts that the agency has secured. Some contracts fund counselling and others may require that the counsellor uses counselling skills for subtly different purposes. This was the situation in this example where a contract arising out of domestic violence legislation charged the agency to address issues of domestic violence with persons named as "respondent" by the courts. This respondent status arises when a partner or other family member has applied for, and been granted, a protection order against this respondent because of actual violence or the threat of violence.

This is a context where hegemonic family violence discourse that has been tightly defined in legislation produces discursive objects called "the domestic violence programme facilitator" and "the respondent". Maraea is produced as "the respondent" when an order is made in a court hearing. Janet is produced as "the domestic violence programme facilitator" when a referral from the courts is assigned to her workload (Janet describes herself as the agent of the court.) Their identities and the discourses, which shape each of their moments of

subjectification, are now overlaid by the hegemonic domestic violence discourse. This discourse has both produced and is now anchored in legislation. The effect is that both facilitator and respondent are offered very powerful position calls which emanate from this discourse and which significantly limit their agency.

Maraea was required to attend a 'programme' as a respondent. The discourses shaping Maraea's subjectivity at least initially preclude her from seeing Janet as a counsellor, or indeed in any positive light. Maraea was likely to have been wary of entering into a situation where might expect to be subject to further surveillance. Consequently the initial positions that Janet is called into are exceptionally challenging. I include the following extract from the transcript of the first meeting. It came as the substantive part of Janet's response to the second question that asked about hopes and fears.

From an every day work viewpoint, in a small town ... people don't have a huge number of choices of [counselling or other social service agencies] to come to. This was highlighted for me, I'm thinking of a particular incident I had referred to me because we do protected person respondent programmes⁸ with referrals from the courts, and how the justice system impacts on the lives of everybody.

And I met with a young woman who identified as Māori, lesbian and who was sent by the courts as a respondent and the person who had [applied for] the protection was female and Pākehā. And just the positioning that put us in to start with of her being forced having no choice but to come and meet with me. And how we had to negotiate a platform to even begin. And how hard that was for her, and for me, in doing that.

And just that idea of how to be very careful and respectful and be totally aware all the time me being older, Pākehā, dominant culture. And the focus on her sense, her strong sense of injustice and how justice was not being done, had not been done.

And the situation, which she was in, and the whole history of injustice that sat behind all of that.

⁸ Janet is referring to court mandated programmes addressing family violence which require the participation of a person named as a respondent as part of the protection offered to a person who complains of violence by a family member or partner.

Janet works as a counsellor in a community agency located in a rural centre. Maraea has little choice about attending the programme. Failure to attend will bring consequences. Maraea identifies as Māori, and as Janet indicates, this is a political identification that involves a powerful awareness of unresolved historic and continuing injustice that shapes her questioning of the fairness of her treatment from the 'Pākehā' court system. Janet is acting through this contract as an agent of this court system. Janet reflected that:

The negotiation of the relationship with Māori clients sits against a backdrop of a history of colonisation. The power relation is more than what is in the counselling room between counsellor [and] client.

That Maraea's partner who is Pākehā has initiated the court processes by applying for a protection order exacerbates the situation for Maraea. Maraea's Pākehā partner has exposed Maraea to the 'Pākehā' court system. Maraea also identifies as lesbian and, as Janet indicates, she experiences herself as further marginalised by this identity; if Maraea were able to influence where she was directed to attend it may not have been to an agency she perceived as mainstream.

Thus Janet faced conflicting and potentially unresolvable position calls.

Firstly, a hegemonic justice discourse positioned Janet as ("the facilitator"), an agent of a court, which had the power to sanction Maraea for particular behaviour or accept evidence that Maraea now acknowledged that this behaviour was unacceptable and unrepeatabe. Janet's tasks as agent of the court were programme facilitation and reporting. Janet's report may assist Maraea to achieve redemption or suffer further sanctions. If Janet is able to report that Maraea has completed the programme requirements in relation to attendance and attitudinal change then any further sanctions are less likely.

Secondly, Discourses of pastoral power positioned Maraea to confess her behaviour.

Further, a Māori sovereignty discourse positioned Janet as an agent of a 'Pākehā' hegemony that has inflicted continuing injustice on Maraea's whanau, hapu and iwi for over a century.

Additionally, an anti-heteronormativity discourse positioned Janet as a potential perpetrator of heteronormative judgements.

In the face of these position calls Janet began their first meeting and sought to find a way forward which honoured Maraea and the processes of the court. Janet said:

And just the positioning that put us in to start with of her being forced, having no choice but to come and meet with me **and how we had to negotiate a platform to even begin and how hard that was for her and for me in doing that.**

And just that idea of how to be very careful and respectful and be totally aware all the time me being older, Pākehā, dominant culture. And the focus on her sense, her strong sense of injustice [by the Crown] and how justice was not being done, had not been done [to Māori]. (emphasis added.)

In the following pages I will show how Janet worked to negotiate a platform and work with Maraea to complete the programme. First, I introduce Janet's response when I asked her to reflect how she would seek to 'negotiate a platform'.

To be able to connect needed some information about what the court required (attendance and participation) and what the rules were that were required of both of us to complete and what would happen if there was non-attendance. So first, some real clarity about the rules, and a move to position us both alongside in a desire to complete the programme and avoid consequences of court prosecution.

So in that sense I step in to the authority/power of knowing what is required but am very explicit in being open and honest so client can make informed decisions/choices as to whether to participate/attend knowing the consequences.

Janet is carefully direct in relation to the court's requirements. This is what she is contracted to do. She does not deny that positioning. However she does call on counselling discourses to take up an agentic position which helps her to offer Maraea discursive empathy (Sinclair & Monk, 2005) by taking a stance which

acknowledges the full context of Maraea's life. It is a task to which she applies her considerable counselling skill and understandings.

Another reflection further illustrated this process of negotiation.

The power relation is more than what is in the counselling room between counsellor [and] client. The practice is making visible the differences and the circumstances. For example:

"What's it like that the Courts make you come and you have to meet with this middle aged Pākehā woman?"

"What difficulties will this create for our work together?"

"As we go along, can I enquire about how we are managing these differences?"

The 'power relation' Janet describes encompasses the court's requirements and the power relation in the room. In chapter seven I extend this discussion to consider this as an example of the working of hegemonic discourse. The questions Janet asks here invite Maraea to recognise that although Janet acts as an agent of the court she is also interested in supporting Maraea to achieve the most satisfactory outcome for her. These questions invite Maraea to engage on a personal level and discuss the issues of injustice and compulsion to attend in a way where her responses can be valued and the programme's agenda is also recognised. Maraea is offered a position within a discourse of respectful dignity.

Janet reflected further: "I would not expect her to trust me". Trust in Janet was too much to expect of Maraea at the beginning of the programme and perhaps the programme could be completed without full trust being achieved.

Janet remembered some of Maraea's responses as significant.

A position that she took up about agreement to participate was: [Maraea saying] "My word is enough". From this I positioned her as a person who stuck to her word and from her comments about the justice system; as a person who was passionate about 'justice.'

Janet was taking care to listen to what Maraea saying and what was implied though not directly stated in her words (White, 2000) and from this she could

support Maraea to contribute to a “platform to even begin” to work from. Janet’s practice demonstrated an awareness of intersectionality issues:

It was important to have a context of justice (injustice) in the context of colonisation and hold to the possibilities of racism impacting on her personal position. The traditional discourses of power and control being the cause of [domestic violence] were limiting.

Janet’s commitment to exploring issues of racism and colonisation were crucial to Maraea becoming committed to successful completion of this programme. The “traditional discourses of power and control” Janet refers to would include the content of the Duluth Power and Control wheel (Duluth, n.d.), a ubiquitous resource in anti-violence work which is constructed without reference to culture or history. Janet was seeking a position beyond these discourses.

Janet concluded her introduction of this powerful story to the research meeting saying:

So that was like a really sharp reminder of what it is like for someone being on the wrong side of dominant culture and injustice and me representing, you know, all of that dominant culture and like positioned as the agent of the courts, the whole justice system, the Pākehā system. And how to acknowledge all of that, but also connect on a personal level in a way that we could have conversations at all. I think that replicates itself every time I work with someone, so I thank her for all that she taught me about the care to take in that.

I believe that this is an exemplary story which illustrates much about how a counsellor can, by effectively resisting non-agentic position calls, cautiously take up the agency that is available to her and that through this her client is offered different or alternative position calls (Van Langenhoven & Harré, 1991); different from those the client experienced before this counselling relationship began. The multiple conflicting position calls for Janet and for Maraea potentially denied agency for one or both of them. Janet’s work in refusing some calls and seeking to position herself in discourses which offered agency indicates that she brought to this practice a rich combination of a well honed theoretical perspective allied with

a focused use of skills and a deep respect both for Maraea's identity as a Māori who had a radical sense of unresolved colonial injustice, and for the values inherent in the Domestic Violence programmes operated by the Ministry of Justice. That Maraea was able to take up a position of agency in relation to discourses of justice attests to the quality of Janet's work and to Maraea's determination to maintain her mana.

This practice account is clearly illustrative of the mastery/submission paradox argued by Butler:

As a form of power, subjection is paradoxical. To be dominated by a power external to oneself is a familiar and agonising form power takes. To find, however, that what "one" is, one's very formation as a subject, is in some sense dependent on that power is quite another. (Butler, 1997, pp. 1-2)

When Janet steps into the 'programme facilitator' role that her agency is contracted to provide she is clearly dominated by a power external to herself and Butler also argues that Janet's subjectification is also dependent on that power which I have suggested comes from hegemonic discourse. Elsewhere Butler writes:

The more a practice is mastered, the more fully subjection is achieved. Submission and mastery take place simultaneously, and it is this paradoxical simultaneity that constitutes the ambivalence of submission. (Butler, 1995, pp. 45-46)

Janet's success in this account comes through simultaneous submission and mastery of the position she is offered by this hegemonic justice discourse. This is not the only discourse acting in this account. Janet needed to successfully achieve submission/mastery in relation to this discourse so that she could take up a position in relation to counselling discourse.

In the discussion chapter I take forward the significance for counselling practice of a counsellor and their client being produced as objects of hegemonic discourse. In this next example it is also possible to read the counsellor and client produced

as objects of hegemonic discourse. In this case the objects might be named: “the counsellor” and “the unfit” parent, or the “a problem or difficult client”.

Marie: ‘I just want to know you can go the distance’

One theme among these stories about culture and positioning is that the field of counselling requires a highly nuanced ‘reading’ of the contexts of the lives of the clients and demands a high degree of reflexivity from practitioners if they are to respond effectively both to the unimaginable intricacies of the client’s stories, and to the multiplicity of conflicting position calls which these stories produce, and to their own practice values.

Marie offered this story in latter phases of the first research meeting. In the earlier phases Marie had spoken of her identity as a Pākehā and how that shaped her work as a counsellor. She had taken up a stance where she was supportive of the idea that Māori should work with Māori to the extent that she held herself back from working with Māori clients.

A Child, Youth and Family staff member approached Marie to ask if she would accept a referral for a Māori woman who I will call Betty. Betty had a 20-year history of domestic abuse overlain with problematic drug use. I asked some reflective questions in the online phase which followed the first meeting in response to the story and now quote Marie’s response. Her recollection of the referral was:

She was definitely introduced to me as a “problem or difficult client”. She had already lost her daughter into care, and I remember the Social Worker telling me that it would very unlikely that she [Betty] would ever get her [daughter] back. Of course this was [Betty’s] main motivation [for coming to counselling] – to get her daughter back. Rather than being “a last hope” I had the impression CYFS were making sure they covered bases but were not hopeful there would be a positive outcome.

Like Maraea in the preceding practice account, Betty was the object and subject of state power, or in Foucault’s terms, sovereign power. The state had taken the right to decide on her fitness as a parent. When Marie accepted this referral she also became object and subject of sovereign power, albeit differently than Betty.

This then was a challenging referral and Marie accepted with the knowledge that much separated her from the life experience of this client:

When I think about this woman, on the surface we were separated by much more than culture, by her social class, history of abuse, by poverty, by oppression.

Here Marie graphically evokes her awareness of the privileges that she has access to when she writes “we were separated...” Marie’s preference is to support Māori to work with Māori and here she lists a significant list of separations that may make the establishment of a relationship difficult. These separations evoke Crenshaw’s (2001) metaphor of the cross roads which many women of colour negotiate with difficulty, but which generally present fewer challenges for Pākehā women.

In her initial telling of the story, Marie spoke of their first meeting:

She came into the room and we started to talk. I [was] thinking about culture and focusing on that and wanting to ask her about what would it be like you know: ‘What’s it going to be like for us to work together and how’s that gonna be for you? Because you’re the one coming from this place [the Maori world] and I come from this place [the Pākehā world] and how are we going to make that work?’

Marie was wanting to centre cultural difference and for them to explore a way to bridge any gap there. Betty’s response was unexpected:

And she was like: ‘I don’t care what colour you are I just want to know you can go the distance’.

It was like ‘What do you mean?’

And she said ‘Well I’ve had two other counsellors who referred me on after the second session ‘cause my stuff, my shit’s so yucky’ I think were her words.

Marie attempted to offer Betty a position where her Maori identity was acknowledged and valued. Betty declined to take up that position and asked for Julie to support her to address her difficult abuse history. In saying she wanted to

know if Marie could 'go the distance' Betty appeared less interested in issues of culture than wanting to know if Marie could support her.

And so she wanted to know that I would be okay when she told me her story. And once I was able to talk with her about "Oh well, in counselling we've got supervisors and I can go and do that, and that's my job to look after me, and I'm fine to be sitting here with you. I'm really, you know, wanting to do that." It was fine really, the issue of culture.

In these first moments of this counselling relationship there was a lot happening. Marie had sought to centre culture, but in response Betty sought to centre her need to be able to address the abuse issues she had experienced with a skilled counsellor. Marie's assurances about her ability to hold Betty's issues safely were significant for the successful establishment of a therapeutic relationship. And although Marie comments "It was fine really, the issue of culture", this should not be read as saying that culture was not relevant. I return to the relevance of culture to this counselling relationship shortly.

Marie reflected that she had had significant doubts as she prepared for the meeting:

Certainly I did not feel well positioned to begin work with this woman – I felt overwhelmed and pressured by high expectations that there was something I could do that might make a difference. I remember feelings of hopelessness sneaking in; try as I might to keep them at bay.

These high expectations came from several directions; from Child Youth and Family as referrer, from Betty as the client and from Marie's practice identity. Nor was Betty well positioned. Although a long-term victim of domestic violence herself she had recently used significant violence on her partner. She had had her child taken by CYF and had been told that this counselling had to be "successful" if she were to have a "chance" to regain custody.

In this practice example like the previous one, the client is positioned as "the unfit parent", the object of state or in Foucault's terms sovereign power. It is quite likely that Betty would have seen Marie as an agent of state power, which was a power that she had to submit to if her hopes of regaining custody of her child

were to be realised. In Butler's terms, submission as the object of state power was the condition for the possibility of mastery, which in this situation would be, becoming subjectified as a possibly fit parent (1995, pp. 45-46).

Despite all these potential and real difficulties a counselling relationship was established and positive outcomes were achieved.

One of the participants asked Marie:

Do you think if you hadn't opened that space and negotiated that beginning you wouldn't have got that information?

Marie had two responses, one was immediate and in the research conversation, the second came as an online reflection. Firstly she said:

Absolutely.

I absolutely think that. But it's interesting that the question was informed by my understandings about culture, but what it bought up for her was something completely different which was just so surprising because I was trying to attend to that, and she didn't give a stuff about culture. She was more concerned about professional practice I guess.

Later in an online reflection Marie expressed it this way.

Her indication that she was looking for resilience in a counsellor, not necessarily a cultural fit, eased my sense of discomfort and I felt more able to press on with the work. When I think about culture, gender and age, I was bridging culture, but we were both women and of similar age.

This comment indicates a positioning shift for Marie as the counselling got underway. She was not now positioned disadvantageously by a discourse of cultural (in)appropriateness and she had been able to position herself as a counsellor who practiced ethically and took responsibility for the impact on her of her client's stories. The work was still challenging, but it had become possible. This position taken up by Marie in a counselling discourse appears to have offered Betty agency in the client position.

There is also another reading of this situation. Culture can be interpreted and communicated in a number of ways in counselling. Perhaps the dominant mode of imagining the communication of culture is through the incorporation of elements of tikanga⁹ or kawa¹⁰ in a meeting; for example, greeting the client in Māori, sharing whakawhanaungatanga (seeking connections), karakia (prayer). Here the invitation to incorporate such elements of culture as Marie offered was declined by Betty. But the assurance Betty sought that Marie would be resilient does call a value that Māori and Pākehā share into the relationship. If I read Betty's concern for counsellor resilience as a production of a Māori discourse, then Marie's response to this offers a more nuanced reading for Marie's work in 'bridging culture'.

Marie had these final thoughts about her way of working with Māori.

For myself as a counsellor the hardest has been to reconcile the ideas about Māori working with Māori – what right do I have to work with Māori? That leads me to a very tentative way of working with Māori, which I think can be agentic for client and counsellor.

Marie's tentative approach offered Betty a position to speak up for what she wanted and needed from this counselling relationship. Once she was assured that her needs were able to be supported by Marie a successful counselling relationship was initiated. While this approach to the negotiation of a therapeutic relationship appears to be on terms significantly different from the previous account's, it also involves a counsellor and client working within the constraints of sovereign power.

This account also offers rich reading of subjectification in relation to a person seeking to take up her Pākehā identity in the third moment of Pākehā identity. In recasting Frankenberg's (1993) three moments I drew forward the premise Frankenberg emphasised that each moment was defined in terms of the preceding moments. It appears that as Marie enters into this counselling relationship she is strongly influenced by tino rangatiratanga/Māori sovereignty discourses. These discourses come from and have been productive of the identity politics of the

⁹ Correct procedure

¹⁰ Protocol

Māori renaissance that I have previously referred to. These discourses have influenced those Pākehā who have chosen to step into the moment of Treaty honouring. As a woman taking up a Pākehā identity Marie is respectfully aware of these discourses and seeks to bring forward that awareness in her counselling practice. She questions whether she should work with Māori and credits her ability to do this to the vulnerability that she experiences as a Pākehā working with Māori. This careful approach enables Marie to work for the cultural safety of her client and herself. I take this theorising further in Chapter 7.

I now consider practice examples where counsellor and client had less knowledge of each other's culture than any of the previous examples.

Greater levels of cultural difference

In the previous section Marie wrote about 'bridging culture' with her client but that they were both women and of similar age. Also the cultures she was bridging between – Pākehā and Māori – are each well known to those who identify as either, or both. In this section the two practice stories appear to display greater degrees of separation between counsellor and client than all of the previous examples in this chapter. In both of these stories the counsellor's positioning is important. The positions that the counsellor is called into, and the positions that the counsellor takes up, directly influence the positions available to the client and so the outcome for the client from the counselling relationship.

Lesley: Is the counsellor lazy?

Part of Lesley's work is carried out in an agency that works with people who need rehabilitation after a physical injury. Lesley explained that the clients that she sees have generally worked with two or three health professionals before they are referred to her. These health professionals generally work in a time limited and direct fashion which is in contrast with the way in which Lesley works. Thus some people come to their counselling appointment:

... actually expecting somebody to sit down and .. speak really quickly and tick boxes and stuff and when we sit back.... I was told by one young woman who is ...[a] second generation ... Chinese New Zealander.... that...

she thought... I was probably being quite lazy. Other people knew their jobs, I clearly didn't.

That this client thought her counsellor was 'lazy' and did not know her job indicated a call to Leslie into a completely non-agentic position within a Chinese discourse of appropriate behaviour, which Leslie may not have immediately recognised, but which had the effect of road blocking the conversation and the possibility of a therapeutic relationship until it was addressed. Leslie said the client's statement "felt like a little bit of an onslaught". Responding to this sense of onslaught enabled Leslie to position herself more agentively.

I asked her if she minded if I slowed down... so I could write things down so we could talk about them.

Slowing down enabled Leslie to attend to the process of counselling through a focus on the client's concerns. A dialogue became possible as Leslie consulted her client about the understandings that informed the initial comment about laziness.

...she clearly thought that because of, not only where she'd been immediately before, but also in her home and in her life, and in her culture, people do rather than think. It's specific people in that culture [who] have the right to sit and think and ponder and others need to do.

The client was expecting that Leslie should be 'doing' not 'thinking'. This discussion began to establish a platform for a counselling relationship. In later reflections, Leslie shared more of the part of the conversation just after Leslie had been called 'lazy':

I talked about that with her and we discussed why I was doing what I was doing – that I couldn't walk her journey and that I hadn't had her journeying to this point to understand what was happening for her.

The idea of positioning – and the fact that we are placed in roles and that we might choose to be more or less agentic –was something that ... absolutely fascinated her.

[S]he suddenly said: You are making me do the work and that means that it is going to stick isn't it?

Lesley had shared some ideas about the effect of the client's positioning on her and this evoked a discourse of exploration that positioned the client with considerable agency. There was considerable cultural difference present in this conversation. There was a significant potential that the culturally specific discourses would offer incomprehensible and non-agentic positions to either party. Lesley's skill in only taking up positions that offered her agency provided a way to bridge these cultures.

Lesley's account also introduces a new element to this discussion of positioning as she reports talking about positioning theory with her client. This conversation enabled the client to understand the counselling process and offered her a resource to take into her life.

Marie's story, which follows, incorporates a similar degree of cultural difference.

Marie: positioning from another cultural discourse

In the online reflection after the first meeting I invited 'thoughts about negotiating relationships' Marie shared a story of cross-cultural challenges. Here the positioning Marie was called into by particular cultural discourses offered her undesired agency in terms of the those discourses.

I met with a young woman from Asia who clearly had different ideas from me about what counselling entailed. She would come, spend 10 minutes telling me her problems and then sit back expectantly waiting for me to tell her what to do. I found this extremely difficult as my understandings were informed by ideas of collaboration and exploration, and being positioned as some wise sage who knew the "right answer" was problematic for me. Even when I asked questions she would read into them that I thought something about her situation.

The invitation to act as a "sage" conflicted with Marie's preferred ways of working. Marie was able to respond to this situation by inviting the client to share the effects for her of working in that cultural frame.

What I found helped to navigate this cultural difference was asking her more about her culture and how some of the dominant ideas about counselling worked in her culture. She talked about a wise person who

would know what to do in her life and would tell her what to do, so I was able to ask her how that was for her and whether there were difficulties doing it that way. She said that it meant that every time she had a problem she had to go to someone to ask advice and that was very time-consuming, and sometimes they advised her in ways that went against her ideas and that made things even more tricky. She then said that she did have a preference to be her own advisor.

Marie's exploration brought forward the information that the culturally prescribed way of working with problems by seeking advice was not problem-free for the client. An advice-seeking discourse positioned this client with limited agency. Any advice she received would later need to be worked on to fit her life, or be worked against. Marie identified the way her narratively informed approach shaped this practice

So I guess if I was to name what I was doing in working with this cultural backdrop, it was staying curious and asking about effects and whether they fitted with the person's hopes, dreams, intentions, for her life.

In this pair of examples a very wide degree of cultural separation produced initially limiting positions for the counsellors. They were able to shift the positions available to them by drawing on the broad frame of their practice theory, narrative therapy.

In the next chapter I bring forward more accounts of practice in which the participants have reflected upon aspects of their positioning and then in response to these reflections have opened up new understandings about the effects of discursive positioning on them as practitioners and consequently new strategies in relation to non-agentive position calls.

Chapter 6: Conversations about discourse, positioning and Narrative Therapy.

In this chapter I introduce and consider a selection of transcripts with an emphasis on discourse, positioning and a reflexive connection between the research process and practice. All of the examples in this chapter either originated in the second meeting or were re-introduced in that meeting. In the first meeting I invited discussion of Pākehā identity formation and the implications for participants of practising with awareness of their dominant culture identity. Most of the transcripts included in the previous chapter came from the first meeting. After the first meeting I introduced a shift of focus onto reflections on discourse and positioning in relation to counselling practice. The examples in this chapter can be seen as demonstrations both of discourse analysis and deconstruction that arose from this shift.

Marie sought to identify a discourse which had shaped the first meeting.

...[A] discourse I've noticed operating as we were speaking was around the idea that as a professional counsellor who is positioned, [as] white middle class woman or male - that we have .. an added responsibility in working with Māori or other marginalized cultures, that we have much more responsibility to attend to the politics in the counselling room - and I think that discourse was sitting in the background of what we were talking about.

...

And I think the position call that brings me to when I'm thinking about working with Māori is around a real tentative place, a kind of questioning about whether I even should be [doing that].

Marie has identified a discourse and the associated positioning offered to her without naming it here. She describes this discourse as being “around the idea” that a Pākehā counsellor needs to work with an added responsibility and links this discourse both to practices of attending to the politics “in the counselling room”, and a position call to be tentative. I am identifying this discourse as Cultural Safety (Ramsden, 2003). This term was introduced by Marie in the first meeting

and it has a strong resonance in social service, which draws on cultural safety's use in nursing practice in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I have already discussed a practice story shared by Marie (subtitled: *'I just want to know you can go the distance'*) where she was initially positioned non-agentically by discourses of cultural safety. Her careful attention to this position call and cautious use of the agency that she had available to her appeared to then offer her client agency to name what she needed in the counselling relationship with the effect that they negotiated a successful counselling relationship. In a following section I will show initially how Marie identified being positioned by these Cultural Safety discourses and then the effects of her reflexive engagement with these discourses and the positionings they offered her. By maintaining this reflexivity over the four phases of the research process she was able to seek and notice situations where she could take up more agentic positions.

In the balance of this chapter I consider in some detail three accounts of individual practice development that arose from attention to the discursive context of practice and one deconstructive discussion selected from the second research meeting.

Reflexive practice developments arising from participation in the research project.

I believe that the following practice accounts are significant as they point to a way in which practitioners can develop their practice through a process of reflective analysis of their discursive positioning. This research project was not designed with an expectation that it would lead to significant shifts in participant's practice although I did intend that participation would contribute to their ongoing professional development. However, in this final part of this chapter I focus on three practice accounts that stand quite differently from the practice stories that preceded them in chapter five.

What distinguishes these three accounts is the way in which the counsellors were able to use their engagement in the research process to focus on the discursive contexts of their practice and identify how in specific situations they were beginning to challenge position calls that they experienced as problematic. Janet brought to the second meeting an example of supervision practice informed both

by her involvement in this research project and a recent professional development programme. Marie and Ann, each raised a practice issue in the first research meeting and returned to it in later phases. Both reflected on this issue in the first online reflection and then each reported a re-positioning in the second research meeting that produced developments in their practice. Ann also used the final online reflection to story the practice transformation she had made by deconstruction and analysis of the discursive context of an aspect of her practice.

Janet: seeking to re-position counsellor and client by considering discursive effects of colonisation

In this example Janet describes how her participation in the research project strengthened her commitment to focusing on the particular discursive effects of colonisation for Māori who live in the same area as her. When Janet introduced the concept of colonisation my understanding is that she was treating ‘colonisation’ as a discourse in the sense established by Said (1979) in relation to ‘Orientalism’. As I show in the example that follows here she could also be seen as invoking a discourse of post-colonialism as well as counselling discourses. I make this distinction because she is wanting to explore and deconstruct the effects of colonisation in the life of her client. This is a postcolonial purpose (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999).

This example that Janet introduced related to a conversation where she was acting in the role of professional supervisor and the counsellor – a counselling student on practicum - was describing her work with a client. Janet took into this conversation some positioning from her involvement in this research project, which she valued as offering reconnection with important theories, and from a recent domestic violence training which had been based on the rituals of encounter that constitute pōwhiri protocol. Janet describes a turning point for her in this supervision conversation.

We got quite excited about externalizing depression and that sort of thing and then I said to her what was the ethnicity of this person? Because she had hadn’t mentioned [it] but, I had sort of started thinking: “She’s saying [the client is] from a small town up north”.

Implicit in this comment is Janet's knowledge of there being a high Māori population in this small town "up north". Here the positioning that Janet has referred to is offering both her and the student counsellor a broader range of sites for curiosity. The counsellor's response that the client was a young Māori woman offered a clear path for this curiosity to follow. Janet described:

...opening up a discussion ... taking it out of the externalizing in the context of [depression] to thinking of colonization, the context, the impact of colonization on depression, and just broadening it out to thinking much further back with that. And then thinking of positioning, as to what position is a young Māori woman offered and what influences does that have on depression? And whether her parents were - how they were positioned? And what difference that meant? And what the stories were about how it was to be a young woman in a small town? And how [the client] could or couldn't behave and what the identity issues were?

In this description Janet is describing a repertoire of narratively framed questions for the counsellor to consider. These are questions designed to help the client to externalise (White, 2007; White & Epston, 1990) depression in the context of colonisation so that the client may experience agency in relation to the broader context of her life and not just the immediate symptoms of depression.

Janet returned to this same supervision setting later in this second research meeting when she acknowledged that as an active feminist who had participated in the consciousness raising activities in the 1970s she was well versed in the discourses of domestic violence and their effects, but less in the discourses of colonisation.

I'm just thinking of the transcript that I looked at yesterday with [a counsellor whose client is] a young Māori woman who says, "I think I was a troublesome teenager looking back and I think I got into alcohol and drugs and maybe the depression started about then". Of thinking in terms of context of colonization...how was that person positioned? I mean we could just externalize. We could do a nice narrative job on just externalizing depression and [ask]; "How big is depression?" And, "What does it look like?"

If Janet were to support an inquiry which focussed on depression without addressing the client's cultural context, she would have been held on the second moment of Pākehā identity – the moment of indifference and assimilation. However Janet decides chooses to invite the student counsellor to consider the client's cultural context and so achieves a position in the third moment of Pākehā identity – the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring. As she does this she also invites the student counsellor to take up a position in the third moment. Janet continued:

But thinking of the social justice aspects that Māori call us to look at as well...in terms of colonization in a small town. What position is a young Māori woman offered? What are the stories about what it means to be a young Māori woman growing up in a small rural town? How do you make your way in the world? What was the thinking of then - the social context say 10 or 15 years ago - in some of the rural areas in New Zealand? Where you say that that some of the rural areas were quite depressed at that time, [and] thinking of shifting depression from the individual into not only a an economic context, but also on the history of colonization as well.

Here Janet is giving a rich picture of engaging with discourse in practice through a curiosity about the client's positioning. She has described experiencing a strong sense of agency in practising with discourses of domestic violence and feeling less well versed in practising with the discourses of colonisation. However Janet used two experiences to position her to focus more strongly on colonisation discourse: her involvement in this research project and the recent domestic violence training shaped around pōwhiri. Thus she declines the invitation to focus only on the presenting problem or as she said "do a nice narrative job on just externalizing depression". Rather she chooses to broaden her focus by being curious about the effects of colonisation – and then goes beyond that to consider economic conditions in the small town where the client lives and how that positions this young Māori client. In this example Janet's critical engagement with the effects of colonisation on the life of the client that the student counsellor brought to supervision comes from Janet deliberately taking a position in post-colonial discourse. Janet is offering the counsellor she is supervising an approach

to her ongoing work with the client which potentially broadens the counsellor's approach to the client's experience as the client might understand it. Depression can now be discussed in the whole context of the client's life. Because this client identifies as Māori this approach is modelling practice supportive of Article two of the Treaty of Waitangi, which guarantees tino rangatiratanga. Janet's supervision offers this student counsellor resources to support the client to achieve tino rangatiratanga once depression is seen in the context of the client's cultural identity and colonisation.

In the final two sections of this chapter I will share two significant examples where first Marie and then Ann took up the invitation which the research process offered them to reflect on discourses which they were experiencing as positioning them problematically in relation to aspects of their practice. I will show how through this process of analysis and deconstruction of the discourses each was able to identify and take up positions which offered them significantly more agency.

Marie: analysing the discursive context of 'silencing'

This section focuses on a development in thinking and practice around a "binary of silence and voice" that Marie noted in the first online reflection and then in the second research meeting. It may be characterised in Marie's words as: "for Māori to have a voice there was a need for Pākehā to stay silent". The discussion around silencing also invoked 'Cultural Safety', which I introduced in chapter three as a hegemonic discourse for social practice in Aotearoa. All of the participants were concerned about 'silencing' as a challenging practice issue.

Initially I investigate the emergence of the concept of 'silencing' in the first research meeting. Next I outline Marie's use of this concept in the first meeting. Then I consider her online reflection between the two research meetings and finally I discuss the development in her practice that Marie described in the second research meeting.

The concept of 'silencing' emerges

A concern for the potential to act "in ways that are inappropriate, that might silence the voices of the people with whom I'm working" was first raised by Lesley, who said that Kuia had advised her "go with my heart". Her response was

to “make sure that I am walking with respectfulness with whoever I’m working and continually checking back with them um my assumptions about positionings I might be making of them rather than listening to what their position is and their view of what their troubles and challenges are” Her hope was to learn “to be tentative as opposed to certain in how I work with them”.

Marie immediately followed Lesley and spoke of the fear that she may bring “oppressive practices from her culture” into counselling that could lead to:

a sense of having power over somebody and that when that starts to happen the other person loses voice, loses agency.

Both these initial references to the concept of silencing located this as a risk for clients. Both comments located the potential for silencing in the actions of the counsellor.

Marie continued on a theme of silence with a shift to her work context where Pākehā colleagues felt their cultural concerns weren’t being listened to:

And as a person in an organization that has to take up a leadership position from time to time, I find it really difficult [when] sometimes Pākehā staff feel very irate and excluded because there is a lot of consultation, there’s a lot of talking to Māori about what would work for them, but in that practice there’s [Pākehā] people feeling not heard and their culture not being valued ... and [I have the task of] trying to find ways to invite them to come along and to see the value of [consulting Māori, it] is a real challenge. And I struggle at times with how ... to find practices that include everybody and to think about that.

While this comment was not directly related to ‘Pākehā silencing’ it can be seen as implicit here when it is Pākehā “feeling not heard and their culture not being valued”. This context, of Pākehā staff feeling threatened by consultation about Māori needs, returns as the context of the changes in practice Marie described in the second research meeting and which are detailed later in this section.

‘Silencing’ emerged again later in the first research meeting in a conversation between Marie, Ann and Janet. This is the first time that the actual word

‘silencing’ was used. This conversation arose from Janet’s comments about not being able to challenge in the way Māori did (*Janet: whose performance is being reviewed?*). Marie returned to her earlier account of how some Pākehā staff in her workplace felt attention to Māori voices was happening at their expense:

I think it’s that bending over backwards thing, that I was speaking about before, with Pākehā staff feeling that management are bending over backwards to bring forward Māori voices to hear them, to give them a place within our organization.

This was a problem that Marie found difficult to address. How should she work with Pākehā staff who resisted the agency’s efforts to address cultural issues? Ann, referring back to Janet’s story, where she had not felt able to join the direct and critical feedback that was directed to the Māori manager of a community agency by her Māori peers on the management committee, responded

So the effect of that is like a silencing isn’t it? It’s a silencing of the Pākehā voice. At times for various reasons you couldn’t step in, you couldn’t do it.

Janet then wondered if any of the silencing came from Pākehā shame of being colonisers, and Ann responded:

Yeah probably, probably it’s part of that. But part of it is because you know why should they listen to me? I mean it’s very much tricky. It’s like not wanting to give offence and it does verge on that paternalistic thing as well. At what point does silencing become: “Oh come on lets leave them [Māori] to work this out for themselves”.

Ann’s words here are powerfully informed by her experiences of choosing to take up a Pākehā identity within that historical period which I referred in chapter three as the Māori renaissance. There have been a multiplicity of discursive effects for Māori and Pākehā from the events of this period. One has been effects for Pākehā of Māori calls for sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga. In chapter five I have noted Janet’s references to the acts of separation in the 1990s where some agencies split into two with the intention of honouring calls that Māori needs should be met by Māori. As examples: the Hamilton Women’s Refuge split into separate Tangata

and Taiwi organisations; nationally Marriage Guidance's service to Māori was split off as Te Korowai Aroha; in 1993 NZAC supported a call by their sole Māori Life Member for the establishment of Te Whariki Tautoko as a separate organisation for Māori counsellors (Hermansson, 1999). In this context many Pākehā counsellors who wanted to move to from the second moment of Pākehā identity – that of indifference and assimilation – sought to avoid giving offence or acting in ways that might be perceived as paternalistic. So powerful discursive effects of this history echo through Ann's comments, both above and as Ann continues:

How do you do that dance? I'm trying to think of an example. I know that recently I have thought; "Well I actually can't say anything about this; that's not my place to say something here". But what I could do is go and talk with Māori, with other people, other Māori about what's happening. So it is about having other ways to speak about what I want to say and what might be a concern or not.

And in this response Ann presages Marie's eventual conclusion when she identifies a way forward from a situation where she feels constrained from speaking in one forum by seeking another forum where she could speak. While she doesn't specify the context, except that she later says it is within her institution, she identifies that she would be able to find a way to speak to a Māori colleague privately.

Marie's use of silencing

So far Marie has used the concept of silencing in relation to clients who may lose voice and in relation to Pākehā staff who feel that Māori staff are being listened to more than they, the Pākehā staff, are. Next and almost directly after the previous extract above Marie speaks of "a fear which stops me speaking" which she illustrated saying:

We've talked about a fear of offence, but also...if we give offence then what that does to a reputation? When there's been a lot bandied about around cultural safety and you know a fear for me of getting that label of culturally unsafe keeps me from ever speaking up unless I know who I am speaking with and comfortable with the people.

Here Marie invokes the discourse of cultural safety (Ramsden, 2003; Wepa, 2005) and indicates a negative effect which may occur if she speaks outside of a relationship of trust. If she were to speak among Māori who she does not know and feel comfortable with she would be risking a label as being culturally unsafe. Marie is indicating that some of the contexts she works in are potentially politicised in relation to cultural identity.

Next Ann asks:

So it's built on a relationship? To actually say the hard things you've got to have that relationship with the person?

Marie appears to agree with this as she responds by saying:

And silencing comes from fear of not knowing how what you say will be interpreted or labelled so sometimes I don't say things, hold it back and either think its not my place, or I'm not going there.

The first two times she used 'silencing' it was in relation to others: clients who may lose voice and Pākehā staff she was leading who felt that Māori voices were having more effect than theirs. Here she is speaking about the personal risk of speaking out and names the discourse of cultural safety which could be invoked to sanction her behaviour. When she thinks the risk is too great she will not say anything. The third moment of Pākehā identity describes the position that Marie and the other participants are striving for, and it incorporates cultural safety. When Marie chooses silence in more the public contexts she has described here she is prioritising her safety. This represents one element of a move towards the third moment. Marie acknowledges that the opinions of people who do not know her well could damage her reputation.

I will now focus on Marie's reflection on the emergence of 'silencing'.

Marie takes the opportunity to reflect

In the online reflection Marie posted these thoughts:

I'm not sure whether this discourse relates to counselling practice as such, but as I read the transcript and thought about our conversation I noticed the idea that in order for Māori to have a voice there was a need for

Pākehā to stay silent. I think that this is a binary position that offers participants only silence or voice. We spoke about feeling silenced as Pākehā at times in our workplaces around cultural matters and I wondered whether this idea was useful as Māori and Pākehā negotiate relationship in broader society. It's harder to relate this to counselling practice as the Pākehā counsellor is not in the room with the purpose of having a voice.

Here Marie is responding not just to her own use of the concept of silencing but also to all the uses of silence and voice in the first research conversation (which I have included above). She has not yet fully taken up a new position, however she has noticed the binary way in which silencing and voice were used in the research conversation and is searching for a way to escape the restrictive positioning of the binary which she had expressed as “in order for Māori to have a voice there was a need for Pākehā to stay silent”.

I responded in this way, posing some questions which I hoped with assist Marie to deconstruct the discourses which were producing these concerns about silence and voice.

I'm interested in investigating binaries and... problematising them.

Is the voice/silencing thing here from post-colonial/anti-racist discourse?

Is it useful as more than a beginning strategy?

How do you mean that a Pākehā counsellor is not in the room with the purpose of having a voice? How does that sit with your other example about working with an Asian woman? She did not want you to be silent. The discourse of counselling for her was about the need to receive advice. For you it was not about advice giving, but did involve curiosity.

And then the strong theme in the transcript from the first meeting which arose from your concerns was about being silenced or silencing self so as not to be called to account in terms of discourse of cultural safety.

I'd be interested to read more of your thoughts about this. And this can come into our [next research] meeting.

Marie did not respond online to this question. She did return to 'silencing' in the second research meeting.

Marie reports a change in practice

Early in the next meeting Marie responded to the question “What were the discourses which produced the first meeting” by sharing what she had been thinking and doing between meetings about the apparent binary of silence and voice.

I think for me after I looked through the transcript the thing that struck me the most was that I, and I posted it on line, about the binary of silence or voice and how capturing that can be for me, and in that starting to think about: “Okay so I can be silenced”. But then, finding exceptions to that. Finding the times that I do have voice, that I do have some agency and I am able to speak up. And thinking, so what are the conditions that make that possible? And, I think it comes back to that kind of relationship stuff.

Marie is describing a reflexive process here where she confronted the discursive conditions that strongly positioned her for silence rather than voice in relation to working with Māori. Present in this conversation is the echo of the earlier comment she had made about not risking a reputation for being culturally unsafe which contributes to silencing when she is in a context with people who do not know her well. She continued:

When there’s a relationship there, and there’s dialogue... it’s possible for both Māori and Pākehā to have voice together. And that’s been tremendously hopeful for me in terms of just noticing that. Because I had been captured by that “silenced” kind of discourse and thinking that it’s almost like the history. We’ve moved on, got to a place where...there is dialogue, there’s much more openness around talking around cultural issues.

There is a strong evocation of the broader discursive context of those meetings where Marie may or may not be positioned to speak. The broader context is influenced by the shifts in relationships between Māori and the Crown on a national level and locally between Māori and Pākehā social service workers as the Treaty of Waitangi has become acknowledged as a primary practice metaphor. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the primary call by Māori for Treaty rights was for Māori Sovereignty (Awatere Huata, 1984). This was enacted in the social services

by several significant divisions of services. Within this political context it is more easily understood that Pākehā may have chosen not to speak in contexts where they were not well known. However now Marie is reflecting that “we” - Māori and Pākehā – have moved on and reached a place where dialogue is more possible. While I have been using the three moments of Pākehā identity to understand personal positioning Marie is indicating that there may be a need for a similar concept to describe the shifts from the early 1990s to the present. As Marie continued she described the learning that her reflection on the first research meeting brought for her.

But I guess I was intrigued at how I had been silenced by those ideas. And so just picking up on noticing when I’m speaking, and what makes that possible, has been the biggest thing that has come out of participating in that last conversation.

Marie has an insight from this reflection about how some positioning has had effects for her in the past. The fear she had experienced that she might be identified as ‘culturally unsafe’ had predisposed her towards silence when in doubt. The broader context which produced Marie’s fear around speaking out, was the effects of Māori assertions of tino rangatiratanga or Māori sovereignty for someone who took up a Pākehā identity.

This refusal of the voice-silence binary which Marie had also described as ‘Pākehā needing to remain silent in order for Māori can speak’ adds nuance to the third moment of Pākehā identity, the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring. Pākehā silence to enable Māori voice may be seen as sitting between the second and third moments. In this context dialogue may be desirable but seem too risky for a Pākehā practitioner who wants to avoid both intentional indifference and assimilation but also to avoid being seen as having that intention. In order to move past the second moment Pākehā silence might be important. If Pākehā are to be able to move into the third moment then dialogue becomes necessary. This cross-cultural dialogue in the third moment is always contingent on relationships within a frame of cultural safety.

This refusal of binary that Marie described (both as ‘voice/silence’ and as ‘Pākehā must be silent so that Māori can speak’) adds nuance to the third moment of

Pākehā identity: the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring. Pākehā silence to enable Māori voice may be seen as being s transitional between the second and third moments. In order to move past the second moment Pākehā silence was important. Once the third moment is taken up then dialogue becomes possible, desirable, necessary, but always contingent on relationships within a cultural safety frame.

Marie next wanted to explore the possibilities of encouraging a wider occurrence of dialogue.

And also thinking about: “So if it’s possible to speak about these things how do we create more spaces?” Because we all talked about how unusual it was as a group of Pākehā [these research participants] to be sitting around talking about this. But really stimulating, so thinking about how can we create other opportunities? And what it’s led to at work for me, we’ve had some really interesting cultural kind of things running through our work place for the Noho Marae coming up and a lot of resistance from Pākehā staff about that. And it’s been really interesting that I’ve felt freed up to actually speak to them [pakeha staff] about their concerns and [to] invite the dialogue about that, and get them to talk to the [Māori] group that are organizing the noho and tell them about their concerns. Without that kind of fear of: “Oh my God, I’m starting off a cultural war or something if people talk about their concerns”. It’s actually just going: “Let’s talk about this”. So it’s opened up space for dialogue and for me to feel a little bit more comfortable to talk about some of what I would call probably harder stuff. You know stuff that I would have avoided and been silent about in the past.

This does represent quite a significant shift from the positions explored by Marie in the first meeting. There Marie showed concern about silencing which she sometimes experienced and she also shared the difficulty for her as a practice leader in encouraging Pākehā staff to support the bi-cultural journey in her organisation. Through this reflexive process Marie has become able to recognise and take up a position which offers her more agency and can act more effectively as a leader in encouraging dialogue between Māori and Pākehā staff in her

workplace without fear of starting a “cultural war”. Some of the “harder stuff” has become easier.

I argue that the reflexive use that Marie made of her participation in the research enabled her to shift her practice so that she could lead the deepening of cross cultural dialogue in her workplace. By reflecting on ‘silencing’ and ‘voice’ she became more aware of those contexts that offered her cultural safety and those which did not. She then experienced herself as being able to encourage her Pākehā colleagues to address concerns with their Māori colleagues. Once she had become clear that dialogue is more possible within trusting relationships she could encourage Pākehā staff in her agency to discuss concerns with Māori colleagues without fearing that this would escalate tension within the agency. For Marie to take up the postcolonial moment of Pakeha identity required working within relationships of trust and also a reflection on the shifts that have been occurring within the broader society and finding a position to take advantage of those shifts.

Ann: challenging a disabling position arising from post-colonial discourse.

In this example I bring together transcripts from each phase of the research to demonstrate a transformational development in practice and practice identity that Ann attributes to her involvement in this research project. I also weave into this account Narrative Therapy understandings of identity development which I introduced in Chapter Two. I am referring to White’s (1990) explanation that identity results from the selective storying of personal experience, which I would equate with moments of subjectification. New moments of subjectification can be incorporated into a shift in identity if adequately storied.

Ann, was relatively recently appointed to a counselling position in a secondary school after working in a community agency where there had been significant emphasis on addressing cultural needs. Awareness of cultural needs was less evident in the school. She spoke of a recurring issue which challenged her.

I really struggle in my work with young Māori males. Because... I have this fear that I can’t meet their need and part of me says well actually... that’s not necessarily true, and part of me thinks, that they need strong role

models. You know that, that whole discourse about strong Māori role models rather than having the opportunity to have a conversation.

Ann was not indifferent to the issues that young Māori males faced. She experienced discursive restraints that limited her agency in relation to working with them. The delight that she experienced in working within Māori networks and the ease that this brought establishing a relationship with a young Māori female was absent from this comment (see chapter five: *Ann*).

These restraints came from a discourse which I am naming as ‘young Māori males need strong Māori role models’ that has a genealogy that can be traced to the assertion of Māori Rangatiratanga which became prominent from the 1970s. Rangatiratanga is a word that was developed for the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi and literally refers to the rights of chieftainship and is sometimes translated as sovereignty.

In the social service community the provision of appropriate services for Māori, which must include access to Māori staff, became imperative following a review of complaints of racist practice in the Department of Social Welfare (Department of Social Welfare, 1988). There has been an ongoing call for Māori to work with Māori and also recognition that there is not always a Māori worker available. Along with the other participants Ann also spoke of the choice that some Māori made to work with Pākehā because Pākehā workers would be outside of whanau (family) links, which may be seen as problematic by those Māori clients.

In her work Ann was expected to see Māori clients and she viewed working with young Māori males as problematic. This ‘young Māori males need strong Māori role models’ discourse offered her a non-agentive position of being the inappropriate worker for such a client were she to proceed to act as counsellor. This discourse had the effect of positioning her with very limited agency in relation to young Māori males because it convinced her that her gender and ethnicity were not appropriate. This school did not have a male Māori counsellor although there was a part-time female counsellor who was Māori. If Ann were not to work with young Māori males then counselling within the school might not be easily available for this section of the school population.

On the other hand the transcript excerpt quoted above shows that this ‘young Māori male’ discourse was not the only discourse that influenced her work with young Māori male students; there was a counter position potentially available to Ann. This was indicated when she said: “part of me says well actually... you know that’s not necessarily true”. This alternative discourse would support a broader approach to client-counsellor matching than gender and ethnic specificity. However the young Māori male discourse was dominant at this time.

In terms of narrative counselling theory (White, 2007) Ann has developed her practice identity in the same way she understands her life which is in the terms of a story which draws together experiences in a consistent manner but which does not include all of her experience. If her practice identity story includes some problematic interactions with young male Māori then she is perhaps more likely to experience the ‘young Māori male’ discourse as dominant. It is equally possible that in her significant professional experience Ann will have had successful outcomes working with Māori males. However, until she engaged in this research project she had not been able to counter that part of her practice identity story that was dominated by the young Māori male discourse.

Ann’s reflections on discourse lead to shifts in her thinking

Ann’s thinking about her practice with young Māori males began to shift as she accepted the invitation to reflect on the discursive context of her contribution to the first meeting discussed above.

[I] have had a few more thoughts on discourses and positionings that I am experiencing.

In the context of working with young Māori men, I think there has been for me a very strong "culturally appropriate" discourse operating ... This discourse assumes that "like working with like" is more equitable...

Ann is connecting the ‘young Māori male’ discourse with those dominant counselling discourses which support the ideal of reducing power imbalances by client and counsellor matching, or as she says "like working with like". She then considers the genealogy of the ‘young Māori male’ discourse in her life as she

considered her early experiences as a teacher. While this discourse developed in the broader society it had discursive 'allies', as she later says, and some of these were active in her early teaching experience.

The "counsellor" discourse has been supported in my thinking about my early experiences teaching, where I have struggled to connect with some young Māori men. At the time I thought; "They don't respect Pākehā women". Now I'm more likely to think that there was something in my approach that didn't connect with them - hence leading to blocks in respect going both ways in the relationship.

The potential for a shift is emerging as Ann considers other factors in her professional practice saying: "Now I'm more likely to think that there was something in my approach that didn't connect with them". In chapter two I outlined a Narrative Therapy account of identity as resulting from the selective storying of personal experience, or as I would argue moments of subjectification. This reflection represents a further moment of subjectification. My invitation to Ann to reflect on the discourses, which produced the conversations in the first meeting, resulted in her reflecting about her positioning in relation to working with young Māori males and then she began to challenge the apparent hegemony of this discursive positioning. This process of reflection and challenging produced new moments of subjectification for Ann where her Pākehā and counselling identities influenced her reflections about the discursive (im)possibilities of "working with young Māori males". As she revisited her practice experience she identified other possibilities than: "They don't respect Pākehā women". Reviewing her earlier teaching practice she began to identify "that there was something in my approach that didn't connect with them". This reflection did not sit well with the pride in calling herself Pākehā that is recorded in chapter two. She begins to deconstruct the discourses that she had named in the first meeting and as she does a space opens up for her identity to be restoried.

As Ann continues to reflect she identifies more 'allies' to the 'young Māori male' discourse and starts to critique the binary represented here.

Another discourse also supporting this... has its basis somewhere in gender/psychology/education thinking - that boys like to be active and do

things, rather than sit around. I have interpreted this as 'an adventure therapy - type hands on approach' is more appropriate with young men. However, on thinking about this further, perhaps a 'both/and' approach is more useful. Adventure therapy/hands on may be appropriate for some people in some contexts, and so also may sitting in a counselling room having a conversation.

“*Both/and*” is an analysis of the limiting effects of the binary discursive positions that she had been subjected by and this analysis offers her agency in a way that “an adventure therapy - type hands on approach' is more appropriate with young men” discourse does not.

A shift in practice emerges

Ann’s next contribution came when she spoke with enthusiasm about a meeting she had with a year nine Māori student.

I had a really interesting conversation with a year nine boy who had been sent.[to me].. I was asked to see [him] because he’s so naughty and he’s you know heading up there as one of the ones [a troublemaker]... He’s about this high. You know this little kid.

After Ann’s initial statement I might have expected that meeting with a young male Māori student would be a challenging experience. However now Ann resisted the positioning that the ‘young Māori male’ discourse offered her.

So I thought to have a conversation with him about.. ‘what’s it been like to come to this school?’ ‘What’s it been like for you to come in here with the other kids?’ ‘What are the kind of things that the other kids have been saying to you?’

Ann began to invite the student to share his experience as a young Māori male moving in to this secondary school. Clearly she was acting from an agentive position. She continued:

And so that’s important with... position calls for him as a Māori.

She invites him to examine his experience discursively and the student is able to name the position calls for him.

Because .. we talked about [what it is] to be a young Māori boy. The other kids. There's a lot of gang influences and they [young Māori males] get called into that. They get called into being staunch and being tough and having to do things.

So I said: 'Well do you notice that with the Pākehā kids?'

He said 'no'.

'Do you notice it with the girls?'

[He said] 'A little bit, but not so much. It's different for the girls'.

As a young Māori male this client was being called to be "staunch" in ways that he did not see others, both Pākehā males and Māori females being called into. While this may appear to set up a Māori-Pākehā binary, it was more about inviting the client to explore his experience in relation to others in his year group. Ann was enthusiastic about this development and the possibilities that seemed to be opening up. Her client was also engaged in the conversation. This practice was significantly different from Ann's earlier comments about her struggles in relation to working with Māori males.

At this point Ann had declined the positioning which had been so problematic for her. Her enthusiasm in telling this story was clearly obvious. In the terms of White's (2007) mapping of identity developments as arising from transactions between the landscapes of action and identity, the way this story is told it may or may not be understood within the landscape of identity. The importance of this is that unless it is so storied it will not gain significance in terms of Ann's practice identity. Ann was clearly excited by this story and it was not clear if she had storied this within the landscape of identity. I invited Ann to reflect on her work with this young man in the final online reflection

Transformation: Ann's reflections on this shift in positioning and agency

In a final stage of reflection Ann firstly identified the context for the interventions with the young student further then went on to reflect on the ways in which her

reflections on the discursive contexts of her work had enabled her to take up agency in relation to working with young Māori males.

She described her intentions this way.

.... I wanted to offer him space to explore what it is like for him at the school. To identify some of the influences/discourses that might be impacting on him and others that students experience and teachers may not see. In identifying these discourses he would then be able to move into a more agentic position in response to them. The strong discourse that has come through for him, has been having to "prove myself" to his peers - and how that has been limited to practices of violence, rather than proving himself in other ways.

Again here Ann describes practice where she is agentic, and she is foregrounding the agency she wants to support for her client.

Next Ann described how she created space to take up an agentic position by reflecting on various discourses that came into her counselling room. She decided that the 'young Māori male' discourse brought 'allies' with it. By reflecting on this allied group of discourses she was able to resist non-agentic positions for herself and – at least within the counselling room - for her client.

"Males need strong role models" - Is also associated with one of "young male Māori need male Māori to work with them", and "boys need active, adventure type therapy -not sitting talking".

When I think of the first discourse, it immediately conjures up the second two as well. I think on looking at them, the "not" phrase in the last discourse listed brings into relief the implicit "not" in the other two. I.e.:

"Males need strong role modes NOT soft women"

"Young male Māori need male Māori to work with them NOT middle-aged Pākehā women"

"Boys need active, adventure type therapy NOT sitting talking [like I offer]".

This process of analysis where Ann identified the primary discourse and then identified its allies offered Ann a richer genealogy of the positioning that she had earlier described as problematic; positioning that she had later gone on to decline.

I have commented on the allies to this discourse first, because it brings the others with it, and they all offered me positions, which I chose not to take up at that time, but have been invited into in the past. At the time I talked about in our meeting, I was able to decline a non-agentive positioning by broadening the scope of the discourse from a purely binary positioning (either/or) to a both/and discourse. So for example:

"Males need strong role models AND women can show strength AND males also need softer role models AND role models are found in many places which counselling can identify ..."

"Young male Māori need male Māori to work with them AND middle-aged Pākehā women can also offer something as well"

"Boys need active, adventure type therapy AND talking therapy can also be helpful AND both kinds of therapy have their place".

So the way of declining limiting positions in this instance was not so much to argue against them and try to negate those positions, but to accept that the discourses may have a partial validity and then add to them by noticing other positions that may offered.

Ann has deconstructed the binary imperative implicit in the 'young Māori male' discourse. Earlier this had been so influential in positioning Ann with very limited agency, now she reported being able to identify other positions for herself which offered her considerably more agency.

By the end of her reflections, Ann had created new discursive space for herself as a practitioner and was able to resist position calls which previously had restricted her practice options through the operation of narrowly restrictive binaries.

As I followed these contributions in the meetings and the online reflections that followed them I realized I was privileged to be observing transformational developments in professional practice that came about as a result of the opportunities for reflexivity offered to Ann in the research process. Several months after the last reflective comments were posted I received an email from Ann.

I found it interesting in my end-of-year reflections to note that I have seen a lot more Māori young men this year than last, and I think this is due in large part to my changes in thinking about the 'appropriateness' of this through my involvement in your research.

This final reflection confirms the significance of the changes in practice that Ann had made. Ann had refused the disabling position call of the 'young Māori male' discourse, not just once but repeatedly. These changes had clearly been storied as a new part of Ann's practice identity.

I now move to draw together the philosophical and academic foundations of this research project with the results as reported in these last two chapters to discuss the theory which can be developed from this work.

Chapter 7: Making meaning, generating theory

The major focus of this chapter is a discussion of conclusions and implications that I have drawn from the data presented in the two previous chapters: Chapter 5 *What does it mean to be Pākehā and a counsellor?* and Chapter 6 *Conversations about discourse, positioning and Narrative Therapy*. In this discussion I share conclusions that I have reached about the reflexive relationship between the theoretical foundations of this study, the data generated through the study and the interpretations of the data that the participants and I have made. I then discuss implications of these findings for professional practice. I offer two concepts to the counselling practice community that I identify as having potential to contribute significantly to achieving more nuanced practice in relation to culture. I name these concepts *critical discursive praxis* and *critical Pākehā praxis*.

However before I engage in those discussions I first discuss the effectiveness of the research design that I employed and the value within that of meetings shaped by ideas from the Public Conversations project.

Reflections on the research method that I employed

From the inception of this research project I wanted to design a process that centred the participants and as far as possible decentred me as researcher. I wanted to be respectful of the participants and the practice accounts that they chose to share. In forming this position I was aware of research situations where participants may not have been fully informed of the purpose of the research and where interpretations may have been made in relation to the data which the participants may have not agreed with (See for example, Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

In the methods chapter I wrote about my process of incorporating a Public Conversations framework within my data generation strategy. I noted that this decision came as I reflected on the transformative effect this model had on my teaching. I had experienced significantly more successful experience in facilitation of Treaty of Waitangi praxis discussions in my formal teaching as a result of incorporating Public Conversations approaches. I have also employed this approach with success in the facilitation of professional development for

experienced counsellors. When I chose to use this as a strategy within this research process this was not because I understood this to be a form of focus group rather it was because I knew this was an effective pedagogy which I was confident had a strong potential as a research method because of my experience that this model assisted in generating rich collaborative dialogue. However the process that I enacted clearly is a focus group as described by Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2005). While the Public Conversations Project model was at the heart of this research design, the multiple and layered approach that I designed was always already more than a Public Conversations process.

The participants were keen to participate from the moment of my invitation to them. From the beginning of the first face-to-face meeting it was clear that this willingness to participate was supported by the Public Conversations process of that meeting. The structure of two rounds of response to common questions and the following connected conversation invited participation at first separately as speaker and listener and then in respectful dialogue. This structured dialogue that they entered into supported them in their willingness to engage in discussion and exploration of their practice.

My use of a Public Conversations approach provided a clear structure to the two three-hour meetings, which were the main data generation events. Each meeting began with participants responding to broad focussing questions in rounds where they were expected not to respond immediately to any comments made. The latter part of each of these meetings was a 'connected conversation' where the participants were freer to discuss the issues which the initial questions raised and their responses and questions to points that other participants had brought forward. Particularly in the first meeting I took the role of facilitator and my facilitation was largely through designing the framework of the meeting and the planned questions that each participant had been given as part of the informed consent process for participation.

The effect of operating within this framework was to centre the participants, their stories and their interactions with each other. Their discussions constituted the data for the research. As researcher I was significantly decentred. I had designed the project and using a Public Conversations meeting process I influenced the

shape of the meetings. With those preparations complete my actions in the meetings were largely confined to facilitation and recording. In the first meeting as the participants shared their stories and investigated the meanings of these my active roles were: to invite them to move from one stage of the process to the next; to call a coffee break and to facilitate a close. In the second meeting I maintained these roles and also invited the participants to consider some supplementary areas of interest that my supervisors and I had identified in reviewing the transcript of the first meeting.

The participants, although members of a broad professional counselling community, had homes and workplaces that were spread across a wide region and although graduates of the same Masters in Counselling programme they were not known to each other. My use of a Public Conversations framework supported them to quickly create a community of interest. The intentions which frame the model are to promote a commitment to discussion openly and ‘from the heart’ in contexts where there is division of belief. This group had responded to an invitation to discuss aspects of a shared identification as Pākehā. The three stages of the model invited them to share personal and professional experience in an environment where respectful engagement was encouraged; it was this respectful sharing that realised this community of interest.

Each meeting was three hours long and in each the participants were invited to consider two questions. (In the *first* meeting participants were asked to reflect first on their identity as Pākehā and then about hopes and fears for their practice as a member of the dominant culture. In the *second* meeting the questions first invited reflection on the meaning of the research process and then analysis of the discourses implicit in the discussions within the first meeting.) From my experience of using this model in teaching I knew that this was likely to produce rich data to inform the study.

Now, from my experience of this model in this research project I can more clearly identify the value of the dialogic reflecting space induced by the two opening rounds which I derived from the Public Conversations process. Participants were invited into speaking/reflecting spaces which offered them significant agency in a process of reflection on their practice. If I had not had this prior experience of the

model – if I had chosen a focus group approach through a deliberate analysis of a range of qualitative methods - I may have sought to ask the group more questions, which may have functioned to produce less richness. As it was the questions gave a thematic focus that invited individual sharing and thoughtful reflection and analysis.

The mirroring of the structure between the two face to face meetings supported the shift from the initial focus on identity and practice narratives to the more challenging explorations of discursive effects. In the second meeting the process was now familiar while the questions were perceived as much more difficult. The participants were being invited to join in an initial discursive analysis of the data generated up to that point. This mirroring also highlighted the difference in response from the participants between these two meetings. In the first meeting the participants exhibited a readiness to engage with the questions and spoke later in the meeting of the value that they placed on this rare opportunity to meet as a group of Pākehā to discuss issues of culture. In the second meeting there was an obvious pause before the first response and the first speaker stated that this hesitation was part of what she wanted to address.

You know I think the reluctance to even start I think is probably what I want to comment on. To be involved in this has .. really stimulated a lot of thinking which has been good - and - hard. You know hard to go back to...thinking...underneath what's happening which is I try but I don't often get there.

The differences in response between the two meetings was also reflected in both of the initial rounds of the second meeting by speakers finishing before their allocated time whereas in the first meeting they had used all their time. This meeting produced valuable analyses of the data already generated and discussions of the renewed focus that the participants had given to discourse in their practice in the two or three months after the first meeting.

Finally, the collaborative spirit which the participants brought to the research, and which the chosen framework fostered, produced data within which it was possible to see traces of discursive effects. At a later stage I was able to engage in a more

detailed analysis where I followed traces of one discourse. I have drawn attention in Chapter 5 to the way that the word ‘silence’ was sprinkled through the practice accounts and discussions in the first meeting until it emerged in a story of a participant keeping silent in particular situations so as not to be labelled as culturally unsafe. I argue that this ‘sprinkling’ is an indication of the presence of one of many discourses which produced the conversations within the “mirrored room” (Hare-Mustin, 1994) that was the research space. The participants and I might choose a variety of names for this discourse, for this purpose I called it a discourse of silencing. Whatever name we might choose for this discourse it was present. It had effects. It was most present and had most effect when it produced the conversation about cultural safety. I will refer later in this chapter to the significance of this cultural safety discourse and its effects within my overall project. Here I am focussing on the way in which this approach to a focus group discussion enabled these discursive sprinklings of ‘silence’ to become visible as traces of the emergence of one discourse to the point where it became a focus for a practice story offered in one focus group meeting and as a beginning point for one participant to reconsider her occasional experience of being without a speaking position in subsequent stages of this research.

While the Public Conversations inspired structure was at the heart of my research design it was only part of the overall design. The placement of online reflections after each face-to-face meeting brought a further significant dimension to the project. These online phases worked differently than I had anticipated. Some technical issues impeded access for some participants and my hopes for online discussions were not fully realised. I came to understand the significant number of calls on the participants time. However the way these online reflections were taken up as more individually focused reflections was significant. The first online reflection, coming between the two face-to-face meetings, helped to produce the shift of focus from practice account to consideration of the discursive production of practice. The online reflections also offered me an opportunity to invite each participant to reflect on an element of their contribution to the discussions which appeared to have particular potential for further consideration. My questions within these forums invited participants into a reflective space in relation to the discursive context of their practice. These reflections enabled some non-agentic

position calls to be declined and more agentic positions to be taken up. Chapter six records some developments in practice which came from the reflective opportunities presented by participation in this project and which were especially supported by the online reflections. Both professional benefit and valuable research data can be traced back to the online phases of the project.

I suggest that the research process that I have employed in this project models one way of achieving practice reflection at the level of discourse and not (just) at the level of experience. I now move to discuss some particular interpretations of the data. Firstly I discuss the value of the concepts of identity politics and intersectionality in relation to Treaty of Waitangi discourse.

Using intersectionality to critique identity politics, and Treaty of Waitangi discourse

In this section I discuss the problematisation that the tool of intersectionality offers to Treaty of Waitangi discourses framed by identity politics.

One of my motivations for engaging in this research project was to be in a position to contribute to the understandings of the Treaty of Waitangi available for social service practitioners in Aotearoa New Zealand. As I have noted this interest arises both out of my professional history and my current commitments in pre-entry counselling and social work education. I have found that the tool of intersectionality opens possibilities of more nuanced positions in relation to Treaty of Waitangi discourse.

I located the Treaty of Waitangi discourse in a broader postcolonial context in identifying the influence that Foucault had in shaping Said's (1979, 1993) work on orientalism, imperialism and colonialism, which focussed on the binary basis for discrimination (implicit in Western dualism) and which facilitated relations of domination in the Orient and in broader imperial and colonial contexts. Following Foucault, Said then made clear the contingency of the apparent invincibility of the European colonisers. Resistance was always possible.

The reason that counsellors and social workers in Aotearoa New Zealand focus on the Treaty of Waitangi is a direct result of the work undertaken by Māori over many years to bring their grievances, arising from endemic and systemic

repudiation of the Treaty by the settlers and their government, to the attention of the Pākehā population and the Crown or government. This action of maintaining a Māori identity in the face of colonisation and assimilation policies can be seen in Western academic terms as a manifestation of identity politics just as it can be seen as a call for Tino Rangatiratanga (which may be understood as ‘the rights of chieftainship’ or ‘Māori sovereignty’ (Awatere Huata, 1984). Both Tino Rangatiratanga and, in this context, identity politics are expressions of postcolonial purpose by Māori.

As this identity political action began to produce what has been called the Māori renaissance (King, 1985), I suggest that it attained particular discursive effects. Discourses of Māori identity have been productive of effects for Māori and non-Māori alike. For Pākehā, members of the dominant culture in Aotearoa the effects vary by our political stance. Those Pākehā subjects who still stand in the moments of colonisation or assimilation may be subjectified by these discourses as resisting the legitimacy of Māori claims. These subjects may choose to take up a familiar position in either or both colonising and assimilation discourse.

Conversely, those subjects who have adopted Pākehā as a postcolonial identity may be positioned with limitations to their agency within this Treaty discourse in comparison to Pākehā standing in the colonising or assimilative moments. This is because one discursive effect of identity politics is to essentialise the identities both of the group that takes up the identity political stance and any group that is argued to be oppositional to the first group. This second group may find that their identity is externally defined in ways that they do not personally identify with. They may find themselves conglomerated with those Pākehā who stand in the moments of colonisation and assimilation. The effects of identity political action discourse may be both negative and positive, both in advancing the cause of the subjects produced by identity politics and in invoking resistance against their actions.

Later in this chapter I will discuss some of the discursive effects and positionings experienced by participants in this study as they took up a postcolonial, Pākehā identity. At this point I wish to focus on the binary effects of identity political discourse. These effects have been identified widely (for example: Burman, 2003;

Irwin, 1992; L. T. Smith, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 2006). A problematic of identity politics is that in opening the way for powerful opposition to dominant groups in society it works to do so in ways that maintain both opposition and essentialised identity. One effect of this in Aotearoa/New Zealand is a framing of the Treaty of Waitangi debate within the binary of Māori and Pākehā. This binary works to exclude those who do not fit within either one of these identities and also can lead to challenges to the identity of those who share Māori and Pākehā heritages and who may find each heritage criticised by some of their peers.

To avoid what has been described as the ‘paralysing effects’ (Burman, 2003; L. T. Smith, 1999) of identity politics we need to locate concepts which take us further into a postcolonial moment. One such concept is intersectionality (Burman, 2003; Crenshaw, 2001; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Intersectionality offers a refinement over identity politics that the positioning of each person is seen in more nuanced and unique ways. While there has been some argument that it should only be applied by and within oppressed groups I follow Staunæs (2003) who argues that intersectionality can be applied to all groups in society as all experience different degrees of privilege and agency. An intersectional analysis can provide nuance to the way Pākehā (members of the dominant cultural group in Aotearoa) understand themselves. In this study I have reported both Marie and Ann engaging in an intersectional analysis of their own life. Marie said:

...studying feminism helped me to get a sense of myself as a woman in a world where patriarchy is dominant, and having a sense of being 'other' and being slightly marginalized although not completely.

Ann viewed her Pākehā identity as embodying intersectionality when she said:

...it's not just about being Pākehā. It's also about being middle class Pākehā, and educated Pākehā and being a woman and I don't know how you can separate them out.

For both these women their identity was experienced as embodying intersectionality. They were also able to use an intersectional analysis in understanding their clients' multiple positions. For example Marie offered an intersectional deconstruction of both her client and herself when she said:

When I think about culture, gender and age, I was bridging culture, but we were both women and of similar age.

Here Marie was considering intersectional aspects of her relationship with Betty. It can be seen that she was taking responsibility for building a relationship that took account of the intersectional differences between them.

However on its own, having access to an intersectional analysis did not prevent these counsellors being positioned without agency in *some* situations as they attempted to perform a postcolonial, Pākehā counsellor identity. I conclude this section by emphasising the importance of intersectional deconstructions as a step to understanding the complexities of both the counsellor's and the client's positions in cultural discourse. Next I focus on the developing awareness that participants had of position calls in their practice. Later, I discuss how attending to discursive positioning was enabling of shifts in practice that drew on deconstructions of the intersectionality of both counsellor and client.

Position calls for counsellors: accessing agency

The practice accounts in this thesis offer a rich account of the discursive context of the counselling practice of the participants. These accounts also involve an inevitable simplification of the discursive complexity of these practice descriptions. In Van Langenhoven and Harré's (1999) terms these accounts comprise third order positioning and rhetorical redescription. As they spoke the participants offered interpretations from *their* perspective describing remembered events in which *they* had a role as a counsellor or as a colleague. The accounts of client experience were all redescriptions by the counsellor participants.

A wider range of discourses than those named here produced each moment of practice that was redescribed by the participants, and further redescribed in this thesis. These discourses would include some that may be variously hegemonic in effect. Some of these would be hegemonic in broad social contexts, some only in specific contexts. Other discourses may be regularly less dominant discourses. As Burr (2003) notes: "numerous discourses surround any object and each strives to represent or 'construct' it in a different way" (p. 65). The discourses named in relation to particular practice accounts in this thesis are those, which seem most

obvious and significant to the participants or to my later interpretation of their accounts.

Throughout the process of writing this thesis I have considered the possibility that any discourse offers only binary possibilities to the subjects that are constructed in a particular intersection of discourses, place and time. This study does not provide a platform to be definitive about this idea. However working as I have in the broad context of the discourses of imperialism, colonialism and orientalism it seems appropriate to consider that these discourses at least are redolent with binary distinctions such as the 'ruler' and the 'ruled' or the 'coloniser' and the 'colonised'. There is evidence that Māori discourse offered other possibilities than binary ones. Bishop writes that in te ao Māori: "ideas are not related in oppositional pairs but sometimes in triplets or sometimes as interrelated matrices, whose interrelations are examined" (Bishop cited in Seuffert, 1999, p. 5)

In terms of social constructionist theory and positioning theory it is argued (Burr, 2003) that a particular discourse offers a limited range of positions to a subject. The poststructural version of agency, envisioned by Foucault's 'technologies of the self' (Foucault, 1978, 1985, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d) and enriched by Davies' (1991) explorations, has effect when a subject is able to decline position calls from one discourse (or one set of discourses) and take up a position offered within another discourse.

Most of the accounts of client practice included in this thesis focussed on the beginnings of relationships between a counsellor and a particular client. These accounts show that counsellors were subject to some very significant position calls in the first moments of counselling relationships. These position calls had the potential to prevent or seriously hamper the establishment of successful counselling relationships. The participant's accounts demonstrated that if these initial non-agentic position calls could be refused and an agentic position taken up by the counsellor within a discourse that they prefer then a productive counselling relationship could result.

Lesley (*Who owns the cup?*) reflected on the effects of location on her counselling practice. It was clearly evident to her that a counselling relationship was more

quickly established when she worked in the client's home rather than in an office. The client's positioning as host and their offering and Lesley's acceptance of a cup of tea supported this faster development of a relationship, which thus emphasised reciprocity in a way which resonates strongly with Māori tikanga and kawa (Drury, 2007; M. Durie, 2007) and with Tongan gifting practices (Waters, 2008).

The counsellor participants also reported challenging position calls when they explored issues that arose in collegial contexts. These challenging calls were described both in well-established collegial (work-mate) relationships and more fluid professional community engagements. Viewing this sample of practice accounts it appeared that a counsellor might more easily refuse difficult position calls in a counsellor-client relationship than in a collegial relationship. To the extent that this perception might be more widely supported this suggests that counsellors are more likely to be well positioned in a counsellor-client relationship than in a collegial relationship. This apparent distinction may merit further research.

Davies and Harré (1999) offer the possibility that positioning may arise outside a conversation. This was clearly evident in the account Ann offered of a development in her practice (*Challenging a disabling position call*). Several discourses, or a "discourse and its allies" as she described it, positioned her with little or no agency to act as a counsellor for Māori male adolescents. The effect of this positioning was to limit the number of engagements that she had with this (potential) client group. Because this positioning powerfully limited her agency Ann did not see as many Māori males as might be expected in her role as school counsellor. This 'discourse and its allies' positioned Ann so that she saw herself as the wrong person to engage with this client group. In the language of subjectification Ann was subjectified or produced as the 'wrong person' by this 'discourse and its allies'. During the research process Ann deconstructed this positioning and identified agentic positions for her. Subsequently she reported seeing significantly more young Māori men.

Ann was also a participant who I described in Chapter 5 as having an intersectional analysis of her identity in relation to her clients' community and

identities. However this intersectional analysis on its own was not sufficient to support her in engaging in counselling practice with the young Māori males. The transformation which supported her in moving more fully into this work came as a result of the deconstructive process I have already referred to where she acknowledged all the intersectionality of her life and her (potential) clients' lives and deconstructed the discursive positioning implicated in the problematic subjectification which produced her as not appropriate to work with young Māori males. This discursive deconstruction led to her deciding that the binary possibilities offered by these discourses did not need to be disabling of her. Significantly she decided that a both/and position where she acknowledged that young Māori males may benefit from contact with Māori role models *and* may also benefit from a conversation with a “middle aged Pākehā woman” was valid. Thus space opened up for her to see herself as one of several appropriate resources for young Māori males. This decision echoes the stance taken against essentialised anti-oppressive discourse by Augusta-Scott (2007) which I discussed in Chapter 3.

This deconstruction of practice contexts and their associated position calls offers counsellors a significant resource for a particular form of reflexive practice which I am naming *critical discursive praxis*. I return to a more detailed discussion of this concept later in this chapter.

Van Langenhoven and Harré (1999) also theorise that once a position is taken up by one participant in a conversation that the other participant(s) are simultaneously offered a consequent position call. This theory is well supported in this set of research data. Where participants successfully negotiated position calls as counsellors their clients were also positioned agentially in relation to the counselling.

This was dramatically demonstrated when Lesley worked to find an agentic position for herself once her client shared her assessment that Lesley was lazy (*Is the counsellor lazy?*). Lesley's careful response to this statement and the linked position call moved her into an agentic position. Once she experienced agency then an agentic position opened up for her client as well. The client became engaged in the process of counselling although this had initially seemed unlikely.

Later, the client remarked that she could see that Lesley was ‘making her do the work’; she had come to appreciate the work that Lesley was doing.

Marie’s experience (*positioning from another cultural discourse*) with a client who was culturally positioned to seek advice also demonstrated that counsellor agency is required before an agentic position can become available for the client. This phenomena of a counsellor achieving an agentic position for herself and thus opening an agentic position for their client might be seen as supporting my earlier comments about the participants’ greatest counselling challenges appearing to come at the beginning of counselling relationships. Counselling is not possible until a desired or appropriate agency is available to both counsellor and client.

From these examples and others shared in Chapter 6 (*Conversations about discourse, positioning and narrative therapy*) I suggest that it is clear that strategies that Winslade (2005) suggests a counsellor might employ to ‘utilise discursive positioning’ in counselling for the benefit of their client, require prior attention to the counsellor’s positioning before a counsellor would be able to employ them.

The experience of position calls in collegial conversations being problematic on occasion may indicate that the counsellor in her practice room often has a well-established speaking position. Some aspects of this I will revisit and problematise next when I discuss ideas of structure and discourse and introduce the concept of hegemony. In the later discussion on cultural safety I frame cultural safety as a particular moment in the development of a Treaty of Waitangi hegemony.

Structure and Discourse

In this section I look critically at interactions and interconnections between social structures and poststructuralist ideas of discourse, and their productive effects on counselling practice. While this project is situated in *poststructuralist* ideas this does not mean that I do not have an interest in ideas about structures. Poststructuralism does not mean that structures no longer exist; they exist and one purpose of poststructuralism is that that structures are thus open to critique (David Howarth, personal communication). Additionally a Foucauldian poststructuralism offers different understandings of the relationship between structures and

individual subjects than a structuralist approach. A poststructuralist view of structure sees structures as discursive entities. For Laclau, structures are also “undecidable” entities (Howarth, 2000, p. 111; Laclau, 1990). This is because they are produced discursively and at the same time threatened by the changeability of the discourse that has shaped them. Structures exist and they do change, however this changeability may be less obvious from a structuralist stance.

Laclau and Mouffe (Laclau, 1990; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) have developed a post-Marxist conception of hegemony which provides a means to analyse the ways in which social agents can achieve dominance for particular political positions which then operate with discursive effect. To describe one or more discourses as hegemonic is not to take a value position in respect of their contribution to justice or injustice. Rather it indicates a recognition that the discourse has gained dominance in a particular setting.

I have written earlier of the distinctions between micro and macro social constructionist thinking. This distinction extends to differences between the approaches to discourse which follow individual subjects in local interactions (such as this study) and those which view discourse in political contexts where subjectivities are seen in more general terms (Howarth, 2000; Laclau, 1990; Norval, 2007). It is less likely that work on discourse in macro or political contexts will address the lives of real individuals; the focus is more likely to be a generalised representation such as ‘a social agent’ or ‘the democratic subject’ (Aletta Norval, personal communication). Much of the work of the counsellors who participated in this study concerns very localised interactions such as those with clients or colleagues. However these counsellors also interact with larger social structures (such as their organisations and the institutions of government) and within societal belief structures or hegemonies. In the different practice contexts, which were introduced to this research project, these social structures variously included the secondary education system, the health system, the social service system and the justice system.

Clearly these structures are part of the broader governmental system and from these structures emanate hegemonic position calls to the discursive objects and

subjects that they produce. These objects include: “the school counsellor”, “the sexual abuse counsellor”, “the domestic violence programme facilitator”. Clients are produced as discursive objects too: “the student”, “the client”, “the respondent”, “the unfit parent”. Some of these objects may be seen as produced by Foucault’s sovereign power in that they are directly produced by the workings of the state. At this time and in this place sovereign power is not the power over life or death, however it does describe the power of the state to produce well defined objects which are then overlaid on the counsellor and the client in particular circumstances. Where government contracts service provision from non-governmental organisations one mechanism for transmission of hegemonic discourses is the service contract which funds particular services and demands particular approaches to practice and the meeting of particular standards as well as the achievement of particular outcomes. These hegemonic demands position *counsellor* objects and *client* objects in particular ways. At the same time as being constituted as an object of these hegemonic discourses the counsellor is also positioned by her identity, personal values and practice ethics, and the client by her values, aspirations as well as her ‘problem’ story.

The counsellor is simultaneously produced as object within these hegemonic discourses and as subject both within the hegemonic discourse and within other discourses. The process of objectification is not productive of high levels of agency. The process of subjectification may open a space for agency if the counsellor is able to take it up. The challenge for the counsellor is to seek an agentic position as counsellor while simultaneously being produced as the object of the hegemonic sovereign (state) discourse.

In the same moment, the client is produced as the object of these hegemonic discourses and may be drawn to reinforce the production of the counsellor as the object of hegemonic discourse.

In this context the counsellor’s challenge is to simultaneously perform within the constraints inherent with being produced as an object of hegemonic discourse and state power *and* as a counsellor with agency consistent with counselling ethics and values. Only when both these positions are taken up successfully can the counsellor offer her client an agentic position within this constrained counselling

context. Butler and Davies have written of mastery and submission (Butler, 1995; B. Davies, 2006) in the discursive production of the subject. Butler writes:

Where one might expect submission to consist in a yielding to an externally imposed dominant order, and to be marked by a loss of control and mastery, it is paradoxically marked by mastery itself... neither submission nor mastery is *performed by a subject*; the lived simultaneity of submission as mastery, and mastery as submission, is the condition of possibility for the subject itself. (Butler, 1995, pp. 45-46)

I suggest that what is not obvious in this statement is the simultaneous multiple positioning involved for the counsellor when she is produced as an object of and subject to state power and simultaneously by discourses of counselling ethics and values and her practice identity. She has to submit to the hegemony of the state system (a position which offers limited agency) while simultaneously submitting to discourses of counselling, (which may offer her greater agency). Simultaneous agency in *both* discourses is the pre-condition for mastery. *Only* if this is achieved can she offer her client an agentic position.

I now move this theoretical discussion into the context of the practice example where Janet was the “facilitator” of a domestic violence programme and her client, Maraea, who was required to come as a ‘perpetrator’ of domestic violence, “the respondent”. Janet was thus constituted as an object or instrument of state power both funded by and bound to produce particular outcomes for the justice system; her report may contribute to either mitigation or increase of the penalties that her client risked. Janet was produced as the object of hegemonic legal discourse: “the domestic violence programme facilitator”. At the same time, Janet’s practice identity and ethic positioned her to seek to work with this client to produce an outcome that was helpful to the referred client and the client’s partner as the recipient of the violence. These hegemonic demands and their construction of the counsellor object (in this case as “facilitator”) and of the client object (here defined as “the respondent”) present both parties significant challenges as they meet and negotiate a working relationship. Both are mandated by the state to attend these meetings. While negotiating a position from which to work with Maraea, Janet was mandated to produce outcomes required by the court. At the

same time Janet wanted to respect the Maraea's position as a member of a whanau, hapu and iwi and recognise that she brought with her from that heritage a deep sense of accumulated injustice at the hands of the same state that mandated Janet's work with her *and* required Maraea to work with Janet.

I further theorise my earlier writing about this practice story in Chapter 5 (*How hard it was for her and for me*). Janet achieved both mastery and submission by bringing her practice identity and ethic into the moments of subjectification that she experienced when working with this client. Her mastery involved supporting her client to take a positive stance in relation to the justice system's requirements while producing outcomes that the justice system required of her as "facilitator". Neither Janet nor her client escaped objectification and subjectification by hegemonic discourse. However Janet's skill enabled her to engage in a delicate negotiation of relationship with her client that offered them both agency. Janet achieved both mastery and submission in relation to the objectifying hegemonic discourse: she met its requirements (mastery) as she submitted to its demands (submission). At the same time Janet achieved mastery within counselling discourse and simultaneously submitted to the demands of this discourse. With Janet's assistance Maraea also achieved mastery and submission. As Maraea submitted to the hegemonic demands of the justice discourses she achieved the mastery that enabled her to make a personal response to issues she was required to address. Janet noted that Maraea gave her word and that this was "enough". Maraea's word was taken as by Janet as a commitment that Maraea was prepared to engage with the process.

Two other practice stories further inform the ideas about hegemonic discourse within institutional structures that I am developing here. Both support the idea that hegemonies can shift; that they are 'undecidable' entities (Laclau, 1990, cited in Howarth, 2000, p. 111).

Ann experienced '*conflicting position calls within a school.*' These conflicts were between localised hegemonic education/behaviour management discourses and her counselling identity and ethic. She described working hard to establish recognition for counselling discourse and practices alongside this localised education/behaviour management hegemony.

Janet spoke of *contributing to a bi-cultural journey* as she described her work on a national committee within her organisation. This organisation was seeking to move away from its monocultural past by incorporating Māori values into its policies and practices. The hegemonic discourse within the organisation was shifting. This shift in this organisation's hegemonic discourse, which Janet had contributed to, now reproduced "the clinical leader" object and subject in ways which made Janet's job more challenging. One effect of this hegemonic shift was that she was now required to locate and contract local cultural supervision for her team. She described this as a very significant ethical challenge for her, requiring her to balance her organisation's demand for the purchase of cultural supervision in an environment where she perceived that Māori practitioners and agencies had a limited capacity to address this priority alongside their own priorities.

In this section I have considered some implications for counsellors' practice of Foucault's argument that individuals are produced as both objects and subjects. I have particularly focused on effects of hegemonic discourse. I have focussed here on situations where counselling work is mandated, financed and regulated through the apparatuses of the state either directly or as a funder. Later I will consider the impact of cultural safety discourse which while more locally hegemonic is less directly linked to state apparatuses or organisational functioning.

Taking up a Pākehā identity is an ethical stance

I argue that claiming or taking up a Pākehā identity is an ethical stance. In the current social context in Aotearoa to take up this identity is to make a commitment to a political stance against the continuation of colonial oppression in Aotearoa and in support of postcolonial endeavours.

Pākehā is an identity signifier that is available to persons who are perceived to be descendants of the European colonists of the 19th or 20th centuries. Personal adoption of Pākehā as preferred identity signifier is a political act because of the ongoing resistance among the broad group of those who might claim this label. To take up the designation Pākehā is to take a postcolonial stance, to make a commitment to work for the honouring of the Treaty of Waitangi. For a counsellor to bring their Pākehā identity into their practice is to make a commitment to approach relationships in the 'spirit of partnership' (A. Crocket,

2009a) and in doing this the counsellor steps into the third moment of Pākehā identity.

I have argued identity is the most satisfactory poststructural term to describe the ongoing sense of self which persons experience. A person's identity is constructed as a result of the aggregation of continuous moments of subjectification, each of which involves positioning with different levels of agency. In the language of narrative therapy (White, 2007) identity develops as selections from experience are 'storied' into an identity narrative.

I further argue that the work of developing and performing a Pākehā identity is a Foucauldian project employing 'technologies of the self' (Foucault, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c). This is a four-stage process that involves the identification of: ethical substance, mode of subjection, self-forming activities and telos. The ethical substance for the participants in this study is their professional practice. The mode of subjection is their recognition of the injustices that came as a result of the colonisation of New Zealand by their antecedents and their awareness that this shapes both their identities and those of their clients. The self-forming activities are the practices that the counsellors described as embodying them as Pākehā, including those things they named as hopes and fears in relation to practice with clients from other cultures. Finally, the telos is, as Michael King famously described it, is 'being Pākehā' (1985) or performing their Pākehā identity in their counselling practice.

So in these terms developing a Pākehā identity is a progressive achievement, which for these participants (and myself) has happened over at least twenty or thirty years. While this identity develops as an outcome of many moments of subjectification, it also shapes further moments of subjectification. Like any identity, a Pākehā identity has to be performed in order to 'exist' and performances are judged both by the performer and her audiences.

Taking an ethical stance as Pākehā, or performing a Pākehā identity, involves commitments to postcolonial and Treaty of Waitangi honouring practice. Those who take up this stance commit to planning their actions and then evaluating them in relation to principles of ethical relationship. In addition to this, they also

commit to recognising the value of the judgements made of their actions by others. This is perhaps more especially the case in professional practice contexts such as those described by these participants. This commitment while opening up possibilities of productive and supportive ‘partnership’ relationships also opens up possibilities of being criticised for not honouring beliefs and practices of those we aspire to partnership with. In the next section I address one context within which such criticism might be potentiated when I revisit the ‘moment’ of Cultural Safety.

When identity is viewed as a social constructionist concept with a reading drawn from narrative therapy it becomes identity-in-process. It is not static or stable. Identity is developed through being performed. Chapters 5 and 6 give strong evidence of Pākehā identities being performed.

Chapter 5 records the account that each participant gave of the development of their Pākehā identity. There was a strong resonance or family resemblance between these accounts. More than one participant named the same books as influential (eg. Michael King’s *Being Pākehā*, 1985, and Donna Awatere-Huata’s *Māori Sovereignty*, 1984). At different times two of the participants and I had undertaken “Treaty training” with the same Pākehā activist. While one participant had grown up with a strong Pākehā identity with close relationships with Māori from childhood, for the others the establishment of a Pākehā identity began in early adulthood. For most taking up this identity meant taking a critical stance in relation to at least some of the dominant identity discourses available to them in their family and community. Most of the participants spoke of the importance of particular relationships with Māori. For all of them Pākehā was an identity in which they had a significant investment.

In Chapter 6 there are stories of further identity development as a result of participation in this research project.

For Marie (*Marie reports a change in practice*) reflections on being silenced led to reconsiderations of her positioning and a discovery of new agency within her workplace, as she felt able to facilitate cross-cultural dialogue which had previously seemed too hard. This change came about as she reflected on a

comment she had made that for Māori to have voice Pākehā had to remain silent. She deconstructed this binary of silence and voice and looked for other available positions. The position she took up was to encourage Pākehā colleagues to enter into dialogue with Māori colleagues. The effect of this action was to reduce cultural tension in her workplace.

For Ann (*challenging a disabling position from postcolonial discourse*) the process of reflexive deconstruction of discourse and positioning that she engaged in brought shifts in her practice identity and brought measureable changes in her practice. Ann's reflexive process led her into a creative use of the mapping of landscapes of experience and identity which play a significant role in narrative therapy (White, 2007). In her reflections Ann reviewed moments of subjectification where she experienced position calls that did not offer her agency. By deconstructing these discursive contexts she identified alternative positions that she could take up. Through a deconstruction of some much earlier experiences where she had difficulty as a beginning teacher working with some young Māori males she became able to generate alternative descriptions for those difficulties which supported her both in immediately taking up agentic positions as a counsellor who could work with Māori males and then over the balance of the school year experiencing the emergence of a new strand in her practice identity.

These examples show ways in which participants in this project made some significant shifts in their practice identities through the process of the research. These identity developments arose from the storying of developments in their practice. This process of reflection, discursive deconstruction, discovery of new agency, and changed practice is also consistent with Foucault's ethic of the care of the self, which is a central aspect of his move to consider the 'technologies of the self'.

I will later encapsulate the process that Marie and Ann engaged in as *critical discursive praxis*.

Questions of shared Pākehā responsibility were raised by participants and are relevant to this discussion of taking up a Pākehā identity as an ethical stance. In both research meetings the participants spoke of the value they placed on the

opportunities this research offered them to discuss cultural practice from specifically Pākehā standpoints. They noted that this experience is not common. One participant in the context of discussing partnership and cultural supervision said:

I just think this morning's conversation is a really useful ... one and thinking what if this these sort of conversations were held ... amongst all the Pākehā in the organizations?

[W]hat about Pākehā doing some work? ...what if we didn't bring in a cultural supervisor one time and say well let's Pākehā do the work? What is your thinking? What are the questions you ask? And what do you need to do for...us to be a more bicultural organization? Or to be more bicultural in our thinking?

This comment and question suggests that there would be value in conversations like the ones in these research meetings where Pākehā could take responsibility for exploring their contribution to 'the spirit of partnership.' Such conversations could ease the burden on our Māori and other Tauīwi colleagues for taking responsibility for addressing cultural issues.

Finally, to bridge between this section and the next which focuses on the relevance of cultural safety to postcolonial Pākehā practice I turn to the concluding paragraph of Butler's *Giving an account of oneself* which offers hope for Pākehā practitioners who are called into uncertainty and choose to accept uncertainty as a precondition for practice in the post colonial moment of Treaty honouring.

Perhaps most importantly, we must recognise that ethics requires us to risk ourselves precisely at moments of unknowingness, when what forms us diverges from what lies before us, when our willingness to become undone in relation to others constitutes our chance of becoming human. (Butler, 2005, p. 136)

The postcolonial moment promises vulnerability. The participants and I were each formed as a child in the 1950s and 1960s when the Pākehā identity moment of

assimilation and indifference was dominant. Through taking up a Pākehā identity each of us has reflected that what *formed* us as a child of settler heritage *diverged* from what *lay* before us. Some of the positions we were offered were not consistent with other core beliefs. Beliefs in something as easy to say as equality were inconsistent with the history of colonization. Butler goes on to write:

To be undone by another is a primary necessity, an anguish, to be sure, but also a chance – to be addressed, claimed, bound to what is not me, but also to be moved, to be prompted to act, to address myself elsewhere, and so to vacate the self-sufficient “I” as a kind of possession. (2005, p. 136)

This can be related to the performance of a Pākehā identity; an identity which acknowledges a settler heritage and is committed to justice and just relationships (Waldegrave et al., 2003). I see resonance here with being “addressed, claimed, moved, prompted to act, to address myself elsewhere”. I have some wondering about the applicability of “being bound to what is not me”, although I am comfortable with that if I read that as being in relationship in the spirit of treaty partnership.

It is appropriate that Pākehā counsellors consider their cultural safety – in the same way that they would seek to ensure this for all who do not share their culture. We can only safely take up the postcolonial moment within trusting relationships. If like Marie, we recognize that those relationships are not immediately present then we might be advised to be silent until we are able to build relationships of trust. Then as Butler concludes:

If we speak and try to give an account from this place we will not be irresponsible, or if we are, we will surely be forgiven. (2005, p. 136)

Cultural safety – illustrating the postcolonial moment

I return here to a further discussion of a particular moment in the practice stories because it offers a place to theorise further the discursive context of counselling practice in postcolonial Aotearoa. Marie spoke in the first meeting of feeling that she would not speak in particular contexts. Implicit in the context for this story is the presence of both Māori and Pākehā in a community setting.

We've talked about a fear of offence, but also...if we give offence then what that does to a reputation? When there's been a lot bandied about around cultural safety and you know a fear for me of getting that label of culturally unsafe keeps me from ever speaking up unless I know who I am speaking with and comfortable with the people.

This comment was one of a significant series of comments about 'silence', which I have written about as being 'sprinkled' through the research conversations. I have addressed this series in some detail in Chapter 6. Here I want to use this invocation of both silence and cultural *unsafety* to consider some discursive effects for Pākehā practitioners in the current postcolonial moment.

I suggest that silence was viewed as a problem for the counsellor/participants in several ways. Silencing clients was a practice 'fear' named by Lesley. For the participants to be silenced themselves was perceived as negative and my suggestion is that the discursive home of this idea is in colonising discourse where the speaking space is guaranteed for the coloniser.

In the context that Marie described, the evocation of cultural safety indicates that this is a postcolonial moment of silencing. Ramsden (2003) documents the considerable efforts that the New Zealand Nursing Council engaged in to establish cultural safety as a basic component of Nursing Education. I suggest that a very significant component of the challenges that she documented was that they were trying to establish a postcolonial concept in the face of Pākehā opposition. This opposition was located in the first and second moments of Pākehā identity: the moment of colonisation and the moment of indifference and assimilation. This opposition was multi-faceted and involved politicians, media and some nursing students. After many years of determined persistence by Nurses and their Council, cultural safety has become an accepted part of nursing practice and has spread beyond the confines of that practice to influence social practice.

In Laclau and Mouffe's terms, as described by Howarth (2000), the Nursing Council has been successful in establishing a new hegemonic discourse – Cultural Safety – albeit one which has limited hegemony; it is only hegemonic in

postcolonial discourse and within particular contexts. I reiterate that hegemonic status does not indicate a value position, merely dominance.

The counsellors that participated in this research have carefully developed postcolonial identities as Pākehā and they seek to position themselves within the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring. It follows that they will be significantly influenced by a discourse that is hegemonic in postcolonial contexts. For Marie this influence was shaped as a fear of being described as culturally *unsafe* which kept her silent when she did not know and was comfortable with the people she is speaking with. It was established in the discussion that immediately followed that comment in the research meeting, that speaking is possible when there are well-established relationships. Marie implied that where there are well-established relationships there is much less risk of being labelled as culturally *unsafe* when she said: “a fear for me of getting that label of culturally unsafe keeps me from ever speaking up unless I know who I am speaking with and comfortable with the people”.

The discourses that support Pākehā speaking in a culturally safe manner, or choosing not to speak in order to maintain their cultural safety, are postcolonial discourses. The discourses that support Pākehā to speak in any situation without recognition of limits to speaking are colonising or assimilationist discourses. Both discourses can be present in the same conversation. I suggest that challenges arise for Pākehā counsellors when relationships are not sufficiently established to support speaking in ways that will be perceived as culturally safe. These challenges are magnified if a Pākehā practitioner wants to speak into a context framed within a non-Pākehā culture and relationships of trust have not been established.

In the example that opened this section, Marie was not indicating that she was without agency. She could have spoken in these problematic contexts. She elected not to. However perhaps the discourse that positioned her to speak offered her a position in the second moment of indifference and assimilation. This was not a position that Marie as a Pākehā counsellor would want to take up.

There are other situations where a counsellor risks being in a culturally unsafe situation. The situation that I described in Chapter 5 as ‘whose performance is being reviewed?’ can be seen as a situation where Janet was placed in a culturally unsafe position when she was encouraged to act in on her own when in the Treaty partnership kaupapa of the organisation she volunteered in it was appropriate that she complete the performance review task with a Māori colleague. Similarly John was positioned in a culturally unsafe way when asked to meet in an unclearly defined manner with senior Māori and Pasifika students who sought to justify physical assault in response to racist comments.

This section and the immediately preceding section argue that a commitment to perform a Pākehā identity in counselling practice places the counsellor in the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring. This positioning offers both challenges and rewards. It offers the possibility of developing counselling and collegial relationships where the ‘other’ in the relationship recognises that this is not a colonising or assimilative relationship. At the same time because standing in the postcolonial moment opens Pākehā to ethical relationship it also opens them to criticism if their actions are read as culturally unsafe. I develop this theorising further in the final section of this chapter. In the following section I seek to draw together the ideas that I have discussed about positioning, subjectification and objectivization into a praxis.

Critical discursive praxis

In this thesis I have discussed some particular technologies of the self that participants engaged in and which produced further developments in their practice identity. These technologies have not been described previously and it is appropriate that I name and define them. It is fair to say that they may form part of the practice and experience of other narrative therapists as they are built on the techniques and knowledges of narrative therapy. I choose the name *critical discursive praxis* for these technologies for the following reasons. *Critical* is chosen because it suggests a commitment to questioning received and thinly described understandings of practice with the intention of developing richer understandings. *Discursive* invites an engagement with the Foucauldian canon of theory and the ways this has been translated into therapeutic practice (White,

1990). *Praxis* draws on Lather's re-working of this concept (2007) so that praxis signifies:

practice on a shifting ground that foregrounds the limits of the fixing, locating, defining and confining that is the work of the concept. This is a praxis ... immanent in practices that helps us think not only *with* but *in* our actions (p. 111)

Praxis is located on the shifting ground of counselling practice and focuses on immanence, that which emerges in the moment, and thinking *with* and *in* our actions.

As a starting point in this description of *critical discursive praxis* I begin by describing a practitioner adopting a postcolonial identity such as the Pākehā identity common to the participants in this study. How this would be named for persons in Aotearoa for whom the Pākehā identity is not available is outside of the scope of this project and the choice of such naming may be for those people for whom it might be relevant. Similarly, while it seems that this could have value in other cultural contexts than Aotearoa I leaving the naming of a postcolonial identity for interested persons to take up in relation to their own context. Whatever choice is made about naming the practitioner identity it is not an essentialised anti-oppressive stance (Augusta-Scott, 2007). This identity will admit the intersectionality or multiplicity of the subject's life.

The next element in critical discursive praxis is to be open to the discursive context of practice. This is quite difficult as it is a way of thinking that is not well supported outside of poststructural ways of thinking. Possibly, a professionally educated narrative counsellor might most easily access this element. To be open to the discursive context of practice is to understand that one's own subjectivity and that of our clients is an effect of discourse. That which we experience as a motivation, for example, is an effect of subjectification through the productive effects of discourse. These discursive effects can be examined. If a practitioner is to engage in deconstruction of discourse they will need to acquire particular skills. When Ann was considering her agency and positioning in relation to 'young

Maori males' she still did this in part by considering internal states as well as discursive effects.

Closely linked with openness to the discursive context of practice is a close attention to positioning and an application of ideas from positioning theory. The practitioner needs to be able to recognise ranges of position calls and be able to identify calls that offer agency to them. However, some situations may appear to offer little or no agency and then the counsellor needs to move to a reflexive discursive deconstruction.

Reflexive deconstruction involves deconstructing or re-examining the discursive context of practice to identify particular discursive effects, particularly those that may have escaped notice to this point. Following Lather (2007) this deconstruction particularly addresses binary effects of discourse seeking to generate agentic possibilities where none have been apparent. This was the process that opened up possibilities for Ann. The shift she described from the limit binary "either/or" to "both/and" directly contributed to changes in her practice and her practice identity.

The objective of the reflexive deconstruction is to open previously unrecognised possibilities for practice. Once new positions have become available it is important that they be storied so that they can move from the counsellor's practice experience to be incorporated into their practice identity (White, 2007). Once this storying has occurred a cycle of critical discursive praxis has been completed. Both Ann and Marie offered accounts that are consistent with this process.

Finally in this discussion of the findings of this research project I consider the contribution that this research may make to culturally informed practice.

Critical Pākehā praxis

In this section I use social constructionist and postcolonial lenses to draw together the literature on Pākehā identity and Pākehā counselling practice and the practice experience shared by the participants and subsequently interpreted by them and finally by me as researcher. From this work I describe and theorise an approach to counselling practice for counsellors who identify as Pākehā. I call this approach *critical Pākehā praxis*. This praxis has several significant elements. It is situated

in the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring practice. It eschews essentialist ideas. It is located within the range of chosen identities individually and collectively known as Pākehā. It holds that the production of the identity of Pākehā counsellor is an ethical project. It holds the identities of the counsellor and the client, both their differences from each other and their points of similarity as centrally important. It calls for a significant degree of cultural knowledge. Equally it calls for a high level of counselling skill. It does not address, nor does it foreclose the possibility that other critical cultural identity praxis positions may be defined by practitioners who take up other identities.

The postcolonial moment does not mark the complete overthrow of colonising discourse. It is not an historical stage, but rather the possibility of taking up agency in relation to postcolonial discourses. It marks a critical engagement with those discourses as a way towards building a more just future. This way forward is framed by the commitments made in the Treaty of Waitangi by the British Crown and iwi, as they have been re-imagined as an outcome of the Māori renaissance. For a critical Pākehā practitioner, commitment to the postcolonial Treaty honouring moment is marked by an acceptance that the culture and identity of the other (the client, the Treaty partner) has been and is under siege as the earlier moments of colonisation and indifference/assimilation persist pervasively. Two participants in this study worked within organisations that were embarked on a ‘bicultural journey’ where the organisations were committed to moving policy and practice into a Treaty honouring frame. This commitment to a Treaty journey is a commitment towards acting in the postcolonial moment.

The postcolonial moment foregrounds cultural safety (Ramsden, 2003). As members of the dominant culture, Pākehā counsellors engaged in critical praxis accept that their practice needs to be regarded as safe by those of other cultures in order to stay within the postcolonial moment. They understand that their practice is subject to the defining judgements of others. Cultural safety is an issue in client practice where it is marked by the highly respectful practice that was evident in the client practice accounts presented in Chapters 5 and 6. It is also an issue in more public contexts within and between organisations. In order to maintain cultural safety counsellors may need access to cultural consultants.

Essentialising practices are central to the colonising moment. They are present in processes of classification and rational argument. As many writers have shown essentialist ideas are prevalent in the framing of identities in ways which create division and exclusion (for example; Burman, 2003; Crenshaw, 2001; Nash, 2008; Ringrose, 2007; Staunæs, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006) and which may shape practice in unhelpful ways (Augusta-Scott, 2007). Social constructionist theorising is helpful in seeking pathways away from essentialising practice. Essentialism is however a component of dominant western discourses and some participants found that at times essentialist thinking captured them and limited their practice. Where the participants applied intersectional analyses this was helpful. On occasion, processes of deconstruction assisted participants in opening up and taking up positions that refused the disabling effects of essentialised thinking.

The critical Pākehā practitioner claims a Pākehā identity. Being Pākehā for the critical practitioner is not about claiming an exclusive identity, although it is not available to all persons in Aotearoa New Zealand. Pākehā is an identity that has developed in relationship with Māori. Generally it is available to those who have links to a settler ancestry, although more recently arrived Europeans may be able to take this identity up also. Many of those with Māori ancestry also have Pākehā antecedents and so could choose this identity if they wished. Taking up a Pākehā identity in a critical fashion involves an understanding of Aotearoa New Zealand's colonial history and a commitment to the honouring of the Treaty of Waitangi both at the national level and at the level of everyday practice (A. Crocket, 2009a). Taking up this identity also involves a commitment to standing in the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring. Being Pākehā is an ethical project which can be seen as shaped by Foucault's writings about the care of the self (Foucault, 1988b) as I have described earlier in this chapter. This ethical project involves recognition that becoming the person one wants to be is a long-term project. The participants in this study could identify key stages of their development and recognise that their Pākehā identity was still subject to further development.

Eschewing essentialist thinking is part of a commitment by a counsellor, who acknowledges that they intersect social and cultural groups, and is seeking to meet the client in *their* intersectionality. As Augusta-Scott (2007) writes, counselling practice can change when points of similarity and points of difference between counsellor and client are addressed. The pōwhiri model and Durie's (2007) description of marae encounters begin with points of difference being recognised and addressed first, before points of similarity are recognised. This can be exceptionally difficult as Janet recounted in the practice example headed '*how difficult it was for her and for me*' where the counsellor had to meet the requirements of a government mandated and funded domestic violence programme with a client who held the state accountable for the historic injustices her people had experienced. For Marie, whose client '*just wanted to know if she could go the distance*', her tentative approach to working with Māori combined with a strong intersectional analysis enabled her to practice successfully. In both these practice accounts the counsellor began by carefully addressing difference.

Critical Pākehā praxis will involve a degree of cultural knowledge, but this is not well described by the descriptor cultural competency. Consistent with the stand against essentialist understandings it is not possible to calibrate a single level of understanding of Te Reo, tikanga, kawa that a Pākehā counsellor needs to work with Māori. They need openness and responsiveness. From the literature it is evident that a nuanced and thoughtful respect for the client can lead to significant relationship and significant outcomes (Harkness, 2008; Te Wiata, 2006; Waters, 2008). This was also evident in the participants' stories. In some instances it took several readings to identify the cultural resonance in some of these stories and I am appreciative of my supervisor, Emeritus Professor Ted Glynn's reading of these accounts with me and identifying values such as 'resilience' and 'respect' which are Māori values as well as Pākehā values. However, cultural knowledge was not the sole determinant of successful practice. Counsellor practice skill was, I suggest, an equally strong determinant of success.

In order to function as a critical Pākehā practitioner high levels of skill are called for. These skills include those that function to free the counsellor from potential 'Pākehā-centric' practice, which could be identified as a risk in some dominant

counselling models that were not developed with cultural diversity as a starting point. One example of a counselling practice which is well suited to addressing diversity is discursive empathy (Sinclair & Monk, 2005), a social constructionist development of Rogerian empathy. It differs from the Rogerian skill as it focuses on the discursive context of the client's life rather than requiring the counsellor to experience the client's situation 'as if' it were the counsellor's own. Discursive empathy was consistently evident in the practice examples discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Secondly, high levels of practice skill provide a platform for a Pākehā counsellor to incorporate elements of cultural knowledge into their practice. The practitioners who participated in this research demonstrated highly developed skills of discernment as well as the ability to appreciate the complexities of client experience and respond in terms of client need. Particularly pertinent to this study the participants had well developed skills of declining position calls that denied or limited their agency, while simultaneously locating agentic positions for themselves and their clients.

In defining *critical Pākehā praxis* I am not wanting to suggest that practitioners who identify differently may not be able to identify a critical cultural praxis appropriate for them. Because the Pākehā identity is inescapably linked with a colonising past and continues as the dominant social identity in Aotearoa New Zealand this praxis definition is specific in focus. Finally, as this is a study undertaken by a Pākehā researcher with Pākehā respondents, I limit my theorising about critical cultural praxis to the area of my inquiry, which has been Pākehā counselling practice.

Conclusion

In the introduction to this thesis I evoked a simile that compared poststructuralism and postcolonialism to a braided and intersecting collectivity of streams of academic theorising. Following this simile this research project explored some Foucauldian braids of these streams, especially those explored by Butler and Davies, and have used these streams of theorising as it examined both broader and more particular discursive contexts of Pākehā counselling practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. From these theoretical bases I engaged with a group of counselling practitioners who identified as Pākehā as they explored some implications of practising with awareness of their dominant cultural positionings in this land. As we worked together to deconstruct the discursive context of their practice, the participants and I noticed both developments in practice and in their practice identities.

In this chapter I have argued that the research design I adopted effectively generated rich and salient data that responded to my research questions.

The research design was effective because of the combination of research contexts employed. Firstly there were the meetings of all participants, where I used dialogue structuring ideas introduced from the Public Conversations Project, and then the online reflections, which supported the participants to engage in personally focused reflection. The repeated cycle of a meeting followed by an online reflection invited participants to begin by sharing accounts of identity and practice and then move to considerations of the discursive contexts of their practice.

I have also considered the value of this study's key theoretical concepts for further theorising Pākehā counselling practice. These theories included: a Foucauldian reading of discourse and power; the poststructuralist stream of positioning theory; the grammar of the subject; agency; identity politics; intersectionality; Derrida's deconstruction; Treaty of Waitangi; cultural safety and Māori models of practice.

I argue that this study makes a contribution in developing Foucault's concept of objectivization as a means of articulation between elements of Foucauldian theory and the post-Marxist discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1990; 1985). This

contribution is significant because counselling practice is produced by localised and hegemonic discourses. Sometimes both counsellor and client are strongly positioned by hegemonic discourses such as the example in this study where both counsellor and client were produced as objects of a justice in relation to domestic violence discourse. The idea of objectivization has value for understanding some particular effects of hegemonic discourse on both counsellor and client and I argue is a valuable supplement to social constructionist and Foucauldian focuses on subjectification, which have most attention within the work of Butler and Davies. Objectivization and subjectification operate in the same moment with the former produced and reproduced by hegemonic discourse and the latter shaped more by localised discourses, which include counselling discourses. The counsellor has to achieve simultaneous mastery in both the hegemonic discourse and more localised counselling discourse and submit to both in order to take up an agentic position that calls their client into an agentic position.

Critical discursive praxis is the name that I have given to a process of reflexive engagement with discursive restraints on counsellor agency that has potential to open up more agentic positions for counsellor and client. This praxis became evident as participants entered into a reflexive relationship between their participation in the unfolding research process and their practice, which happened as the research process moved from accounts of identity and practice to focus on the discursive context and production of practice. This praxis is grounded in social constructionist theorising, although some ideas offered more agency than others. For example, the concept of intersectionality assisted in the development of a critical awareness of counsellor and client positioning. However it was the participants' application of theories about agency and positioning along with their deconstruction of the discursive context of particular practice moments, which drew their intersectional analyses forward to contribute to the developments in practice and practice identity described in Chapter 6. A critical engagement with the discursive context and production of practice is at the heart of this praxis.

I argue that *critical Pākehā praxis*, a concept that I also theorised in this chapter, offers Pākehā practitioners a way to address their positioning within dominant cultural discourses. In Chapter 3 I recast Frankenberg's (1993) three moments of

whiteness to more closely relate to the context of practice in Aotearoa and described these as three moments of Pākehā identity. These moments are: the moment of colonisation, the moment of indifference and assimilation and the postcolonial moment of Treaty honouring. Examining events or conversations in terms of these three moments was useful for clarifying broad discursive positioning experienced by the Pākehā practitioners in this research. The presence and effects of discourses of cultural safety in the research conversations opened up a stream of inquiry and theorising about the postcolonial possibilities of a Pākehā identity located in the third moment, which I argue incorporates cultural safety. I argued that achievement of a Pākehā identity requires a person to position him or herself in the third moment of Pākehā identity, which requires openness to the position of others with different cultural identities in the spirit of Treaty partnership. Successful performance of this identity is thus contingent on dialogic effects in ways that are not present in those identities that stand in the moments of colonisation or indifference and assimilation. I argue that in the postcolonial moment a person who is produced as a Pākehā subject, although situated in the historically and currently dominant cultural group, needs to be open to considerations about their own cultural safety as well as the cultural safety of their clients.

As I conclude this thesis I offer some directions which Pākehā counselling practitioners might consider both as individuals and in their professional and agency groupings.

Firstly, since this study provided a productive forum for Pākehā practitioners to consider their positioning within the dominant culture, I recommend that agencies and professional groupings establish fora where Pākehā counsellors might discuss issues that arise for them as they seek to practice in the spirit of the Treaty with Māori and non-Māori clients.

Secondly, it is my intention to make the theoretical concepts that I have developed in this thesis more widely available through writing, conference papers and workshops.

I close with a Maori whakatauki (or proverb), which I offer in proximity to some of Butler's words that I drew upon earlier in this chapter.

Ko te kai rapu

Ko ia te kite

(The one who seeks will find)

[W]e must recognise that ethics requires us to risk ourselves precisely at moments of unknowingness, when what forms us diverges from what lies before us, when our willingness to become undone in relation to others constitutes our chance of becoming human. (Butler, 2005, p. 136).

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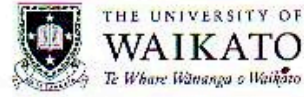
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Appendices:

Appendix 1: School of Education Ethics Committee approval

Dean's Office
School of Education
Te Kura Toi Tengete
The University of Waikato
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Hamilton, New Zealand

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MEMORANDUM

To: Alastair Crocket
Cc: Nesta Devine: Supervisor
From: Sue Bradley: Administrator
School of Education Ethics Committee
Date: 8 June 2005
Subject: Ethical Approval

The School of Education Ethics Committee considered your application for ethical approval for the research proposal:

"Pakeha counsellors consider their positioning: a post-colonial lens on dominant culture"

I am pleased to advise that this application has received ethical approval.

The Committee wishes you all the best with your research.

Jenny Ritchie
Chairperson
School of Education Ethics Committee

Appendix 2: Consent form for participants
UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
School of Education
Edd Research Project:

Pakeha Counsellors consider their positioning - Alastair Crocket

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

To participants:

Do you understand that I am undertaking this project as part of my work towards the *Doctor in Education* degree, and so am subject to university requirements and to oversight from the nominated university academic staff, Professor Ted Glynn and Dr Elmarie Kotze?

Yes: No

Have you read the *Information for participants* document?

Yes: No

Do you have sufficient information to make a decision to enter into the first stages of involvement in the research process?

Yes: No

Do you agree to meet with me and a small group to work through the steps involved in the project as outlined in the *information for participants* document?

Yes: No

Do you agree to the taping of the research group meetings?

Yes: No

Do you agree to the electronic capturing of the online discussion meetings of the research group?

Yes: No

Are you prepared to engage in a collaborative process of discourse analysis in relation to transcripts of research group meetings and online discussions?

Yes: No

Do you understand that both actual excerpts and thematic interpretations of the research data will be incorporated into the thesis that I will write, and may be incorporated in further published material?

Yes: No

Are you willing for me to use the research findings in publications and professional presentations?

Yes: No

Signed:

Name

Date

Appendix 3: Research plan

This is the outline of the research plan from the information that I provided to participants

First research group meeting.

The first meeting will be three hours long and will be audio and video taped. This meeting will generate the initial data which will be offered for group analysis in the second group meeting. I will facilitate and participate in this group in the role of researcher only. I will take this position so as to be able to focus fully on facilitating conversations which will be most useful for the purposes of the research (K. Crocket, 2001).

We will use a structured group dialogue process based on the Public Conversations model (Becker et al., 1995). While this model has been developed to facilitate dialogue between members of groups which operate in opposition to each other, I have also found that the model facilitates respectful dialogue with groups who are in less obviously opposed positions. Further, I have observed that carefully structured dialogue has the effect of generating new information for participants. Careful structuring of discussions enables participants to have opportunities to speak without interruption and to listen without needing to respond immediately before providing an opportunity to draw connections between the initial contributions.

The public conversation process involves three phases. The first two phases operate within a very controlled structure. In these phases each participant will be invited to respond to questions that invite them to explore their experiences as counsellors who are identified with dominant culture in counselling relationships with clients who are not so identified. This will occur in two uninterrupted rounds of the group. These first two phases offer the participants the opportunity to speak without interruption and as listeners to be free from calls to respond to positions taken up by others. The third phase, while still shaped by particular guidelines, offers the opportunity for a more spontaneous conversation where participants will be encouraged to draw connections between the matters introduced in the first two rounds. In my experience of using this model to facilitate dialogue in professional education settings, the third phase generates rich conversations that participants have reported as significantly developing both new understandings and an openness to new learning.

Transcription of meeting

The audiotape of the meeting will be transcribed, with the videotape being used to identify individual speakers where necessary. One month will be allowed for the transcription process.

Posting of transcript on a secure website for editing

Once the first meeting has been transcribed the transcript will be posted on a secure website. You will be invited to check and confirm the accuracy of the transcript or to make and submit edits. At the conclusion of this process participants will be asked to confirm the accuracy of the transcript. One month will be allowed for both this stage and the following stage.

Shared analysis of data

Participants will be invited to join in an online discussion where they will offer thoughts about the discourses which they believe may have produced their comments and the positions which they were/are offered by these discourses; and to frame questions in response to the data for other participants to consider. The participants will be asked to post these comments and questions onto the website.

Both the final transcript of the first research group meeting and the comments and questions placed on the website by the research participants will be data for the overall project.

Second research group meeting

The second meeting will be two months after the first meeting. It will be recorded in the same manner as the first meeting. The purposes of this meeting are both further data gathering and data analysis.

The meeting will begin with a further modification of the Public Conversations process used in the first meeting and will focus on the data gathered both in the first meeting and via the project website. The first round will invite participants to share their responses to the research process up to this point. The second round will invite them to share their thoughts about the discourses which produced particular responses and/ or their responses to the inquiries posted by other participants. The third round will again invite participants to draw connections between the comments from the preceding rounds.

Posting of second transcript for shared analysis.

The second meeting will be transcribed and posted to the project website in a similar manner to the first meeting. Once the transcript has been posted participants will be able to respond in the manner described in section iv above. In this posting I will be proposing themes to participants and will be asking them to direct their questions to me as researcher. A month will be allocated for this process.

At this time a 'farewell' meeting will be held to conclude the active involvement of the participants.

Appendix 4: Meeting formats

Structured discussion following the “Public Conversations” guidelines for the first research meeting

Exploratory rounds following guidelines from the Public Conversations Project. There will be two rounds where each participant will have the opportunity to respond to the same question.

- Each speaker has 6 minutes to speak.
- The following speaker is not to begin speaking before the time allotted for the first speaker has elapsed.
- If a speaker is still speaking at the end of six minutes a time keeper will ask them to stop.

Question for the first round.

Purpose: To invite participants to connect their response to the current situation with their own personal experience

Can you tell us something about your life experience or current situation that will help us to understand why you might be willing to signify yourself as Pakeha or from a similar dominant cultural position?

Question for the second round

Purposes: To encourage participants to:

- reflect on aspects of their own views that they may not express as readily as their usual views; and
- reveal fresh information about complex thinking that may be fodder for connections across different views and new perspectives.

What are your views, hopes, and fears regarding practising with an awareness of your ‘dominant cultural identity’? What is the “heart of the matter” for you?

A connected conversation

Now we will contribute to a connected conversation:

We are now at the point in our time together when you can talk more freely. As we move into this less structured time, it’s important to remember why we are here: not to debate or persuade but to speak with sincerity, to listen with open heartedness and resilience, to reflect on our own views, and to seek understanding of other views.

- **Note a point of learning.**
Have you learned something that stirred fresh thoughts or feelings?
- **Pick up and weave a thread**
Has an interesting theme or idea emerged that you’d like to add to?
- **Clarify differences**
Have you heard something you disagreed with? If so, first check to see if you understood it correctly. Then say what was unsettling to you about what you heard and why
- **Ask a question**
Is there something someone said that you would like to understand better? If you ask a question be sure that it reflects genuine curiosity and is not a challenge in disguise.

For more information about the public conversations project look up their website:
<http://www.publicconversations.org>

Structured discussion following the “Public Conversations” guidelines for the second research meeting

Exploratory rounds following guidelines from the Public Conversations Project.

There will be two rounds where each participant will have the opportunity to respond to the same question.

- Each speaker has 4 minutes to speak.
- The following speaker is not to begin speaking before the time allotted for the first speaker has elapsed.
- If a speaker is still speaking at the end of three minutes a time keeper will ask them to stop.

Question for the first round.

***Purpose:**To invite participants to connect their response to the current situation with their own personal experience*

Can you tell us something about your responses to the research process?
What has it meant to you to participate in this process so far?

Question for the second round

***Purposes:**To encourage participants to:
reflect on aspects of their own views that they may not express as readily as their usual views; and
reveal fresh information about complex thinking that may be fodder for connections across different views and new perspectives.*

What are your thoughts about the discourses which produced the conversation in the first meeting? How do you respond to any position calls you experience as coming from these discourses?

A connected conversation

Now we will contribute to a connected conversation:

We are now at the point in our time together when you can talk more freely. As we move into this less structured time, it's important to remember why we are here: not to debate or persuade but to speak with sincerity, to listen with open heartedness and resilience, to reflect on our own views, and to seek understanding of other views.

Note a point of learning.

Have you learned something that stirred fresh thoughts or feelings?

Pick up and weave a thread

Has an interesting theme or idea emerged that you'd like to add to?

Clarify differences

Have you heard something you disagreed with? If so, first check to see if you understood it correctly. Then say what was unsettling to you about what you heard and why

Ask a question

Is there something someone said that you would like to understand better? If you ask a question be sure that it reflects genuine curiosity and is not a challenge in disguise.

For more information about the public conversations project look up their website: <http://www.publicconversations.org>

Appendix 5: Extract from transcripts - Janet describes her work with Maraea

Janet introduced the story of her work with Maraea (a pseudonym) in her response to the second question in the first face-to-face meeting. I subsequently invited her to return to this practice account in each of the online reflections.

From the first meeting

Janet's response to the second question: "What are your views, hopes, and fears regarding practising with an awareness of your 'dominant cultural identity'? What is the "heart of the matter" for you?"

Line 17 in the transcript of the first meeting

I'm picking bits from everybody's and I'm identifying with your struggle, um I think it is an everyday struggle. That, yes I think that life would be easier if we only had the one world view that we had to work in and so I can just imagine how hard it has been for Maori culture, and other cultures, who have had to fit into that dominant world view for so long.

From a every day work viewpoint, in a small town that people don't have a huge number of choices of where to come to this was highlighted for me, I'm thinking of a particular incident where that I had referred to me because we do protected person respondent programmes with referrals from the courts, and how the justice system impacts on the lives of everybody. And I met with a young woman who identified as Maori, lesbian and who was sent by the courts as a respondent and the person who had made the protection was female and Pākehā. And just the positioning that put us in to start with of her being forced having no choice but to come and meet with me and how we had to negotiate a platform to even begin and how hard that was for her and for me in doing that and just that idea of how to be very careful and respectful and be totally aware all the time me being older, Pākehā, dominant culture. And the focus on her sense, her strong sense of injustice and how justice was not being done, had not been done.

And the situation which she was in and the whole history of injustice that sat behind all of that. So that was like a really sharp reminder of what it is like for someone being on the wrong side of dominant culture and injustice and me representing, you know, all of that dominant culture and like positioned as the agent of the courts, the whole justice system, the Pākehā system. And how to acknowledge all of that, but also connect on a personal level um in a way that we could have conversations at all. I think that sort of replicates itself everytime I work with someone, so I thank her for all that she taught me about the care to take in that.

...

So my hopes are just that we can keep doing it and keep conversations ...And I think that in my local area, I trying to do the same thing in my local area and being on my local Women's refuge committee, that all over again its not easy. It's hard. But there is some interest and some excitement that the uncertainties of life make life more interesting. We just keep at it.

From the first online reflection

In the first online reflection I sought to invite all participants to think about their practice in terms of positioning. I wrote this invitation:

In these forums there are some questions which come from my readings of the transcript and suggestions from Prof Ted Glynn and Elmarie Kotze, my supervisors.

These questions come from our being interested to know if there is more to say about some of the areas raised in the discussions that might further enrich accounts of practice already present in the transcript.

I then asked some more specific questions. The question which follows here invited Janet's response below

Thoughts about negotiating relationships

by [Alastair Crocket](#) - Monday, 16 June 2008, 05:49 PM

- [Janet], you offered an example of negotiating a platform to begin counselling with an involuntary client. *I would be really interested for each of you to offer an example of how you engage with clients from a different culture. What factors do you consider? what position calls do you seek to decline, what positions do you seek to take up?*

Janet replied:

Re: Thoughts about negotiating relationships

by [Janet] - Friday, 27 June 2008, 09:42 PM

Hi Alastair,

Re negotiating the relationship - particularly where the person is mandated to be there. Like [Ann], it is a while since I actively studied discourse - that slippery and elusive thing! I did take the questions to our group supervision for illumination. Offerings were:

1. Discourses tell us what we need to do and how we need to act in order to be normal.
2. Discourses inform questions. Questions come out of discourses.
3. Discourses offer positions.
4. Discourses are about a persons identity - how to be normal as a person/as a counsellor.
5. Discourses act as truths (small t) that direct us.

Then there are some Narrative ideas that inform practice:

1. Taking an ethical / political stance.
- 2 Understanding discourse, power relations, not-knowing position, externalising, relational thinking, experience near descriptions.

3. Discovering intentions / hopes. Not categorising people.
Watching for the invisible but implicit. Making visible
people's skills, qualities, useful ways of operating.

Having been more recently immersed in the practice more than the theory, this is a good opportunity to take a re-look at the theories informing the practice.

The negotiation of the relationship with Maori clients sits against a backdrop of a history of colonisation. The power relation is more than what is in the counselling room between counsellor client. The practice is making visible the differences and the circumstances. eg. "What's it like that the Courts make you come and you have to meet with this middle aged pakeha woman?" "What difficulties will this create for our work together?" "As we go along, can I enquire about how we are managing these differences?"

Suggestion from supervision group which made me smile - imagine I know stuff-all. Not nothing - but stuff-all! That the gap is huge.

Our recent DV training with [trainer's name] suggested the powhiri metaphor in relationship negotiating.

Enough for now. Useful to think of these things. Thanks, [Janet]

From the second online reflection

I wrote to Janet with this invitation:

[Janet], I'm inviting you to engage in a process of identifying discourses and positioning. On line 17 of the first meeting transcript you talked about meeting with a client referred under DV legislation by the courts as respondent. So she was required to come and address her violence towards her partner with you

- Were outcomes from this/these meetings to be reported back to the court? If so I guess that this may invite both you and the respondent into particular positions in a justice/authority discourse?

I guess that many respondents referred in this way may experience limited agency: compelled to come; holding onto an alternative story which they feel may justify or mitigate their actions; positioned as perpetrator; frustrated; called on their actions; judged.

- Is this how you see it? Other shapings which are more experience-near for you may be helpful

I also assume that the contract with the courts offers you a position less as a counsellor and more as a specialist worker for the courts. From what you say your referral I guessing that your client saw you as positioned within in a number of discourses:

- Pakeha as dominant culture discourse. Do you think she saw you as an agent of Pakeha power?
- (In)justice discourse. Was her sense of injustice related to the specific situation? – the circumstances that led to the charge, or was it that plus a more general Pakeha injustice vs Maori? – perhaps a victim of Pakeha racist discourse?
- Class differential discourse
- Dominant sexuality discourse
- Small centre ->limited choice discourse

(I realise that your posting in ‘thoughts about negotiating relationships’ on 27 June is probably in relation to this example. So partly, I’m wanting you to confirm that link and hoping that you can take these ideas further)

And then you becoming aware of these position calls for you and for her and seeking ‘to connect with her on a personal level so we could have any conversations at all’. I’m assuming that this is about you seeking to respond from positions in a Treaty (honouring) discourse and a counselling discourse

- Again I’m interested in learning your responses to this. Can you add other possibilities?

And what positioning do you assume that she needed to take up to join you in a conversation to connect at a personal level?

[Janet]’s response.

Hi Alastair,

Yes, I think I was positioned as an agent of the court leaving her positioned as perpetrator and judged. Also as an agent of Pākehā power, class differential, dominant sexuality and no choice.

To be able to connect needed some information about what the court required (attendance and participation) and what the rules were that were required of both of us to complete and what would happen if there was non-attendance. So first some real clarity about the rules and a move to position us both alongside in a desire to complete the programme and avoid consequences of court prosecution.

So in that sense I step in to the authority / power of knowing what is required but am very explicit in being open and honest so client can make informed decisions / choices as to whether to participate / attend knowing the consequences.

Thinking of the powhiri; [trainer’s name] - who did DV training with [our organization] recently - likens this stage to the negotiations that go on outside before you get into the house to do the work.

There is a clarity about who each is and what the work is before it is done. So I am also laying open and identifying my pakeha-ness, my

sexuality, and middle-aged status - so the positioning is very visible and enquiring as to how/whether this will affect the work. I am also enquiring as to where she comes from, connections in the area, supports.

I remember with this client I talked first about these things so she could make a judgment about me, my philosophies and the requirements of the programme. I would not expect her to trust me.

I assume she needs to come from a position of having sufficient knowledge of rules and boundaries to be able to position herself as a 'participant' or not.

A position which she took up about agreement to participate was, 'my word is enough.' From this I positioned her as a person who stuck to her word and from her comments about the justice system; as a person who was passionate about 'justice.'

These were important discourses about her which enabled us to complete the programme.

It was important to have a context of justice (injustice) in the context of colonisation and hold to the possibilities of racism impacting on her personal position.

The traditional discourses of power and control being the cause of DV were limiting

Appendix 6: Glossary

caucus	A term often used in Treaty of Waitangi education to describe a group of people who share the same identity. Often Treaty education has been based on the exploration of contentious issues in separate Maori and Tauwiwi caucuses.
karakia	An incantation or prayer; generally now a Christian prayer
kawa	Rules or guidelines for any social process
kuia	A woman whose leadership is valued, generally an older woman
Māori	The collective name for the indigenous people of Aotearoa who are also known as Tangata Whenua
marae	The area at the centre of a Māori settlement and in front of the wharenuī where rituals of greeting and significant debates are held
Nga Mokai	James K Baxter's term to describe the young people who joined the Jerusalem commune: "the people Hemi Baxter called the tribe of Nga Mokai, the lost and lonely, the addict and drunk, the prisoner and gang member" (O'Reilly, 2009)
Ngati Hau	The hapū who lived adjacent to the Jerusalem commune
Pākehā	The term generally used by Maori to refer to the British settlers and their successors. The act of taking up this identity signifier connotes a commitment to postcolonial practice.
Pasifika	A collective word for the peoples of the South Pacific
powhiri	A ritual of greeting strangers to a marae or other venue. Also a practice model based on the tikanga and kawa of this ritual.
Tangata Whenua	Literally, the people of the land; Māori
Tauwiwi	Those groups who are not Tangata Whenua. Originally meant strange or foreign
te Reo	Language, usually the Māori language
tikanga	This word identifies how to identify what is 'right' in relation to social practice
tino rangatiratanga	Self determination, or sovereignty
whaea	Used as a term of respectful address for a woman who is elder than the speaker. May be translated as Aunty

whakawhanaungatanga A process of seeking to find connections between two groups – or the groups that individuals belong to

whanau A family or any group with close connection among its members